2014

INTRODUCING SOCOLINGUISTICS

E-reader

The e-reader to the course "Introducing Sociolinguistics" includes the full texts of the lectures covered therein and some additional materials for further reading. Course readings examine key micro-/macro-sociolinguistic topics grouped into four sections: approaches to sociolinguistic analysis; language variation reflecting its USERS and contexts of USE; communication in multilingual/ multicultural speech communities; language policy and planning. The approach is student-oriented and provides texts for extensive reading, questions for discussion and a list of references for in-depth exploration of the issues under discussion. Upon completion of the course students are expected to extend their knowledge of the great diversity of communication patterns and ways of speaking in different sociocultural environments, to develop sensitivity to the effect of social and cultural factors on communication and improve their skills of socially appropriate language use.

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Chapter One

The subject of Sociolinguistics Exploration of language in relation to society: social factors and dimensions

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1. Sociolinguistics in perspective

Sociolinguistics explores language in relation to society. This means that it is concerned with language as used for communication amongst different social groups of people in different social situations.

Some scholars argue that the subject of sociolinguistics overlaps with that of linguistics since *speech is a social behaviour and to study it without reference to society would be like studying courtship behaviour without relating the behaviour of one partner to that of the other (Hudson 1971).* Indeed a lot of the findings of sociolinguistics are highly relevant to the theory of language structure e.g. in relation to the nature of meaning and the analysis of alternatives in a grammar. However, while linguistic theory focuses on the structure of language and does not concern itself with the context in which the language is learned and, more importantly, does not concern itself with the way the language is used, sociolinguistics focuses on 'the study of language in its social context and the study of social life through linguistics' (Coupland and Jaworski 1997:1).

In brief, the aim of **linguistics** is to determine the properties of natural language. The investigation of individual languages is done with the intention of explaining why the whole set of languages are the way they are. This is the search for a theory of *universal grammar*. In this process the analyst aims to construct a device, a grammar, which can specify the grammatical strings of one language, say English or Bulgarian, but which is also relevant for the grammar of any human language. In this way, linguistics puts its focus on determining what the component parts and inner mechanism of languages are. In accomplishing this, theoretical models of language tend to exclude certain things, consigning them to the lexical, semantic or pragmatic components of language, or even outside of language altogether.

Sociolinguistics is a relatively young discipline. Most of the growth in sociolinguistics took place in the late 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, there has been a long tradition in the study of *dialects* and in the general study of the relations between word-meaning and culture, both of which can be subsumed within the domain of sociolinguistics. However, the awareness that sociolinguistics can shed light on both the nature of language and the nature of society is relatively new.

Sociolinguists argue that language exists in context, dependent on the speaker who is using it and dependent on where it is being used and why. Speakers mark their personal history and identity in their speech as well as their sociocultural, economic and geographical coordinates in time and space. So taking a broad approach to the subject of sociolinguistics would mean to include in it everything: *from considering 'who speaks', what language, to whom, and when and to what end, i.e. the social distribution of linguistic items,* ***to*** *considering how a linguistic variable might relate to the formulation of a specific grammatical rule in a particular language or dialect and, finally,* ***to*** *the processes through which languages change. (*Wardhaugh 1992*)*

It is important to recognize that much of the interest in sociolinguistics has come from people who have a practical concern for language, rather than a desire simply to understand better how languages work. In particular it became possible in the US in the 1960s & 1970s to fund relatively large scale research projects connected with the speech of underprivileged groups, on the ground that the findings would make possible a more satisfactory educational policy.

2. Relationship between language and society (Wardhaugh 1992)

There is a variety of possible relationships between language and society.

a/ One is that social structure may either influence and determine linguistic structure/ or behaviour. e.g. the age-grading phenomenon, whereby young children speak differently from other children and , in turn, children speak differently from mature adults; varieties of language may also reflect regional, social or ethnic origin and possible even sex of people; 'power' may also explain much of linguistic behaviour.

b/ A second possible relationship is directly opposed to the first: linguistic structure and/or behaviour may either influence or determine social structure. (The Whorfian hypothesis - e.g. Bernstein claims that languages rather than speakers of these languages can be 'sexist').

d/ A third possibility is to assume that there is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of the other. A widely held view is that linguistics differs from sociolinguistics in taking account only of the structure of language to the exclusion of the social contexts in which it is learnt and used. This view is typical of the whole structural school of linguistics, including transformational generative grammar.

c/ A fourth possible relationship is that the influence is bi-directional: language and society may influence each other. This influence is considered to be dialectical in nature, i.e. that speech behaviour and social behaviour are in a state of constant interaction' and that 'material living conditions' are an important factor in the relationship (Dittmar 1976).

In fact, there are different ways that society can impinge on language which makes the field of sociolinguistic reference extremely broad. Studies of the various ways in which social structure and linguistic structure come together include personal, stylistic, social, sociocultural and sociological aspects. But sociolinguistics should not be viewed as a mechanical amalgamation of standard linguistics and standard sociology. Del Hymes has pointed out that 'specific points of connection between language and society must be discovered' , and these must be related within theories that throw light on how linguistic and social structures interact. Or, as Gumperz (1971) has observed, sociolinguistics is an attempt to find *correlations* between social structure and linguistic structure and to observe any *changes* that occur. Social structure itself may be measured by reference to such factors as social class and educational background; we can then attempt to relate verbal behaviour and performance to these factors.

A. What does sociolinguistics deal with? (cf. Table 1.)

The scope of sociolinguistic research is extremely broad. Here are some issues that form the core of sociolinguistics studies and tend to attract a lot of interest.

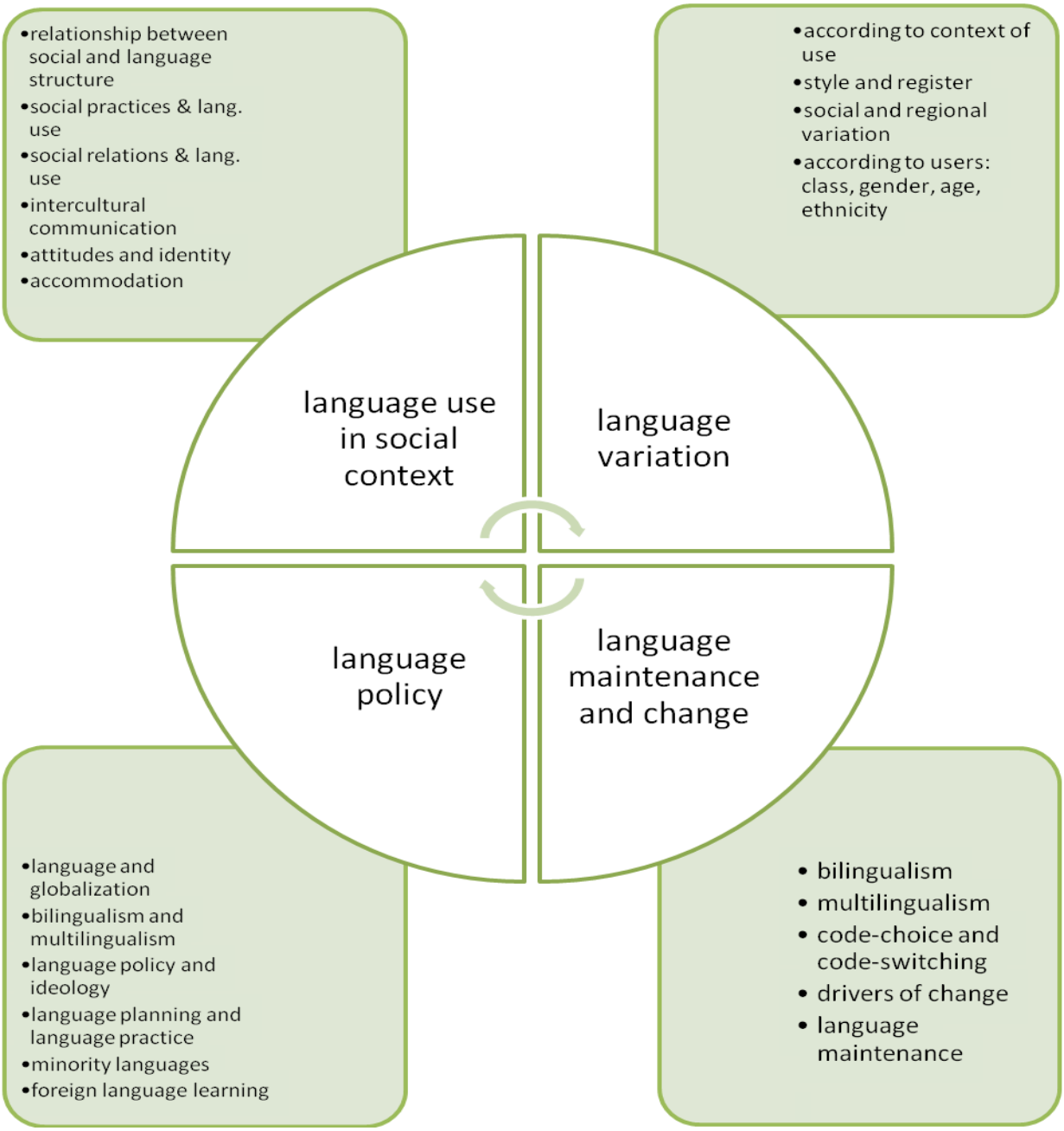


Table 1: What does sociolinguistics study?

3. Language variation

Variationist sociolinguistics

Some scholars tend to consider language variation as a distinct research field commonly referred to as **variationist sociolinguistics**. **Variationist sociolinguistics (VS)** is the study of the interplay between *variation*, *social meaning* and the *evolution* and *development* of the linguistic system itself. Here is how Guy (1993:223) describes the 'duality of focus' of VS:

"*One of the attractions – and one of the challenges – of dialect research is the Janus-like point-of-view it takes on the problems of human language, looking one way at the organization of linguistic forms, while simultaneously gazing the other way of their social significan*ce."

And according to Tagliamonte (2006:5) " *VS is the branch of sociolinguistics which studies the foremost characteristics of language in balance with each other – linguistic structure and social structure; grammatical meaning and social meaning – those properties of language which require reference to both external (social) and internal (systematic) factors in their explanation.*"

Type of inferences one can make on the basis of speech variation –

Ordinarily we simply take for granted the numerous ways we use language in our social interactions because they are so deeply embedded in our daily affairs. It is sometimes hard for people to understand that a brief telephone conversation could possibly be of interest as an object of serious linguistic study. It is also hard for them to understand how much we reveal about ourselves – our backgrounds, our predilections, our characters – in the simplest verbal exchange.

The best kind of conversational exchange for reflecting upon is one in which the information is almost exclusively linguistic as when you overhear a conversation between strangers sitting behind you in a bus or when you receive a telephone call from a total stranger. On those occasions, you begin the exchange with the minimum of knowledge and presuppositions. And yet, after hearing only a few sentences, you find yourself in possession of a great deal of information of various kinds about people whom you have never seen.

The kind of inferences you tacitly make fit roughly into five general categories, namely: **personal, stylistic, social, sociocultural and sociological.**

A. Personal characteristics

One level of information is personal: e.g. voice quality, inferences about the speaking ability of the individuals you are listening to (fluent, hesitant; articulate, vague, etc.). Even the most superficial observations tend to interact to give strong (though not necessarily accurate) impressions of character. A speaker who is fluent but vague, for instance, will seem to us to be evasive, perhaps deceitful, and one who is articulate but hesitant will seem pensive and thoughtful.

Some discourse analysts have argued that *conversation is always a kind of personal expression, a form of verbal art less self-conscious than story-telling or joking but nevertheless a performance in its own right*.

Observations like these at the personal linguistic level have attracted relatively little serious linguistic study. Traditionally, they were considered too idiosyncratic or individualistic for framing hypotheses about language in general. With the insurgence of studies in the social use of

language, including sociolinguistics, research into personal characteristics has increased. (cf. communication strategies + narrative as identity construct)

YOUR TURN

Read how two young ☻ ☻ ☻ are making strenuous attempts to identify two particular car parks in Manchester city centre. Try to build a social profile of the speakers: e.g. sex, age, social class, education, etc.

S: they wanted to go to this posh shopping centre car park… takes you an hour an half to park up…whereas if you keep to back streets and just go and park …you know…gets in this one behind Hills this multi-storey thing… *oh, god*

B: *oh that one!* ... the one behind the Arndale Centre

S: I don't know what the hell it were… but it went up and up and up and up… and oh god… aren't they aren't they law (?) I would never dream of *parking in a place* like that

B: wouldn't you… I don't mind them

S: you know where I used to park… I don't know if it's still …behind the Oyster Bar… you know that

B: that little one

S: yeah

B: that little multi-storey one

S: Yeah… I always park there

L. Milroy. *Conversation, spoken language and social identity*. In Eckert, P. and J. Rickford (eds.) 2001. Style and Sociolinguistic Variation. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 274

B. Linguistic Styles

Another level of observation is stylistic. Here again listeners are capable of considerable discrimination concerning the degree of familiarity between the participants in a conversation, their relative ages and ranks, the function of their conversation, and many other aspects. The main determinant is the speech styles they are using. The range of possibilities encompasses, on the one hand, the casualness of utterly familiar, long-time friends who share a wealth of common experience and, on the other hand, the formality of unequal participants who have no common ground but are forced to interact for some reason or other.

Observations about speech styles fall squarely into the domain of sociolinguistics. Stylistic differences have a simple social correlate, viz., formality tends to increase in direct proportion to the number of social differences between the participants.

The sociolinguistic relevance comes about because our ability to judge the formality of a conversation is largely determined by linguistic cues. Casual conversation tends to be more

rapid, with more stylistic ellipses and contractions, and more phonological assimilations and coalescences. In highly formal conversations the syntax is usually stilted and somewhat breathless and the phonology articulated unnaturally.

Clearly, if the relative formality of a conversation can cause speakers to adjust their phonology and other aspects of dialect and accent, then style is an independent variable that affects the dependant speech variables. The importance of style was recognized in what is perhaps the first attempt at modern sociolinguistics, when Fischer (1958) noted that the choice of the suffix [iŋ] in participles like 'walking, talking, etc' in the speech of Boston schoolchildren " changed from an almost exclusive use of [iŋ] in the 'testing' situation to a predominance of [in] in the informal interviews.

Elicitation of a range of styles is routinely included in sociolinguistic interviews.

The unmonitored style – *casual speech* – is the one that sociolinguists want most to study, and it is the one that cannot be elicited by any foolproof devices.

C. Social characteristics

Whenever we speak we reveal not only some personal qualities and certain sensitivity to the contextual style but also a whole configuration of characteristics that we by and large share with everyone who resembles us socially. Usually without any conscious effort on our part, we embody in our speech, as in our dress, manners, and social possessions, the hallmarks of our social background. Our speech, from this perspective, is emblematic in the same sense as is the car we drive or the way we habitually dress for work but, obviously, our speech is much less amenable to manipulation, much harder to control consciously, and for that reason much more revealing.

The **social class** to which we belong imposes some norms of behaviour on us and reinforces them by the strength of the example of the people with whom we associate most closely. The sub-elements of social class include education, occupation, and type of housing, all of which play a role in determining the people with whom we will have daily contacts and more permanent relationships. They tend to be similar to those of our parents, so that the class trappings that most adults surround themselves with are to some degree an updated replication of those they grew up with. In all of this of course there is some latitude and, in relatively free societies, some mobility.

The other major social factors that exert a tacit but partly irrepressible effect on our behaviour, including the way we speak, are **sex** and **age**.

In modern industrial societies, these three social characteristics – class, sex and age – are the primary determinants of social roles. They are, of course, enormously complex, subsuming a host of social factors. Another determinant that has a significant influence on language choice is **social status (compare** how you address your boss and your friends, for instance**)**.

YOUR TURN

Activity _I: Read the texts below and build a social profile of the speakers in each one of them.

Speaker A: The orderly distribution of opportunities to participate in social interaction is one of the most fundamental preconditions for viable social organization. For humans, conversation and other more specialized or context-specific forms of talk-in-interaction (such as debate, interview, courtroom talk in session, ritual etc.) are species-distinctive embodiments of this primordial site of sociality. One feature that underlies the orderly distribution of opportunities to participate.

Speaker B: I come from Huston, Texas, which is the southern part of the US. I am a volunteer for the Peace corpse and I will be living in Vratza for 2 years. I *really like* living in Vratza because I *like* the mountains and I *like t*he people. I am also at a school where the teachers are *very* friendly, many of them speak English and the schools are well-maintained and well-disciplined, *so I like* my school.
The best part of living in Vratza is the view of the *beautiful, beautiful* mountains. We had our first snow and that was *so exiting* because the kids came up and hugged me and told me happy first snow and we threw snowballs and we played in the snow and I *loved* it.
I am from a part of the US where in 30 years it is only snowed 3 times, *so* the snow *wonderful* and it was fun for the kids.
Speaker C: *I have never read such an unresearched, ill informed article in my life. I am a keen Guardian reader and have been for many years, I would also say that my views on politics lean to the left but to call the Bulgarian GERB party leader anti-gypsy and anti-turk is just plain wrong. I write for a Bulgarian news agency and also owned a Bulgarian newspaper for Expats and study the political parties in Bulgaria constantly - next time please research your article! The Borisov mistake was not the only one!*

D. Sociocultural factors

The best examples of how sociocultural factors influence speech come from speakers of English as a foreign language around the world. It is generally believed that the topics we talk about are culturally determined to some extent. The same concerns the way in which we talk about them as well. Here are some examples:

e.g. i) "Have a nice day" as conversation ending is typically American.

What comes most natural to you as a conversation ending in English? (*e.g. Good-bye, Cheerio, Ciao, etc.*) Ask your friends to see whether they use the same expression.

Culture-laden interactions abound. For instance, Canadians and Americans in Budapest find it difficult to adjust to the fact that shop-keepers will sell them their wares in silence and then end the transaction by placing their change on the counter, not in their hand. But while this is a behavioural difference here are some speech deviations that can be associated with the cultural background of the speakers.

Example ii. - (*Singaporean English – Singlish*)

Got coffer or not? Got!
You have milk, is it? Also have.
Join me, don't shy!

****

- "I got accepted into Harvard."
- Is it?

****

"Singlish same for everybody. Because we a small country, cannot be not organized. Strict, Lah, is good. That why we have a nice city."

(*West African English)*

"How de body? (How are you?)

(*Nigerian English*)

Since e be like say, dem no see our right as any ting and dem come de do dem as dem like, dis come make people de behave like say dem be animals, dis come vex everybody, so tay, dem come talk say everi human being must go get their freedom, wey go make dem talk any tink say naim be di di right ting and wen dem de talk, dem no go fear talk. Na dis be di beta ting wey all common people want.

(Translation: Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.)

Less obvious sociocultural influences are found in the use of conversational implicatures.

Example iii:

When an American says "Why not?", it means, " Let's give it a try and see if it works. If it does, fine, if not, well, we did our best."

When a Russian or Moldovan says these words, it means, " I told you before that your idea won't work, but seeing that you persist in bringing it up, we'll try it. But when it fails, as it must, don't blame me."

What about Bulgarians?

****

Numerous discourse rules differ subtly from culture to culture, such as the conventions for maintaining the conversational topic, ways of assuming a turn as speaker, the intimacy of disclosures, and the amount of overlapping or interrupting.

E. Sociological factors

Language also functions sociologically as an instrument to signal social structure. This is especially clear in the conventionalized use of address forms. Linguistically it is irrelevant whether someone addresses someone else as "Mr. Jones" or as "Sam", or whether someone chooses the pronouns "ти" or "Вие"

Also largely sociological is the importance of particular languages as "codes" in multilingual societies. Co-existent languages are never sociologically equal, though of course they are linguistically equal. In the bilingual belt of Canada, it is important to know when to use French and when to use English and, more subtly, when to mix the codes. What is the situation between Bulgarian and Turkish in the Kurdjali region?

In some cases the linguistic variation involves two languages or dialects. In such cases we speak of **diglossia**. The reasons why people choose one or the other variety are similar: who is being talked to, where and for what reason what is the topic of conversation, etc. *Participants, the social setting and the topic or purpose of interaction* are the key factors that determine *the choice of language.*

Example iv :

A village in Norway - Hemnesberget. The villagers know and use two distinct kinds of Norwegian. There is the local dialect which is called Ranamal and then there is the standard Norwegian - Bokmal. Bokmal is used at school, textbooks, radio, television, church services and sermons. It is used when people go into the local government offices to transact official business. And it is used to strangers and visitors from outside Hemnseberget. Ranamal is what people speak to their family, friends and neighbours most of the time.

I have used above the term **variety (**or**, code**). This is because the terms 'language' and 'dialect' are very difficult to define and sociolinguists prefer to use more technical terms such as '**variety**' and ' **code**' to refer to any set of linguistic forms which patterns according to social factors. Therefore we shall use the term '**variety**' to refer to language in context. A variety may be any set of linguistic forms (language, dialect, register, etc.) used under specific social circumstances, i. e. with a distinctive social distribution. It is a broad term which includes **different accents, different linguistic styles, different dialects and even different languages which contrast with each other for social reasons.** Sociolinguists prefer to use the term 'variety' rather than language or dialect because it is linguistically neutral and covers all the different realizations of the abstract concept 'language' in different social contexts.

Social factors determine language choice in all multilingual situations. In the example below, the different linguistic varieties are different languages. They are distinguishable by their grammatical system and by their social distribution. The selection of one or the other variety (language) however is determined by social factors.

Example v:

In a mountain village, Sauris, in North-east Italy, a sociolinguist reported in 1971 that the adults were all trilingual. Before 1866 the village had been part of the Austrian Empire and its villagers all spoke German. In the late 1960s they still used a German dialect in the home, and to neighbours and fellow villagers. They also used the regional language, Friulian, with people from the surrounding area outside the village, and the young men, in particular, tended to use it

to each other in the pub. These men had gone to secondary school together in Ampezzo, a nearby town, and Friulian had become for them a language of friendship and solidarity. Italian was the language people used to talk to those from beyond the region, and for reading and writing. Because their village was now part of Italy, Italian was the language of the church and the school.

4. Social factors , dimensions and explanations

Up till now we discussed the different social factors that are relevant for the choice of a particular variety. Some relate to the *users* of language (the participants); others relate to its *uses* (the social function of the interaction). The *setting* or *social context* (home, school) is another relevant factor. The *aim or purpose* of the interaction (informative, social) may also be important. In some cases the *topic* has proved an influence on language choice as well. These social factors do not usually occur separately but in clusters. In sociolinguistic analyses they are often organized in *scales* because their influence on speech is commonly not absolute (i.e. +/-) but relative (to a bigger or smaller extent). Thus scales allow instances of speech variation to be determined in relation to one another rather than in absolute terms. Here are some useful scales that we shall often use when we discuss speech variation.

i) Social scales and dimensions

- A **social distance scale** concerned with participant relationships
- A **status scale** concerned with participant relationship in terms of social status and position in society
- A **formality scale** relating to the setting or type of interaction
- Two **referential and affective function** scales relating to the purposes or topic of interaction

3.1.a. The social distance scale is used to measure the level of solidarity amongst participants. **Solidarity** is the dimension that accounts for the level of co-operation and social harmony amongst speakers. Or, put simply, it shows how well interlocutors know and understand each other. See the scale below.

- **The solidarity - social distance scale**

Intimate Distant

High solidarity Low solidarity

3.1.b. The status scale is used when such social factors as "**social status**" and " **power**" are involved. Speakers of high social standing are commonly entitled to more **power** in the conversation and will be positioned on the high ("**superior**^) end of the scale. Conversely, speakers of low social standing (due to economic status, lack of education, etc.) will be positioned at the bottom ("subordinate") end of the scale.

- **The status scale**

Superior High status

Subordinate Low status

3.1.c. The formality scale refers to the **setting,** the **topic or key** of the conversation**.** The **social distance** between interlocutors may also exert some influence on the formality of the interaction. It is also a vertical scale which implies that there is some *power* involved.

- **The formality scale**

Formal High formality

Informal Low formality

3.1.d. The last two scales are used to measure the ration between *information content* and speakers' *attitudes or emotions*. In general the more referentially oriented an interaction is, the less it tends to express the feelings of the speaker. Conversely, the higher the affective content (attitudes, emotions) the lower the information content of the utterance. So the referential and affective scales are said to be <u>inversely proportional</u>.

- **The referential and affective function scales**

Referential

High information-content ⟷ Low information content

Affective

Low affective content ⟷ High affective content

Together with the social components identified in the previous section these scales provide a useful framework for discussing language in its social context in different speech communities, and for discussing the ways in which language reflects its users and the uses they put it to.

5. Divisions in sociolinguistics

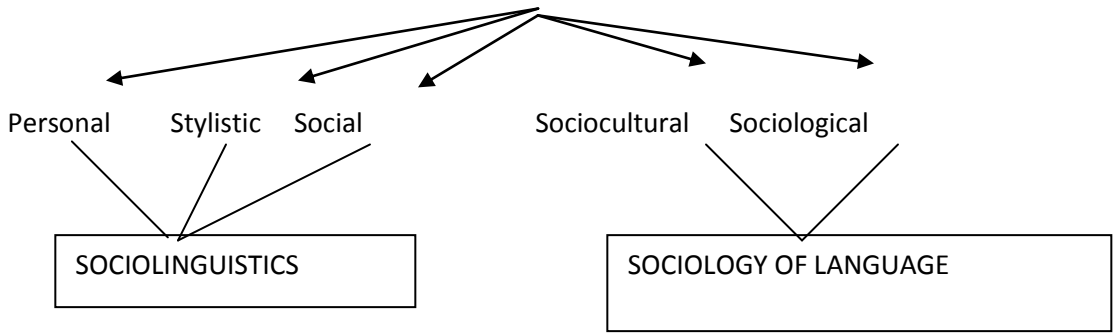
6. 2. Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of language

Depending on the purposes of the research, the different orientations of sociolinguistic research have traditionally been subsumed under two umbrella terms: **Sociolinguistics**' and '**The sociology of language**'. In this distinction **sociolinguistics i**s concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal to understand more thoroughly the structure of language and how languages function in communication. The equivalent goal in **the sociology of language** is to discover how social structure can be better understood through the study of language, e.g. how certain linguistic features serve to characterize particular social arrangements. Both sociolinguistics and the sociology of language require a systematic study of language and society if they are to be successful. Moreover, a sociolinguistics that deliberately refrains from drawing conclusions about society seems to be unnecessarily restrictive, just as restrictive indeed as sociology of language that deliberately ignores discoveries about language made in the course of sociological research.

In brief, sociolinguistic tends to put emphasis on language in social context whereas the sociology of language emphasizes the social interpretation of language. The problem therefore lies in the drawing of the line between language and society and sociolinguistics. Obviously different linguists draw the line at different places. A further division could also be made between **qualitative** (ethnography of communication, discourse analysis, etc.,) and **quantitative** (language variation and change) approaches.

Fig. 2. Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language

Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language differ in the types of inference they make from speech acts:



5.3. Micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics

The issues explored by sociolinguistics can be investigated according to one more dimension: whether or not they concern individual speech performance, or the language behaviour of whole

social formations or networks of people. Accordingly, a distinction is drawn between **micro-sociolinguistics** and **macro-sociolinguistics**. The topics included in section c/d of the chart above may be assigned to macro-sociolinguistics as they deal with the language behaviour of whole speech communities. Conversely, the topics subsumed under language variation – variation in style, register, or variation according to the class, gender, education or age of the speakers – are generally dealt with within the domain of **micro-sociolinguistics**.

Just as the most idiosyncratic personal factors in our speech are outside the domain of sociolinguistics, so at the sociological end of the topic continuum the topics tail off into linguistically extrinsic matters, Purely ideological issues that impinge upon language planning in multinational administrations belong properly to political science, and debates about linguistically equivalent but sociologically distinct spelling reforms may touch educationists, politicians and sociologists. In these areas, the linguist as linguist will have little or nothing to offer, whatever the linguist as teacher, politician or citizen may think.

7. Types of sociolinguistic studies and methodology

Like other subjects, sociolinguistics is partly empirical, partly theoretical - partly a matter of going out and amassing bodies of fact and partly sitting back and thinking. However, data collected for the sake of collecting data can have little interest, since without some kind of focus - i.e. without some kind of non-trivial motive for collection - they can tell us little or nothing. A set of random observations about how a few people we happen to observe use language cannot lead us to any useful generalizations about behaviour, either linguistic or social. We cannot be content with 'butterfly collecting' (participant-observation), no matter how beautiful the specimens are! The 'armchair approach'(introspection) is also dangerous if applied to personal experience alone: firstly, we may be seriously wrong in the way in which we interpret our own experience, since most of us are not consciously aware of the vast range of variations in speech which we hear, and react to, in our everyday lives. And, secondly, personal experience is a very limited base from which to generalize about language in society, since it does not take account of all the societies, where things are arranged very differently.

Empirical research has provided plenty of evidence about exotic communities: e.g. it may seem really surprising to learn that there are societies where one's parents must not have the same mother tongue; other evidence may bring about a change in traditional attitudes towards well-established societies, e.g. it has been discovered that differences between social classes are as clearly reflected in speech in America as they are in Britain, although the US has an image of being much less class-conscious.

Sociolinguistics covers a wide variety of analytical approaches: **co-relational** studies, which attempt to relate two or more variables (e.g. certain linguistic usages to social class differences); **implicational studies**, which suggest that *if X, then Y* (e.g. if someone says 'tess' for tests, does he/she also say 'bess' for best?); **micro-sociolinguistic** studies, which typically focus on very specific linguistic items or individual differences and uses and seek for possible wide-ranging linguistic and/or social implications (e.g. the distribution of 'singing' and 'singin'" code-switching, diglossia and certain practical concerns such as various aspects of teaching and language behaviour in the classrooms, studies in variation theory and linguistic change); **macro-sociolinguistic** studies, which examine large amounts of language data to draw broad

conclusions about group relationships (e.g. choices made in language planning; relations between society and languages as wholes.

Since sociolinguistics is an empirical science it must be founded on an adequate data base. That data base is drawn from a wide varieties of **sources:** census, documents, surveys, interviews. Some data require the investigator to observe 'naturally occurring linguistic events', e.g. conversations; others require the use of various elicitation techniques to gain access to the data we require and different varieties of experimental manipulation e.g. the 'matched-guise' experiments. Some kinds of data require various statistical procedures, particularly when we wish to make statements about the typical behaviour of a group; other kinds seem best treated through such devices as graphing, scaling and categorizing in non-statistical ways, as in dialect geography.

A bona fide empirical science sets stringent demands so far as data collecting and analysis are concerned, demands involving sampling techniques, error estimation, and the confidence level, or the level of significance with which certain statements can be made, particularly when arguments are based on numbers, e.g. averages, percentages or proportions. Some sociolinguists have tried to meet these statistical demands, but there are also many sociolinguistic conclusions of non-statistical nature. Consequently we can have less confidence in certain claims than we might otherwise have. A recurring concern then must be with considering the certainty with which we can draw any conclusions in sociolinguistics. What is the theoretical framework? What are the relevant data? What confidence can we have in the gathered data and in the way they have been processed?

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Chapter Two
Language, cognition and culture

"One's own culture provides the 'lens" through which
we view the world; the "logic" by which we order it;
the "grammar" by which it makes sense."

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What is culture

The concept 'culture ' is rather intuitive. Very generally the concept has a bearing on people's search to make sense of themselves and the world and ask questions about the meaning and significance of human life, activities and relationships. To ask about the *meaning* of an activity means to ask about its nature, point or purpose; and to ask about its significance is to ask about its function, worth/ value or degree of importance. Meaning and significance are closely related, for the significance of an activity depends on how we understand its nature and purpose. For instance, if you want to inquire into the **meaning** of the term "*gender-related speech*" you need to ask about its nature of a specific genre or style, about some *correlations* between linguistic categories and social distinctions in terms of sex, or about its distribution and

stability [i.e. do all men and women follow the same set of differences of expression]. If you want to inquire into the **significance** of phenomenon, you need to ask why is the distinction important, its role and place in human life, how does it compare to some other distinctions as, e.g., class-related, or age-related variability. The question about the meaning and significance can be asked about every human activity such as writing a book, voting or protesting against an injustice; about every human relationship such as being a student, a citizen of a nation or of the world, and about human life in general.

YOUR TURN

Read the texts and comment on the meaning /significance of slang.

1) Last week, when I asked my eight-year-old son how his last day at summer camp went, he casually said, "Mommy, that question was so ***random***."Summer camp had apparently involved a lot of time within earshot of some very ***sick*** teenage counsellors. That's sick as in ***cool, dope, sweet or bomb***. Suddenly things my son didn't want to do were "***lame***." Things that made him happy were "***sweet***" or "***fresh***." There were a lot of abbreviations - for example, ***obvs*** for obvious, ***vis*** for visit and what I found especially nauseatingq the '***skis***' added to the back of anything: ***Whatevskis*** for whatever, ***whenskis*** for when ***drinkskis*** for drink. (Pamela Munro , a linguist)

2) Jasmine Lattimore, a 17-year-old Richmond student going into Grade 12, said it backfires when adults try to "be hip." "My Spanish teacher used to say ***pwn***, as in owning somebody. People laughed out of courtesy, but it was painful to hear. She was fortysomething." (***Pwn,*** pronounced "pown" is an act of dominating an opponent ... as in "***I pwn these guys on Battle.net***.") The fortysomething teacher, probably should have stuck to, say, "***I totally rocked it***."

Meaning: Pamela Munro, a linguist and editor of U.C.L.A Slang 6, defines slang as "language whose use **serves to mark the user as belonging to some distinct group within society**

Significance: The way we use slang therefore becomes a dead giveaway to our age. We may dye our hair, have babies later in life, and keep our bodies intact but if we try and talk like someone 20 years younger, we won't be able to pull it off. i.e. slang serves as an ***identity marker that can set apart people as belonging to different speech communities.***

The beliefs or views human beings form about the meaning and significance of human life and its activities and relationships shape the practices in terms of which they structure and regulate their individual and collective lives. Or, we can define culture, following Parekh (2000:143), as a *historically created system of meaning and significance* , i.e. *a system of beliefs and practices in terms of which a group of human beings understand, regulate and structure their individual and collective lives.* It is a way of both *understanding and organizing* human life. The understanding it seeks has a practical thrust , and the way it organizes human life is grounded in a particular manner of conceptualizing and understanding it.

Culture is articulated at several levels. At the most basic level it is reflected in the language, including the ways in which its grammar and vocabulary divide up and describe the world. Societies sharing a common language have at least some cultural features in common. Culture of a society is also embodied in its proverbs, maxims, myths, narratives, rituals, symbols, collective memories, jokes, body language, modes of non-linguistic communication, customs, traditions, institutions and manners of greeting. On a higher level, culture is embodied in a society's arts, music, oral and written literature, moral life, ideals of excellence, exemplary individuals and the vision of good life. All above - language, myths, stories, narrative, etc. - represents our "cultural knowledge" .

A simpler definition of culture can be found in Wardhaugh who argues that :

"*a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members and to do so in any role that they accept for anyone of themselves. Culture, being what people have to learn. as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of end-product of learning*."

Or, we can say that culture is **socially acquired knowledge**. Yet, culture is not identical with knowledge and the relationship between culture and knowledge is not at all simple and unidirectional. On one hand, the knowledge embedded in a culture need not be factually or objectively correct in order to count. A large part of our cultural knowledge is COMMON-SENSE KNOWLEDGE directly found, given and transmitted from the past. On the other hand, not all knowledge is cultural . A certain part of human knowledge is **non-cultural, but shared (e.g. the** genetically endowed concepts of *vertical*, *horizontal*, etc), another part is **non-cultural and non-shared** (e.g. what I had for breakfast this morning). The knowledge acquired from other people is **cultural knowledge** and it is always **shared knowledge (**e.g. traditions, legends, stories, myths, rituals, etc**.).** Although shared, **cultural knowledge** is not evenly distributed among all members of a speech community. Different subgroups within the community will possess different shares of what is believed to be a society's cultural knowledge. Moreover, some parts of this knowledge may be specific to just this particular community, whereas other parts may transcend communal boundaries. Because culture develops over time and, since it has no coordinating authority, it remains a complex and unsystematized whole. Every culture is internally varied, and its range of interpretive possibility is often indeterminate.

From this brief overview of culture we can extract several important features of culture with a bearing on language:

a) language is embedded in culture , so understanding and producing language is strongly influenced by culture (cf. context, or a speaker's cultural background);

b) culture consists of both material and non-material things;

c) Culture involves symbolic, mental and physical (i.e., public) representations of the world;

d) Only those representations which are relatively stable and which form systems shared by the members of a social group are cultural. Therefore culture distinguishes one social group from another.

At this point we may ask ourselves the following questions:

a) How does a fact of a single individual's personal experience become an element of culture?

b) In what way is the relation between language and culture manifested in speech?

In answer to the first question I shall adduce an example from Vladimir Žegarac (2000:49).

Imagine that you are walking on a pebbly beach. Are the pebbles under you feet a cultural thing? Definitely not. Now let us assume that a particular pebble catches your eye. You pick it up, you look at the colour, shape, you feel the surface, you smell it, etc. and form a mental representation of this particular pebble. You may even have some affective representations relating to it , e.g. to its shape, colour, memories it evokes, etc.). This makes the pebble a prized possession, yet it is still not a cultural thing. Now imagine that you take the pebble home and start thinking whether to display it as a decorative object on the mantelpiece or use it as a paperweight on your desk. Let us say that you finally decide to use it as a paperweight. Now the pebble has *meaning (* knowledge about its shape, colour, where you found it, etc*)and significance (* what it can be used for). Is your pebble-as-paperweight now a cultural thing? In a way it is because when you started to use it as paperweight it has become an ***artefact*** and artifacts are generally assumed to be cultural things. On the other hand, it is not yet a cultural object because it is only you who think of it as a paperweight. Now imagine that you like the idea of using pebbles as paperweights and decide to turn this into a business. Your business is quite successful and other people soon follow your example. They collect pebbles from the beach and start turning them into paperweights. Let us assume that these other people's businesses are also successful, they travel to other towns to sell their pebbles-as paperweight. As a result now there is a fairly large number of people who think that pebbles of a particular size and shape can be used as paperweights. Now we can say that your pebble and other similar pebbles have become a cultural thing. In sum, for a certain thing (or action) to become a cultural thing, several conditions need to be met:

- Certain things need to be *represented mentally* (i.e. they need to be thought of as …)
- Some people need to form *certain beliefs* about the representations of those things (e.g. pebbles of a particular size can make very good paperweights etc.)
- The beliefs about the social significance of the objects (pebbles-as-paperweights) need to be *shared* and *presumed to be shared* by a considerable number of people over a period of time.

In sum, culture can include both tangible (physical) and intangible component. It can be characterized as a system of cultural representations. Of course it is also possible for both elements of a cultural representation to be intangible. For instance, social relationships such as

friendship or *marriage* involve beliefs about mutual rights and duties that those who enter into relationship accept and these differ significantly across cultures. Another important aspect of cultural categories is that they are not all equally important. For instance practical artefacts like our paperweight do not interact with vital spheres of social life in the way that systems of moral, religious or political beliefs do. The latter are intuitively more central parts of culture because they inform many important decisions or plans and are distributed among much greater groups of people. So a culture involves a social group (a nation, an ethnic group, age group, professional group, etc., although none of these groups has any stable boundaries) whose members share, or presume that they share similar cultural representations held by a significant proportion of the group's members. Put another way, people are said to belong to the same culture to the extent that the set of their shared cultural representations is large. It may be presumed that not all members of a social group will share all, and exactly the same, cultural representations. In fact, it is cultural regularity than cultural diversity that should be surprising. Cultural variation occurs within the range of possibilities allowed by human cognition.

Language and culture – where do they meet?

The conclusion from our brief analysis of culture is that it is a complex web of cultural representations relating to different types of regularities, or themes. These regularities or repeated patterns may refer to:

- Orientation in space and time;
- Values and principles;
- Perception of role relationships, including rights and obligations associated with them;
- Behavioural rituals, conventions and routines which may involve the use of language
- Various norms and conventions of communication;
- Institutions, which may be formal, - e.g. legal, political, education systems - or informal – e.g. poetry group, Michael Jackson fans, etc.

Let's discuss a few examples and see how language and culture can meet:

Membership of social categories - age, gender, class, race

The first example shows how speakers from different **age-groups** use different words to name one and the same state or condition in the extra linguistic world. Examples like this one

allow us to say that language reflects and expresses our **membership of social categories**. Moreover by indexing our belonging to a particular social category (age, gender, class, race, etc.) in our speech, we construct a particular social **identity**. Another conclusion from this example then may be that language contributes to the **construction of our social identity.**

Example One: *Getting Stoned in San Francisco*

During the 1995–1996 school year, a special anti-drug class was run as an elective in a large high school in the San Francisco Bay Area. Students were trained as peer educators in preparation for visiting other classes to perform skits about the danger of drugs and tobacco. The class was unusually diverse, with boys as well as girls and with students from many different class ranks, ethnicities, and racial groups. On the day that the students were preparing to perform their skits[i] *in front of an audience for the first time, they asked the teacher, Priscilla, what they should say if someone in the audience asked whether they themselves smoked marijuana. Priscilla recommended that they say they did not. Then the following exchange took place between Priscilla and the students:*

Priscilla: Remember, you're role models.
Al Capone: You want us to lie?
Priscilla: Since you're not coming to school **stoned** – (*students laugh*)
Calvin: (*mockingly*) **Stoned**?
Priscilla: What do you say?
Calvin: I say high. **Bombed. Blitzed**.
Brand One: **Weeded.**
Kerry: **Justified**.
Brand One: That's kinda tight.
(Laura L. Ahearn (2012) *Living Language: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology*)

Attitudes and values

Language also reflects society's attitudes and values. Social attitudes and values underlie **prejudices** and **stereotypes** that are commonly **indexed (marked)** in language. Compare, for example:

- friend vs. so-called friend
- pacifist vs. peacenik
- feminist vs. fem-libbers
- environmentalists vs. eco-freaks

So, one way to think about **indexicality** is as "socio-cultural meaning", as associations between the linguistic form and the context.

Comprehension check:

Read the examples below and answer the following questions:

1. What assumptions are taken for granted? (e.g. all blondes are dumb.)
2. What is the social attitude towards dumb-blonde jokes that is implicated?
3. Who would laugh at the joke more – men or women?

(2)

1. Why are dumb-blonde jokes one liners?
2. So men can remember them

Now read example three and say: 1) What is indexed in the different choice of words - *swamp thing, wetlands-challenged mutant; 2)* Do you find the joke funny? Why/not?. Do you think that the language used has influenced your opinion?

(3)

Well, actually, Doreen, I rather resent being called a "swamp thing". ..I prefer the term "wetlands-challenged mutant".

Some linguists argue that language may determine what people notice, what assumptions they take for granted, what categories they establish, what choices they believe are available, and consequently the way they behave. In other words, language may strongly influence perception and behaviour.

cultural differences in behaviour

Cultural differences may often be made manifest in behavioural patterns that reflect on people's communication styles. For instance,

- ✓ People from different cultures may have a different attitude towards **conflict:** for instance, in the US, conflict is not usually desirable but people often are encouraged to deal directly with conflicts when they arise; in East Asian countries , open conflict is experienced as embarrassing or demeaning as a rule, differences are best worked out quietly
- ✓ There may be cultural differences in people's attitudes toward **completing tasks**: e.g. Asian and Hispanic cultures tend to attach more importance to developing relationships at the beginning of a shared project and more emphasis on task completion toward the end; European

Americans tend to focus immediately on the task at hand, and let relationships develop as they work on the task.

✓ People may have different **decision -making** styles: e.g., in US culture decision making is commonly delegated; in many South-European and Latin American countries there is a strong value placed on holding decision-making responsibilities oneself. In the US, majority rule is the common approach; in Japan consensus is sought.

✓ People's different cultural backgrounds may be the reason for different attitudes towards **disclosure.** In some countries it is not appropriate to be frank about emotions, about reasons behind a conflict or misunderstanding or about personal information.

✓ Finally, culture differences underlie people's different approaches to **knowing** – European cultures tend to consider information acquired through cognitive means as the most valuable; in African cultures there is a preference for affective ways of knowing, including symbolic imagery and rhythm.

As different as these examples are, they all describe situations in which neither a linguistic analysis alone nor a sociocultural analysis alone would come close to providing a satisfying explanation of the significance of the events. What can such situations tell us about the ways in which language is enmeshed with cultural values and social power?

● How do dimensions of difference or inequality along lines such as gender, ethnicity, race, age, or wealth get created, reproduced, or challenged through language?

● How can language illuminate the ways in which we are all the same by virtue of being human as well as the ways in which we are incredibly diverse linguistically and culturally?

● How, if at all, do linguistic forms, (such as the various slang words for "stoned" above) influence people's thought patterns or worldviews?

● How might people's ideas about language (for example, what "good" language is and who can speak it – in other words, their "language ideologies" affect their perceptions of others as well as themselves?

Language and perception

Language does not simply reflect the social context in which it is produced, i.e. the relationship between the writer and the intended audience. It can also set a perspective through

which we may view things. Put another way it can convey a worldview that may affect the way people **SEE** things.

There are numerous examples showing that language has an important role to play in influencing people's perception of activities and events. Consider the following example.

Example Four: (Examination of W. J. Bryan by Clarence Darrow, of counsel for the defense:)

Q – You have given considerable study to the Bible, haven't you, Mr. Bryan?

A- Yes, sir, I have tried to.

Q- Then you have made a general study of it?

A – Yes, I have; I have studied the Bible for about fifty years, or sometime more than that, but, of course, I have studied it more as I have become older that when I was but a boy.

Q- You claim that everything in the Bible should be literally interpreted?

A- I believe everything in the Bible should be accepted as it is given there: some of the Bible is given illustratively. For instance: "We are the salt of the earth." I would not insist that man was actually salt, or that he had flesh of salt, but it is used in the sense of salt as saving God's people.

Q- But when you read that Jonah swallowed a whale – or that the whale swallowed jonah – excuse me please – how do you literally interpret that?

A- When I read that a big fish swallowed Jonah - it does not say whale … That is my recollection of it. A big fish, and I believe it, and I believe in a God who can make a whale and can make a man and make both what He pleases.

Q- Now, you say, the big fish swallowed Jonah, and he there remained how long – three days – and then he spewed him upon the land. You believe that the big fish was made to swallow Jonah?

A- I am not prepared to say that; the bible merely says it was done.

(14 lines omitted)

Q- Perfectly easy to believe that Jonah swallowed the whale?

A- If the Bible said so; the Bible doesn't make as extreme statements as evolutionists do…

(Young 2008:19-20)

In the sample of the courtroom cross-examination (e.g.5) the defense attorney is questioning a well-known opponent to the theory of evolution. Although questioning is an acknowledged strategy of courtroom proceedings, it is clear that in this case the purpose of the attorney is not so much to elicit information about what the witness's beliefs are. What he is aiming at, in fact, is "to portray the witness in an unfavourable light to the jury" (Young 2008:20). That is, the attorney employs the questions strategically for an institutionally defined goal: to defend his client. And the strategy he has chosen is to make the witness, who is an opponent to his client, appear ridiculous and foolish.

The speaker's attitude towards his communication partner and towards what he is saying can be judged in relation to a set of 'descriptive' and 'prescriptive' cultural or behavioural norms that are relevant to a community. Kiesling defines 'descriptive' norms as 'statistical norms that describe a sociocultural group and are probabilistic in nature'; and 'prescriptive norms' as norms of behaviour expected by a sociocultural group that are usually "categorical.". These norms may be indexed on at least three levels of context: a) the wider society consisting of large group categories; b) institutions such as corporations, clubs, families, universities, etc. and 3) specific speech events (e.g. lecture, talk at the dinner table, etc.)At each level there are norms of the two types discussed above. As a type of speech event recurs, prescriptive norms for those events will develop. Speakers have knowledge of all of these levels of norms , and of course each individual has a way of approaching these norms (e.g. he may comply with, resist, or ignore a norm). The important question here is, how this knowledge might be characterized, and how different 'levels' of norms tend to interact.

Following Ochs, Kiesling argues that all linguistic patterns of use arise from decisions people make in interaction, when they are talking to a real person and thinking about ' who they are" with respect to that person or people. Put another way, people's primary way of organizing interaction (including language) is through **stances. A stance** is a person's expression of their relationship to their talk (e.g. how certain they are in what they are saying) and to their interlocutor (e.g. friendly, dominating, etc.). Another way of thinking about stance is in terms of personal style of a speaker, or even category of speakers. In this case particular linguistic features index a personal style. Therefore in communication speakers rely on a social significance association between a social group/ category and a linguistic feature and then use that value to help create a stance (e.g. hard-working, naïve, etc.) through a social group norm (e.g. in our example above, that people believing in God are naïve).

Verbal hygiene

Example Five:

Angela: I was sitting quietly drinking my tea , minding my own business when suddenly the foreperson burst in and shouted 'what are you doing here? Get back to work – you kinow that shipment's overdue' Bloody cheek. I'm entitled to my tea-break!

Jim: You are. She's a vampire – but what's all this 'foreperson' stuff? I bet you wouldn't use that term for a man. Political correctness gone mad, eh?

Verbal hygiene is a term introduced by Deborah Cameron to describe how people respond to " the urge to meddle in matters of language". It covers a wide range of activities: from letters to the Editor complaining about the "deterioration" and "abuse" of language through prescriptions and proscriptions about what constitutes 'proper', 'correct' and 'acceptable' usage in a range of contexts.

Here are some more examples of verbal hygiene:

Chairperson instead of chairman
Humankind instead of mankind
Disabled , or a person with a disability instead of a crippled/ blind/ etc. person

Not all people accept these changes. There are people who consider them 'precious word-mongering , substituting one euphemism for another basically because the concept itself is uncomfortable. People's dismissive attitude is reflected in humorous exaggerati0ons such as :

Vertically challenged for short
Cosmetically different for ugly
Melanin impoverished and the Seven vertically challenged individuals for Snow-white and the seven dwarfs

For those who are the butt of derogatory labels , linguistic interventions are useful. However there are many who think that political correctness is a tricky issue. If you say that 'yes' you are concerned about political correctness, you may be regarded as over-concerned with political orthodoxy. If you say 'no', you put yourself in the politically suspect , nonconformist camp. Holmes calls this 'an ironic confirmation of the political power of language' (Holmes: 333).

Language power is frequently used for manipulation of people's views on world activities. A good example is provided by communication norms in China during the cultural revolution (1966 – 76) where a large part of the Chinese lexicon used in the printed media consisted of quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong. The formulaic language used in the Little Red Book of quotations was meant to promote conformist attitudes and thinking. This suggests a close relationship between **language and thought.**

Language and Cognition

Linguistic relativism and determinism

Example Six:

Frank: Don't throw your cigarette butts in there. It's dangerous.
Bill: Why not? The label says it's 'empty'.
Frank: Well, there is no gasoline in them but there's plenty of explosive power so watch out.

Example Seven:

Commenting on the use of English in an Indian television serial A Mouthful of Sky Santanu Borah, a journalist, says the following:

"The English spoken in that serial is not how I, a natural English speaker would speak. I would never ever think of saying 'Alas!' or 'Hey!' if someone died. I am more likely to say 'Oh shit!' or 'Oh f***!' 'Arre' or some such Hindi cocktail, but not meaning it in a derogatory sense. It is a sad expletive. It is natural, and language is a natural exposition of our thought processes.

If the English have the right to misconstrue a term like "Full Monty' into removing every piece of garment, I could always use a sad expletive or mix-and-match my Indianness with the language I have grown up with – English. There may be a thousand errors that professors of English would take great pleasure in dissecting. But don't bother me, I am speaking a living language and writing one too. I don't hate Bob Marley's English anymore than Paul McCartney's. Paul's got rain and snow in his way of speaking and Bob's got sun and sand in his speech. I have the monsoon, the mystic, religions, castes, poverty, the Queen … the list is long, in mine. (Maharashtra Herald, 19, July 1998)" (D'Souza 2001. Contextualizing Range and Depth in Indian English. *World Engishes*, vol. 20/2, 145-159.)

In example six above we see that the two speakers interpret differently what they see written on the label of the container; one focuses on the word 'empty' and the other one – on 'gasoline'. Example Seven demonstrates some cultural differences in people's comments on a sad event: in one case some sad words are used and in the other – 'swear words'. These differences are a good demonstration of the close relationship between language and perception. (cf. what one sees as empty, another one may see as dangerous.). But what is the exact nature of this relationship? Does language constrain perception or vice versa? Is thought independent of language or do the categories of language predetermine what we can think about or conceive of? Do the categories we learn to distinguish as we acquire language provide a framework for ordering the world? And if so, is it possible to think outside this framework? Do different languages encode experience differently? And how can we ever tell since it seems impossible to escape from the circle. (cf. S. Borah's thoughts on the different kind of Englishes three people from different cultures speak)

The relationship between language, thought and 'reality' has fascinated linguists and philosophers for centuries. In more recent times, the debate on their relationship has mainly focused on two issues: **relativity** and **determinism**. In brief, ***relativity*** is concerned with the question to what extent languages and cultures differ from one another: are they all in some sense cut to the same mould reflecting the common underground 'humanity', or they differ arbitrarily or unrestrictedly from one another, reflecting the fact that different people live in very different intellectual and physical worlds? **Determinism** has to do with a long standing claim that the structure of a language determines the way in which speakers of a language view the world. In its *weak* version, proponents of this view argue that language does not determine the worldview but is still extremely influential in predisposing speakers of a language toward adopting a particular view. The *opposite* claim, that of **relativity**, would be that the culture of a people finds reflection in the language they employ because they value certain things and do them in a certain way, they come to use their language in ways that reflect what they value and what they do. In this view cultural requirements do not determine the structure of a language – the claim is never that strong – but they certainly influence how a language is used and perhaps determine why specific bits and pieces are the way they are. A third, *neutral*, claim would be that there is little or no relationship between language and culture.

Determinism is today most usually associated with Benjamin Lee Whorf an anthropological linguist who began his career as a chemical engineer working for a fire insurance company. However the idea can be traced back to William Humboldt in the 19th c. B. Whorf first investigated Native American languages as a hobby, but later studied anthropology with Edward Sapir and his views on the relationship between language and culture are in many ways built on what he learnt from Sapir. Today, the claim is usually referred to as the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* or the *Whorfian hypothesis*.

In his book *Language (1929)*, Sapir acknowledged the close relationship between language and culture maintaining that they were inextricably related so that you could not understand or appreciate the one without knowledge of the other.

> " Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an ikllusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflecytion. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent

unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group… **We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predisposes choice of interpretation**," (Sapir, Language: 207).

Whorf extended these ideas. He went much further in stating that the relationship between language and culture was a **deterministic** one.

" … the background linguistic system of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the **shaper of ideas**, the **program** and **guide** for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in the old sense, but is part of a particular grammar, and differs, from slightly to greatly between different grammars. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized in our minds. ***We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significance as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language***. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but ***its terms are absolutely obligatory***, we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees. (quoted by Wardhaugh, Sociolinguistics:219).

And here is another quotation:

"We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages...Language provides a **screen or filter to reality**: it **determines how speakers perceive and organize the world**. Consequently, **the language you speak helps to form your world-view**. It defines your experience for you; you do not use it simply to report that experience. It is not neutral but gets in the way, **imposing habits of both looking and thinking**".

Different speakers will therefore view the world differently in so far as the languages they speak differ structurally. What does this mean in practice?

Vocabulary and cognition

What Whorf's claim boils down to is that if speakers of one language have certain words to describe things and speakers of another language lack similar words, then speakers of the first language will find it easier to talk about those things. A good example of this might be technical vocabulary: e.g. doctors talk easily about medical phenomena, engineers talk easily about technical matters, etc. A stronger calim is that if one language makes distinctions that another doesn't make , then those who use the first language will more readily perceive the differences in their environment which such linguistic distinctions draw attention to. Whorf drew most of his evidence from his studies on the Hopi language of Arizona. He compared that language with English as a representative of the group of languages he called ***Standard Average European*** (SAE) and concluded that Hopi and SAE differ widely in their structural characteristics. For example, Hopi grammatical categories provide a 'process' orientation toward the world whereas

the categories in SAE give SAE speakers a fixed orientation toward time and space so that they not only 'objectify' reality in certain ways but even distinguish between things that must be counted, e.g. trees, hills, etc. and others that need not be counted, e.g. water, fire, courage. Put another way, the Hopi see the world as essentially an ongoing set of processes; objects and events are not discreet and countable, and time is not appointed into fixed segments so that certain things recur, e.g. minutes, mornings, days, etc. In contrast, speakers of SAE regard nearly everything in their world as discreet, measurable, countable, and recurrent; time and space do not flow into each other; sparks, flames and waves are things like pens and pencils; mornings recur in twenty four hour cycles; and past, present and future are quite real. The different languages have different obligatory grammatical categories so that every time a speaker of Hopi or SAE says something, he or she must make certain observations about how the world is structured because of the structure of the language each speaks. Put another way people from different cultures think differently because of differences in their languages. This is a very **strong claim of linguistic relativity** and today few sociolinguists would accept it but most accept a **weak claim** that ***languages influences perceptions, thought, and , at least potentially, behaviour.***

Here is an example provided in Holmes 2000: 338.

Navaho (an American Indian aboriginal language) verbs take account of shape of objects (e.g. long/ short; thin/thick). Accordingly, when asked to sort out objects, Navaho children tend to categorize them according to **shape,** whereas English children trend to categorize them according to **colour**. On the basis of this and similar experiments scholars argued that language facilitates particular kinds of thinking, or at least speed of processing. This evidence suggests further that the categories provided by a language may favour certain ways of perceiving 'reality' or the 'world", and make certain behaviours easier, preferred or to appear 'more natural'. However, we must also recognize the limitations of such evidence as colours and numbers constitute very limited semantic fields.

YOUR TURN

Sociocultural theorists take a weak relativistic stance on language holding that it is in a "bidirectional (reflexive) relationship with conceptual development and category formation " , that is, that people's daily use of language in communicative activities, and the social-material conditions which inculcate these same activities, in a way shape their thinking and speaking (Thorne 2000:234-5). An implication that follows is that once human minds have been trained to perceive and organize things in a particular way for the purposes of speaking, it is extremely difficult to have them retrained.

Read the list of "head" based conceptual metaphors and their closest Bulgarian translation equivalents and comment on the differences in image schemas of Bulgarian and English speakers, respectively.

English

Head of cattle
Head of a coin
Head of a nail
Head count
Head-first
Head-to-head
Head office
Big-headed
Clear-headed
Light-headed
To lose head
To talk one's head off
Two heads are better than one
Head over ears

- **Bulgarian**
- Глави добитък
- Лицева страна на монета
- Главичка на пирона
- Присъствен състав
- С главата напред
- Рамо до рамо
- Главна квартира
- Надут, щтестлавен
- Схватлив; с бистър ум
- С бистър ум
- Замаян; побъркан; лекомислен
- загубвам ума и дума; проглушавам ушите на
- две глави мислят по-добре от
- затънал до уши

Grammar and cognition

Those who find the Whorfian hypothesis attractive argue that if a language requires a certain distinction to be made because of its grammatical system, then the speakers of that language become conscious of the kinds of distinctions that must be referred to. Or, as Whorf argued people perceive the world around differently through the prism of the language they speak. For instance, that the Hopi conception of time is fundamentally different from that of Western culture. Hopi think in terms of cycles of events and sets of processes rather than units of time which is prototypical of Western cultures. He even argued that Hopi Is better equipped to deal with the wave processes and vibrations of modern physics than English was. These basic concepts of physics for which English needed metaphors were directly and obligatory coded in the verb morphology of Hopi and this, according to Whorf, practically forced rgw Hopi to notice vibratory phenomena.

Today, it is widely accepted that certain concepts may be more codable (i.e. more easily grammaticalized) or easier to express in some languages than in others. Further, that the areas of experience which are important to cultures tend to get grammaticalized in their language. (NB! Something is said to be grammaticalized when it functions less and less like an independent lexical item and more and more like an element in the grammatical system, such as an affix or marker of a grammatical category). It has been suggested, for instance, that communities with little technological progress employ the fewest colour terms, while their pronoun and noun classification systems are often much more complex than those of European languages.

Here are some more examples:

- English people have two words - *arm and hand* – where Bulgarian has just one, '*ръка*'.
- English people are perfectly happy with one, gender neutral word for '*friend', 'dancer', 'singer', 'worker*', etc. where in Bulgarian all these words are marked for gender, e.g. *приятел/приятелка even приятелче*, etc.
- Mandarin Chinese has a single cover term for *fruit* and *nuts*, English has no such term.
- In English the noun '*stone*' must be either singular or plural, in Chinese number is only expressed where it is relevant. And in Kwakiutl of British Columbia speakers must indicate whether the stone is visible or not to the speaker at the time of speaking, and its position relative to the speaker or the listener.

- French, Bulgarian and a lot of other languages have two pronouns corresponding to '*you*' , a singular and a plural where '*you*' plural is also used to index 'politeness'. English has just one pronoun and it doesn't have the social meaning of politeness. And Japanese has an extensive system of honorifics.
- The Garo of Assam, India have dozens of words for different types of baskets, rice and ants, however, they have no single equivalent to the English word 'ant'.

Given such a range of evidence , we are faced with the task of assimilating it and drawing defensible conclusions. The conclusions are generally different from those that Whorf drew. The prevailing opinion today is that , indeed, <u>one language refers to certain characteristics of the real world in terms of one possible subset of characteristics; another favours a different subset.</u> However, speakers of both languages may still be aware of all the characteristics. Only, they are not required to refer to all of them. Proof – the possibility to learn any language as foreign; and alsoq the possibility to translate any concept.

Linguistic categories and culture.

Research evidence suggests that rather than language determining what is perceived, it is the <u>physical and socio-cultural environment</u> which determines the distinction that the language develops. So, language provides a means of <u>encoding a community's knowledge, beliefs and values, i.e. its culture</u>, E.g.

- Tahitians – don't make a distinction between "sadness" and "sickness"
- The Maori have a very complex system of kinship terms (Holmes, p. 342-3) – gender and relative age are semantically marked but degree of kinship (as viewed through Western eyes) is not lexically distinguished. So the lexical labels identify those with similar social rights and obligations in relation to the speaker. Clearly, linguistic terminology here reflects <u>important cultural relationships</u>

Discourse patterns and culture

Comparing the questions in the example from the courtroom with those from the following example taken from a classroom we can see that the same grammatical construction has different function and social significance in the different settings.

Example 8

A transcript of an English lesson in a Norwegian elementary school

T: now I want everybody to listen to me … and when I say you are going to say after me, you are going to say what I say. … we can try …I've got a lamp. A lamp. <say after me>I've got a lamp.
LL: I've got a lamp.
T: I've got a glass, a glass, <say after me> I've got a glass.
LL. I've got a glass.
T: I've got a vase, a vase <say after me> I've got a vase.
LL: I've got a vase.
(39 lines omitted)
T: I've got a hammer. What have you got (Tjartan)?
L6: I've got a hammer.
T: can everybody saI've got?
LL: (whole class) I've got
T: fine. I've got a belt. What have you got (Kiersti)?
L7: …hmmm I've got a telephone.
(Seedhouse 2004:102-03,cited in Young 2008: 21)

The sample of classroom interaction in e.g. illustrates how a 'question' may not function as a question at all. As seen from the instructions in the beginning, the question forms are not meant as questions but as part of a game directed at practicing a particular language structure. Accordingly, establishing the truth value of students' answers is not an issue at all. Comparing the function of questions in this sample with that of the questions we discussed in example four above we'll discover one more difference. As argued the questions in the above sample were not genuinely searching for information either. But they had a different function from the function of questions in this excerpt. In example four , questions were elements of the attorney's strategy to make the opponent to his client, appear ridiculous and foolish which would add further strength to his defence strategy.

What all this implies is that it would be wrong to generalize whether or not speakers of a particular language have means to discern, comprehend or produce different discourse meanings. One and the same grammatical form may serve different functions in different discursive frames. Besides, the particular functions of the grammatical structure are to a large extent determined by the discursive frames in which they are used=

Indeed there are also situations in which cultural differences between discourse patterns may have serious consequences. We learn from Holmes (344) that Aboriginal society throughout Australia places great emphasis on indirectness and if you want information from an Aboriginal person it is important to follow their discourse rules. Factual information relating to location and time , and how people are related to each other , for instance, is typically elicited in Aboriginal English using a statement with rising intonation, e.g. *you were at the store?* Direct

questions are not used for eliciting substantial information such as important personal details , reasons for behaving in a particular way, etc. A much less direct method is necessary with the information seeker volunteering some of their knowledge on the topic , and then waiting patiently until the addressee is ready to respond. This is how a journalist managed to prove that a young woman, sentenced to life imprisonment, was actually innocent. When interrogated during the trial all questions she was asked were direct questions and she, following the discourse norms of her culture, remained silent. So, the difference between aboriginal and mainstream Australian ways of communication led to her imprisonment.

This example also raises the question about the precise relationship between discourse and world-view. Can different discourse patterns be regarded as evidence of a different perspective on reality. Research on Aboriginal communities suggests that a feature such as a preference for indirect ways of conveying information reflects a distinctive perception of asociocultural relationships. Compare also what Santanu Borah (Example Seven) says of different people's Englishes, "*I don't hate Bob Marley's English anymore than Paul McCartney's. Paul's got rain and snow in his way of speaking and Bob's got sun and sand in his speech. I have the monsoon, the mystic, religions, castes, poverty, the Queen*"

Language, Social Class and Cognition

A common assumption in the English society is that: middle-class children do well at school; Working class children don't do well at school. Middle class children speak a different variety of English than working class English. The example below shows a growing awareness of social class distinctions in Bulgarian society as well.

Example Nine

@zorilaz Why don't you shut your fucking mouth! Don't blame BULGARIANS for what the fucking gypsies do! I hate when people blame us. Not long ago some gypsies went to USA and they caught them stealing something (I forgot what it was) and I watched the news and what they say?!?... BULGARIANS stole whatever it was they stole. And in the video were a few black, ugly, reeking fuckers. And everyone starts saying bulgarians instead of gypsies! I HATE WHEN PEOPLE DO THAT! And I also HATE GYPSIES! FUCK! ShiTTy6666

The question that we may ask here is whether there are possible cognitive and linguistic implications that can be related to social class distinctions. Basil Bernstein was a sociologist who asked this question in the 1960s. Like many educationalists, he was concerned that many

British students from working-class backgrounds were not progressing well at school. It was also widely recognized that working class children spoke English differently. These two observations were soon related. So, rather than deducing that teachers tended to favour middle class children who used more standard varieties of English, researchers began to examine features of working class chuildren's speech , looking for an explanation there. Unfortunately, they assumed that the language working class children used in formal interviews with middle class interviewer was an accurate representation of their sociolinguistic competence.

Bernstein went further, however. He suggested that a 'restricted code' might also constrain the cognitive abilities of those who used it. In other words, extending the principle of linguistic determinism , he argued that the language children use might affect what they were capable of perceiving and even their thinking abilities. Of course, today, the prevailing opinion is that there is no support whatsoever for such a claim. We can also dismiss any claim that certain types of languages can be associated with 'advanced' cultures and that others are implicative of cultures that are less advanced.

Based on:

Janet Holmes. (2008) An Introduction to Sociolinguisticsq 3rd ed.

Ronald Wardhaugh (1992.) An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. 2 ed. Blackwell.

Helen Spencer –Oatley (ed.) 2000. Culturally speaking

Bhikhu Parekh (2002) Rethinking multiculturalism, Harvard University Press.

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Chapter Three
Approaches to sociolinguistic analysis: The Ethnography of Speaking, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis

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1. How do we think about language?

There are different ways of exploring language. One possible way is to study it as a system that has a specific structure. Metaphorically speaking, this means to describe it in terms of the bricks (the sounds and words) and mortar (the grammar) used in the creation of the building (the linguistic text). This in general is the approach taken by general linguists who analyze the building blocks of language, their characteristics, position and relationships in the structural organization of the language system.

Another approach is to describe language as it is actually used and explain how the language resources are being exploited in diverse real life communicative situations. In general, approaches taking as a starting point language use are **functional as** they consider how different language **forms** are used in specific **context** to express particular **meanings.**

Some people argue that our ability to use language is actually the essence of what makes us human whereby the study of language in use should be considered primary. Without going deep into the debate on the primacy of structure or function, we can adduce a few more instrumental reasons for studying language as it is used in real life communication.

In brief, besides knowledge about language structure we need to explain:

- How language is used in such caring professions as teaching and medicine to explain, educate, nurse, reassure or learn other languages in a less time consuming and effortful way.

- How broadcast and print journalists use language to present events and news, to persuade or manipulate the audience/ readers to believe that what is presented is the sheer truth.

- How experts in advertizing and marketing persuade customers that what they are offering is exactly what their customers need and want;
- How actors use insights of language analysis to achieve plausible renditions of accents of roles that they are playing and how dramatists create dialogue that can be seen as true to life.
- How legislative and justice systems use language very precisely to frame and debate laws and decide innocence or guilt. Etc.

In short in almost all social activities that humans experience in their everyday life, language participates as a key **mediating** instrument in communicating, effecting or achieving a particular goal. And in order to understand this role of language we need to analyze it as it is actually used in longer stretches of talk, in **text**, or **discourse**.

I. Sociolinguistics and Discourse

Discourse analysts study the patterning of language in use and the circumstances (participants, situations, purposes, outcomes) with which these are typically associated. Although Discourse Analysis (DA) is generally considered as a separate branch of linguistics in its own right its subject area intersects with many other fields of study - linguistics, sociology, anthropology, ethnography, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, etc. – and is thus frequently used in studies with a focus on pragmatic, sociolinguistic, anthropological, etc. issues.

Yet, it is important to emphasize that DA is a discipline on its own, because not all researchers working in the DA framework would call themselves linguists (e.g. anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, etc), nor is all linguistic research done on the level of discourse.

Jaworski and Coupland (1999:3-6) explain why so many areas of academic study have become so gripped by enthusiasm for discourse analysis. Firstly, the question of how we build knowledge has come to the fore , and this is where issues to do with language and linguistic representation have become of central importance. Second, there is a broadening of perspective in linguistics with a growth of linguistic interest in analysis of conversation, stories and written text, in the 'subtleties of implied meaning' and in the interaction of spoken language with non-linguistic communication. Thirdly, in the changed political, social and technological environment in which we now live – the postmodern world of service industry, advertising and communication media – discourse ceases to be merely a *function of work,* it becomes *WORK* and the analysis of discourse becomes correspondingly more important. To these arguments we can also add the problems with discourse itself. Today, most scholars would agree that discourse (text) cannot be described by extending the grammatical analysis of sentences and clauses to the next level of hierarchy (text) but there is very little consensus on how discourse structure should be described. So again the functional approach prevails and most scholars generally choose to utilize the instrumentalities of DA in order to explore how different pragmatic, sociolinguistic or cultural phenomena / processes are represented or actualized in discourse .

Thus seeking to understand how language users make sense of real-life language interaction and of the world in general, scholars may foreground different aspects of discourse in their analysis, e.g.:

Rights and principles	• Pragmatics including speech act theory and politeness theory • Conversation analysis
Contexts and cultures	• Ethnography of communication • Interactional sociolinguistics
Functions and structures	• Systemic functional linguistics (Halliday) • Birmingham discourse analysis • Text-linguistics
Power and politics	• Pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches to power in language • Critical discourse analysis

YOUR TURN

(I) Although Discourse Analysis is not in the centre of our attention , it would not be easy to understand how DA methods and instruments of analysis can be utilized in sociolinguistic research without considering some key properties of discourse. That is why before we proceed further, read the text provided in **(FR/D)** and answer the following questions. Where possible try to support your answers with real life speech samples.

Definitions of discourse
Types of discourse
Relationship between discourses
Properties of discourse
Distinctive features of discourse

(2) As our aim will be to compare different models of sociolinguistic research, it is advisable that you also read carefully the section on "approach, focus and method". Use these terms as headings to compare the sociolinguistic models.

II. Sociolinguistic approaches to DA

Discourse analysis provides a tool for sociolinguists to identify the norms of talk among different social and cultural groups in different conversational and institutional contexts, and to describe the discursive resources people use in constructing different social identities in interaction. However the different schools of sociolinguistics tend to foreground different aspects of discourse depending on the theoretical principles they adhere to.

A. The Ethnography of Speaking

I. *Basic tenets of the Ethnography of Speaking*

- ***Language and culture***

The school the Ethnography of Communication, which explores language use as related to social and cultural values, was developed by Del Hymes in a series of papers written in the 1960s and 1970s. Hymes argues that language (use) should be considered as part of the ***culture of a particular speech community.*** Accordingly, language use in speech situations, events, and acts, helps realize the cultural norms that underlie the way we act toward one another. From an analytical standpoint, therefore, an analysis of the patterns that are formed when we communicate contributes to our understanding of culture. Language use is also a type (and a part) of social behaviour in many different institutional realms (e.g. political, economic, religious, family) that are themselves bound to culture. Thus the norms that guide communication also reflect, and help constitute, social institutions. *The cultural element that keeps a community together are* the ***capabilities*** acquired or elicited in social life*, or the so called* ***communicative competence****.* So an ethnographic investigation will arguably throw light on the communicative competence of the **community** that shares the respective competence.

- **Units of analysis**

Rules of grammar refer to a certain set of units – sentence, clause, phrase, etc. Accordingly, rules of speaking should also have their units. By analogy with grammar, Hymes proposed three units:

Speech situation

Speech event (activity type)

Communicative (speech) acts - (**the minimal unit of the set**)

- ***Features of context***

The aim of scholars working in the framework of the ethnography of communication is to build *a single integrated framework in which communication has a central role* in both anthropological and linguistic studies. Hymes proposed a "set of components' characteristics"

which analysts should employ to produce satisfactory descriptions of speech events. The list of features is organized to form the acronym **SPEAKING**. The set of components is sometimes referred to as the "SPEAKING grid" and is meant to help analysts put their observations in order. Without such a framework you may miss some important things, or interpret things in terms of categories that are used by your own society rather than the one you are observing. Hymes' grid is meant to be both comprehensive and applicable to any community's way of speaking.

II. The ethnographic approach to analysis

a. ethnography

Some scholars draw a distinction between the terms "***ethnography***" and "***ethnographic***" Whether or not they come from academic backgrounds with long standing ethnographic traditions such as anthropology or sociology, researchers seem unable to agree on a definition of **ethnography** – or **ethnographic** – itself. For this lecture I have chosen Watson-Gegeo (1988:576) who defines **ethnography** as " *the study of **people's behaviour** in naturally occurring ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behaviour"**.*** She then adduces six principles underlying ethnographic work , which represent a useful starting point for research and discussion. These principles are:

a) ***Group-orientedness***. – while ethnographic research inevitably studies the lived experience of individuals and their personal reflections on it, in ethnography the focus is on the behaviour of groups.

b) ***Holistic*** – ethnography is holistic, in the sense that ' any aspect of culture or a behaviour has to be described and explained ***in relation to the whole system*** of which it is a part. This however, is regarded as a rather old-fashioned view today. An alternative view of holism is provided by Erickson who argues:

"ethnographic work is holistic not because of the size of the social unit but because ***units of analysis are considered analytically as wholes,*** whether that whole be a community, a school system and its political relations with its various 'publics', the relations among those in a school building or the beginning of one lesson in a single classroom."

c) **Theoretically oriented**. – ethnographic approaches are powerfully informed by theory. This is often theory that has itself come out of earlier ethnographic work , which guides but does not control the investigation since "each situation investigated … must be understood in its own terms."

d) **The emic/etic principle** – Researchers working in this framework usually try to gain access to the cultural member's own , or **emic**, perspective – the conceptual framework or value system whereby insiders both categorize and change in their daily lived experience (i.e.

emic means from the inside). However, emic analysis, once accomplished should be extended etically to make 'cross-cultural or cross-setting comparisons." (i.e. **etic** denotes an outside perspective). Some ethnographers consider emically-oriented understanding as a major goal, however there are also ethnographers who consider that the emic and etic perspectives are dialectically related, i.e. they are tightly bound up together in the actual carrying out of ethnographic research.

e) **Comparative** – Watson-Gegeo also supports the view that an emic analysis should be extended etically because she thinks that ethnography is by its very nature comparative. This principle also relates to the important problem of **generalizability** of ethnographic studies. She argues that the idea of *ethnographic comparability* (or *generalizability)* is an abstract one: whereas it is not typically possible to compare two specific cultures detail-for-detail, *at a more general level commonalities emerge*.

f) **Language socialization** – W.-Gegeo's sixth principle is that a language socialization perspective underlies the principles of ethnographic research. This perspective assumes that language is learnt primarily *through social interaction* with other (typically more experienced) cultural members, and that additionally, language itself is a primary repository and conveyor of social knowledge. W-Gegeo contrasts this viewpoint with a language acquisition perspective , in which language learning is seen as basically internal to individuals (cf. Universal Grammar). The underlying assumption that *language learning is basically a product of cultural experience* is clearly operable in most ethnographic studies.

b. Ethnographic research

Leaning on these six principles, V. Ramanathan and D. Atkinson (1999) put forward the following working definition of **ethnographic research**: [it is] a species of research which undertakes to give an ***emically oriented*** description of the cultural practices of individuals, where 'cultural' is extended as described above (cf. principles). Additionally, ethnographic research aims to bring a *variety of different kinds of data* to bear in such description, on the principle that multiple perspectives enable more valid description of complex social realities than any single kind of data could alone. They also point out that a distinction should be made between **ethnography** and **ethnographic**. This is necessary because these two concepts differ in:

- **Relative scope –** ethnography implies a full scale description of a community/system, etc; ethnographic implies small-scale applications of ethnographic methods that only approximate total descriptions of a culture.
- **Stance/ focus/ problem-orientation –** while traditional ethnographies adopted the stance of unknown stranger when entering new societies, the role of the 'ethnographic stranger' is unrealistic for most ethnographic research. Further, the primary aim of traditional ethnography was comprehensive cultural description rather than focused inquiry, the necessity

to characterize a communities cultural practices in general. Ethnographic research focuses on microanalysis of interaction based on audio/video recording with the aim to look in detail at people's cultural practices. Finally, concerning problem-orientation, small-scale ethnographic research often attempts to analyze *specific recurrent events* in order to address their problematic aspects.

- **Culture/cultural:** in small-scale ethnographic research, 'culture' is extended beyond the 'lifestyles' and 'thought styles' of indigenous peoples to "complex, typically 'Western', or Standard Average European societies, to social institutions within those societies such as schools, classrooms, laboratories, law courts, the media, etc. What is more, the notion of culture as a static, monolithic, and wholly abstract category has had the salutary effect of freeing the term from the conceptual prison it was in danger of occupying. This has led not only to a period in which basically any more or less stable social entity has been assigned the label but to new and fruitful links of 'culture' to concepts like 'discourse', 'ideology', 'power' and 'forms of life'.

- **generalizability and particularizability of ethnographic research**

The concept of generalizability has also been the subject of debate. Some ethnographers express doubt as to whether the notion of generalizability as it is commonly understood can be usefully applied to ethnographic research. Firstly, because the separability of social phenomena from their contexts is highly questionable from an ethnographic point of view because the artificial dividing off of any aspect of human behaviour or social practice from its context tends to render it meaningless. Second, the uniformity of social phenomena is also questionable, at least at the level that quantitative research seems to assume, i.e. it is questionable whether all community members' experiences will be absolutely the same. So a lot of ethnographic researchers stand by the idea that the route to knowledge in ethnographic research is through understanding the **particularity** rather than the direct pursuit of the generalizable. Such an approach however should not be viewed as diametrically opposed to or incommensurable with the more positivistic view of generalizability, but rather as requiring a different kind of explanatory principles. A key principle, for instance, could the so-called '**thick description'** (Geertz 1973) - i.e. involving *different methods of analysis* such as ***participant observation, interviews, social profiling of participants, introspection,*** etc., - which aims to capture some of the complex uniqueness that characterizes every cultural scene, and from the perspective of the social actors involved in the scenes themselves. Such ***particular studies*** (cf. ***particularizability***) then can be related to larger issues of general importance and the degree of their relevance can be taken to account for their generalizability.

In sum, in current ethnographic research the emphasis is on **particularizability** and the **particular.** This means that ethnographic research is mainly accountable to the complex cultural scenes it describes, as viewed primarily from an 'experience-near' , or emic, perspective. Second, current ethnographic approaches typically extend and complexify

traditional understandings of 'culture' , most commonly by treating small-scale social phenomena like institutions, classrooms, young people groups, etc. as complex , internally coherent cultural entities – as cultures in themselves in a sense. Third, ethnographic approaches tend to combine multiple research methods, on the principle that 'thick' cultural description demands a 'rich, sensitive, and flexible array of descriptive tools.

B. Interactional sociolinguistics approach (cf. FR3_Goffman/ Gumperz)

I. Situated meaning

Interactional sociolinguistics provides an approach to discourse that focuses upon ***situated meaning.*** Based on the ideas of John Gumperz and Erving Goffman.

Goffman provides a sociological framework for describing and understanding the form and meaning of the social and interpersonal contexts that provide presuppositions for the interpretation of meaning. He argues that all interactive activity is socially organized at multiple levels: all utterances are situated within contexts such as "occasions", " situations", or " encounters" that not only provide structure and meaning to what is said but may themselves be organized by what is said.

Gumperz views language as a socially and culturally constructed symbol system that both reflects and creates ***macro-level social meaning*** and ***micro-level interpersonal meanings***. Speakers use language to provide continual **indices** (cf. **contextualization cues**) of who they are, and what they want to communicate. What Gumperz stresses is the interpretive importance of contexts, including the occasion in which an utterance is produced. Interactional sociolinguists bring to bear their knowledge of the community and its norms in interpreting what is going on in interaction. In communicative encounters between members of different groups, for instance, the smaller and the subtler the differences are, the greater their potential to cause problems. Gumperz calls such subtle entities of interaction **contextualization cues**. They **provide** information allowing participants to interpret the meaning of what is said ; one way that they do so is to locate an utterance within an ***interpretive frame*** identifying an encounter as a particular kind of occasion or situation. Thus another source of contextual meaning - and interpretations based on that meaning – is the **overall structure** of an occasion. Here is an example how an international team of experts are preparing for a virtual Networking Communication session (VNC)

Example

F1: yeah. ok. so, we have to ask P to set up our VNC services on that computer, I think, because that will be (.) easier and faster, (2) so I guess then (.) so I think that's the way forward.

[… … …]

R12: so uhm we will decide the department will decide on which (.) each of us will have this account.

F1: normally yes. of course our VNC sessions are shared, so (.) it could be that you log on a VNC session,

or somebody else is working with another pass with another username so you have to log out the person and uhm

R10: so for an VNC session we have different usernames and passwords?

F1: no … is everybody ok to: uhm request his own Unix account?

R12: yeah

[… … …]

R12: if we have (.) each of us will have our own account (.) in this case we will still share on VNC session the screen and the mouse?

F1: yeah, yeah. so there's only one VNC session on computer.

R12: that can be avoided […] because in this case it's not really…

F1: so one computer can only support one VNC session, because otherwise the open GL output doesn't come through,

so you cannot have (.) virtual VNC desktops, because open GL does not draw on a virtual VNC desktop

The team members are discussing how the session is going to proceed. They are setting up the rules of "***situational co-membership***" . It is clear that F1 has more experience which provides him with more '***floor space'*** and a "higher" position in terms of role relationship.

From an IS perspective, familiarity with the previous discourse , as well as wider social context is clearly important to understanding what is going on, what is the configuration of roles, the distribution of power (e.g. 'expert'/'novice') etc. ISs also pay great attention to formulaic expressions (cf. VNC session) as routinized means that can provide social information about the social formations and networks a speaker belongs to.

II. Interaction is strategic

Interactional Sociolinguistics offers a speaker-oriented approach to conversation. Arguing that all interaction is **strategic** Gumperz suggests that analysts should focus on the strategies that govern the speaker's use of lexical, grammatical, sociolinguistic and other knowledge in the production nd interpretation of messages in context. Consequently, the analyst's task is to make an indepth study of selected instances of verbal interaction, observe whether or not speakers understand each other, elicit participants' interpretations of what goes on, and then a) deduce the social assumptions that speakers must have made in order to act as they do, and b) determine empirically how linguistic signs communicate in the interpretation process. All such interpretations presuppose shared knowledge yet this knowledge is not usually overtly verbalized. Rather, it serves as the input for judgements of what the speakers want to achieve. In this process, analysts have to rely on typified characteristics of the signaling process, the so-called contextualization cues. It is the fact that the analysis relies on the everyday knowledge which is acquired through common tradition and dshared communicative experience that makes it of interest for the study of social symbolism. (Gumperz 1982: 36).

The interpretation of what is going on is **channeled** (or **coordinated)** by conversational implicatures based on ***conventionalized co-occurrence expectations*** between content and surface style. That is, constellations of surface features of the message form are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood, and how each utterance relates to what precedes and what follows. These feature Gumperz labels **contextualization cues** (also known as indices and the process as indexicality). Roughly speaking a "contextualization cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signaling of contextual presuppositions. Such cues may have a number of such linguistic realizations depending on the historically given linguistic repertoire of the participants. The code, dialect and style switching processes, prosodic phenomena, choice among lexical or

syntactic options, formulaic expressions, conversational openings, closings and sequencing strategies can all have similar contextualizing functions. Although such cues carry information, meanings are conveyed as part of the interactive process. Unlike words that can be discussed out of context, the meanings of contextualization cues are implicit. They are not usually talked about out of context. Their signaling value depends on the participants' tacit awareness of their meaningfulness. When all participants understand and notice the relevant cues, interpretive processes are then taken for granted and tend to go unnoticed. However, when a listener does not react to a cue or is unaware of its function, interpretations may differ and misunderstandings may occur. It is important to note that when this happens and when a difference in interpretation is brought to a participant's attention , it tends to be seen in attitudinal terms. A speaker is said to be unfriendly, impertinent, rude, uncooperative , or to fail to understand . Miscommunication of this type , in other words, is regarded as a social faux pas and leads to misjudgments of the speaker's intent; it is not likely to be identified as a mere linguistic error. (Gumberz 1982: 132)

In sum, Interactional sociolinguistics employs discourse analysis for ***interpretation*** of social interaction in which the ***emergent construction*** and ***negotiation of meaning*** is facilitated by the use of language. Although the interactional approach is basically a functional approach, it has a more balanced focus on function. ISs believe that, ***language and context co-constitute one another: language contextualizes and is contextualized*****,** such that language does not just function "in context", language also forms and provides context. One particular context is social interaction. Language culture and society are grounded in interaction; they stand in a reflexive relationship with the self and the other, and the self-other relationship, and it is out of these mutually constitutive relationships that discourse is created.

III. ***"Crosstalk"***

Some significant research in interactional sociolinguistics has been conducted with a view to helping people who regularly engage in intercultural communication become aware of the differences that may cause problems and take account of variation in their real-life encounters with speakers whose way of interacting differs from their own. An example is John Gumperz and his team's work on "**crosstalk"** between members of Britain's white majority community and members of Asian minority communities. The language the minority group was speaking is an English variety developed in the Indian subcontinent. In Britain this becomes an ethnic variety, a mark of membership in a particular minority ethnic group.

Example

In a British cafeteria, an Indian woman, Roopa, serving behinc the counter spread doom and gloom, and aroused customer resentment, simpy because of the way she served the gravy. The customers heard her as peremptorily stating that they should have gravy, whether they wanted it or not. When the customers' complaints were reported to the woman she expressed surprise. She claimed she had been offering them gravy not pushing it on them. (she used the wrong intonation)

Gumperz and his associates set out to investigate what systematic differences between this variety and the majority variety of English might be causing the perception of "communication problem" between white and Asian speakers. They found a number of means employed to convey "contextualizing "information – ***prosody, paralinguistic cues (hesitation, pausing, contrasts of speed and volume, simultaneous speech), or switching to a different language, dialect, style, register, etc.*** They argued that if one speaker is unable to distinguish important from less important information using contextualization cues, that speaker will have trouble following the thread of the argument his interlocutor is making.

Miscommunication can result not only from variation in the use of contextualization cues, but also from conflicting assumptions about the norms and conventions of particular speech events. "Crosstalk" between people of differing cultural backgrounds is not just a matter of surface linguistic features, then, but also (an often more importantly) of the assumptions language-users make about the kind of speech event they are participating in and what is appropriate or 'normal' in that context. Even the most seemingly straightforward interaction actually depends on a great deal of shared, tacit knowledge, both cultural and linguistic.

IV. **" Natural meaning"**

Finally, according to this approach it is believed that the definition of 'speaker meaning' as **natural** is paradoxical. The only natural thing about it is the desire to communicate and to express one's thought. But we do so through conventional, non-natural means. The paradox is that language users must employ conventional linguistic means, i.e. non-natural carriers, to express what cannot be expressed directly, by means of natural signs. The paradox is solved by the fact that those **carriers** themselves are being **conventionalized** through use**.** In fact, speech becomes so natural to us that we even use the adjective 'natural ' to define a language that we perceive as being the opposite of truly artificial. But strictly speaking there are no such things as natural languages; the only languages we have are the ones that have been developed as artifacts of society, among users and for users. Put another way, linguists have come to realize that, as Fillmore puts it (1976) " an enormous amount of natural language is formulaic, automatic and rehearsed, rather than propositional, creative or freely generated."

Since language is developed socially, its use is governed by society rather than by individual speakers. Language users do not decide, on the spur of the moment, which medium to choose in order to get their ideas across – they use those 'arbitrary/ artificial' code they have inherited from previous generations. (**read more in FR3_Goffmann/ Gumperz)**

C. Critical Discourse Analysis

Example: Police Officer **behind desk in police station greets a woman who approaches the desk**

Police Officer: Good morning love, what can I do for you?
Woman: Good morning constable. I want to see your sergeant.
Police Officer: Okay love. Geeerry, there's a woman here to see you
Woman: And it's not 'love' constable. It's Detective Inspector.

CDA differs from the previous methods of describing discourse mainly in the stance of the analyst, which is, predictably, overtly 'critical'. All previous approaches are essentially descriptive in their starting assumptions. CDA by contrast is explicitly concerned with investigating how language is used to construct and maintain power relationships in society; the aim is to show up connections between language and power, and between language and ideology. Thus in the example above, the attitude of the police officer is friendly but a bit patronizing; The senior police woman obviously does not approve of the form of address "love" which becomes evident from the way she snaps at him.

The CDAnalyst looks for evidence of the correct exercise of power in supposedly 'equal ' interactions, or for indications of hidden ideological assumptions about 'normal' ways of doing things that disadvantage minority groups. Sexist and racist language are obvious targets for the critical analyst, but CDA research has a very wide agenda and includes the analysis of political speeches, medical textbooks, advertizing, and marketing strategies and many other forms of rhetoric.

CDAs often make use of aspects of other approaches (e.g. CA or IS) to describe the way in which participants manipulate the rules of conversation in order to gain a political advantage; or to highlight the relevance of social context in which people are operating, and the underlying connections between language, power and ideology. It is ultimately the over-arching critical stance which distinguishes CDA, rather than the precise methods used to analyze the discourse.

Faireclough and Wodak (1997:271) summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows:

- CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse constitutes society and culture
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is historical
- The link between text and society is mediated
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
- Discourse is a form of social action.

- **Social effects of texts**

How does language contribute to the shaping of social life? First of all, we have to bear in mind that texts as elements of social events have causal effects – i.e. they bring about changes. Texts can bring about changes in our knowledge, in our beliefs, attitudes, values, etc. Texts can also have long-term causal effects. For instance, we may assume that people's identities as consumers, or their gender identities are to a large extent shaped by the advertizing and other commercial texts they have been bombarded with. Changes in any social sphere – industrial relations, education, public relations, etc – are all to a lesser or bigger extent shaped with the help of language.

See for instance how the notable textual differences in the titles submitted below reflect shifts in focus in research itself. Thus phrases like " *lexical simplification', "developmental stages", "sources of errors*" etc. , associate with the preoccupation with language as system in early SLA research. The topics in the second column are illustrative of a much keener interest in the social and cultural aspects of language learning and language use. Finally, the language used in the third period signals the emergence of new topics relevant to present-day post-modern globalizing world (cf*. intercultural communicative competence, commodification of language, reexamining common ELT assumptions, Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves, etc.)*

60ies – 80ies	80ies - 2000	2000 ->
Meisel, J. , H. Clahsen & M. Pienemann. 1981. On determining *developmental stages* in natural second language acquisition. Studies in Second Language Acquisition 3: 109-35	Prodromou, L. 1992. What culture? Which culture? *ELT Journal* 46/1:39-50	Heller, M. (2003) Globalization, the new economy and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (4), 473 – 492.
Duskova, L (1969) On *sources of errors* in foreign language learning, IRAL, ,vii/1	How culturally appropriate is the communicative approach?	McKay, S. L. (2003) Toward an appropriate EIL pedagogy: reexamining common ELT assumptions. *IJAL* 13(1), 1 – 22.
Dulay, H. C. & M. K. Burt (1975) Natural sequences in child second language acquisition, Language learning, 24/1	Coleman, H. (ed).(1996) Society and the Language Classroom. Cambridge University Press.	Pavlenko, A. & J. P. Lantolf (2000) Second language learning as *participation and the (re)construction of selves*.
Dickerson, L. J. (1975) The learner's Interlanguage as a system of variable rules. TESOL Quarterly 9/4	Canagarajah, A. Suresh (1999) Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching. OUP	Lantolf J. P. (Ed.) (2000) Sociocultural Theory and Second Language learning. OUP

CDA 's theoretical underpinning is **social constructivism**. Social constructivism refers to the claim that the world is socially constructed and that language/ discourse plays a key role in constructing it. Put another way, values, beliefs, dominant ideas, objects and events play a role in the sort of discourses we get involved in. Conversely, discourses we get involved in help us shape our ideas, values beliefs, etc. The connection however is quite subtle. On the one hand historical clashes among discourses often form the core of present-day debates (conversations). Consider, for instance, legal discourses concerned with enfranchising certain categories of people (women, immigrants, etc.) and how they emerge in casual conversations over civil rights, equal opportunity schemes, etc. On the other hand, it is possible to textually construe (represent, imagine) the social world in particular ways that do not bring about change. That is, whether or not our representation or construal leads to social change depends upon a

multitude of factors in addition to language. So we can accept a moderate version of the claim that the social world is textually constructed.

- **Ideologies**

One of the most salient causal effects of texts has to do with **ideology.** There are different approaches to the definition of ideology. From a '**descriptive**' perspective ideology can be defined as the positions, attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, etc. taken by social groups towards each other and the world in general, without reference to intergroup relations of power and domination. In contrast, the '**critical**' view of ideology sees it as intertwined with relations of power and domination**.** From a 'critical' perspective, that is, ***Ideology refers to specific ways of representation of things and events that contribute to the empowerment and domination of one social group over another.*** Accordingly, texts are analyzed in terms of their effect on power relations. Ideologies can also have a durability and stability which transcends individual texts or bodies of texts.

Texts may be viewed as parts of social events. We can broadly distinguish two'causal' powers which shape texts:

a) social agents and the people involved in social events;

b) social structures and social practices.;

a. social agents

Social agents texture texts. They set up relations between elements of texts. They are not 'free' agents; there are some social constraints upon their action although they are not totally socially determined. Agents have their own causal powers, which are not reducible to the causal powers of social structures and powers.

An example of how social agents' stance may be represented in a text is the kind of labeling of referents as "them" and "us". For instance, minority ethnic groups are often marked as outsiders by using terms like *immigrants and foreigners*. Referring to them as such conveys that unlike others who were born in a certain country, they do not really 'belong' there. At the same time, the term immigrant and foreigner avoids making direct reference to racial differences , and does not distinguish between members of minority communities who are structurally disadvantaged (e.g. Turkish 'guest' workers in Germany) and professional expatriates (who are typically white). This makes it possible for the politician who argues for more restrictive immigration laws, or for denial of rights to 'foreigners' , to deflect accusations of racism by saying that the issue has nothing to do with race as such.

b. Social structure

During the 80ies and 90ies a number of CDAnalysts , notably the British linguist Norman Fairclough, turned their attention to a different type of relation between language and society, broadly referred to as the relationship between social structures and social practices. Their examination of ***language and po*wer** and ***language and ideology*** naturally evolved into an investigation of the role of discourse , and the manifestation **in** discourse, of ongoing and significant social changes which were increasingly being discussed by 'critical theorists across

disciplines'. We can discern a number of general tendencies of representing social change in contemporary institutional discourse:

I. **Mediation**

The relationship between texts and social events is complex. Many texts are **mediated , e.g.** by the mass media**. Mediation** involves the movement of meaning from one social practice to another, from one event to another, from one text to another.

For instance, journalists write articles drawing on a variety of sources and the articles are read and may be responded in a variety of other texts – conversations, TV commentaries, etc. the chain or network of texts in such cases includes quite a number of different text types.

The capacity to influence or control processes of mediation is an important aspect of power in contemporary societies.

II. **hybridization**

A text within a chain characteristically enters both " retrospective" and "prospective" relations with the texts " preceding" or "following' it in the chain. This may progressively lead to **hybridization,** e.g. the conversationalization of various genres as radio talks, or broadcast news – i.e. they take on certain features of conversation within contexts which are not common for conversation, i.e. such programmes are listened to, or watched at home i.e. the interpersonal (face-to-face feature of conversation is missing). Institutional goals are different from personal goals. So, when someone involved in an institutional talk tries to construct personal rapport with his viewers/ listeners CS Analists consider this an effective way to accomplish his/ her institutional role, i.e. *to sell his/ her product, broadly speaking).*

III. **Solidarity and (pseudo)-sincerity**

Another important side-effect of conversationalization is to foreground the issue of **sincerity** in institutional and public discourse. When institutional encounters become personalized, and when institutional representatives are routinely encouraged to project positive feelings towards the strangers they deal with, the question arises of whether the feelings they express are 'sincere'. Many customers receiving such synthetically personalized talk complain about its patent insincerity, while for the producers of this kind of talk, the work involved in creating an impression of sincere concern for the customer can be a source of stress.

IV. ***Hegemony – universal and particular***

Another interesting social issue is how **particulars come to be represented as universals**. One common view about politics is that it represents a specific struggle for hegemony , a particular way of conceptualizing power which emphasizes, amongst other things how power depends upon achieving consent, or at least, acquiescence, rather than just having resources to use force, and the importance of ideology in sustaining relations of power.

V. ***framing***

Finally, it is possible for one text to be used as a **frame** for another text , a strategy known as – **"framing".** There are different choices about how to "frame" a text, how to conceptualize

it, in terms of other parts of text. Thus music magazines often frame news on musical events and music bands, into a kind of "poster" fashion and thus make it easier for monolingual Bulgarian readers to understand the numerous Anglicisms. (**Read more in FR3c-CDA)**

Based on:

Gee, J. P. (2005) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. Routledge

Gumperz, John 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. CUP

Holmes, J. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*

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Topic Four: Approaches to sociolinguistic analysis: Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis, Variational Sociolinguistics, Cultural sociolinguistics

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In the previous lecture it was argued that DA provides an analytical platform for different sociolinguistic models of analysis. In this lecture I am going to provide an overview of three more sociolinguistic schools that tend to employ DA in their research programmes.

I. Ethnomethodology. Conversation Analysis.

Conversational Analysis (CA) is an academic discipline which was developed by Harvey Sacks, a sociologist working at the university of California, in the mid-1960s. the sociologists who followed Sacks (especially Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson) are often called ethnomethodologists because they adopted as their theoretical background Harold Garfinkel's (1974) sociological theory known as "**ethnomethodology**".

a. Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology is most generally concerned with the ways of "doing ' and "knowing", i.e. what is it that ordinary members of a community *know* of their ordinary affairs, or their organized social practices, and how this knowledge is employed in ordering and organizing these same practices. This suggests that knowledge and action are deeply linked and mutually constitute each other. By knowledge they mean "common-sense' knowledge and much of ethnomethodologists' work is focused on exploring community members involved in concrete social action, in particular, their *understandings* of the circumstances providing for the stable organization of their social activities. Such understandings, they argue, are not pre-designed and ready to use. In fact, participants continually engage in *interpretive activity* - and thus reach understandings - as a way of *seeking **order** and **normalit**y* during the course of

their everyday activity. The sense of order that emerges through the ongoing activity provides a *practical basis*, and a sense of *intersubjectivity* (common ground) , through which further activity can be sustained. Social action thus not only displays knowledge , it is also critical to the creation of knowledge: one's own actions produce and reproduce the knowledge through which individual conduct and social circumstance are intelligible.

The link between knowledge and action has an important bearing on the study of language. Ethnomethodological research avoids idealizations. They argue that what community members produce are "*typical actions* or "*typical occurrences*", i.e. **typifications** that are continuously adjusted according to whether the anticipation of an actor is confirmed by his/her partner's actions. Although language is a medium through which common-sense categories are constituted, the meaning and use of a particular term are nevertheless indeterminate and negotiable. The relationship between words and objects is as much a matter of the world of social relations and activities in which words are used, as of the world of objects that is being 'named'. Put another way, the meaning of a particular utterance is linked to the context in which that utterance is embedded and is ***indexical*** to that specific context and purpose. The contextualization of language in these ways allows it to have a key role in the ***mutually constitutive*** relationship between **action** and **knowledge**: speakers produce utterances assuming that hearers can make sense out of them by the same kind of ***practical reasoning*** and ***methodic contextualizing operations*** that they apply to actual conduct in general. Furthermore, it is because actors succeed in using the sequential progression of interaction to display their understandings of its events and rules that the shared world that has been jointly achieved is publicly available for analysis.

b. Conversation Analysis

Some of the key ideas in CA can be related to the ideas briefly noted above . Thus the focus of CA on conversation is similar to the ethnomethodological ***distrust of idealizations*** as a basis for either social science or ordinary human action. Conversational analysts argue that many idealizations in social science produce general concepts that have only a vague and indeterminate relationship with a specific set of events. Since it can be difficult to decide whether a specific event supports a generalization, this distance between "type" and "token" hinders the development of a cumulative body of knowledge. By the same line of argument, CA ***distrusts linguistic categorizations*** of the functions of particular words or expressions. Such categorizations, it is argued, may be generalizations that do not at all reflect the specific uses of an item. So Sacks chose to work on conversation in an effort to remedy the idealizations made so far. He wanted to handle the details of actual events and provide information about the way they are organized that anyone else could go and see whether what was said is so.

CA ***focuses on the details of actual events***. Analysts record real life conversations and produce transcriptions of events that attempt to reproduce what is said in ways that avoid presuppositions about what might be important for either participants or analysts themselves. Similarly analysts ***avoid positing generalizations about what participants "know"***; the focus instead is on the specific events that occur during the conversation. And in keeping with the relationship between action and knowledge , the events that are focused upon are said to reflect and realize **practical knowledge**.

The CA treatment of contexts also ethnomethodologically based. They treat utterances as **indexical** which locates them not just in a world of social relations but also in a world of other utterances. . Accordingly, each utterance in a sequence is shaped by a prior context and provides a context for a next utterance. So any speaker's communicative action is regarded ***doubly contextual*** in being both *context-shaped* and *context-renewing*. (Heritage 1984). The notion of context as being both retrospective and prospective can be seen as yet another way that meaning 90 an knowledge) are ***continually adjusted*** and ***sequentially emergent***.

Unlike ethnographers, CAnalysts of talk pay little attention to social relations and to what ethnographers call "social context", e.g. participants' social status, setting, personal attributes, etc. This

is in keeping with the ethnomethodological stance to avoid generalizations and idealizations . Characteristics such as social identity, setting, etc. are viewed instead as categories of social life and conduct that are subject to local negotiation and interpretation. Thus although CA is an approach to discourse that emphasizes context, the relevance of **context** is grounded in **text.** Heritage (1984) lists three key assumptions of CA:

a) interaction is structurally organized;

b) contributions to interaction are contextually oriented;

c) all details of interaction are important; nothing can be dismissed *a priori* as disorderly or accidental, or irrelevant.

Consistent with the CA avoidance of premature generalizations and the ethnomethodological focus on action as the locus of knowledge, CA views the empirical conduct of speakers (i.e. talk in interaction) as the central resource out of which analysis must develop.

Some important CA contributions to the study of language are:

a. investigations on how talk is organized:
- turn-taking; turn constructional units;
- local management system; transition relevance place
- Adjacency pairs – i.e. organized patterns of stable recurrent actions that provide for and reflect order within conversation;
- AP have a preference structure , i.e., each first part has a preferred and a dispreferred response.
- Openings and closings
- sequencing

b. Transcription conventions.

Followers of CA are firm believers in data-driven theories. For the analyst of talk that means finding instances of talk in order to make observations. This is done through numerous recordings (audio and video) which are then transcribed. CA has offered the most comprehensive transcription system originally based on the system developed by Gail Jefferson. (Cf. EXTENSION4_Transcription System)

c. Implications for pedagogy

Discourse Analysis (and CA as a specific approach to DA) have direct implications for language teaching and learning.

✓ Given that DA (CA) is concerned with how language is structured in different contexts f use, the results from this type of analysis can enable language practitioners to present in syllabuses and course books a more balanced presentation of different genres, styles and ways of speaking with which learners will need to engage, and to select and evaluate discourses (talk) that are relevant to particular needs.

✓ When modeling different types of writing or speaking, discourse analysts can help teachers explain the underlying features of the text types associated with the particular styles of genres that are being taught.

✓ Teachers and teacher trainers can further use the *Models of classroom interaction* described by discourse and conversational analysts as reference models in the evaluation of particular teacher:;students interactions or in search of resources for facilitating language learning.

✓ Conversational Analysis shows that everyday talk is not as disorganized as it may seem, an this offers the possibility of systematic teaching of its most distinctive features.

II. Variationist Sociolinguistics

Variationist sociolinguistics has evolved over the last nearly four decades as a discipline that integrates social and linguistic aspects of language. Perhaps the foremost motivation for the development of this approach was to present a model of language which could accommodate the paradoxes of **language change**. Formal theories of language were attempting to determine the structure of language as a fixed set of rules or principles, but at the same time language changes perpetually so structure must be fluid. How does this happen? The idea that language is structurally sound is difficult to resolve with the fact that languages change over time.

a. Early variationist studies

The 19th c was a particularly good time in the history of the study of regional variation in language.

Early research into **dialects** and **accents** tended to concentrate on descriptions of linguistic variation in lexis and phonology, in particular, and linguistic atlases were compiled to show the distribution of different dialect forms. The purpose of this research was to counter the mainstream view in linguistics that without exception all sound change was regular. Dialectologists aimed to show that linguistic change, far from being regular, was in fact the opposite and that not all sounds and/or words were affected equally. They were particularly interested in lexical variation, and how different words were used to refer to the same thing in different places. They investigated this by going out and collecting examples of speech (known as **data**) from people (**informants**) in the regions in which they were interested, a process known as **fieldwork**.

One such study was the ***Survey of English Dialects*** (Orton, 1962). The impetus for Orton's survey, in addition to the reasons cited above, was his fear that as agriculture was rapidly becoming mechanized the lexical items associated with rural life would die out, and he wanted to capture them before they did so. The fieldwork was conducted during the 1950s and 1960s in over 300 rural communities throughout England. About 1,000 men were interviewed. The selection criteria were that the informants should be aged 60 or over, have little or no formal education, and had remained in the area in which they had been born. Such people were most likely to be still speaking dialects that had escaped the influence of standardisation and thus still bore a resemblance to the Middle English dialects. In this regard Orton's survey was intended to serve as a resource for linguistic historians to investigate the phonology, lexis and syntax of Medieval English. It has since been drawn upon to reconstruct the English spoken at the times of Shakespeare, Chaucer and even earlier.

However the ways in which data was collected provoked severe criticism in terms of the methodology, particularly the ***data-gathering*** methods and the so-called **sampling (**factors such as the age, social class, geographical location, gender and ethnicity of the informants from whom the data was gathered **).** The main data-gathering method was a long questionnaire, usually with one-word answers to questions such as 'You sweeten your tea with . . . ?'. The answers were then transcribed phonetically by the survey worker. Critics argued that one-word answers were too divorced from everyday use to provide an accurate account of how people actually used language. They also took issue with the sampling, arguing that dialectology should not restrict itself to people who were old, rural and male, but should also consider young men and women, and people from urban as well as rural areas. As a result traditional dialectologists changed both their methods and their samples accordingly. The invention firstly of sound recording and portable tape recorders, and more recently video recorders, digitization and computer technology, has revolutionized research into dialectology.

b. Modern view on language variation

The essence of variationist sociolinguistics as it is understood today depends on three facts about language. First, the notion of 'orderly heterogeneity' (Weinreich et al. 1968:100); second, the fact that language changes perpetually; and third, that language conveys more than simply the meaning of its words. It also communicates abundant non-linguistic information about the identity of the speakers.

Orderly heterogeneity essentially means that language varies. Linguistic variation encompasses an entire continuum of choices ranging from the choice between separate languages in bilingual situations, to choice between different constructions , different affixes, right down to the micro -linguistic level where there are subtle differences in pronunciation. Besides, heterogeneity is not random, but patterned, or systematic. Variation analysis aims to characterize the nature of systematic variation. For example, the large web-based corpus called *Voices*, sponsored by the BBC revealed ten alternatives to the term 'to play truant': *skive*, *bunk off*, *wag*, *skip*, *mitch*, *dog*, *hookey*, *twag*, *sag* and *nick off*. Although most of these terms can be found across the United Kingdom, *twag* is specific to Hull in the North East of England, *cap* to Derby and Nottingham in the Midlands, and *skidge* to Paisley in Northern Ireland.

In sociolinguistic research that focuses on phonology, one sound is selected as the linguistic variable; that is, the sound against which other sounds are measured. Other variables, such as social class, age, gender, region and ethnic group, are the social variables; that is, the variant is compared for each of these variables. This enables comparison of the speech of older informants and younger ones, men and women, lower class and upper class, and so on.

Language change accounts for the fact that language is always in flux. The English language today is not the same as it was 100 years ago, or 400 years ago. For example, verb forms such as *breaked* and *knowed* were part of the English language for centuries and are still present in regional dialects today, but since they were not chosen for standard English they are no longer used in writing or 'educated speech'. A syntactic example is multiple negation: *she never said nothing*. This was outlawed by nineteenth-century prescriptive grammarians but was common in the Middle English of Chaucer's time, was used by Shakespeare and continues to be used by native speakers of English today as it remains a grammatical feature of some dialects. In some English dialects *thee*, *thy* and *thou* are still used instead of *you*.

Variation analysis aims to put linguistic features such as these in the context of where each one has come from and where it is going – how and why.

Lastly**, social identity** accounts for the fact that language is used for transmitting information about the people who speak: their group loyalties, their relationships as conversational partners, what sort of speech event they appear to be engaged in, etc. In brief, the choices speakers make among alternative linguistic means to communicate the same information usually conveys important extralinguistic information. For example, say which of the following excerpts is from the speech of; a) a young person; b) an adult professional; c) a non-native speaker of English.

Examples:

A:

- About houses being 4-5 times pricier than in Bulgaria - bullshit...! First of all people in GB get times and times more money monthly than 90% of the bulgarians! Second - who is complaining about football ... If you checked more you could have saw that people complain about the lower payments they receive as well as the no payment for a whole year!!!!! FromTheDeepHell

- this is not Bulgaria!!Would you stopped to joke with our state?!?this is not fun !!if you knew the history of Bulgaria and all over which we have passed I would not think about it !! PmInCeTyYy666

B:

- @hallaelementary shut up you no nothinnnng
- gorkanshveil i loveeeeee shawn laneeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee

C:

- 6:55 Cliffs of dover lick. Brent Garsed sounds very clean on this but I think Gambale's ability to take a phrase through the key change is better. Lane and Garsed don't play as many motifs, just more burning which to me is less interesting. You can definitely tell who was the most seasoned guitarist on this.
- JohnnyJohnnyJohnny I can hear the whole song happily. I enjoy the drums and bass syncopation and polyrhythms. I see what you're saying, but it's probably just a matter of getting used to it and maybe listening in more depth.

c. Key characteristics of variationist sociolinguistics

1. The vernacular

A specific goal of variationists is to gain access to what is referred to as the 'vernacular' . The sociolinguist Labov defines it as 'the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech' . The term has later got many other definitions but the sense most widely used in VS is that of 'casual, unmonitored speech' , the foundation from which every other speech behaviour can be understood.

2. Speech community

In order to 'tap the vernacular' a vital component of variation analysis requires that the analyst immerse herself in the speech community, entering it both as an observer and a participant. One of the first to study the relationship between language and social class was the American linguist William Labov (1966) who used linguistic variables to investigate differences between accents. One very noticeable linguistic variable is ***rhoticity***. This refers to the pronunciation of 'r' when it occurs after a vowel – as in *bar*, *sort*, *churn* – and is usually known as the '***postvocalic r***'. How 'r' is pronounced after vowels differs across the English-speaking world. For example RP is 'r-less' or *non-rhotic*, whilst Scots English and Cornish are 'r-ful' or *rhotic*. In the British Isles rhoticity differentiates Scottish, Irish, Cornish, West Country, rural East Anglian and Northumbrian accents from most Midland and southern accents. It is regarded as a low-prestige feature and is associated with 'backward' rural areas, whereas in most of the United States, rhoticity is prestigious and its absence is stigmatised. Labov's (1966) study was based on the hypothesis that if speakers were ranked according to social class, then they could also be ranked in the same order by differences in the use of certain linguistic variables. One of these was the variable 'r' after vowels in words such as *lark* and *bar*. Labov wished to demonstrate that variations in New York accents centred on the use of the postvocalic 'r'.

In the late twentieth century the studies of urban dialectology by linguists such as Labov and Trudgill were challenged by L. and J. Milroy (Milroy, 1987;Milroy, 1992), who took issue with the notion of linguistic variables and variation theory in general. A study they conducted in Belfast led them to conclude that the relationship between linguistic and social structures was not necessarily best examined by exploring only social variables such as age and class. Instead they based their research on the notion of **social networks**. Rather than grouping speakers into predetermined categories such as social class, they situated individuals within the sum of their relationships, both formal and informal: relationships with family, friends and work colleagues, neighbourhood relationships and relationships based on ethnicity. They found that particular kinds of network would either inhibit or advance linguistic variation in a community. They also argued that peripheral members of a community who had ties with other communities (through work, education or friends) carried innovations into a community. Their conclusions complemented Labov's argument about change, but provided far more information about the site and possible explanations of change.

3. Form/function asymmetry

The identification of 'variables' in language use rests on a fundamental view in variation analysis – ***the possibility of multiple forms for the same function.*** That is, do all the sentences in (1) below mean the same thing:

(1) I ain't gotta tell you nothing/anything.
(2) I haven't gotta tell you nothing/ anything.
(3) I don't have to tell you nothing/ anything.

In general linguistics it is assumed that different forms can never have identical function. In variational analysis, however, it is argued that different forms such as the above can indeed be used for the same function, particularly in the course of ongoing change. In other words there is a basic recognition of *instability* of linguistic form/ function relationships.

4. Linguistic variables

As already mentioned variability can be observed at every level of language grammar. For instance Trudgill (1974) who replicated Labov's methodology when conducting a study of non-standard variants in the city of Norwich in the East of England, chose to analyze several linguistic variables of grammar and accent. For example in Norwich, as in other parts of England, there are two alternative forms of the third person singular in the present tense: the standard English *she runs*, *walks*, *skips* and so on, and the local dialect form without the *-s* inflection: *she run*, *walk*, *skip* and so on. Trudgill found that there was a correlation between *social class* and the use of this variable. He found that members of the lower working class used them the most often and that the lower middle class produced relatively more of the prestigious forms than did the members of the social group immediately above them on the social scale.

Like Labov, Trudgill distinguished between **overt** and **covert prestige**. The issue of prestige is an important but complicated one in sociolinguistics. **Overt prestige** refers to the positive or negative assessment of variants or a speech variety in accordance with the dominant norms of educational institutions, public media and upper middle-class speech. In Labov's New York study the informants who exhibited the greatest use of stigmatized forms had the greatest tendency to stigmatise others for their use of the same form. However the working-class informants did not adopt middle-class norms, and this calls for explanations other than those associated with prestige. **Covert prestige** refers to the set of opposing values implicit in lower- and working-class lifestyles that do not appear in conventional subject-reaction tests. Working-class speech is thus seen as a mechanism for signalling adherences to local norms and values, whereas middle-class speech reveals a concern for social status and is therefore a mechanism for class solidarity.

d. Analytical Instruments

1. The Quantitative Method

Perhaps the most important aspect of variation analysis that sets it apart from most other areas of linguistics is the **quantitative approach**. This method is based on the assumption that speakers make choices when they use language and that these choices are *discrete alternatives* with the ***same*** *referential value* or *grammatical function*. Furthermore, these choices *vary in a systematic way* and as such they can be quantitatively modeled.

The advantage of the quantitative method lies in its ability to model the simultaneous, multi-dimensional factors impacting on speaker choices, to identify even subtle grammatical tendencies and regularities in the data, and to assess their relative strength and significance. These measures provide the basis for comparative linguistic research.

2. **The Principle of Accountability**

According to Labov, the most important step in sociolinguistic investigation is the correct analysis of the linguistic variable. By 'correct' he means '***accountable***' to the data. Accordingly, the 'principle of accountability' employed in 'variationist sociolinguistics' holds that "every variant that is part of the variable context, whether the variants are realized or unrealized elements in the system, must be taken into account." Tagliamonte 2006:13). In other words, you cannot simply study the variant forms that are new, interesting, unusual or non-standard; you must also study the forms with which such features vary in all the contexts in which either of them would have been possible. By definition, an accountable analysis demands of the analyst an exhaustive report for every case in which a variable element occurs out of the total number of environments where the variable element could have occurred , but did not.

3. **Determining the variable context**

The procedure of determining the variants of the variables under study has been described most accurately by W. Labov's exploratory manoeuvres.

- Identify the total population of utterances in which the feature varies. Exclude contexts where one variant is categorical (i.e. does not permit alternation)
- Decide on how many variants can be reliably identified. Set aside contexts that are indeterminate, neutralized, etc.

What these recommendations show is that variation analysts are not interested in individual occurrences of linguistic features. They emphasize on systematic study of the recurrent choices an individual makes.

4. **Testing hypotheses**

Labov's third exploratory man oeuvre is to identify all of the subcategories which would reasonably be relevant in determining the frequency of forms. These are the underlying patterns , the internal linguistic contexts that are hypothesized to influence the choice of one variant over another. They are commonly identified by surveying the relevant literature, by testing different hypotheses or they may be simply stumbled upon by chance in the midst of analysis.

Once it can be established that a variable exists in a body of materials, the variationist sociolinguist will embark on the long process of studying the feature: determining the variable context , extracting the relevant data from corpora, coding the material according to reasoned hypotheses gleaned from a large body of relevant literary sources.

III. Cultural linguistics/ sociocultural linguistics

In the 1960s and the 1970s, U.S. researchers of language, culture, and society from a range of theoretical and methodological perspectives made common cause to create a field that would put language at the center of social and cultural life. The interdisciplinary nature of the project generated excitement throughout the social sciences, particularly in anthropology, sociology, and psychology, as well as linguistics.

The quest for a more systematic integrative approach to the study of the relationship between language, culture and society went into several directions most of which have already been discussed. I shall end this overview of sociolinguistic approaches with two strands that though very close to the Ethnography of Speaking by virtue of their strong ties with linguistic anthropology viewing language as being embedded in culture and accepting a certain degree of cultural relativity and empiricism, also have some specific features of their own. The first of these is **Cultural Linguistics** (e.g. Palmer 1996) that

searches for possible points of intersection between **anthropological** and **cognitive linguistics** in an attempt to provide a more systematic cognitive approach that would embrace the goal of grasping the native point of view and of studying language use in its social and cultural context.

a. Cultural Linguistics

Cultural Linguistics (**CL**) utilizes the methods of such well established approaches as Anthropological Linguistics and the Ethnography of Communication – e.g. controlled elicitation, participant observation, and systematic ethnography in natural contexts, - but makes a step further and tries to synthesize their findings and redefine their conceptual categories with those of cognitive linguistics. This means that it rejects any pre-defined categories such as speech community, genre, setting, etc. employed by ethnographers and tries to define them as ***folk categories***. Cultural linguistics, thus is a label that implies a broad interest in language and culture, a concern with folk knowledge, and a reliance on both ethnographic and linguistic methods. CL is concerned with most of the same domains of language and culture that are explored in the Ethnography of Speaking, but assumes a perspective on those phenomena that is essentially ***cognitive***. It treats as cognitive not only the structure of a particular lexical domain, e.g. kinship terms, but also the plots of Coyote stories, the phrasing of intonation in songs for the dead, the roles of participants in traditional discourse among chiefs. Therefore CL is primarily concerned not with how people talk about some objective reality, but with ***how*** they talk about the world that they themselves imagine. Rooted in linguistic anthropology, it is also committed to the understanding of language through discourse, a goal which bears on the important problem of delineating **emergent** and **situated** meaning in discourse.

An important feature of CL studies of the 1970s is their treatment of ***situated*** and ***emergent*** meaning. They hold the view that meanings are contingent on events rather than entirely fixed in conventional word glosses and grammatical structures. Listeners frame situations and construe meaning in them. If language expresses cognition, it is cognition in interaction and process, not the apparently frozen structures of taxonomies and componential analysis. Wherever conventional and literal meanings alone are insufficient to encompass events and experiences, we find at work the human cognitive ability to construct meaning in discourse.

The contingency of meaning is not a new discovery. All speakers have probably experienced the creation or discovery of new meanings. Even simple everyday expressions take on new meanings according to the situation. By way of example, try to define the meaning of the utterance " He's a real sweetheart" in the following situations:

- Two girls talking about one of the girls' new boyfriend: 'He's a real sweetheart. He spent half of his salary to buy tickets for Byonce's concert.
- Two married women talking about one of the women's husband, "He's a real sweetheart. I know how you hate to be alone, he said, so I invited my parents to stay with you while I'm away."
- Two working women talking about their new boss, " He's rude and arrogant. But when he wants something done fast, then, he's a real sweetheart. "

It is often the case that such **emergent** usages become popular and conventionalized (e.g. think of the new meaning of the Bulgarian word "калинка" (incompetent person) which actually evolved from a proper name.) New social meanings may emerge in speech performances that reconstitute existing social statuses. The meanings discourse creates out of situations may with time become constitutive of language, culture and society, i.e. they become "the essence of culture". (Sherzer 1987).

Whether conventional or emergent, meaning is relative to society and politics and subject to *disputation* by interlocutors coming from different backgrounds and social statuses. Put another way, mutually understood meanings must often be *negotiated*.

CLs usually insist on "**thick description**". Determining the meaning of discourse requires attention to the identities and histories of discourse participants, as well as to the immediate previous history of the

discourse under interpretation, *especially as these are construed by the participants.* But determining the meaning must be ***interpretive***, taking into account speakers' and listeners' own construal. For the interpretation of meaning CLs use the notion of **discourse scenario,** a kind of conventional cognitive model that entails human participants and interactions. Discourse meaning is not only relative to scenarios, it is also relational and contingent in its *weaving together* of discourse scenarios. Thus world view is constituted of myriads of these connected scenarios, together with a host of other culturally defined entities and processes.

The paradigm of emergent meaning offers a dynamic and indispensable perspective, but taken to the extreme it becomes untenable, for if all meanings were to emerge only through discourse people would not be able to understand one another. On this issue CLs take a middle ground, a **nexus** where consensual conventional meanings intersect with conventional situations to frame meanings that are both conventional and relative to various discourse situations. This is their understanding of **situated meaning**. In contrast to emergent meaning, which involves the schematization of relatively novel and unfamiliar experiences and their framing and interpretation in terms of conventional categories, situated meaning can be ascribed to words and structures with stable referential meaning where each of their usages in a particular social and linguistic situation produces a particular implicature or requires the framing of a novel experience. Considering situated and emergent meanings from this perspective requires "usage based model of language structure" i.e. bottom-up and with rich context. Usage-base also implies that all linguistic structure emerges from context, which includes, amongst other things, "recurrent cultural knowledge".

In line with the cognitive approach of regarding imagery (image-schemas, script, scenarios) and metaphors as fundamental aspects of human thinking in conceptualizing the world, CLs introduce the terms **postulate** and **proposition-schemas**. A **postulate** is simply a verbal predication with relatively abstract cultural imagery at its semantic pole. Such postulates are, for instance, the Christian fundamentalist slogan *Jesus saves*, the Maasai African postulate that *the object of life is enkishon* (fertility), , or the Swahili maxim *haraka haraka haina Baraka* (hurry, hurry, has no blessing, i.e. haste makes waste, бързата кучка слепи ги ражда, бърза работа срам за майстора) or the linguists' common assertion that *all languages are roughly equal in complexity*. Postulates have verbal subjects and predicates that lend themselves to reasoning by propositional logic and syllogism. People use postulates much as mathematicians manipulate formal symbols. In anthropology, the study of postulates is closely tied to the study of cultural themes and axioms, core values, cultural configurations and guiding premises.

Similar to cultural postulates are nonverbal abstractions that may constitute cultural models and tacitly organize verbal statements, but are not themselves verbalized explicitly. Naomi Quinn (1987) termed such abstractions **proposition-schemas** and defined them as '***templates*** *from which any number of propositions can be constructed'*. "MARRIAGE IS ENDURING" is such an abstraction, inferred from such diverse metaphorical statements as "spouses are *bound together/ cemented together*" etc. Quinn found that only eight such proposition –schemas were sufficient to organize the language that American spouses use to describe their marriages. They pertain to *sharedness, lastingness, mutual benefit, compatibility, difficulty, effort, failure* and *risk*. Quinn's approach bears a strong similarity to the study of cultural themes and axioms, core values, and guiding premises that ethnographers sought to discover in the 1950s, but it differs in that cognitive models built of proposition -schemas are ***not intended to be global***. They govern limited domains of language and culture, such as the above example of the domain of marriage in America. Proposition-schemas are derived from varied shared experiences that are gradually entrenched and refined as scenarios. Once formed proposition-schemas may govern both practical reasoning and selections of verbal metaphors. On this account, understanding occurs when we activate cognitive models that consist of proposition schemas and scenarios, not through reasoning from metaphor.

b. Sociocultural Linguistics

The second strand has emerged as a result of increasing *interdisciplinary* orientation of research on language , culture and society and is labeled **Sociocultural Linguistics** (Bucholz and Hall (2008)). Building on the rich tradition of research in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology scholars working within this framework argue that the theoretical and methodological advances in the diverse approaches employed so far reaffirm the importance of interdisciplinary connections and create a foundation for a new interdisciplinary approach to the study of language culture and society that " *forges an alliance or coalition that fosters dialogue and collaboration between complementary approaches*". (Bucholz & Hall 2008:403). The label ***sociocultural linguistics "*** , suggested by Bucholz & Hall, is considered more convenient because it has the benefit of not having a long history of use. It also has the virtue of foregrounding the role of culture as well as society in linguistic investigations. Bucholz & Hall explicitly mention that by using this term they do not intend to claim a new territory of investigation but to " highlight an interdisciplinary coalition that is already thriving but is not yet recognized.".

This is how the authors view the goals and methods of sociocultural linguistics:

DIRECTIONS IN SOCIOCULTURAL LINGUISTICS

The shape of sociocultural linguistics as an interdisciplinary field coheres less around a set of theories, methods, or topics than a concern with a general question: How does the empirical study of language illuminate social and cultural processes?

The methodological commitments of sociocultural linguistics lie both in Quantitative and large-scale analysis and in qualitative and micro-level approaches such as ethnography (from anthropology and sociology) and discourse analysis and interactional analysis (from anthropological, sociological, social-psychological, and linguistic traditions, some of which are also influenced by poststructuralist theories of discourse).While scholars have long combined these commitments in their concern to document and analyze the sociocultural context of language use in as much rich detail as possible, from the macro-level social structures shaping language use to local community structures and practices to the moment-to-moment dynamics of interaction and language use, these combinations are beginning to take new forms. For example, Mendoza-Denton (2008) brings together variationist sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, and social theory in her ethnographic study of Latina gang girls, and Jack Sidnell (2005) draws on both conversation analysis and linguistic-anthropological studies of kinship in his ethnography of a Caribbean community. Thus, the scope of research within as well as across studies may include close attention to linguistic structures and their functions and distribution; social, cultural, and political processes that can shed light on language use; and the interactional plane in which these sociolinguistic and sociocultural processes play out. This attention to context extends to the research encounter as a site of social, linguistic, and interactional work: many strands of sociocultural linguistics encourage reflexivity about the role of the researcher in data collection and analysis and the politics of representation in scholarly writing. The interdisciplinarity of the field has also drawn researchers' attention to a number of theoretical concepts that have gained currency in the social sciences and humanities, many of them informed or inspired by linguistic insights; sociocultural-linguistic scholars have likewise produced their own indigenous theories. These theoretical resources include (but are not limited to) practice, *performativity*, *indexicality*, *identity*, *ideology*, *emergence*, *agency*, *stance*, *activity*, and *representation*.

It is worth highlighting that it is this remarkably broad and fertile theoretical terrain, more than anything else, that distinguishes current sociocultural-linguistic research from that of earlier periods. While the general social, cultural, and linguistic structures and processes that researchers of

language, culture, and society take up have long been the subject of sociocultural-linguistic investigation, these new theoretical perspectives allow scholars to view familiar types of phenomena in fresh ways.

Sociocultural-linguistic researchers of various stripes have also been steadily expanding the range of linguistic phenomena, both larger genres and the specific linguistic practices within them, that fall within their purview. Often such expansion creates connections between different approaches, as a field that has long examined a particular phenomenon gains a new vantage point from the fresh theoretical and methodological resources introduced by scholars in other areas.[…] Thus the institutional discourses of late modernity, a primary focus of applied linguistics and many traditions of discourse analysis, have gained ground in linguistic anthropology; also, performance-based speech events, traditionally the domain of linguistic

anthropology, have begun to attract greater interest within sociolinguistics . All of these genres as well as many others are increasingly examined not as discourse types extractable from their context of use but as *situated activity systems* in which language is one resource among others for coordinating social action and endowing it with cultural and political meaning.

The specific linguistic resources available to language users for accomplishing sociocultural work are quite varied, from specific speech sounds to grammatical structures to entire genres, and so sociocultural linguistics has been alive to the full range of human linguistic and communicative activity. For example, it has been recognized that *language is an embodied practice* that must be analyzed as such (e.g. Goodwin 1994; Norris 2004). Likewise, once-unfashionable aspects of language – most notably the lexicon, which was previously set aside by

many variationist sociolinguists as less systematic and hence less interesting than other parts of language – have received renewed attention, particularly with regard to how such linguistic forms function and vary within discourse . And in addition to bringing new analytic and

theoretical perspectives to bear on linguistic phenomena of longstanding interest like language contact, code-switching, and multilingualism ,and language shift, endangerment, and revitalization sociocultural linguists are also turning to topics like **style and stylization** , **language ideologies and attitudes**, and **metalinguistics** all of which benefit from an interdisciplinary perspective.

Finally, sociocultural linguistics, whose constituent fields have always been deeply committed to issues of **social equality** and **social justice** has been re-energized as a coalitional approach through interaction with other disciplines engaged in these problems. One notable development is the study of **identity**, especially **gender** and **sexuality** on the one hand and **race** and **ethnicity** on the other as social categories that are both embedded within systems of social inequality and shaped by the agentive practices of individual speakers; many other dimensions

of subjectivity and **intersubjectivity** have also been examined. At the same time, researchers are

offering innovative perspectives on large social structures and processes that replicate inequality, such as *political economy, nationalism* and the *nation-state* and *globalization* and

transnationalism. In this way, sociocultural linguistics continues to assert its status as a politically progressive field that has deep relevance for a wide range of sociopolitical issues around the world. (Bucholz, Mary & Kira Hall (2008). All of the above: New coalitions in sociocultural linguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12/4:401-431)

Based on:

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Chapter Five
Language Variation Reflecting its Users: Regional and Social Dialects

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1. Variables in sociolinguistics

Example:

A group of friends were sitting outside one evening in Bequia (an island in St. Vincent and the Grenadines) chatting and drinking. One of them lifted his glass and said "Cheers!", to which another of the friends responded "chairs and tables".

This is a play on the way *cheer* and *chair* are often pronounced the same way in Bequia. The feature that varies, called the **variable**, is the vowel , more precisely the centering diphthong, and the variants at play in the community of Bequia are realizations of the diphthong with a closer starting point /tʃ Iə z/ that sounds like Standard English '*cheers*' and with a more open starting point /t ʃ e ɚ/ that sounds like Standard English '*chairs*'

So, the general or abstract feature that sociolinguists investigate is called a **variable**. The actual instantiations of the variable in speech are known as **variants.**

2. Regular and probabilistic variations between variants

The relationship between the abstract concept of variable and the actual variants that realize it is very similar to the relationship between the abstract notion of a phoneme and the actual phonetic realizations of that phoneme. However, there is also a substantial difference. The variation between a phoneme and its phonetic variations is quite <u>predictable</u> and depends entirely on the <u>immediate linguistic context</u> in which it is produced. E.g. /p/ is aspirated in initial position but not in a final position. In such cases we say that the relationship between a phoneme and its phonetic realizations

is **constrained** by its position in a syllable. However such constraints are difficult to identify for the pronunciation of 'cheers' like ' chairs' as illustrated above. In fact one and the same person may pronounce one or the other variant within the same stretch of talk. E.g.

Jed's mother: Jed, come here! [**hɛə**]

(silence from Jed)

Jed! Come here! [**hiə**]

For a long time linguists described variation like this as **free variation** by which they actually meant **unconstrained**. Today the term is regarded rather sloppy because since the 1960s sociolinguists have amassed considerable evidence showing that speaker variability can be constrained by non-linguistic factors . The effects of social factors are seldom categorical. No social or contextual factor will determine where you will hear one form rather than another 100 percent of the time. However they will tell you how likely you are to hear different forms in different contexts. So, according to sociolinguists there is no such thing as free variation. Variation is always determined or constrained by some factor relevant in the context in which the speaker is using the language. In sum, a **sociolinguistic variable** can be defined as a linguistic variable that is constrained by social or non-linguistic factors and the concept of a variable constrained by non-linguistic /regional factors emerges straightforwardly from the traditions of dialectology.

3. Regional dialectology: mapping speakers and places

The mapping of dialects on a regional basis has had a long history in linguistics.. In fact, it is a well-established part of the study of how languages change over time, i.e. the ***diachronic of historical linguistics.*** Traditionally, the branch of linguistics that deals with mapping of regional dialects is known as **dialect geography**. Dialect geographers have attempted to produce their findings on maps in what they call ***dialect atlases***. They try to show the geographical boundaries of the distribution of a particular linguistic feature by drawing a line on the map. Such a line is called an **isogloss**: on one side of the line people say something one way, e.g. pronounce *bath* with the first vowel of *father*, and on the other side they use some other pronunciation, e.g. the vowel of *cat*. On occasion, though, a number coincide; i.e. there is **a bundle of isoglosses**. Such a bundle is often said to mark a **dialect boundary.** Quite often , that dialect boundary coincides with some geographical or political factor, e.g. a mountain ridge, a river, or the boundary of an old principality. Isoglosses can show that a particular set of linguistic features appears to be spreading from one location, a ***focal area***, into neighbouring locations. Alternatively, a particular area , a ***relic area***, may show characteristics of being unaffected by changes spreading out from one or more neighbouring areas. E.g. Places like London (UK), or Boston (US) are known to be focal areas, while Devon, in the extreme southwest of England, and Martha's vineyard in New England are relic areas.

The 19th c. was a particularly good time in the history of the study of regional variation in language. Some very large projects were initiated in Europe some of which continued to run well into the 20th c. An early and ambitious result of these was *Atlas Linguistique de la France* , commonly called '***Alf***'. The data collection was done by the fieldworker Edmond who bicycled all around France stopping in small villages where he interviewed older speakers and asked them what the local pronunciation

of different words was. Edmond was trained to use a consistent system of transcribing regional pronunciations , and at every point in his fieldwork he administered the same questionnaire. This standardization of methods was an important breakthrough as it allowed thorough and reliable comparisons to be made between different localities.

A number of detailed atlas projects were undertaken across Europe at about the same time – e.g. in Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Spain . However, regional dialectology is by no means a historical exercise. Even today there are ongoing projects involving the comparison of structures across different varieties of the same language, e.g. in Germany, Britain , etc.

4. Using regional dialect data to inform theory

The dialect maps produced in the 19th 0- 20th c. display how language intersects with geographical space. For instance they show how a particular linguistic feature, called a ***linguistic variable***, is distributed geographically. Then they attempt to relate that distribution to the historical development of the language, both internally, i.e. linguistically, and externally, i.e. politically, socially and culturally.

Dialect geographers focused almost exclusively on ***rural*** areas. *Rural* areas were regarded as conservative in the sense that they are seen to preserve *older* forms of the language under investigation. ***Urban*** areas were acknowledged to be innovative , unstable linguistically, and difficult to approach through existing survey techniques.

In spite of their long and respected history, dialect geographic studies also have serious **limitations. Firstly,** dialect geographers ignored densely populated areas , specifically large sprawling urban areas, because of the complexities of both sampling and data evaluation. **Also** the selection of informants tends to be not very well controlled often reflecting no more than the judgment of the person collecting the data. It certainly lack the kind of scientific rigour that sociologists have come to insist on in sampling any population. Finally, the dialect-atlas studies attempted to relate variation in language to settlement history and tended to ignore social class factors.

Today most sociolinguists think that the traditional bias towards geographic origin alone is a serious weakness. They argue, for instance, that besides documenting where people use one form or another, the level of detail in many of the geographical atlases could be used to inform linguistic theory. Thus William Moulton used the maps of Switzerland and Italy to argue in favour of the principle of **maximum differentiation**. He suggested that speakers prefer to maintain a safe level of differentiation between the phonemes in their language, so if there is a change in part of the system they will reorganize the rest of the system so as to keep the distinction between different words clear. He was able to induce this principle solely from the data on regional dialect maps.

Linguists have also found that regional variation can highlight the importance of non-linguistic factors. Work by the sociologist Dave Britain shows how the features of different regional varieties intersect with a range of non-linguistic features. Britain studied the English spoken throughout the Fens, a low-lying part of England, north-east of London. For a long time , the Fens were largely

covered in swamps , and this made them very difficult to cross. These swamps formed a barrier to movement and contact between people. In particular they divided areas to the north and west from areas to the south east and this reflected on the accents of the peoples populating these areas. E.g.

North-west	**South-east**
Strut = book /υ/	Strut / ^/ book / υ/
Night, tide - pronounced /əi/	pronounced /ai/

However, starting in the 18th c. the swampy areas began to be drained and communication between villages in the area became much easier and increasingly frequent.

Britain recorded the casual speech of a large number of people in the central Fens in the 1980s and compared his samples with earlier records of regional dialect surveys of what speakers sounded like in the villages he studied. He found there was a clear ***reduction*** in the amount of regional variation in the central Fens in the 1980s compared to previous records. Once the Fens ceased to be such a big barrier and the differences began to disappear. But they disappeared in a rather different way for the STRUT/BOOK words and the PRICE words. The diphthong in words of the PRICE group underwent a process known as **reallocation.** That is, the difference between the former "narrow/wide starting vowel" distinction was gradually leveled and replaced by a totally new '***raised*** pronunciation' of words like 'night/ ice" , i.e. words that have a voiceless consonant after the diphthong. They had a very open vowel as the main part of the diphthong when the following vowel was voiced as in 'tide' rise". This is a regular principle in English which means that speakers from the Fens villages have reallocated the local forms according to regular linguistic principles.

However the situation with STRUT/BOOK was less clear-cut. There were people who used the old forms , and there were people who didn't ; there were people who would alternate between the old and the new forms and there were people who used something completely new , pronouncing the words with a vowel that was different from the standard southern or northern pronunciations. These **intermediate forms** seemed to be emerging as the preferred local norm in the Fens but in the 1980s it was still very hard to see which regional pattern will win out. The reason for the emergence of these ***intermediate forms*** were, according to Britain, non-linguistic. The reallocation of the PRICE forms was quite simple, it followed a regular principle. But sorting out which phoneme goes with which word in the STRUT/BOOK case is a more complicated task that obviously requires more time. In addition, the southern /^/ sound was quite unfamiliar to speakers from the Fens which further impeded the leveling of that variable. Britain's study illustrates very nicely how sociolinguists have to take account of a wide range of factors when analyzing data.

5. Relating Linguistic variation to Social variation

a) Martha's Vineyard; a study of social dialects

The first social dialect study was conducted by W. Labov in the summer of 1961 on Martha's Vineyard, an island off the coast of Massachusetts in the North-Eastern US. The island was known as something like the summer playground for people who live most of the year on the mainland US. Thus the year-round population on the Vineyard was around 14000, but during the

summer it ballooned to 100 000. In 1961, W. Labov, a student of Uriel Weinreich's and well acquainted with his works on language contact, was interested not just on linguistic variation as a linguistic phenomenon. He was also interested in the relationship between different linguistic variants and the local social order. His approach was what is today known as sociolinguistic.

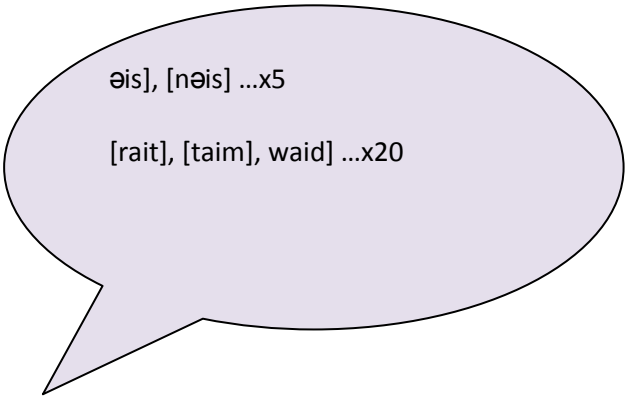
Although the island lies not far off shore from the mainland US, Labov noticed that the pronunciation of certain key variables on Martha's Vineyard differs markedly from the neighbouring parts of the mainland. Thus words from the ICE/TIME group were pronounced with a more raised centralized onset (i.e. /əi/ which is not typical of the island's mainland neighbours. However, Labov noticed that not all year-round residents of the Vineyard used the centralized pronunciation. There was variation between speakers (**interspeaker variation**), and , also, there was variation within individual speakers (**intraspeaker variation**). The extent of this variation piqued Labov's interest. He set out to find out the reasons for it by gathering data.

- Data gathering:

Fist, he asked different people to read a list of words which he recorded. Then he shifted to a more informal conversation in which he asked them about their life on the Vineyard. Labov conducted these sociolinguistic interviews in a number of different parts of the island and with people of different descent – Portuguese, Anglo-British, and Native American. This method of collecting data represented a significant departure from the brief question-answer format of regional dialect surveys, and it has subsequently formed the basis of numerous other studies

- Counting variation: the use of index scores

Labov used a simple method of organizing his data. For example if a woman in her 60s produced 40 tokens of PRICE words in her interview, he would listen to each one. If a token had a very centralized onset he gave that token a score of 2. If it has a very low onset he would give it a score of '0" and if it was in-between - 1E.g.



(5x2) + (20x0) +(15x1) = 25

25/40 9 all the tokens) = 0.6

0.6 – **individual index score**

- Comparing the index score and searching for social meaning of variation

In general Labov found that people 'Up-island' in the more rural areas and smaller towns were more likely to use the centralized variants than people from "Down-island" in the bigger townships. But this regional divide wasn't the only , or most noticeable, distinction between the groups he recorded. He also found that if a person was associated with the fishing industry, they were much more likely to use the centralized variants than if they were associated with any of the other occupations. He also found that people between the ages 31 – 40 used centralized variants of the PRICE and MOUTH words more often than speakers in any other age group. He found further that speakers' attitude was also a factor that might influence variation along with linguistic context and demographic features associated with different speakers. Thus the lowest rates of centralization were found among the people who expressed active dislike or some ambivalence about living on the Vineyard. Finally, he established contrasts between year-round residents on Martha's Vineyard and the summer only residents . Labov proposed that centralization was a means by which speakers could subtly but clearly stake a claim of being different from the mainlanders who came over for the summer only.

- How to define social variables?

This study clearly shows that once a linguistic variable has been identified, it must be possible to relate it in some way to quantifiable features in society, e.g. social class membership, sex, age, ethnicity, etc. While it is fairly easy to relate the occurrences of the variants of a linguistic variable to such social factors as sex and age, relating them to race or ethnicity is more troublesome since they are much more subjective in nature and less easily quantifiable. But the most complicated is social class membership. Sociologists use a number of different scales for classifying people when they want to place them somewhere in the social system..

An ***occupational scale*** may divide people into a number of categories such as: major professional and executives of large businesses, lesser professionals and executives of medium-sized businesses, semi-professional technicians and owners of small businesses; skilled workers, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers.

An ***educational scale*** ,may employ the following categories: graduate or professional education, ; college or university degree; attendance at college or university but no degree; high school graduation; some high school education; less than seven years of formal education.

Income level as well as a source of income are important factors in any classification system that focuses on how much money people have. Similarly important is the type of housing and its location. .

In assigning individuals to social classes, investigators may use any or all of the above criteria and assign different weights to them. Accordingly, the resulting social class designation given to any individual may differ from study to study. We can also see how 'social class' itself is a sociological construct; people probably do not classify themselves as members of groups defined by such criteria.

It's worth pointing out that that using social class designations of the kind described above has some serious drawbacks. Individuals are notoriously hard to classify using objective criteria designed to quantify masses of people for statistical purposes. An obvious disadvantage of such an approach is the difficulty of building generalizations on such results. A major problem about social class distinction is that social space is multi-dimensional whereas systems of social classification are one-dimensional. This comes to imply that self-identification or role-playing may be far more important than some kind of fixed social class labeling.

Variability studies like Labov's try to describe the speech characteristics of members of social groups, i.e. various **sociolects**. Traditionally, linguists have been interested in **idiolects,** the speech characteristics and linguistic behaviour of individuals. They have also maintained that once 'free variation' is taken into account , an idiolect is highly representative of the linguistic behaviour of all the speakers of that language. Sociolects, however, are statements about group norms arrived through counting and averaging. To the extent that the groups are 'real' , i.e. that the members actually feel that they do belong to a group , a sociolect has **validity;** if such groups are 'not real', it is just an artifact.

Distinguishing among social classes in complex modern urban societies is becoming more and more difficult, particularly with the growth of the 20c egalitarianism. On one hand 'reality' of any kind of social grouping is difficult to prove, on the other, multi-group membership is normal, and both change and stability seem to be natural conditions of our existence.

It was for reasons not unlike the above that Milroy preferred to exp[lore network relationships and the possible connection of these to linguistic variation rather than to use the concept of 'social class'. In her work Milroy hypothesized that it was the network of relationships that an individual belonged to that exerted the most powerful and interesting influence on that individual's linguistic behaviour. Network relationships, however, tend to be unique in a way that social class categories are not. That is, no two networks are alike and network structures vary from place to place and from group to group.

6. Connecting variation with change

Prior to sociolinguistic studies of variation linguists believed that language change could only be studied once it had happened. But Labov's studies have established that there is a robust connection between the variation found in any community of speakers at a given point in time and the long-term processes of change studied by historical linguists. He showed that **synchronic**

variation (i.e. variation right now) is often the root of **diachronic change**. Moreover he showed that this relationship may emerge most clearly when researchers carefully consider the non-linguistic constraints on synchronic variation, such as speakers' age, occupation, attitudes or aspirations.

7. Stereotypes, markers and indicators

People sometimes have very clear perceptions about the features that differentiate linguistic varieties. These **stereotypes** are things that people can comment on and they often have very strong opinions about them. Such stereotypes are, for instance, the 'eh' at the end of sentences in Canadian English, or Australian's use of *dinkum*, (AusE – *genuine; believed to be genuine, real or honest)* and young women's use of question intonation when they are making a statement or reporting an event. Linguistic stereotypes are the kind of features that make it into the Letters to the Editor section of local papers , and they are important features used when speakers are performing or putting on another accent or dialect. Upper class speakers of English are known as '*yahs*' for their pronunciation of 'yes' as /ja:/= The difference between the northern and southern English pronunciation of the vowel in the STRUT class of words such as *cup* and *butter* is one that most speakers in the UK are aware of.

Variables that speakers are less consciously aware of, and consequently which have not acquired strong stereotypes , provide some of the richest data for sociolinguists. They may be **markers** or **indicators** of important social factors in a community of speakers or the beginnings of language change**. Markers** can be distinguished from indicators on the same continuum of speakers' awareness that differentiates stereotypes and markers. Speakers show some <u>subconscious awareness of markers</u>, and this is made evident in the fact that they consistently use more of one variant in formal styles of speech and more of another variant in informal style of speech. *Indicators*, on the other hand, show *no evidence that speakers are even subconsciously aware of them.* Speakers consistently favour one variant over another regardless of who they are talking to or where. However the relative frequency of one variant over another may differentiate groups of speakers as a whole.

8. Factors motivating variation

We have already noted that sociolinguists want to know **how** people differ in the ways they use language and the lingu9stic variants available in their community at large; they also would like to ask **why** people differ in these ways; **what** motivates their differences in use.

It is impossible to provide an exhaustive list of what motivates speakers to use language differently from each other or in different ways at different times. A lot of the context of language in use is very idiosyncratic. It pertains to the conditions associated wih a single moment, an interaction between particular speakers, or the personal mood or intentions of a single speaker. Yet, we can identify a small set of motives, viz.

- A desire to show how you fit in with some people and are different from others;
- A desire to do things that have value in the community (and associate yourself with that value);

- A desire not to do things that are looked down on in the community (and have others look down on you);
- A desire to work out how others are orienting themselves to the concerns in (I, ii, iii).

These motives can be summarized as follows

General motivation	Associated aphorism
Fit in with some people; differentiate from others	Life's a balancing act
Do what has value	Accentuate the positive
Avoid what has costs	Eliminate the negative
Try to work out what others are up to	It's a jungle out there

Source: Meyerhoff 2001

For the first three motivations speakers may be pretty clear about what group or personal identities and attributes are available for them to identify with or differentiate from at any one time. But often this is not so obvious. As repeatedly noted language not only *reflects* social and interpersonal dynamics , it also *constitutes* them. The constitutive role of language introduces a degree of indeterminacy in every interaction . It is not hard to find examples that seem to indicate that speakers are working quite hard to put down what the relevant, or most salient identities, are for themselves and their interlocutors – or they are trying to work out how the identities they have oriented to relate to the ones their interlocutors seem to have oriented to. Communication accommodation theory takes this indeterminacy to heart and argues that a lot of this variation may result from speakers testing their hypotheses about these factors.

9. Standards, norms, prestige and stigmatization

It is important to remember that when we consider how people use language, one of the things we are trying to do is to understand better what the norms are under;lying some of the alternations we observe in practice. This intersects in an interesting way with what is understood by 'Standard English' What is meant here by Standard English is a set of norms that are shared across many localities and which have acquired their own social ,eamimg. So, the question here is how dialects, both regional and social, correlate with what is taken to be Standard English.

Before answering this question let me remind once again about the difference between 'dialect' and 'accent'. The term '**dialect'** refers to varieties that differ from the standard on all levels – grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, pragmatic norms. The term '**accent**' refers solely to differences in pronunciation. The term 'dialect' can be used to apply to all varieties, not just to the non-standard variety. Within Standard English there is a small set of regional varieties on the basis of which regional dialects are delimited. Compare:

British: I have got
American: A have gotten
British: It needs washing
Scottish; It needs washed
North and midland of English: You need your hair cutting

Southern English: you need your hair cut.

The standard of English – **UKSE** – is widely accepted as the norm. This is not the case with pronunciation. The accent which only occurs with Standard English is known to linguists as RP (received pronunciation). This is the accent which developed largely in the English public schools and is spoken by about 3 – 5%of the population. RP is largely confined to England but it is a non-localized accent, that is, the speakers who use it do not identify themselves as coming from any particular geographical region. Standard English can also be spoken with any regional accent.
The mmost generalized accent in North America is sometimes referred to as **network English**.

Considering that language use is closely tied with the social structure and value system of the society , different accents and dialects are evaluated in different ways. All varieties of language are structured, complex, rule-governed systems which are wholly adequate for the needs of their speakers However people have different value judgments concerning the correctness and purity of different dialects which are social rather than linguistic. So the apparent inferiority of some dialects is due only to their association with speakers from under-privileged, low-status groups. Put another way, attitudes towards 'non-standard' dialects are attitudes which reflect the social structure of society. In the same way societal values may also be reflected in judgments concerning linguistic varieties. It is common in heavily urbanized Britain, for instance, **rural** accents such as those in Devonshire, Northumberland or the Scottish Highlands to be considered *pleasant, charming, quaint or amusing.* **Urban** accents, on the contrary, are often thought to be *ugly, careless, or unpleasant*. Of course from a linguistic point of view such value judgments are completely arbitrary , based on social connotations that a particular feature has in a particular area.
Such opinions about language varieties have behavioural, educational and policy consequences that can have real effects on forms of language. The sociolinguist Roger Bell has suggested several criteria by which the prestige (or stigma) in wjicj a code is held can be measured. They are:
Standardization – whether the variety has been approved by institutions, codified into dictionaries or grammar, or been used by prestigious texts.
Vitality – whether there is a living community of speakers who use the code or hether the language is dead or dying
Historicity – whether speakers have a sense of longevity of their code;
Autonomy – whether speakers consider their code to be substantially different from others;
Reduction – whether speakers consider the code to be a sub-varietyor a full code in its own right ; whether it has a reduced set of social functions
Mixture – whether speakers consider their language 'pure' or a mixture of other languages
'unofficial norms" – whether speakers have a sense of 'good' and 'bad' varieties of the code even if there is no official codification in grammars and dictionaries

Based on:

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Chapter Six
Age and gender variation

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II. AGE-GRADED FEATURES OF SPEECH 90

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1. Can we treat the categories of "men" and "women" as presupposed, monolithic categories?

We're surrounded by gender talk from the time we are very small. It is ever-present in conversation, humour, conflict and it is called upon to explain everything from driving styles to food preferences. Gender is embedded so thoroughly in our institutions, our actions, our beliefs,

and our desires, that it appears to us to be completely natural. The world swarms with ideas about gender – and these are so commonplace that we take it for granted that they are true. As scholars and researchers, though, it is our job to look beyond what appears to be commonsense to find not simply what truth might be behind it, but how it came to be commonsense. It is precisely because gender seems natural, and beliefs about gender appear to be obvious truth, that we need to step back and examine gender from a new perspective. This is not easy because gender is so central to our understanding of ourselves and the world around us that it is difficult to pull back and examine it from a new perspective. But it is precisely the fact that gender seems self-evident which makes the study of it so interesting.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

In the literature on gender I've come across generalizations like the following:

- Women tend to be more conscious of how words are pronounced and use standard forms more often than men do.
- Women often use rising intonation in statements that are not meant as questions which tends to be interpreted as a marker of hesitancy and lack of confidence.
- Women tend to use more evaluative words and like to exaggerate.
- Men tend to use more vernacular forms and swear words considered an index of self-confidence and machismo.
- Men tend to raise more topics in conversation and show preference for direct (less polite) communication strategies.
- Men tend to interrupt their conversational partners more often, especially if they are women.

a) Pondering upon your experience as communicator, do you find the above statements as :

A. quite correct B. correct to a certain extent C. not correct at all

b) Provide some examples that, according to you, support, or refute the above generalizations.

c) **Would you consider studies on gender variation in language use worthwhile if your answers to most of the above questions were negative. Give reasons for your answer.**

In the past decade of research on language and gender, a number of tensions have arisen between the study of gender differences and similarities, difference and dominance, universals and particulars. While scholars have tried to explain why gender variation in language arises, there has also been a growing understanding of the diversity of possibilities of gender expression through language across different cultures. The focus of earlier studies on identifying and

describing the linguistic differences in the speech of men and women has in more recent time been shifted to exploring specific instances of gendered talk in community-based practice. The Community of Practice (CofP) theory centres on the assumption of ***variability*** in gendered practices and identities, challenging the homogeneity of '*males*' and '*females*' as social groups and recognizing the ***continuum*** status of humans' gendered practices. Acknowledging the complex interplay of language and gender in the context of other social variables, most scholars today warn against premature generalizations, and call for more comprehensive ethnographic work.

In a comprehensive overview of gender-related research, V. Bergvall suggests a tripartite approach to the study of gender which provides the scaffold for the current presentation of the issue. The approach in question addresses three critical facets of gender: (a) the **INNATE**, concerning the debates about gender, sex, and inborn physical difference; (b) the **ACHIEVED**, considering the linguistic means through which speakers construct their gendered status (the perspective of the CofP approach); and (c) the **ASCRIBED**, assessing the role of ideology and hegemonic belief systems which underlie social roles, and which thrust on speakers certain assumptions of gender roles and behavior.

2. Sex and gender (the INNATE)

It is widely acknowledged among sociolinguists that gender is among the 'master'status variables and in every society physical differences are regarded as a fundamental principle reflected in language. However, the amount of evidence of how gender and language interact across the world has clearly shown that there is great variation in the ways that the social constructions of gender play off sex linguistically. This has raised the question about the nature of the linguistic variation under study: does it result from gender or from sex?

Earlier studies considered gender in terms of *biological sex*, carrying over some secondary biological differences into domains in which they are completely irrelevant (e.g. pitch of the voice, polishing one's nails, etc.). Indeed, biology offers up dichotomous male and female prototypes that may provide a basis for gender variation but it also offers many individuals who do not fit those prototypes in a variety of ways. *Sociobiologists* have put forward the interpretation that the social differences between sexes arose and were cemented over the millennia in which women were *gatherers* and men were *hunters*. Across modern societies, *clothing* covers most evidence of the primary sexual characteristics of bodily differentiation. However, most scholars agree today that in the contemporary (post)modern, increasingly technological world, oppositions based on procreation and physical distinctions are not the most reliable means by which to sort people. There is plenty of evidence that shows that few features of language directly and exclusively index gender. In fact, gender variation works in conjunction with other social variables and is indexed in a very complex way. Against this backdrop some interesting questions arise:

- Is sex basic and fixed while gender is its socially mediated expression? Is it relevant to base gender differences on biological sex? In particular, to what extent sex-linked

biological differences might affect such things as predominant cognitive styles, behaviour patterns, ways of talking, etc.

- Or, is gender the fundamental perspective, itself constructing and interpreting sex?
- When do gender differences emerge in the language of children? Since the pattern is relatively consistent one might argue that linguistic differences must begin to emerge at some point in time.
- What is the validity of the view of gender prevalent in modern sociolinguistics that it is a social construction – it is a means by which society jointly accomplishes the differentiation that constitutes the gender order.

Put simply, what above questions boil down to is whether researchers should begin with sex-based categories MALE and FEMALE , exploring their differences and similarities and how these are reflected in language; or, whether they should begin with GENDER , examining the social construction of FEMININITY and MASCULINITY , and their effects on language. The second one is the social constructionist approach, dealing with the symbolization of gender through language.

YOUR TURN

Write down your own answers to the above questions. Read the chapters on language and gender and check to what extent your guesses have been right.

3. Language and gender (the ACHIEVED)

Scholars' thinking about gender has developed and changed over the years. In the early years gender studies have been carried out predominantly in an essentialist paradigm which characterized speakers primarily according to their biological sex, and used many quantitative methods. Put another way, the sex/gender debate has been resolved by simple substitution of "gender" for "sex" as a more polite term, probably to avoid the taboo implications of sexuality. So in the public use of "gender" the old assumptions of basic sexual dichotomies of female and male have just been transferred to a new cover term. Gender theorists however started searching for ways of emphasizing the primacy of the social construction (i.e. gender) over the physical (sex). Most of them would dismiss the distinction in public use, cf. *Men are from Mars and women are from Venus,* and would, instead, focus attention on the obviously high degree of mutually intelligible talk between men and women. The thrust of gender studies in their view should be the disentangling of the interplay of gender and language in the context of other social variables.

a. A historical overview of findings and explanations of gender variation

In what is known as Standard Average European Communities where women's and men's social roles overlap, the speech forms they use also overlap. i.e. women and men do not use completely different forms. They use different quantities or frequencies of the same forms. Therefore in these societies we speak of *sex-preferential uses. T*he vast majority of early large-scale surveys, however, were **quantitative** and the variable of gender used to be treated as a dichotomy (i.e. male/female) for the purposes of correlation with linguistic variables.

4.a. Below you can read some findings from early studies:

women	**men**
Use more 'ing' pronunciation	Use more 'in' pronunciation
(Sydney) 'thing' -> [θiŋg]	'thing' -> [fiŋ']
Tend to use more standard forms. But ! Trudgil found that women claimed to use prestige forms far more than they really did. (aim – hypercorrection)	Middle-class men considered RP pronunciation somewhat unmanly and showed preference for non-RP forms (Trudgil) (aim – covert prestige)
(R. Lakoff) capable of making and favour finer colour distinctions 'mauve' for a kind of pink	In every social class men use more vernacular forms than women.
Higher frequency of some evaluative adjectives, e.g. lovely, sweet (RL)	Men tend to raise more topics in conversation
More hesitant intonation (RL)	Men tend to use fewer politeness strategies
Higher frequency of tag questions and hedges	Men tend to avoid affective (emotional/ attitudinal) language
Tend to be over polite, use more euphemisms, less swearing, , more indirectness and hedging (RL)	Men tend to overlook minor details (e.g. shades of colour) in description
Favour communication strategies such as question asking and ' you know' - signals insecurity	
Frequent style-shifting – stylistic flexibility	

In sum, there was evidence that gender differences cut across all levels of language. There are differences in terms of :

- Pronunciation (cf. ing/in')
- Syntax (cf. tag questions)
- Vocabulary (preference for particular words cf. superlatives)
- Discourse and pragmatics (cf. pragmatic particles, interaction patterns; style-shifting)

Using variationist approach which was first developed for the analysis of phonological variables has proved really productive and nowadays there is plenty of quantitative evidence about the distribution of different linguistic features in men's and women's speech. However, later

scholars have also pointed some serious flaws of variationist studies concerned mainly with the distribution of linguistic variables. It has been argued that counting forms is demonstrably unilluminating if one is interested in the contribution of pragmatic particles to the construction of a particular gender identity. The reliability of quantitative methods has been questioned since it was found that tend to blur the multi-functional nature of linguistic forms whereas in practice both pragmatic particles, and intonation and tag questions can express a range of social meanings, including gender identity. The general conclusion was that the constitutive relations between gender and language are much more complex: some language forms "**index**" social meanings and thus contribute to the construction of a particular gender identity. Conversely, many features associated with one gender or the other " have as their meanings a particular "**affective stance**"

b. Explanations of language differences:

Explanations of gender-motivated language variability also vary. The theoretical accounts of the relationship between language and gender generally revolve around three main views: The view that women's language is **DEFICIENT** when compared to men's; that it fundamentally reflects men's **DOMINANCE** over women; or that it arises from **DIFFERENCE** in the socialization patterns of women and men. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992 provide a detailed account of much of the work done within this framework.

i) The **DEFICIT** perspective on gender variation has its roots in medieval notions of the chain of being: God above man, above women, above the beasts. Women were seen as a diminished copy of the original Adam. Women's language was thus also an imperfect, deviant, or deficient gloss on men's. Men were bearers of the vital force of language; women, in shrinking from the coarser but virile expressions of men (Jespersen 1922), employed tasteless, ladylike usages. Paradoxically, women were damned as ineffectual if they used their 'polished' language, and chastised if they did not (Lakoff 1975). Cameron (1995) in her analysis of "verbal hygiene," traces much of the pressure exerted on women to monitor and "clean up" their deficient language practice. Socially, deficiencies in women's speech were explained by:

- **Women's role as guardians of society's values**

The society usually expect better behaviour from women than from men (cf. R. Lakoff). Misbehaviour from boys is tolerated while girls are more quickly corrected. Women play a crucial role in the early years of socialization of children. So they take it as their duty to instill in children the society's moral and cultural norms, including correct language behaviour.

- **Subordinate groups must be polite**

By using more polite forms women are looking after their own need to be valued by the society. i.e. they are protecting their face. Conversely, vernacular forms signal power and machismo and

are deliberately adopted by men who are viewed traditionally as the bread-winners of the family. (P. Trudgill).

ii) In the 1970s, a **DOMINANCE** explanation was put forward that linked the negative evaluations of women's language to their social domination by men. So the deficiencies in women's language were not due to the fact that they were incapable of vital communication; rather, men took the upper hand in conversation, enacting social dimorphism (differentiation) in echo of physical (sexual) dimorphism. Thus **power** was seen as a central feature, where men pushed women into a smaller and less significant space on the linguistic floor by several means: by interruptions and overlaps; by failing to take up women's conversational gambits (Fishman 1983), or by using derogatory remarks.

From a social perspective, this stance correlated with explanations of women being more **class or status-conscious** than men. Their awareness of the close link between the way they speak and their social status makes them more careful speakers. That is, by using more standard forms they tend to claim the respect ascribed to higher positions in society.

iii) Feminists of the 1970s and 1980s sought to reclaim women's place as ***different but equal*** linguistic participants, advancing arguments of women's superiority in certain linguistic domains. They introduced the **DIFFERENCE** approach which presented women as better conversationalists, for using a richer repertoire of *communication strategies* ; for being able to *manage rapport* and *collaborate* in interaction, in contrast to men's one-upmanship (Tannen 1990) and for their greater *stylistic flexibility* reflecting the wider range of social identities they are required to control. i.e. speech is considered as one way for women to assert their place in society.

This theory ties in well with the stance that women and men learned different behaviors as part of their social differentiation, from playgroups onward. Accordingly, they should not be blamed for expressing their socialized roles but each sex should come to value the style of the other. Differences in childhood ***socialization*** serve to explain women's insecurity, emotionality and dependence. Socialization is seen as the means by which male-female power differences are internalized and translated into behaviour producing properly dominant men and submissive women. As R. Lakoff puts it, " *Linguistic behaviour as other facets of the personality is heavily influenced by* ***training and education****. Women speak as they do – and men speak as they do – because they have from childhood been rewarded for doing so, overtly or subtly. Also they speak as they do because their choice of speech style reflects their self-image.* "

EXTENSION

Read more about the emergence of gender-related differences in children's speech in Further Reading 6/1. If possible, collect samples of Bulgarian boys' and girls' speech exhibiting gender-related differences in style.

Try to find evidence of how today's technological world has affected children's speech (for instance, it may have brought about considerable leveling or deepening of the distinctions).

Though seemingly rational and unbiased, the "difference" approach has been severely criticized. Critics have pointed out that the valorization of women's place in society through such a separate-but-equal, assign-no-blame approach was more apparent than real as it effectively downplayed a social reality in which difference was not equally valued or tolerated.

The difference explanation effectively masks the disruption of equality and male dominance in society, they argued. This has led to modification of the 'difference' view in later discussions. Thus Tannen (.....) agreed that "deviance" did not exclude dominance, but pointed as a more important fact that within the framework of two different cultures women were no longer viewed as merely 'defective communicators' but were entitled to their own distinct domain.
Yet, there is one critical issue that still remains open and it concerns the **generalizability** of the principles drawn upon research carried out amongst predominantly white, middle-class, North American and European women. Could the (linguistic) behavior of all men/ women across societies be accounted for by principles drawn on this fairly limited socio-cultural domain?, scholars have asked. Studies of women and men in other cultures, as we shall see below, seriously challenge the two-culture model as over-simplistic and pose the question of devising a more *flexible theory* that would account for cross-cultural variation, both within and across gender and cultural boundaries.

4. The Constructionist view – with a focus on the local and practical (the ASCRIBED)

In the late 1980s and 90s it was generally acknowledged that such a flexible theory could only be created within the ***constructivist framework*** in which language figures as the medium for the cultural production of gender identity and subjectivity is discursively constituted***. Each person's subjectivity is constructed and gendered within the social, economic and political discourse to which they are exposed.*** Each person acts as an agent for the creation of a range of public images, created and sustained by the use of language. Thus, speakers are constantly doing "gender". The different ways in which women and men behave result from the gender-marked social contexts in which they operate (e.g. bread-winner, child-nurturer, caretaker, manager etc.). This approach examines what people "mean" in their 'situated utterances" and " how gender is "constructed in social practice". From this perspective, ***identifying the function of forms in context is crucial.*** Someone using a facilitative tag, or supportively overlapping another speech, or providing positive agreeing verbal feedback is doing gender very differently from someone using a challenging tag, disruptively interrupting, and using neutral or non-committal feedback. Working within the constructivist framework, Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (1995) advance the view that the assessment of gender-related variation and deviance calls for ethnographic work focused on the local and practical and utilize in their research the concept of **community of practice** (CofP). The CofP view challenges the dualized differences between seemingly homogeneous groups of males and females and centres instead on the assessment of variability in gendered practices **in context**. It emphasizes the acts of becoming gendered while

operating within a particular community while moving from ***peripheral or novice*** participation in linguistic action to a ***central or more experienced*** enactment with a shared repertoire of linguistic resources. This fine-grained approach allows researchers to study nuances within the categories of "women", "men", "girls' and "boys".

Eckert& McConnell-Ginet suggested that the following steps should be taken in exploring gender variation:

a) Recognize that gender is not fixed and pre-existing;

b) Consider how gender interacts with other aspects of social identity (e.g. class, race, ethnicity, and age), rather than taking it as an "additive" variable that can be easily abstracted from a person's other identities.

c) Challenge premature generalization of the assumptions about gender variations based on studies of small (usually Western, middle-class) populations.

d) Share research with other gender theorists from other fields.

e) Undertake local studies of communities across a broader range of social settings, countries, and languages. (Bergvall 1999:279)

Thus they recognized that diversity within categories was not merely noise in the system, but a natural result of membership in a number of overlapping social communities of practice that must be accounted for by theory. Single binary classifications of how men and women speak are no longer possible. Gender is a complex continuum which interacts with other social dimensions such as **social status, ethnicity, age and power**. A more satisfactory way of studying the linguistic realization of gender thus involves examining the way individuals express or construct their gender identities in specific interactions in particular social contexts.

a. How can we construct social meanings via linguistic forms?

It is argued that such work demands that we consider and clarify the **force** of the socially ascribed nature of gender. As seen from earlier research, gendered speech and identities were often associated with **POWER.** For instance**,** in Western culture, those with **power** may exercise the right to speak for longer in contexts such as meetings; they may interrupt others; use joking insults as silencing devices, or alternately they may explicitly require others to contribute. Because positions of power are in general more often held by men, these strategies tend to be encoded as 'masculine' and when they are used by men in particular interactions they contribute to the construction of **normative masculinity.**

YOUR TURN

Well, but read P. Fishman's statement below. Do you think she agrees completely with the above explanation that normative masculinity implies POWER by default? Do you agree with her argument that the fact that women do not commonly interrupt their speakers and do not use non-standard forms is not an weakness but a demonstration of higher, mor sophisticated communication skills.

P. Fishman – Women ***ask declarative questions, tags, and ' you know'*** more often because of their **conversational power** not because of ***personality weakness***. Women have more trouble starting a conversation and keeping a conversation going when they are talking with men. Their greater use of questions is an attempt to solve a conversational problem of gaining a response to their utterances. Women have more conversational trouble than men because men often do not do the necessary work to keep a conversation going – either they do not respond or respond minimally. I suspect that when they talk to their superiors men use what has been regarded women's conversational style. The underlying issue is likely to be hierarchy, not simply gender. Socially-structured power relations are reproduced and actively maintained in our everyday interactions. Women's conversational troubles reflect not their inferior social training but their inferior social position.

STATUS is another potentially relevant dimension. There is a 'pervasive' stereotypical belief that the speech of high status men is **effeminate.** Working class men shun feminine behaviour of any kind (rudeness and aggressiveness is the perfect recipe for machismo) Contrariwise, 'features of feminine behaviour'(politeness, polished style of speaking, etc.) appear increasingly in male style as one moves up the socioeconomic ladder. In the upper class what is called effeminacy may be effected as conscientious rejection of physical power by those who exercise real global power.

b. Finally, how can we build a gendered identity?

This happens in interaction or in narrative. Telling a story one can display one's sense of who s/he is and where s/he stands in terms of current societal ideology. S/He can construct, reinforce or deconstruct a particular kind of gendered identity (e.g. conservative, opportunistic, etc.) ; s/he can present themselves as conforming to society's definitions of appropriate masculine or feminine behaviour for individuals involved in the social roles being described or enacted. (cf. accommodation).

What is important to remember is that in every interaction, we make linguistic choices which express a range of meanings. Social dialect research has indicated the ways in which women and men signal their gender by their phonological, morphological, lexical or pragmatic choices.

Speakers draw on the symbolic power of language to construct a particular identity and gender characteristics will probably take up a central place in the image built. Constructing a gendered identity in interaction is an active, on-going creative process but it is a process which draws on the participants' familiarity with the significance of particular choices. Individuals use language in face-to-face interaction to *express, create, challenge and subvert* a range of social meanings but they draw on established sociolinguistic norms in doing so.

The ways in which men and women signal their gender and construct their gender identity differ in the relative frequency with which they use particular linguistic variants and in some communities they also differ in the range of styles which they control. In some cases some inherently meaningless particles may acquire social significance **as they become the locus of purely symbolic sex role differentiation in society. Social significance** is acquired by the pattern of an item's use, its association with a particular social group.

Recent research on language and gender clearly indicates the importance of focusing not on biological sex, not even on the culturally constructed category of gender**, but rather on the diverse realizations of the dynamic dimensions of masculinity and femininity.** We have to see how individuals draw on established norms to encode particular aspects of their identity in particular interactions. Identities are situated both globally and locally, and in any interaction we are continually locating and reallocating ourselves, defining and redefining ourselves and our worlds.

A most salient feature of research within this framework is the interplay of ascribed and constructed roles against the backdrop of strong social stereotypes and beliefs about gender. (Read also FURTHER READING 6/2, Gender related distinctions in talk in interaction.)

5. Criticism of the CofP approach

Despite its many virtues, The CofP approach has also been the subject of criticism. Scholars have pointed as one of its serious drawbacks its inability to derive a systematic account for gender norms at the more global level of ideology and hegemony. While it is critical to examine the local practices that illustrate compliance to, alliance with, or resistance to larger-scale norms, they argue, it is also necessary to study how certain ideologies are thrust upon us. This could not be achieved through emphasizing on just the local and particular. What is also needed is to study the relationship of concrete CofP activity to political economic considerations of power and social inequality that put a heavy stamp on human language and behavior.

Today, there is a growing interest in how ideologies operate linguistically. Critical Discourse Analysts (CDA) argue that powerful elites have special access to discourse. They exert heavy decision-making and linguistic control via courts, law, police enforcement, media, etc., and investigations of much broader than the local CofP domains are needed to uncover the gate-keeping powers that the elite have for controlling discourse. So CDA takes a different approach from CofP, examining how ideology is constructed and imposed from above, often through the control of the media.

A good example of this new framework are studies of the effect of teen magazines on the language of young girls and boys. As a rule, media discourse tends to exert strong but one-sided influence on its users; mass media impose images and constructions of behavior and once consumers buy or consume a discourse product, their linguistic choices are limited to a reaction to the media event. This puts media producers in a very powerful position. As "professional practitioners," they control the rights to production, determine what should be included, and decide how to couch these ideas so as to "assign assumed shared experiences and commonsense

attitudes." The possibility for the mass media to shape general assumptions - to create ascriptions of "appropriate “gender roles beyond the bounds of local communities of practice – is called by Cameron ‘institutional coerciveness’. The role of modern science in the production of gender falls under this study of ideology as well, because of the status of science as an explanatory force in the Western world. (Read also FURTHER READING 6/3, On ideologically motivated distinctions.)

6. A cross-cultural view on language and gender variation

Evidence from cross—cultural studies bring into relief yet another limitation of the CofP approach. It refers to the languages recorded throughout the world in which physical (sexual) dimorphism has found representation in the language structure. Thus as early as 1923, the American anthropologist Edward Sapir has documented dialect differences relating to sex in the now extinct Indian Yahi language, a dialect of the Yanna group in Northern California. He noted that in Yana the male form was longer than the female form and included a final syllable as the root; dialectal differences occurred more in complete words than in suffixed elements. There was also a further non-structural distinction in pronunciation whereby men when talking to men spoken fully and deliberately and when speaking with a woman preferred a ‘clipped’ style of speaking. Here are some examples

Women’s forms	Men’s forms
Ba	ba-na ‘deer’
Yaa	yaa-na ‘person’

A similar distinction can also be observed in Bengali (India) where women use initial [l] while men use initial [n] in some words.

In Japanese, too, some of the women’s forms are longer while female forms of nouns are frequently prefixed by o-, a marker of polite style. There are also some vocabulary differences. E. g.

Women	Men
Ohiya	mizu ‘water’
Oisii	umai ‘delicious’
Taberu	kuu ‘eat’

There are also languages in which the sex of the speaker is signaled in their pronoun system.

It is important to note that sex differences in language are often just one aspect of more pervasive linguistic differences in the society reflecting social status or power differences. If a community is very hierarchical , e.g., and within each level of the hierarchy men are more powerful than women, then linguistic differences between the speech of women and men may be just one dimension of more extensive differences reflecting the social hierarchy as a whole. For instance, in the Bengali society, a younger person should not address a superior by first name. Similarly a

wife, being subordinate to her husband is not permitted to use her husband's name. She addresses him with a term such as '***suncho***' (*do you hear*?). Also a Bengali wife whose husband's name was 'tara' (a star) called him, using circumlocution '*nokkhotro' (heavenly body*). The clearly identifiable differences between women's and men's speech in these communities reflect clearly demarcated sex-roles in these communities. Sex-**exclusive speech forms**, i.e. used only by men or women, reflect **sex-exclusive social roles**.

Some telling evidence of sex-based differences can also be found in Yanyuwa. The Yanyuwa people today are centred around the township of Borroloola some 970 kilometres south-east of Darwin, Australia. What is interesting about these differences is that both men and women use the same word-stems but the dialects differ in the class-marking prefixes on the noun classes, verbs and pronouns. The reason behind this dialect distinction is today unknown and the reason why a male and female dialect arose can only be left to the realms of speculation. However, adult speakers tend to stick firmly to these differences and the development of awareness of these differences is part of the socialization of children who in their early years speak a mixture of both men's and women's dialects. By way of an illustration, read the account of a a middle-aged man:

'I was only a newly initiated man, and I asked my mother where Douglas [male cousin] was. I spoke like a woman and she yelled at me, "Hey! You are a man; you have no foreskin, why do you talk like a woman? Speak like a man, you are not a small child!" I was ashamed, it was not easy to get the men's words right straight away.' (D.M. 1986)

In conclusion we can say that language and gender variation is too complex and multifaceted to be accounted for by simple explanations, or described through singular approaches. Without careful attention to local practice, we cannot understand how individuals shape and interpret their gender and their social practice with the available linguistic resources. Without broad surveys and collections, we cannot know the significance of individual uses - the convergence, divergence, and movement of social practices. Without the broader studies of ideologies at the textual and global levels, we cannot understand how interpretations of gender by gate-keeping elites are generated or spread. It is absolutely critical therefore that we hear the most significant messages of the research conducted throughout the years: to investigate as broad range of contexts as possible, prepare for variation and to be wary of generalization that are not based on sufficient amount of evidence drawn upon diverse cross-cultural contexts.

II. AGE-GRADED FEATURES OF SPEECH

Similar to gender-related differences, age-based variability also has some physical representation. For instance, difference in voice pitch, pronunciation of some difficult sounds, etc. But physical factors can provide just a partial explanation of the enormous grammatical and lexical differences in the speech of teenagers and adults. Observations show that there are also differences in vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, use of slang, swear words, use of newly coined words (neologisms). Comparing the speech of teenagers and adults we can identify numerous age-graded patterns.

Age is also considered a master social factor since it throws light on the processes of language change. It is a well known fact that the system we acquire on the basis of linguistic input in childhood is qualitatively different from the subsequent systems a person might be exposed to later in one's life. Also, there are differences between how the average adult thinks about her or himself in relation to language and how small children do and these non-biological attitudinal factors may also play a part in making it more difficult to learn a language to native-like levels at later stages of one's life.

There are two ways in which sociolinguists can analyze change. One is to compare older studies and records of sociolinguistic features with modern studies. The other method is to investigate the variations in usage across the age ranges, since older people will manifest earlier forms of language learned in their youth. Currently, studies that include a real time component in their methods are widely used. A particularly interesting branch of research has bveen the studies that have tried to follow the same individuals over a period of real time. These are called '**panel studies'**

One such panel study has involved repeatedly interviewing the same speakers in the city of Montreal. Researchers now have data from 1971, 1984 and 1995 interviews and can compare the speakers' behaviour with respect to several phonological, morphological and lexical variables.

FACTFILE

One of the best known panel studies is still underway in Britain. Director Michael Apted has interviewed the same people every seven years since they were 7 years old s part of a remarkable set of documentaries known as the Seven Up series (World in Action, Granada Television). The focus is on social development but naturally there is a treasure trove of sociolinguistic data in them after so many years. (Meyerhoff 2006)

One of the clearest findings emerging from panel studies is that not all linguistic variables behave the same across a speaker's lifespan. In general, a speaker's phonology is more stable than their vocabulary. In fact , people keep acquiring vocabulary throughout their entire lives.As for grammar, some morphological and syntactical variables seem t be treated by speakers as if they were essentially lexical which is made manifest in the ability of speakers to *restructure* their systems radically over real time. Some morphological variables remain relatively stable though, and this suggests that speakers understand them as being more like phonological variables.

The evidence from such panel studies make some scholars to suggest further that if there's likely to be any adjustment in a speaker's behaviour, age is less important than the nature of the variable. They suggest that if your input when acquiring a variable is characterized by a lot of variability then it is more likely that you will change the frequency with which you use the competing variants during your life. If, on the other hand, there is relatively little variation in your input as a child, your system is more likely to remain stable across the lifespan.

Other scholars have also explored how a person's individual personal life history might be having an impact on their participation in and orientation to ongoing community-wide change. That is how changes in group behaviours can be accounted for through changes in individual

behaviours. The results from these studies contribute to understanding what is known as **generational change** that occurs when each new generation of speakers gradually uses more and more of the innovative variant. See in Table 1 how Sankoff (2005) represents the relationship between variation and change in the individual and the community.

Table One

	Type of change	Individual	Community	Synchronic pattern
1	Stability – no change	invariant	invariant	Flat, no slope with age
2	Age grading	**Changes abruptly**	invariant	Steady increase/ decrease with age
3	Lifespan change	**Changes abruptly**	**Changes gradually**	Steady increase/ decrease with age
4	Generational change	Invariant	**Changes gradually**	Steady increase/ decrease with age
5	Community-wide change	Changes abruptly	Changes abruptly	Flat, no slope with age

(Meyerhoff 2006: 144)

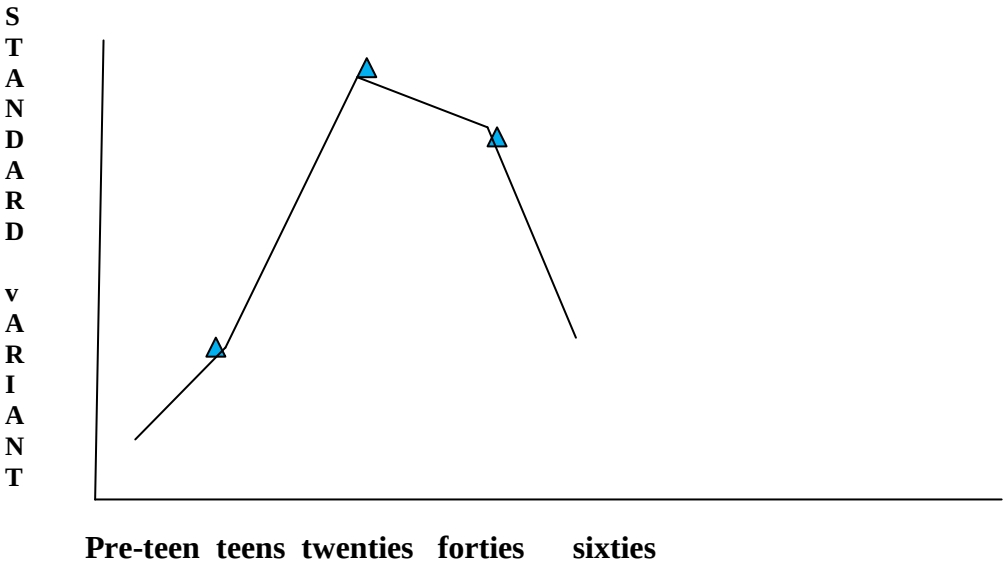
7. Age-grading

The notion of **age grading** is used both in linguistics and the social sciences. In anthropology and sociology, age grading has been conceptualized as *the phenomenon whereby differential norms are considered appropriate for different age spans*. A certain level of regularity is guaranteed by the fact that individuals move collectively through formalized age grades during their life course (Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum 2003). This means that people (agents) change their habitus together when transferring from participation in one age-specific stage of life to the next one (often accompanied by some sort of transitional rite).When applied to linguistic phenomena, the concept of age grading is commonly conceptualized as the ***regular process whereby speakers embrace different variants with age in successive generations*** (Chambers 2003; Macaulay1977). The concept has been adopted in apparent-time studies to explain cases where linguistic features, such as swear words or vernacular variants, are endorsed by young speakers and regularly get lost from their linguistic repertoire during their involvement in the linguistic market-place.

YOUR TURN

See for instance the words for "nice" used by the Rich Californian Girls:: *spiffing, topping, super, groovy, fab, neat*, Ask your native speaker friends which of these words are part of their active vocabulary. Relate your findings to the age of the speakers and see what curve of change you will get.

Normally, the curve looks like the one in Fig. 1 below:



So the most common pattern is for **a**dolescents to use the highest frequency of vernacular forms (and the lowest frequency of standard forms). Like slang vernacular forms serve as markers of group membership. Vernacular forms are gradually reduced as a child approaches adulthood. As people become older their speech becomes less dialectal and more standard. In their middle years (when they go to work) people are most likely to recognize the society's speech norms and use the fewest vernacular forms.

Sankoff wondered what might account for an increase in the standard variants in the span between 20 and 40. Her explanation was that in their late teens and early twenties people start to become more involved in the broader linguistic marketplace through their participation in the workforce. For many jobs it is expected that the holder will be able to use standard language norms and/or show a command of relatively formal styles when appropriate. So an increase in the use of standard forms among speakers in their twenties might result from speakers' increased involvement in the domains where standard language is a) expected and b) rewarded most directly. Contrariwise the subsequent retreat from standard forms when speakers become

older can be explained with the fact that the gate-keeping function of language is no longer relevant when people retire.

8. Slang

Slang is another area of vocabulary which selects a person's age. Current slang is the linguistic prerogative of young people and generally sounds odd in the mouth of an older person. It signals membership of a particular group. The young in New Zealand currently use the terms *wicked* , *choice* and *rad* (from *radical*) to describe something they approve of. Earlier generations of New Zealanders used *bosker* and *bonzer*. Rich Californian Valley girls use *mondo*. Because slang is so ephemeral, vocabulary can be a real give-away if you are trying to guess a person's age on the telephone or radio.
Slang, of course , affects all language levels. **Here are a few more examples**:

(Like)

We have five teachers. Like, they- I don't know- they- they're not exactly- some of them are really nice. Like you really like them- Like one of my teachers, she's amazing. Like I love what she teaches. And it's a really- like the way that she presents like the class and the ... (S. Tagliamonte / Journal of Pragmatics 37 (2005))

(Just)
I'm there, I'm like, just playing around, doing nothing. [1] Same thing. [03] Same thing over and over again. And then, every once-in-a-while, me and my friend who plays the bass. Like, whenever somebody would come in, we'll like, just stop and play Another-One- Bites-the-Dust. [1] Oh yeah. [03] It's really funny. And then we're going-to try and learn, like just to piss him off, really. We just do, 'cause it's more fun.
(Antonio Silvaggio, 16, Male)

There is plenty of evidence in the literature that young people's speech is a coherent linguistic style that makes extensive use of pragmatic expressions to organize textual information, manage interpersonal relationships between speaker and listeners, and convey speaker stance towards content and audience. Several decades of research on pragmatic expressions, primarily in English, suggest that these pragmatic innovations fall well within the range of normal communicative and linguistic competence. When youth draw from a wide range of linguistic features, shift discourse locations, and expand pragmatic functions, their innovations are consistent with the patterns of usage for more standard pragmatic expressions and speakers.

Some scholars classify features as slang based on two fundamentally social criteria: the marginalized position of its speakers and the social goals or functions the language is thought to achieve. That is, one fundamental aspect of slang is an association with more *marginalized*, or *less powerful*, speakers. The second factor concerns the social goals specific pragmatic expressions achieve. Young people use slang to convey stance, novelty, and style .

Age grading and language change

Young people's language is also the main source of *innovation*. Innovation in language affects all areas of society. A case in point is a number of dramatic 'new' discourse/pragmatic markers in the English language which have gained considerable high-profile attention in recent years, from the media, educationalists and linguists alike. The innovative features are highly conspicuous and typically associated with the younger generation. Some of these are forms such as **like**, **just** and **so**, etc. as in the examples below:

- I'm just like so there, you know?
- Like, that's what I like told you.
- I just decided and just went.
- She's so not cool.
- You so want it.

Here's one more example:

(**Intensifiers - like**, **just** and **so)**

She was actually like, really grateful and like. 'Cause like, I thought she would just belike, ''Euh! These are so small! Oh, couldn't you find more?'' Or like, something like gay.

So then, I was happy that she was-like, ''Aw, thank you so much like, oh, these pictures are so good!'' Like, I got like, really good pictures'.

(Clara Felipe, 16, Female)

A common pattern for vernacular or slang forms like the ones above is to peak during adolescence when peer group pressure not to conform to society's norms is greatest, and then rise again in old age when social pressures reduce as people move out of work force into a more relaxed phase of their life. When however speakers are not aware that these are really vernacular forms, there is no adolescent peak but rather a gradual reduction as the child approaches adulthood.

Based on:

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Chapter Seven
Ethnicity, social communities and networks; communities of practice

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1. The reality of social groupings – community and network

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

1. Read the following statements and choose an answer.

English people have a strong **sense of time** and punctuality is a highly treasured asset in society; Quite the contrary, punctuality does not rank high on *Bulgarian* scale of values and being late for appointments is not regarded a serious offence by Bulgarians.

A. totally agree B. disagree C. partially agree (depends on the people or social context)

People have different attitudes toward **completing tasks.** For instance**,** *Asian* and *Hispanic* people tend to attach more importance to developing relationships at the beginning of a shared project and more emphasis on task completion toward the end. *European Americans* tend to focus immediately on the task at hand, and let relationships develop as they work on the task. *Bulgarians,* in turn, begin with criticism of the task instructions or procedure, for instance for being too general, unclear, complicated, etc., This debate takes up most of the time necessary for completion of the task at hand and often results in incomplete or badly performed task. Relationships are not discussed at all in Bulgarian teams since most participants prefer to work alone.

A. totally agree B. disagree C. partially agree (depends on the people or social context)

People also have different **decision -making** styles: in *US culture* decision making is commonly delegated; in *Latin American countries* there is a strong value placed on holding decision-making responsibilities oneself. *Bulgarians* tend to value solely their own decisions and hate to delegate decision-making responsibilities onto others. Or, as the joke goes those willing to take up the high-ranking position of general exceed by far those willing to serve in the army.

A. totally agree B. disagree C. partially agree (depends on the people or social context)

We have already considered a lot of evidence of variability that is subject to quite systematic schematization. For instance, we talked about stratification according to ***gender***, to speaker's ***age, or*** according to his/her ***social status*** and ***education*** *(cf. social dialect***).** In fact, any sociolinguistic variables are stratified according to *social groupings*. This means that one variant is more frequent in the speech of members of one social group and another variant is found more often in another social group that correlates with the first one in terms of a particular social variable – class, age, gender, etc. What is important to note however is that these differences are not deterministic: generally not all members of a particular group will use the registered variables in exactly the same way and not all people who use the particular variable will regard themselves as belonging to the same social group.

As noted in the previous lectures one of the most important contributions of Labov in his variationist studies is that he has brought into relief the *systematic* and *accountable* relationships between *language variation* and *speaker variables* such as sex, ethnicity, social class and social

networks. Language variation in large and linguistically heterogeneous cities as well as in smaller communities has proved to be socially regular and amenable to theoretical analysis. Variationist studies have shown further how investigating this socially patterned variation can illuminate mechanisms of linguistic change.

However, one question that variationist studies could not answer satisfactorily and happens to be the "apple of discord" to this day, is how systematic and accountable we can consider ***the social groupings*** claimed to correlate with specific patterns of language variation. Do these groupings have any objective significance in societies or do they just exist in sociolinguists' minds? How reliable are the distinctions on the basis of which they have been made up. Do these groupings bear enough similarities, both in terms of social characteristics and language behaviour, to account for generalizability of the established relationships? As seen from the questions posed in the beginning, it is notoriously difficult to categorize people's behaviour and I hope you would all agree that sociocultural generalizations like the ones I provided in the beginning of the lecture should always be taken with a "pinch of salt".

In this lecture I consider the community as a social variable with a special focus on the types of relationship between social groupings – community or network – and patterns of linguistic variation and change.

2. Defining *speech community*

Social community is a fundamental concept referring to large-scale social groupings. When associated with language use such groupings are often referred to as **speech communities**. As already mentioned the concept is not amenable to easy definition. Some issues that make linguists doubt its relevance and usefulness as a sociolinguistic term are:

- ✓ why are people treated as belonging to the same speech community if they vary so greatly in the use of their language ?
- ✓ how can the speakers of a language be defined, or what is the boundary between different speech communities? (e.g. why are Germans and Austrians and the Swiss considered different speech communities given that they speak the same language; or, why are the people speaking Cantonese and Mandarin considered to belong to the same Chinese community when the language varieties they speak are NOT mutually intelligible?)
- ✓ are *varieties* spoken by the multiethnic or multilingual communities in large cities different languages or dialects? Or, how far apart should varieties be to be considered different languages?
- ✓ How should diasporas be treated – as belonging to the community they originate from even if a lot of them may not speak the language to which they are genetically related; or, should be considered against the backdrop of the community they have chosen to affiliate with and whose language they have embraced as their language of communication (and identification).

- ✓ Last but not in importance, how useful is the concept of "speech community"?

In trying to provide answers to issues like the ones raised above linguists have come up with over a dozen definitions and interpretations of the notion of speech community, none of which is perfect but reflects its author's view concerning: a) the relationship between language and society and b) the definition of language.

TASK

You will read a list of definitions and interpretations of the notion of speech community underpinned by different theoretical views on language and society. Try to organize them in a chart using such key words as: *language, speech, group of people, interaction patterns, attitude, frequency, system of social norms, worldview* or *cultural schemas*, etc.

a. Language-based definitions

L. Bloomfield: A speech community is a group of people *who interact by means of speech*.

Chomsky does not provide an explicit definition of 'speech community' but his view of 'competence ' as an abstraction of human knowledge of language structure implies the existence of a ***'completely homogeneous speech community'*** whose members all possess the same language competence. In reality, such a theoretical construct does not exist in the world.

Lyons: 'all the people *who use a given language'* . This is called a *circular* definition – one 'fuzzy 'notion is defined by means of another indeterminate notion. On one hand, it is practically impossible to define 'language, on the other, a speech community is not coextensive with a language. Cf. English is spoken in Britain, The US, Australia, New Zealand etc. A single speech community can employ more than one language.

So, <u>using linguistic characteristics alone</u> to determine what is or is not a speech community has proved to be quite <u>impossible.</u> In defining groups, people do not seem to feel any such direct relationship between linguistic characteristics and social behaviour. Other characteristics - social, cultural, political and ethnic, - also contribute to group differentiation. So, our search must be for criteria other than, or at least in addition to, linguistic criteria.

b. Sociolinguistic definitions

Sociolinguists have attempted to capture the interaction between two aspects of human behaviour: the <u>use of language</u> and <u>social organization of societies</u>; (i.e. " who speaks what language (or language variety) to whom and when and to what end?). It is assumed that whenever the relationships between **language choice** and **rules of social appropriateness** can be formalized, they allow us to group relevant linguistic forms into distinct dialects, styles or

other occupational registers. The sociolinguistic study of speech communities deals with the linguistic similarities and differences among these speech varieties. The speech varieties employed within a speech community form a **system** because they are related to a **shared set of social norms**.' Such norms however may cross what we may regard as clear language boundaries. Cf

Czech share common social norms,
Austrian but speak different languages
German
Hungarian

India share a common language
Malaisia but different social norms
The USA
Britain

Situations like the above raise further doubts as to the relevance and reliability of the formations known as speech communities. Here are some definitions within the social paradigm that can elucidate how scholars have tried to resolve some of the problems occurring in the language-based definitions.

J. Fishman defines this as a central objective of descriptive sociolinguistics whose main purpose is to disclose the language usage norms – i.e. the generally accepted and implemented social patterns of language use and of behaviour toward language - for particular larger or smaller social networks and communities. Descriptive sociolinguists describe the general or normative patterns of language use within a speech network or speech community so as to show the ***systematic nature*** of the alternations between one variety and another among individuals who share a ***repertoire*** of varieties. Since community members do not use the same patterns in all occasions but *code-shift* to accommodate to the particular situation (*situational shifting*) it is essential that they share some **norms** that guide their sociolinguistic behaviour, e.g. they must know when to shift from one variety to another, what is or isn't a different situation with respect to language variety use, what signals about the relationship between co-members of a social network is a particular code-shift associated with, etc. Native members of such networks or communities slowly and unconsciously acquire such ***sociolinguistic communicative competence*** with respect to appropriate language use as part of their ***socialization*** in their early years.

A speech community maintains its sociolinguistic patterns as long as the *functional differentiation* of the varieties in its linguistic repertoire is systematically and widely maintained. As long as each variety is associated with a separate *class of situations* there is good reason and established means for retaining them all, each in its place. However, two or more varieties with the same societal function become difficult to maintain and, in the end, one must either displace the other or a new functional differentiation must be arrived at between them.

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J. Gumperz defines speech community as a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by **frequency of social interaction patterns** and set off from the surrounding areas by **weaknesses in the lines of communication**. In addition, there should be some specifically **linguistic differences** between the members of the speech community and those outside it.

So, here the emphasis is on *patterns of interaction* and *frequency* of employing those interaction patterns. Consequently, with this definition different speech communities will tend not to overlap much, in contrast with earlier definitions where overlap automatically results from bilingualism. So, communities are defined by Gumperz partially through *their relationship with other communities*. *Internally*, a community must have a certain ***social cohesiveness***; *externally* its members must find themselves cut off from other communities in certain ways. The speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system because they are related to a shared set of social norms. Hence, they can be classified according to their usage, their origins, and the relationship between speech and social action that they reflect.

Gumperz bases his definition of speech community on **social dialectology**. Recall that dialectologists map relevant features of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar in the form of isoglosses, and bundles of isoglosses mark the ***focal areas,*** centres from which innovations radiate into the surrounding regions; the ***relic zones***, districts where forms previously known only from old texts are still current; and ***transition zones*** **–** areas of internal diversity marked by the coexistence of linguistic forms identified with competing centres of innovation. Analyses along these lines assign a central role to speech communities and their social relationships in them and between them in ***social change.***

Gumperz adds that linguistic communities should not only ***share a*** set of grammatical rules but there must also be ***regular relationships*** between language use and social structure, i.e. there must be **norms** which may *vary* by sub-group and social setting. He also comments on other social groupings related to language use, namely: ***occupationally specialized minority groups (e.g. Legalese, Journalese) craft jargons , secret argots (thieves' argot) etc. L***inguistic distinctness may also result from seemingly *intentional* processes of distortion. One very common form of a distorted language is pig-Latin of English school children (или птичешкия на българските деца: Пи – как пи – си?)

Dell Hymes disagrees with Gumperz's definition. He claims that it simply reduces the notion of speech community to that of a language and, in effect, *throws out 'speech community' as a worthwhile concept.* For him the way in which the *people* ***view*** *the language they speak is also important*, i.e. how they ***evaluate accents***; how they establish the fact that they speak one language rather than another; how they ***maintain language boundaries***. Moreover, **rules** for using a language may be just as important as **feelings** about the language itself. (e.g. North American Indians use English in special ways to maintain their separate identities within the dominant English speaking community) For Hymes the notion 'speech community' is difficult to grasp for it depends on *how one defines group in society*. He also distinguishes between **participating** in a speech community and being a **full-fledged member** of that community. So his definition is: "A local unit characterized for its members by **common locality and primary interaction**."

Similarly, W. Labov argues that the Speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much by **participation in a set of shared norms**; these norms may be observed in ***overt types of evaluative behaviour*** and by the ***uniformity of abstract patterns of variation*** which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage. So, Labov emphasizes on **shared attitudes to language**

c. Socio-pragmatic and socio-cultural interpretation of the concept of speech community

The concept of "speech community" is also exploited by pragmaticists, social psychologists and culture theorists. An interpretation within the pragmatic paradigm has been proffered by H. Clark. He builds his definition of speech/ cultural community on the notion of "**common ground**" among community members. Physicians, for example, do not all live in one place and know each other. Yet when two speakers establish that they are both physicians, they assume they share an expertise about medicine and its practice that makes them part of the same community – members of a set of people who share the same system or network of beliefs, practices, conventions, values, skills, know-how. The *shared expertise* may show up in a variety of characteristics:

(a) *language*: American English, Dutch, Japanese

(b) *nationality*: American, German, Australian

(c) *education*: university, high school, grade school

(d) *place of residence*: San Francisco, Edinburgh, Amsterdam

(e) *occupation*: physician, plumber, lawyer, psychologist

(f) *religion*: Baptist, Buddhist, Muslim

(g) *hobby*: classical piano, baseball, philately

(h) *subculture*: rock musicians, drug users, teenage gangs

(i) *ethnic origin*: Black, Hispanic, Japanese American

Clark introduces a distinction between **personal** and **communal common ground**. **Communal common ground** is obviously akin to the everyday notion of culture, it comprises cultural beliefs, practices, conventions, values, skills, and know-how are not uniformly distributed in the population. Also, when two people meet, they identify each other as members of such communities and use that membership to infer which features they can and cannot take to be common ground. **Personal common ground** refers to – *joint conversational experiences or joint perceptual experiences, friends have in common, etc.* An important difference between personal and communal common ground is in the way people keep track of them. For communal common ground, they need encyclopedias for each of the communities they belong to. Once Anne and Burton establish the mutual belief that they are both physicians, they can immediately add their physician encyclopedias to their common ground. For personal common ground, on the other hand, they need to keep diaries of their personal experiences alone.

This kind of definition puts an emphasis on the speech community as a group of people who **feel** themselves to be a community in some sense (have a sense of belonging), rather than a group

which only the linguist and outsider could know about, as in some of the earlier definitions. In this sense "speech community' is a very abstract concept, one likely to create not a few problems, because the particular *norms* that a community uses may or may not be exclusively linguistic in nature, and even the linguistic norms themselves may vary considerably among small groups.

Attempts at defining the concept of "speech community" go back to historically oriented research prior to 1940 which regarded modern language distribution as the result of the *segmentation of older entities* into newer and smaller subgroups. Thus according to **Vossler (1925**) human language is *instrumentated* differently by different national communities. All these differences are historically conditioned but in the final instance they are connected with the type of mind predominating in that particular language community, that is, the ***national character***. The connection between national character, mental disposition and language, he argues is *not causal,* but **phenomenological[1].** That is, the French language, or, the French instrumentation of linguistic thought is not in any way the consequence of the mental disposition or their national language. The French language is what French people *experience* when they speak it.

According to Vossler, many languages can be studied and acquired, but only one can be *immediately experienced*. This is the language which was used at the time when one worked one's way from the state of an infant to that of a member of a language community. The concept of a national language as an **experienced language**, as opposed to a foreign language which has been learnt or a technical language which has been agreed upon , rests on the natural fact that the ascent from childhood to adolescence and adulthood occurs only once in the lifetime of each person.

EXTENSION

Read more on national language as *experienced* language in Further Reading 7_1. Consider Vossler's view of language as some kind of a universal abstractness which is instantiated, or 'instrumentated' in his words, in the course of one's experience as a member of the community s/he feels affiliated to. Can you think of some exceptions to the idealistic picture he describes?

In recent years, **diffusionist theories** tend to prevail. They view the speech community as a dynamic field of action where phonetic change, borrowing, language mixture, and language shift all occur because of social forces, and where genetic origin is secondary to these forces. Language choice in these cases is limited by social barriers; the existence of such social barriers lends significance to the sociolinguistic study of superposed variation. (cf. situational shift)

[1] The philosophical investigation and description of conscious experience in all its varieties without reference to the question of whether what is experienced is objectively real.

- The distinction between dialectal and superposed varieties obviates the usual linguistic distinction between geographically and socially distributed varieties, since the evidence indicates that actual residence patterns are less important as determinants of distribution than **social interaction patterns and usage.**

- Control of communicative resources varies sharply with the individual's position within the social system. The more narrowly confined his sphere of activities, the more homogeneous the social environment within which he interacts, and the less his need for verbal facility. Thus farmers and housewives who rarely meet outsiders, often make do with only a narrow range of speech styles, while actors, public speakers and businessmen command the greatest range of styles.

3. Social networks

Beginning with Bott in 1958 a number of British anthropologists developed network analytic procedures because they were dissatisfied with what they saw as an overreliance on highly abstract social , political and economic frameworks in accounting for forms of behaviour of individuals. Personal social frameworks were generally seen as contextualized within this broader framework, which was bracketed off to allow attention to be concentrating on developing less abstract modes of analysis capable of accounting for the variable behaviour of individuals more immediately. A fundamental postulate of network analysis is that individuals create **personal communities** that provide them with a *meaningful framework* for solving the problems of their day-to-day existence. So while grouping people into social classes involves *compartmentalizing* them on the basis of factors that may matter to society, social networks group people on the basis of factors that are more idiosyncratic.

It is very important for sociolinguists to have a sense of what the patterns of associations are between people who are friends or roughly social equals within a community. This is because the diffusion of linguistic change happens relatively fast and very efficiently along what we might call *horizontal channels* (e.g. within one age group). Changes along what we might call *vertical channels* (e.g. across big social divides) are a comparatively slow and inefficient means of transmitting innovation.

The concept of social networks has been employed by many linguists however the systematic use of social networks as the basis for analyzing linguistic variation is most closely associated with James and Lesley Milroy's research of Belfast Northern Ireland. The Milroys found that the patterns of language change that they observed correlated in very informative ways with the web of relationships making up social networks.

James and Lesley Milroy defined a social network as a *boundless web of ties* that reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely. For practical reasons the analyst studies social networks as "anchored" to individuals, and interest has most often focused on relatively strong, first-order network ties – that is, those persons with whom **ego** directly and regularly interacts. Network analysts also ask *how often* the members of these groups are the same, and how often they are completely different.

Two types of personal network characteristics are generally distinguished by anthropologists: ***structural***, which pertains to the shape and pattern of the network, and ***interactional,*** which pertains to the content of the ties. Both structural and interactional characteristics are important in constraining social action. From a *structural* point of view networks are characterized by **density,** used to represent whether members of a person's network are in touch with each other on a regular basis or not **;** whereas **interactional networks** are characterized by **plexity** – a measure of the range of different types of transaction people are involved in with different individuals. A **uniplex** relation is one where the link with the other person is in only one area. If most transactions in a community are of this type the network would be characterized as **uniplex**. **Multiplex** relationships by contrast involve interactions with others along several dimensions. Social investigators who want to account for the observable behaviour of individuals usually tend to give greater weight to interactional features or networks such as multiplexity, durability, history, frequency and intensity of ties. Some researchers (e.g. Cheshire) also distinguish between people who are central to the network (**core members**) and those who are less integrated into it (**peripheral** or **secondary** members)

- **Dense and loose networks**

People's speech reflects the type of networks they belong to. The people we interact with have an important influence on our speech. When the people we mix with regularly belong to a homogeneous group, we will generally speak the way the rest of the group does provided we want to belong to the group and like the people in it. Put another way, a **close-knit** (i.e. relatively dense and multiplex), territorially based network functions as a conservative force, resisting pressures for change originating from outside the network. Consequently, when parents notice that their children's speech no longer resembles their own but rather the speech of the friends they socialize with, this signals a change in their social network.

The distinction between **loose** and **dense** networks is also widely applied to explain how change processes through communities. The Milroys' have established that ***relative strength of network tie*** is a powerful **predictor** of language use. The networks of mobile persons tend to be **loose-knit**; such persons form relatively **weak ties** with very large number of others, and these are often open-ended, seldom forming into close-tie clusters. On the other hand, "weak" and uniplex interpersonal ties, although they may be subjectively perceived as unimportant, are in fact important channels through which innovation and influence flow from one close-knit group to another, linking such groups in the wider society. The **strength of a tie** is a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy and the reciprocal services which characterize a tie. The point is that **weak ties** usually provide bridges through which information and influence are diffused. What is important is that only weak ties can function as bridges; no strong ties can. **Strong ties**, in turn, are concentrated within groups and account for the local/ in-group cohesion.
So the network concept is important in developing a theory of **linguistic diffusion.** The general principle is that mobile individuals who have contacted many weak ties, but who as a consequence of their mobility occupy a position marginal to some cohesive group, are in a particularly ***strong position*** to carry information across social boundaries and to diffuse innovation of all kinds.

Within the network model, therefore, the existence of numerous weak ties is a necessary condition for innovation to be adopted. But there must be additional conditions, and at least one of these is psycho-social: this is that speakers from the receptor's community want to identify for some reason with speakers from the donor community.

4. Community of practice (CofP)

The people in a language classroom, or the neighbours from a large apartment block who meet in the back garden on weekends to play chess, exchange recipes and gossip tend to develop ways of doing things together – participate in diverse joint activities, discuss topical issues, use a range of phrases with a specific symbolic relevance for them, etc. - and begin to feel as a group. Since most of these joint activities are actualized through the medium of language, Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991) have termed them **communities of practice** and argued that **i**t is at the level of the community of practice that ways of speaking are most closely coordinated. They explicitly note that the communities of practice do not invent their own ways of speaking. In general members of such CofP orient to the practices of larger and more diffuse speech communities but they refine and accommodate these practices to their own needs and purposes. Of course, some communities of practice may develop more distinctive ways of speaking than others by developing, for instance their own jargon, their own rules of mixing codes, etc. Because CofP do not have fixed membership, and people can be affiliated to a great number of CofP, some distinctive ways of speaking spread within a particular CofP may be picked up by some peripheral members and carried over to other speech communities. Thus communities of practice become a major vehicle for language change.

In sum, a community of practice is a specific kind of social network characterized by:

- Mutual engagement
- A jointly negotiated enterprise
- A shared repertoire

Mutual engagement means coming together in direct personal contact. The requirement for mutual engagement is a *stricter* measure for membership than is required for either social networks or social classes. The spheres of social engagement that define a community of practice are much narrower than anything an entire social class could participate in.

A shared repertoire may be *speech styles* but it also includes other social practices. In the domain of language it includes some specific *pronunciation of words*, *shared jargon*, or *slang* and *in-jokes*. A shared repertoire also enables some conversations to be continued over a period of days and weeks without any fuss. Note that a shared repertoire *need not suppose* contact between members or face-to-face engagement.

A **jointly negotiated enterprise** is perhaps the most crucial criterion for defining a community of practice and setting it off the concept of social network. The criterion of a jointly negotiated enterprise tells us that the members of a community of practice are not just in contact with each other but they are working towards some shared goal, or are defining and satisfying some specific enterprise.

So, communities of practice emerge as groups of people responding to a mutual situation. People engage in practice together because they have a shared interest in a particular activity or in a particular place. CofP are NOT random groupings but are structured by the kinds of situations that present themselves in different places in society. Accordingly, categories like gender, class and race emerge in clusters of experience and the forms of participation one takes on in those communities.

The community of practice is the level of social organization at which people experience the social order on a personal and day-to-day basis and at which they jointly make sense of that social order. Forms of participation develop as people engage together in the joint social activities. One may be the ***leader***, another one may be the ***joker***, or a third one may be in the **periphery** and ***in need of advisor.*** Depending on their position in the community, members' repertoire of speech patterns pertaining to the CofP lexicon will naturally vary. Thus members are sensitized to their own place in the social order – a place with respect to class, gender, race, ethnicity, etc.

EXTENSION

Read an excerpt from P. Eckert's article "Social Structure and the spread of linguistic change" in the *Further Reading* section and think whether similar communities of practice can be met in this country as well.

5. Ethnicity

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Say what features of conversations A and B below make them sound peculiar.

Conversation A

JT (Jamal) and T-Reezy (Tereese) were battling in the grass last week; they got on each other. JT got on T-Reezy's braids and face and T-Reezy got on JT about his height and girls.

Tereese: I'mma bust you in yo mouth.

Jamal: (silent)

Aisha: Aooh, Jamal, she got you on hush mode[2].
Jamal: She ain't got me on hush mode.
Tereese: I'mma hit you in yo mouth.
Jamal: I wish you would.
(*17-year-old Black youths in Sunnyside (2002*)

Conversation B:
Lee: *Kia ora* June. Where you been? Not seen you round for a while
June: *Kia ora.* I've just come back from my Nanny's *tangi (FUNERAL).* Been up in Rotorua for a week._
Lee: E ki [IS THAT SO] a sad time for you, e hoa [MY FRIEND] and for all your family, ne [ISN'T IT?]
June: Ae [YES]. We'll all miss Nanny. She was a wonderful woman.
(*a conversation between two Maori people in New Zealand*)

Where a choice of a language is available for communication it is often possible for an individual to signal their ethnicity by the language they choose to use. Even when a complete conversation in an ethnic language is not possible, people may use short phrases, verbal fillers or linguistic tags, which signal ethnicity. The conversations above illustrate two of the most specific features of ethnically marked speech: systematic variability in the norms of grammar (which can be observed in Black English, for instance) and specific patterns of code-switching which can be observed in multiethnic societies (cf. our example of the New Zealand society)

Ethnicity is the ***"sense and the expression of "collective, intergenerational cultural continuity***", i.e. the sensing and expressing of links to one's own people, to collectivities established in history and believed to share ancestral origins, hence the gifts and responsibilities, rights and obligations, values and beliefs deriving from them. Ethnicity may or may not be identical with all of society and culture, depending on the extent to which ethnic values and norms pervade and dictate all social practices or only some of them.

FACTFILE

Both ancient Greece and ancient Israel conceived of the world as made up of a finite number of ethnicities with characteristic and fundamental biological "essences" and, therefore, histories or missions of their own. This essence is transcendental and ultimately of superhuman origin, and language is naturally a co-occurring part of the essential blood, bones or tears. This leads to the view that the deity (or deities) necessarily speaks to each ethnicity in its own language and could not conceivably do otherwise.

[2] 'hush mode' is when you get clowned (talked about rudely) and not have a remark or comeback for that person.

The concept of "ethnicity" has undergone several metamorphoses – from accepting of "higher "level s of ethnic integration, to complete de-ethnicization, i.e. of no ethnicity at all. The darker side of ethnicity is commented on by almost all ancient and medieval thinkers but the completely negative view began with Plato in relation to matters of state. He proposed that a group of de-ethnicized Guardians of the City be created so that uncorrupted and incorruptible, altruistic and evenhanded management of the polity could be attained. Only a group such as this – a group whose members had no differentiating intergenerational biological continuities – could devote itself to the public weal, since, having neither property nor family, it could view the general need without bias, without favouritism, without greed, without conflict of interest, all of which Plato considered necessary accompaniments of ethnicity. (J. Fishman p. 330)

As part of the authentic "doing" and "knowing" constellation of human practices, language is assumed to be an indispensable dimension of ethnicity. Ethnic social practices, therefore, are effected, understood, maintained and defended through language.

At later periods in history the notion of ethnicity was replaced by "nationality".

6. National cultures as imagined communities

Connection with theory

The structural linguist Ferdinand de Saussure argued that language is a social, not an individual system. To speak a language is not only to express our innermost, original thoughts, it is also to activate the vast range of meanings which are already embedded in our language and cultural systems. Our statements are underpinned by propositions and premises of which we are not aware, but which are, so to speak, carried along in the bloodstream of our language. Everything we say has a 'before' and an 'after' - a margin in which others may write.

In the modern world, the national cultures into which we are born are one of the principle sources of cultural identity. In defining ourselves, we usually say that we are English, German, Bulgarian, etc. This is virtually a metaphor because the identity of Englishness/ Bulgarianness, etc. is not literally imprinted on our genes. Yet, by commonsense reasoning people do think of these attributes as part of their essential natures.

The culture theorist **Stuart Hall** argues that although national identities are not part of our genetic endowment they are formed and transformed within and in relation with *representation. We only know what it is to be 'English', 'Bulgarian', etc. because of the way 'Englishness/ Bulgarianness' has come to be represented, as a set of meanings ingrained in English/*

Bulgarian national culture. It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings – **a *system of cultural representation***. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the *idea* of the nations represented in its national culture. A nation is a **symbolic community** and it is this, which accounts for its 'power to generate a sense of identity and allegiance'. (Hall:292)

National cultures are a distinctly modern form. The allegiance and identification which, in a pre-modern age or in more traditional societies, were given to tribe, people, religion and region, came gradually in Western societies to be transferred to the *national culture* . Regional and ethnic differences were gradually subsumed beneath the 'political roof' of the nation-state, which thus became powerful source of meanings for modern cultural identities.

The formation of a national culture helped to create **standards of universal literacy**, generalized a single vernacular language as the dominant medium of communication throughout the nation, created a homogeneous culture and maintained national cultural institutions, such as a national education system. In these and other ways, national cultures became ***a key feature of industrialization and an engine of modernity***.

National cultures are composed not only of cultural institutions, but also of symbols and representations. A National culture is **discourse** – *a way of considering meanings, which influences and organizes both our actions and our conceptions of ourselves*. National cultures *construct identities* by producing meanings about "**the nation**" with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories, which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, images, which are constructed of it.

Benedict Anderson coined the term '**imagined community**' and argued that all nations are imagined communities. They are not shaped on the basis of objectively existing distinctions, their boundaries are fuzzy, members' positions in the structure of the national community are in constant flux. Furthermore, every community member possesses just a tiny fraction of the treasure trove of knowledge and beliefs that constitute national identity. Last but not in importance, there are differences in the way in which communities are imagined.

Aware of its power to cement the social, political and economic unity of their peoples however, the elites of all states throughout the years have devised legions of strategies for the firm entrenchment of the concept of 'nation' and the development in their peoples a sense of belonging to their nation. What are some of these discursive strategies?

a) First, there is the ***narrative of the nation*** as it is told and retold in the national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture. These provide a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for, or *represent*, the shared experiences, sorrows, and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation. As members of such an '*imagined community'* we see ourselves in our mind's eye sharing in this narrative. It lends significance and importance to our humdrum existence, connecting our everyday lives with a national destiny that pre-existed us and will outlive us. In this narrative there is an emphasis on tradition and

heritage, above all on *continuity* so that our present political culture is seen as the flowering of a long organic evolution.

b) Second, there is an emphasis on ***origins, continuity, tradition*** and ***timelessness***. National identity is represented as primordial, sometimes slumbering, but ever ready to be' awoken' to resume its unbroken existence. The essentials of the national character remain unchanged through all the vicissitudes of history.

c) A third discursive strategy has to do with the ***invention of tradition***. Traditions which appear, or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented. … Invented tradition includes a set of practices … of a ritual or symbolic nature which seek to inculcate certain values or behaviours by repetition which automatically implies continuity with a suitable historical past.

d) A fourth example of the narrative of national culture is the so-called ***foundational myth***: a story which locates the origin of the nation, the people and their national character so early that they are lost in the mists of 'not real' but 'mythic times'. Invented traditions make the confusions and disasters of history intelligible converting disarray into 'community'. Myths of origin also help disenfranchised peoples to 'conceive and express their resentment and its content in intelligible terms' by focusing their attention on 'their past glory" which has a strong emotional impact.

e) National identity is often symbolically grounded on the idea of a pure, original people or folk. But, in the realities of national development, it is rarely the primordial folk who persist or exercise power.

The discourse of national culture is thus not as modern as it appears to be. It constructs identities, which are ambiguously placed between past and future. … Sometimes national cultures are tempted to turn the clock back, to retreat defensively to that 'lost time' when the nation was 'great' , and to restore past identities. This is the regressive, the anachronistic element in the national cultural story. But often this very return to the past conceals a struggle to mobilize' the people' to purify their ranks, to expel 'the others' who threaten their identity, and to mobilize them for a new march forward. (Recently we have had a chance to witness such processes in the countries that have broken away from the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and used revived local languages in an effort to reaffirm their people's essential ethnic identities and enhance the sense of nationhood by (sometimes extremely dubious) 'stories' of mythic origins, religious orthodoxy, and racial purity. Yet, they may be also using the nation as the form in which to compete with other ethnic 'nations', and so to gain entry to the rich 'club' of the West.

We may conclude with Ernest Renan who said that three things constitute the spiritual principle of the unity of a nation. : a) the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; b) the desire to live together; c) the will to perpetuate the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. (1990: 19)

Based on:

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Chapter Eight
National, official, vernacular languages; Lingua franca. Diglossia

Once the familiar and comfortable idea of the homogeneity of linguistic communities is abandoned, the world appears as an ocean of conflicting attractions, convergence here breeding divergence there, with new centres of attraction developing at all times and threatening to disrupt existing ensembles. André Martinet (1962)

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1. Introduction

So far, we've discussed many instances of language variation caused by diverse social factors - region, class, ethnicity, gender, age, etc (producing what is generally known as: regional and social dialects, genderlecs, age-specific varieties, etc.). Put another way, upon observing variability we sought its social correlates. How does the social characteristics of the speakers, or the social context, reflect on the language they are using? What is the purpose of the variation? What do its variants symbolize? What can we learn about a speaker from his/her speech performance knowing that every person's speech exhibits some specific features of its own which set him/ her apart as an autonomous human being considering the fact that no two speakers have the same experience of language or the same sociolinguistic experience or the same social background. These are the central questions of sociolinguistics but they are not the only cases of variability.

Behind these questions lies another, a more basic one – an **ontogenetic**[3] question. In one's everyday experience, every person can easily understand that what we call language is not, in

[3] *Ontology - a subject of study in philosophy that is concerned with the nature of existence*

fact, a monolithic whole but a set of varieties , similar to a lesser or bigger extent, viewed as a whole on principles that are not purely linguistic. In view of such evidence some legitimate questions arise:

- Why does linguistic variation exist at all? What is its purpose or function? What is its adaptive significance for human beings?
- How can the category "language X" be defined?
- How can different languages be distinguished and delimited?
- How does the category "language X" relate to specific varieties like the "language of speaker X" or the language of region Z

All above questions have proved notoriously difficult to answer and are often avoided by sociolinguists.

2. The Babelian Hypothesis

The fact that linguistic variability is universal and ubiquitous suggests strongly that it is fulfilling some essential human need. Yet some thinkers, unswayed by its universality, have concluded that it has no adaptive function whatever – that it is, in fact, **counterproductive**, even **dysfunctional**. That conclusion comes from what is certainly the best known discussion of the question of linguistic diversity, and probably the earliest one. The myth of Babel from the Old testament Book of Genesis (11:1-9) some three millennia old, which begins by postulating a time when there was only one language with a single dialect.

"Once upon a time all the world spoke a single language and used the same words. As the people journeyed in the east, they came upon a plain in the land of Shinar and settled there... "Come," they said, "let us build ourselves a city and a tower with its top in the heavens, and make a name for ourselves..." Then the Lord came down to see the city and tower which the mortals had built, and he said, "Here they are, one people with a single language, and now they have started to do this; henceforward nothing they have in mind to do will be beyond their reach. Come, let us go down there and confuse their speech, so that they will not understand what they say to one another. "So the Lord dispersed them from there all over the earth, and they left off building the city. That is why it is called Babel, because the Lord made a babble of the language of all the world. "

Thus God imposed linguistic diversity on humankind as a punishment for its hubris. Because the tower reached so high as to challenge God's authority, God took away the basis of the people's power, their ability to communicate perfectly with one another.

The Babelian hypothesis about the counter-productivity of linguistic diversity is strongly supported by sociocultural observations. In Western (or, at least, Judaeo-Christian) cultures, numerous institutions have as their primary or secondary function the curtailing of linguistic diversity in favour of the standard dialect: hence prescriptive dictionaries, school grammars, nationalized authorities such as the Academie Française, school bussing, training in the dramatic

arts, British "public schools", and media network hiring practices. *International politico-linguistic movements for auxiliary languages* such as **Esperanto and Basic English** have no other rationale but the curtailing of diversity.

Similarly, many mundane events suggest that people have a deeply ingrained attraction to linguistic conformity. The stigmatization of certain dialect features appears to be an overt attempt by communities to stamp out certain variants. School children – and sometimes adults too - have been known to choose sides on the basis of accents, as if people's vowel formants were a determinant of their character. People who move from one dialect region to another often find themselves subjected to ridicule because of their accents and are thus guided into adapting as far as possible to local norms.

3. What is "language"?

Investigation of language diversity brings into relief the vagueness of the term "language". Owing to the difficulty to define the term, many sociolinguists have tried to substitute the traditional term 'language' for a more neutral, technical term - **variety, or code**. Although the use of a neutral label provides researchers with an opportunity to set specific/ individual constraints on the codes - subject of their interest without having to categorize them as "language" or "dialect" in advance, this is only a partial solution to the problem, owing to the wide circularity of these labels amongst people. Moreover, languages and dialects have acquired a special role in the establishment of "nation states" in the 19th c. which most state rulers wanted to use to their own advantage. In particular, languages were assigned a major part in promoting economic unity, in modernizing social relations and , above all, in the creation of a uniform national culture through well managed and strictly controlled state policy. The model of nation-states that was established in Europe was based on the principle that the population of every state constitutes a **nation,** united by a common descent**,** a common language, shared history, myths, beliefs, narratives and values, all constituting different forms of a shared culture. And this could be achieved through promotion of a uniform national language, through the creation of national systems of compulsory primary/ secondary education, through a relatively uniform curriculum in secondary schools, through the setting up of different institutional bodies – Academies, Universities, mass media, and reference materials – dictionaries, grammars and other textbooks – that could ensure the codification and standardization of the variety adopted as a **national language.** Language and cultural policy was sometimes negative, aimed at the suppression of non-national elements. Language bans were sometimes used to accelerate the adoption of national languages, and the decline of minority languages.

So, the need of setting apart the varieties adopted as national languages from the other varieties spoken in a particular nation state has brought into sharper relief the need of a more precise definition of the terms "language", and "dialect".

One such attempt was made by **Bell** (1976) who listed seven criteria that may be useful in discussing different languages and in distinguishing one language from another. These criteria are: **standardization, vitality, historicity, autonomy, reduction, mixture and *de facto* norm**.

Einer Haugen (1966) has indicated certain steps that must be followed if one variety of a language is to become the standard for that language. They are:

Selection	of one dialect above others
Codification	largely through the education system
Elaboration	increase in functions and range of uses of the code
Acceptance	by the community at large of the code as the 'standard' form

In addition to what he calls the 'formal' matters of codification and elaboration of function he argues that a norm must be selected and accepted because neither codification nor elaboration is likely to proceed very far if the community cannot agree on some kind of model to provide a norm. This norm is likely to be – or become – an idealized norm, one that users of the language are asked to aspire to rather than one that actually accords with their observed behaviour.

Selection: this involves the selection of a particular variety as one to be developed into a standard language. It may be an existing variety, such as the one used in an important political or commercial centre, but it could be an amalgam of various varieties. The choice is a matter of great social and political importance, as the chosen variety necessarily gains prestige and so the people who already speak it share in this prestige. However in some cases the chosen variety has been one with no native speakers at all - e.g. Classical Hebrew in Israel and Bahasa Indonesia (a newly created language) in Indonesia.

Standardization (codification): this refers to a process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of grammars, spelling books, dictionaries and possibly literature. Once codification has taken place it becomes necessary for any ambitious citizen to learn the correct forms and not to use in writing any 'incorrect' forms which he may have in his native variety. It can therefore serve as a kind of goal of linguistic behaviour for those who have somewhat different norms; Standard English, e. g., is such a goal for many whose norms are dialects of English; but these norms are not always pursued and are sometimes resisted.

The standardization process itself performs a variety of **functions.**

- It unifies individuals and groups within a larger community while at the same time separating the community that results from other communities.
- It can be used to reflect and symbolize some kind of identity: regional, social , ethnic, or religious;
- It can also be used to give some prestige to speakers marking off those who employ it from those who do not.
- It can therefore serve as a kind of goal of linguistic behaviour for those who have somewhat different norms.

This is how Trudgill (1983) defines Standard English:

> *Standard English is the variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations. The difference between standard and non-standard, it should be noted, has nothing in principle to do with difference between formal and colloquial language, or with concepts such as 'bad language'. Standard English has colloquial as well as formal varieties, and standard English speakers swear as much as others.*

The standardization process is an obvious attempt to <u>reduce or to eliminate diversity</u> and variety. However there may well be the sense in which diversity is natural to all languages,

assuring them of their vitality and enabling them to change. To that extent, standardization imposes a strain on languages or if not on the languages themselves, on those who take on the task of standardization. There are some languages that are still in the process of standardization (e.g. Hindi where standardization is hindered by widespread resistance to Hindi). There are also cases where the standardization process results in more than one standardized variety (e.g. Norwegian – has two standards *Nynorsk* and *Bokmal*).

Elaboration of function: The standardization process itself performs a variety of functions. It unifies individuals and groups within a larger community while at the same time setting the community apart from other communities. Therefore the language can be employed to reflect and symbolize some kind of identity: regional, social, ethnic or religious. It should be possible for the selected variety to be used in all sorts of functions associated with government, parliament, law courts, educational and cultural establishments etc. This may require extra linguistic items to be added to the variety, esp. technical words, as well as new conventions for using existing and new forms.

Acceptance: the variety has to be accepted by the relevant population as the standard language of the community - and often as the national language as well. Once this has happened the standard language serves as a strong unifying force for the state, as a symbol of its independence of other states and as a marker of its difference from other states. It is precisely this symbolic function that makes states go to some lengths to develop one.

Vitality: refers to the existence of a living community of speakers. The criterion can be used to distinguish languages that are 'alive' from languages that are 'dead'. An example of a 'dead' language is Manx from the Isle of Man; also many of the aboriginal languages spoken in North America.

Historicity: refers to the fact that a particular group of people finds a sense of identity through using a particular language: it belongs to them. Social, political, religious or ethnic ties may also be important for the group but the bond provided by a common language may prove to be the strongest tie of all. Historicity can be long-standing: (cf. Bulgarian emigrants who feel tied to Bulgaria even if they were not born here just on the basis of common linguistic ancestry). It can also, as with Hebrew, be appealed to as a unifying force among a threatened people.

Autonomy: concerns people's attitudes and feelings. A language must be felt by its speakers to be different from other languages. However, this is a very subjective criterion. Ukrainians say that their language is not Russian, Macedonians say that their language is not Bulgarian, speakers of Black English maintain that their language is not a variety of English but a separate language in its own right. On the other hand the two varieties in all cases above are mutually intelligible which is a major criterion in setting different languages apart. At the same time speakers of Cantonese and Mandarin, which are not mutually intelligible, deny that they speak different languages; they consider them just two varieties of Chinese

Reduction: refers to the fact that a particular variety may be regarded as a sub-variety rather than an independent entity. Speakers of Cockney for instance will almost certainly say hat they speak a variety of English and will recognize the existence of other varieties. Sometimes the reduction is in the kinds of opportunities afforded to speakers of the variety. For example, there may be a reduction of resources, e.g. the variety may lack a writing system.

Mixture: refers to feelings speakers have about the purity of the variety they speak. This criterion appears to be more important to speakers of some languages than of others, e.g. more important to speakers of French and German than to speakers of English. However, it partly

explains why speakers of pidgins and creoles have difficulty in classifying what they speak as full languages: these varieties are in certain respects quite obviously 'mixed', and the people who speak them often feel that the varieties are neither one thing nor another, but rather are debased, deficient, degenerate, or marginal varieties of some other standard language.

Finally, **having *the facto* norms** refers to the feelings that many speakers have that there are both 'good' speakers and 'poor' speakers and that the good speakers represent the norms of proper usage. Sometimes this means focusing on one particular sub-variety as representing the 'best usage', e.g., Parisian French or the Florentine variety of Italian.

If we apply the above criteria to the different varieties we observe in the world we'll see that not every variety we may want to call a language has the same status as every other variety. Thus each of the varieties, English, Haitian Creole, Macedonian, Latin, Tok Pisin, Chinese, satisfy a different subset of criteria from our list. Although there are important differences among them , we would be loath to deny that any one of them is a language. They are all equals as languages but that does not mean that all languages are equal. The implication is that it is not at all easy to decide whether something is or is not a language or in what way languages are alike or different.

Thus, general usage has limited the word "dialect", according to Haugen, largely to the regional or locally-based varieties, such as "Lancashire dialect" or "Irish dialect" in reference to varieties of English. With the standardization of national languages, the term "dialect" began to be used to label "informal, or lower-class or rural speech". The language of the upper classes is automatically established as the correct form of expression whereas "dialect", as a social norm, is a language that is excluded from polite society. In some countries, such as Britain with an abundance of regional dialects, regional dialects have been stigmatized at the expense of "Queen's English", "BBC English" ("Standard English"). In the US, the stigma is placed not so much on local dialects, since these are few and rarely heard, as on "bad" English, which is quite simply lower-class dialect.

3.1. Attitude to languages and dialects

Even in the Renaissance it was perfectly clear to serious scholars that the term "language" was associated with the rise of the nation to conscious unity . This kind of historical development, by which convergence was achieved at the expense of deviating varieties , also contributes to the widely held belief about the **counter-productivity** of diversity.

According to Haugen, there are two distinct dimensions involved in the various usages of "language " and "dialect".

Structural – which accounts for the genetic relationship between language and dialect.

Functional – which accounts for the uses the speakers make of the codes they master. A ***language*** is thus functionally defined as a 'superposed" norm used by speakers whose first and ordinary language may be different . A language is the medium of communication between speakers of different dialects or languages in a multilingual community. The dimension of functional ***superiority*** (of language) and ***inferiority*** (of dialects) is usually disregarded by linguists but it is an essential part of the sociolinguistic concern. It raises the question of how to define the social function of each language or dialect and the prestige that is attached to each of these.

Generally speaking, it is acknowledged that a language contributes to the: a) political unity; b) social unity; c) prestige; d) cultural unity (identity, belonging) of a nation state. That is, the national ideal demands that there be a single linguistic code by means of which this combination

can take place. On the other hand, a nation feels handicapped if it is required to make use of more than one language for official purposes as is the case with Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, etc.

It has to be born in mind though that attitudes to standard and non-standard dialects differ greatly from one country to another. In many European countries such as Germany, Austria, Norway, Italy, Spain and Switzerland, for instance, widespread linguistic variation at all levels of language is evident in the everyday speech of people from different regions, and is regarded as normal. There is no stigma in using the local dialect. There is no implication that one variety is inferior to the other. Each is appropriate in its context and citizens acquire the standard language in the course of their schooling. Attitudes to the standard are matter-of-fact rather than admiring or respectful.

For a range of reasons, attitudes to dialects compared to standard English are rather different. Attitudes to dialects are far less tolerant and matter-of-fact than those in Europe. In Britain, standard English is a uniform , socially sanctioned dialect which is taught in schools and used by those who have been well educated. There is very little lexical or grammatical variation in this standard variety across the whole of Britain. At the same time non-standard varieties are typically stigmatized as lacking prestige or even as being ugly.

Present-day democratization of social relations has brought about considerable change in the attitude towards dialects and languages, and language variation in general. Many scholars express the opinion that the stigma attached to dialects no longer evokes such negative feelings and can no longer cripple one's social advancement. However, surveys of social practices in different countries where multilingualism is widespread provide plenty of evidence to the contrary. For instance,

3.1.1. The evidence of subjective reaction tests

- *Teachers' evaluation of students*. (Giles and Powesland 1975) report experiment evidence which shows that: ... the best predictor of how a teacher would assess any dossier was the speech sample. If the speech sample was the standard accent the student was graded higher, and if it was non-standard the student was graded lower when the quality of the schoolwork that accompanied it was the same.
- *Employers' evaluation of job candidates.* An experiment carried out in Canada showed "stable discrimination" favouring the ethnic groups in the order listed for the higher prestige jobs and denigration by favouring them in the reverse order for the lower prestige jobs. The subjective evaluations appear to be acutely tuned to dialect features.

Although subjective reaction tests tend to emphasize the prejudices people might have by forcing them to make decisions about such things as a person's occupation and character from a sample of taped speech, the consistency with which subject make their decisions indicates that the prejudices have some basis in reality. As far as they are largely shared by a roomful of listeners, they are not random or arbitrary judgments. The results of experiments like these leave no doubt that dialect differences can impose a priori constraints on social acceptability and occupational mobility.

4. Types of languages

Sociolinguists have developed a number of ways of categorizing languages, according to their status and social functions. The distinction between a vernacular language and a standard language is a useful place to start.

4.1. Vernacular languages

One type of variety that is subject to controversy among sociolinguists is what is commonly known as vernacular language. Generally speaking vernaculars are the first languages learned by people in multilingual communities and they are often used for a relatively narrow range of informal functions. The term may also refer to the different ethnic or tribal languages used by different groups in a multilingual speech community. By and large vernaculars are languages which have not been standardized and which do not have official status. There are three components of the meaning of the term 'vernacular', then: a vernacular is an **uncodified** and **non-standardized** variety; it is **acquired as a first variety**, in the family; it is used for a **relatively narrow range of informal functions**.

The term has also been extended to refer to any language which is not the official language of a country (матерен език). An influential 1951 UNESCO report , for instance, defined a ***vernacular language as the first language of a group socially or politically dominated by a group with a different language***. E.g. Spanish in the US, Turkish in Bulgaria etc.

The term vernacular may also be used to refer **to the most colloquial variety** in a speaker's linguistic repertoire. In a multilingual society this variety will often be a non-standardized ethnic or tribal language, used for communication in the home with close friends. It is the **language of solidarity** between people of the same ethnic group. By extension the term has been used to refer in a monolingual community to the most informal and colloquial variety of a language which may also have a standardized variety.

Finally the term 'vernacular ' is sometimes used to indicate that a language is used for everyday interaction, without implying that it is appropriate only in informal domains. Hebrew, e.g., was a language of ritual and religion, with no native speakers, and was certainly not considered a vernacular language. From having exclusively high functions it was extended to include some low functions as well to satisfy the demands of everyday communication. Consequently, sociolinguists describe this process of developing it for use as the national language of Israel as '**vernacularization**'. Using this definition any language which has native speakers would be considered a vernacular. This definition however is too general to be useful as it is unable to distinguish vernacular languages from standardised languages.

A note of Caution

It is important not to mix up the terms "vernacular" and "Indigenous" language. An **indigenous language** or **autochthonous language** is a language that is native to a region and spoken by indigenous people. It is a variety that is spoken by a linguistically distinct community often

reduced to a status of a minority. Indigenous languages are not commonly national languages , although there are some exceptions, for instance Maori in New Zealand. Many indigenous languages have become endangered because there are no longer any young people left to speak them and their remaining speakers are dying out. Globally, there may be more than 7,000 languages that exist in the world today, though many of them have not been recorded because they belong to tribes in rural areas of the world or are not easily accessible. According to statistics, forty six languages today are known to have just one native speaker while 357 languages have fewer than 50 speakers. Rare languages are more likely to show evidence of decline than more common ones.

4.2. Standard Languages

Above we mentioned the factors typically involved in the standardization of a language. In the light of these criteria we may generally define a **standard variety** as one which is ***written***, and which has undergone some degree of ***regularization or codification***, which is recognized as a ***prestigious variety*** by a community, and which is used for ***H (high) functions*** alongside a diversity of ***L (low) function***. This is a very general definition and it immediately excludes most of the world's four or five thousand languages.

The standard variety of any language is actually only the preferred dialect of that language. It is the variety that has been chosen for some reason, perhaps political, social, religious, or economic to serve as either the model, or the norm for other varieties. As a result the standard is often not called a dialect at all, but is regarded as the language itself. One consequence is that all other varieties become related to that standard language in some way and come to be regarded as dialects of that standard. Of course that usually involves a complete restructuring of the historical facts.

We see a good instance of this process in modern English. The English language was brought Germanic invaders into the south and east of Britain, and spread west and north into Ireland, Wales and Scotland. From the Renaissance to the eighteenth c. it was spread by the English navy and emigrants to North America and Australia. At the height of the British Empire in the 19th c. , English became the administrative language of large parts of Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and strategic trading outposts like Hong Kong and Singapore. Given the number of extraterritorial English speakers, some scholars express the opinion that it no longer belongs to any one nation, and that we must not speak of English but of a family of ‘Englishes’.

So, English has been characterized by a high level of variability even before ***Standard English*** emerged 'naturally' in the **15th century** from a variety of regional English dialects, spoken in the area surrounding London. It was just one of several dialects of Old English, and not the most important at that. It had been chosen largely because it was the variety used by the Court and the influential merchants of London. The area where the largest proportion of the English population lived at that time was in a neat triangle containing London, and the two universities Oxford and Cambridge. In addition the area was an important agricultural and business area, and London was the hub of international trade and exports to the Continent. It was also the centre of political, social and intellectual life. So, as we can see, none of the reasons determining the choice had been linguistic. A standard dialect has no particular linguistic merits, whether in vocabulary, grammar or pronunciation. It is simply the dialect of those who are political powerful and socially prestigious. However, in the modern period, having provided the base for Standard English, this dialect exerts a strong influence over all the other dialects of England so that it is

not just first among equals but rather represents the modern language itself to the extent that the varieties spoken in the west and north are generally regarded as its local variants. Historically, they arise from different sources, but now they are seen only in relation to the standardized variety.

The prestigious status of a standard language guarantees that it will spread. Standard English has served as a useful variety for communication between areas of dialect diversity, not only within Britain but also in countries where the British have had a colonial influence. local varieties have developed in almost all of those countries, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, India, Malaysia etc, but the degree of variation, at least in the written standard varieties, has not been great. And though countries like Australia, New Zealand and India are gradually establishing their own standard Englishes, in many countries the Standard English of UK has served as a norm until relatively recently.

4.3. Lingua Francas (koine)

A Lingua Franca (koine) can generally be defined as ' a form of speech shared by people of different vernaculars - though for some of them the 'koine' itself may be their vernacular.' A koine is a common language, but not necessarily a standard one. For example **Hindi** is a lingua franca for many people in India and **Vulgar Latin** (vulgar = 'colloquial', 'spoken') - in the Roman Empire. The original koine was the ***Greek koine of the Ancient World***, which after Alexander's conquests (circa 300 BC) became the lingua franca of the western world, a position it held until it was eventually superseded, not without a struggle, by Vulgar Latin. In other words the term describes a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community. It is a language used for communication between people whose first languages differ. Some modern examples of lingua francas are: **TUKANO** between the Colombian Indians inhabiting the area of the Northwest Amazon on both sides of the border between Colombia and Brazil; **Swahili i**n Tanzania; **Tok Pisin** (Neo-Melanesian) is the most widespread lingua franca in Papua New Guinea, which being a country with over 700 different vernaculars uses also some regional lingua francas.

In multilingual communities lingua francas are so useful that they may eventually displace the vernaculars. When people from different ethnic groups marry in Zaire or Tanzania or Papua New Guinea, they often use the lingua franca of their area as the language of the home, and their children may therefore learn very little of their father's and mother's vernaculars. Lingua francas often develop initially as **trade languages** - illustrating again the influence of economic factors on language change.

4.4. Official language and minority languages

In sociolinguistics the distinction between a **national** language and an **official** language is generally made along the **affective-referential dimension**, or more precisely , the **ideological-instrumental dimension**.

A **national language** is the language of a political, cultural and social unit. It is generally developed as a symbol of national unity. It is felt to be the language which best expresses the respective people’s distinctive culture and traditions. Its functions are to identify the nation and to unite the people of the nation. Sometimes referred to as the “language of identification”.

An **official language,** by contrast, is simply a language which may be used by government and business. Its function is primarily utilitarian rather than symbolic. Put another way, it does not have the identificatory function of a national language but serves just for communication. Although, it is possible for one language to serve both functions.

English - an **official language** in many countries - *Pakistan, Fiji, Jamaica, the Bahamas*; sharing an official status *in Malaysia, Tanzania, Kiribati*. Interestingly English is not legally an official language in England, The US or New Zealand. In **New Zealand**, although English is in fact the official language of government and education, **Maori i**s the only language which has been legally declared an official language.

In Belgium - French and Flemish (1963)

In Canada - French and English (1968)

In Paraguay – Guarani and Spanish

In Tanzania – no national language; only two official languages – Swahili and English

What do people gain from declaring a national language?

* symbolizes the unity of the nation. "One nation, one language" - a popular slogan.

* in recent years nationhood and independence - important political issues throughout the world. In the struggle to establish a distinct national identity and to secure independence from colonial rule, the development of a national language has often played an important part.

* useful lingua franca and official language

However, many countries make no distinction between a national and an official language. In multilingual countries, the government often declares a particular language to be national language for political reasons.

The declaration may be a step in the process of ***asserting the nationhood*** of a newly independent or established nation, e.g. Malay in Malaysia, Indonesian in Indonesia. Where this language cannot serve all the internal and external functions of government affairs, it has been necessary to identify one or more official languages as well, e.g. French in Zaire, the Ivory Coast and Chad.

The identification of an official language may also be necessary when the choice of national language is problematic. E.g. in multilingual India, attempts to give Hindi sole status as the national language have failed. 14 Indian regional languages are recognized as official languages alongside English and Hindi for the country as a whole and in addition different states each have their own official languages. Other countries have nominated more than one national language, e.g. Zaire has four African languages as national languages but only one official language, French.

The "English Only" movement in the US.

US English Inc. was founded in 1983 by US Senator Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa and claims to be the oldest of organizations working to make English the official language of the US. The philosophy of the organization is stated as follows: US English believes that the passage of English as the official language will help to expand opportunities for immigrants to learn and speak English, the single greatest empowering tool that immigrants must have to succeed."

In the late 1980s Hayakawa introduced an amendment to the Constitution to make English the official language however, it was politely ignored. In 1996, his successor Mauro E. Mujica was

successful in having the House of representatives approve a Bill making English official. ; the Bill lapsed for want of Senate approval. Yet, the movement is still alive and in the meantime other organizations have cropped up who see as their task to ban bilingual language policy and establish English as the official language of the US.

How is a national language chosen?

* numerical dominance - i.e. the language of the largest group
* political dominance - the language of those who are in power
* socio-economic dominance - the language of the most influential, prestigious and economically strong social strata of the society
* useful neutral choice

5. Diglossia

A diglossic situation exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show clear functional separation; i.e. one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set. The term was coined by Ch. Ferguson (1969)who defined it as follows:

> *DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards) , there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex)superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.*

From a narrow (the original) perspective, therefore , diglossia has three crucial features or criteria:

1) Two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the community, with one regarded as high (H) variety and the other as low (L) variety
2) Each variety is used for quite distinct functions, i.e. H and L complement each other
3) No one uses H variety in everyday conversation
4) Diglossia is a characteristic of speech communities rather than individuals. Individuals may be bilingual. Societies or communities are diglossic. In other words, the term diglossia describes societal or institutional bilingualism, where two varieties are required to cover all the community's domains.

There are a number of language communities (e.g. in Switzerland (Swiss German), Arabic countries, Greece – Dhimotiki (H) and Katharevousa (L)), Haitian (French and Creole) that fit this narrow definition. The languages may or may not be linguistically related. The degree of difference in the pronunciation of the H and L variety may differ from place to place. Most of the

vocabulary is the same. However, since it is used in more formal domains, the H variety includes more formal vocabulary and technical terms while the L variety has words for everyday objects .

In English there seems to exist a certain "distribution of labour" between words borrowed from French and local words which is similar to a diglossic situation. E.g.

Word	H (French	L (English)
Чета	peruse	read
Богат/заможен	Affluent	rich

Attitudes towards H and L in a diglossia situation

People generally admire the high variety even when they can't understand it. Attitudes to it are usually very respectful. The H variety is the one which is fixed, or standardized, in grammar books and dictionaries.

The H variety is generally the prestige variety but people may also be attached to and admire the L variety. H is generally learned at school and L is learned at home.

From a broader perspective, however, diglossia is generalized to cover any situation where two languages are used for different functions in a speech community, especially where one languge is used for L functions and another for H functions. There may be considerable and widespread resistance to translating certain book into the Low variety, e.g. the Qur'an into some of the low varieties of Arabic or the Bible into Haitian Creole.

The feeling of natural superiority of the H variety is likely to be reinforced by the fact that a considerable body of literature will be found to exist in that variety and almost none in the L variety.

When more than two distinct codes are used for clearly distinct purposes or in clearly distinguishable situations, we speak about **Polyglossia**.

Diglossia has been described as a stable situation. It is possible for two varieties to continue to exist for centuries (e.g. the Arabic countries, Haiti)

Finally, we should also point out that the term diglossia can also be used to describe **complementary code use** in all communities. In multilingual situations the selected codes are usually distinct languages. In predominantly monolingual speech situations, the contrasting codes may be different styles of one language.

Diglossic situations are intimately tied to 'power' relationships among social groups. Traditionally in each country the H variety has been associated with an elite nd the L variety with everyone else. Diglossia reinforces social distinctions. It is used to assert social position and to keep people in their place, particularly people who are not in the upper end of the social hierarchy.

Based on:

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Chapter Nine
Pidgins and Creoles

1. Why are pidgins and creoles interesting for research?

Many people are prejudiced against these languages. They are often regarded not as creative adaptations but degenerations; not systems in their own right, but deviations from other systems. Their origins have been explained not by historical or social forces, but by inherent ignorance, indolence and inferiority. Before 1930 pidgins and creoles were largely ignored by linguists, who regarded them as 'marginal languages' at best. But as Hymes has pointed out ' these languages are marginal in the circumstances of their origin and in the attitudes towards them, as well as in terms of linguists' knowledge about them but they are of central importance to our understanding of language and central, too, in the lives of some millions of people.

In recent years such attitudes have changed and pidgins and creoles have been given serious attention.

1.2. Lingua francas

In situations in which two languages come into prolonged contact, a lingua franca 9 common language) usually develops. This can take one of four forms: a **contact** language (think of the language that Bulgarians must have used during the years when Bulgaria was part of the Ottoman Empire and the great number of Turkish borrowings in our language) ; an **auxiliary** language (e.g. Esperanto); **international** language (English); or a **trade** language (pidgins)

Ancient Greek around the Mediterranean basin, or later Latin throughout the Roman empire were both **contact** languages. They tend to vary in use in different local contexts and there is often a great deal of local language interference . Latin, for instance, later developed into local forms which eventually became French Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian , etc. The contact language usually dominates in situations in which the speakers of that language have military or economic power over other language users.

By contrast, a **trade** language such as Swahili on the east coast of Africa commonly results from contact of more than two languages and indicates more equal relationship. Its use tends to be contextually and functionally limited, i.e it is used only in commercial contexts.

An **international language** is often used as a neutral form as in India after independence in 1947. Indian English did not privilege any of the native speaker communities, and also gave India a linguistic access to the Western world. Other international languages – Russian in the former Soviet Union, Chinese in China and the islands round East Asia, Arabic across the Middle East, North Africa and the Islamic countries and more recently English.

Auxuliary languages include the artificial languages such as Esperanto, Business English, Maritime English, Air-Traffic control English (i.e. the so-called ESP) they tend to have a highly restricted nd technical vocabulary, ands exist in a frozen regulated form.

When the contact between groups of people is prolonged, a hybrid language can develop known as pidgin.

2. Pidgins and creoles – definitions

2.1. Pidgins

A Pidgin is a language with no native speakers; it is no one's first language but is a contact language. Pidgins develop as a means of communication between people who do not have a common language. Pidgins seem particularly likely to arise when two groups with different languages are communicating in a situation where there is also a third dominant language. So, a pidgin is the product of a multilingual situation in which those who wish to communicate must find or improvise a simple code to enable them to do so.

On slave plantations in the 19th c. people were deliberately separated from others who used the same tribal language so as to reduce the risk of their plotting to escape or rebel. In order to communicate with each other as well as with their overseers they developed pidgins based on the language of the plantation bosses as well as their own languages.

Similarly, on the sea coasts in multilingual contexts, pidgins developed as languages of trade between the traders, who used a colonial language such as Portuguese, Spanish or English and the Indians, Chinese, Africans or American Indians that they were trading with. In fact the term 'pidgin' is supposed to have derived from the word 'business' as pronounced in the pidgin English which developed in China.

A pidgin is sometimes regarded as a 'reduced' variety of a 'normal' language, with simplification of the grammar and vocabulary of that language, considerable phonological variation, and the admixture of local vocabulary to meet the special needs of the contact group. Initially pidgins develop with a narrow range of functions. Those who use them have other languages too, so the pidgin is an addition to their linguistic repertoire used for a specific purpose, such as trade or perhaps administration. Pidgins are used almost exclusively for referential rather than affective functions. Consequently the structure of a pidgin is generally no more complicated than it needs to be to express these functions. Nobody uses a pidgin as a means of group identification or to express social distance, and so there is no pressure to maintain referentially redundant features or complicated pronunciations whose main purpose is to signal how well educated you are.

A common view of pidginized variety of a language , e.g., Nigerian Pidgin English, is that it is some kind of 'bad' English, i.e. English imperfectly learned and therefore of no possible interest. Consequently, those who speak a pidgin a regarded as deficient in some way, almost certainly socially and culturally, and sometimes even cognitively. Such a view is quite untenable.

Pidgins are created from the combined efforts of people who speak different languages. Both sides generally contribute to the sounds, vocabulary and grammatical features and some additional features may emerge which are unique to the new variety. So a pidgin, e.g. Nigerian Pidgin English, is not some kind of 'bad' English, say, an African vernacular with borrowings from English, or English with the sounds and word order of the respective vernacular. Pidgins are not a kind of 'baby-talk', either, used among adults because the simplified forms are the 'best' that such people can manage. Pidgins have their own special rules. It has been found, e.g., that when one group speaks a prestigious world language and the other a local vernacular, the prestige language tends to supply more of the vocabulary, while vernacular languages have more influence on the grammar of the developing pidgin.

Because pidgins develop to serve a very narrow range of functions in a very restricted set of domains, they tend to have a simplified structure and a small vocabulary compared with fully developed languages. Words generally do not have inflections for plural or tense as in English, nor are affixes used to mark

gender as in Spanish. Often the information they convey is signalled more specifically elsewhere in the sentence or it can be deduced from the context, or it is unnecessary.
Pidgins tend to reduce grammatical signals to a minimum. This makes them easier to learn and to use for the speaker although it puts a greater burden on the listener. In other respects pidgins are difficult for the learner, since they tend to be full of structural irregularities.

Pidgin languages do not have high status or prestige and to those who do not speak them they often seem ridiculous. They often have a short life. If they develop for a restricted function, they disappear when that function disappears. In some cases, however, pidgins go on to develop into fully fledged languages, or creoles.

2.2. Creoles

A Creole is a pidgin which has acquired native speakers. It is a normal language in almost every sense. However, just like a pidgin a creole has no single relationship to the usually standardized language with which it is associated. Creoles are learned by children as their first language and used in a wide range of domains. *Tok Pisin* [tok pisin] is one obvious example of a pidgin which has developed into a creole. Despite its name Tok Pisin is a creole because it has been learnt as a first language by a large number of speakers (e.g. in Papua New Guinea) and has developed accordingly to meet their linguistic needs.

As a result of their status as some group's first language, creoles also differ from pidgins in their range of functions, in their structure and in some cases in the attitudes expressed towards them. A creole is a pidgin which has expanded in structure and vocabulary to express the range of meanings and serve the range of functions requi5red of a first language.

If we look at the actual processes involved in **pidginization** and **creolization** we can see that they are almost diametrically opposed to each other in certain important ways. **Pidginization** generally involves some kind of simplification of a language, e.g. *reduction* in morphology and syntax, *tolerance of* considerable phonological *variation* , r*eduction* in the number of *functions* for which the pidgin is used and *extensive borrowing* of words from local mother tongues. On the other hand, **creolization** involves *expansion* of the morphology and syntax, *regularization* of the phonology, deliberate *increase in the number of functions* in which the language is used, and development of a *rational and stable system* for increasing vocabulary. But even though the processes are different, it is still not always clear whether we are talking about a pidgin or a creole in a certain situation.

3. Geographical distribution and Linguistic Characteristics

3.1. Distribution

Pidgin and Creole languages are distributed mainly , though not exclusively in the equatorial belt around the world, usually in places with direct or easy access to the oceans. Consequently, they are found mainly in the Caribbean and around the north and east coast of South America, around the coasts of Africa, particularly the west coast and across the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Their distribution, therefore, appears to be fairly closely related to long-standing patterns of trade, including trade in slaves. Such varieties of language also tend to be associated with dark skins and membership for their speakers in the Third World community of nations.

According to statistics, there are about 127 pidgins and creoles (Wardhaugh :63). Thirty five of these are said to be English-based (e.g. Hawaiian Creole, Jamaican Creole, Krio (spoken in Sierra Leone), Tok

Pisin, etc. Another 15 are said to be French-based (e.g. Louisiana Creole, Haitian Creole), 14 are listed as Potuguese-based (e.g. Senegal Creole, and Saramaccan, spoken in Suriname)five are Dutch-based (e.g. Afrikaans (creolized in the 17th c.); three are Italian-based (e.g. Asmara Pidgin, spoken in Ethiopia); six are German based (e.g. Yiddish and Gastarbeiter Deutsch) and the rest are based on a variety of other languages.

Suriname, the former Dutch Guiana, a country on the northeast coast of South America, is particularly interesting linguistically. The official language of Suriname is Dutch, but that language is the native of less than 2 per cent of the population. In addition, there are two English-based creoles, Sranan and Djuka. Sranan, spoken in the coastal areas, is said to be a 'conservative English' creole that bears little resemblance any more to English. Inland Djuka, the most important of a group of creoles known collectively as 'Bush Negro', is descended from a pidginized variety of English used bu runway slaves. It is a creole but it is also found in pidginized varieties among the native Indians of the interior of Suriname for whom it has become a lingua franca. Also found in inland Suriname is another creole, Saramaccan, which is sometimes regarded as Portuguese-based and sometimes as English-based. It seems to have been undergoing a process known as **relexification , when** those who spoke it were cut off from contact with England after England ceded the colony to Holland in 1667.

3.2. Linguistic characteristics

Each pidgin and creole is a well-organized system and must be treated as such; you cannot speak Tok Pisin by just 'simplifying' English quite arbitrarily. Tp use Tok Pisin properly you have to learn it.

The sounds of a pidgin or creole are likely to be fewer and less complicated in their possible arrangements than those of the corresponding standard languages. Usually, there are no contrasts between 'long' and 'short' ; labials (p) and fricatives (f); or between [s] or [sh]. That is, the binary pairs below will sound the same:
It – eat
Pin – fin
Sip, ship, chip
So, to distinguish 'ship' from 'sheep' in Tok Pisin say 'sip' (ship) and 'sipsip' (sheep)

In pidgins and creoles there is almost a complete lack of inflection in nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives. Pidgins do comfortably without inflections, but it is not surprising that some people view their absence as a sign of deficiency and inferiority mainly under the influence of developed European languages.

Syntactically, sentences are likely to be uncomplicated in clausal structure. The development of embedded clauses, e.g. relative clauses, is one characteristic of the process of creolization: pidgins do not have such embeddings. The use of particles is also quite frequent. Negation may be achieved through the use of the simple negative particle 'no'. e.g. in Krio " *I no tu had*" (it's not too hard). Also interesting is the use of the particle 'de' to denote that an action is continuing , e.g. *a de go wok*(I am going to work).

The vocabulary of pidgin or a Creole has a great many similarities to that of the standard language with which it is associated. However, phonological and morphological simplification often leads to words assuming somewhat different shapes. Some common strategies:
Reduplication (to express repetition or intensification) e.g. *talk* (talk), *talktalk* (chatter)
Look (look), *looklook* (stare)

Use of derivative particles, e.g. *bilong* which occurs in: *gras bilong het* (hair); *gras bilong fes* (beard), *grass bilong pisin* (feathers), *gras bilong maus* (moustache). Pidgin and creole may borrow vocabulary from more than one language.

4. Theories of origin

Despite their huge geographical spread many similarities are found among pidgins and creoles most of which are based on one of seven European languages. This has attracted heated debates over their origin.

- The earliest theories associated with claims about intellectual deficiency of the speakers and primitivism of the pidgin languages are discarded as 'racist' and untenable.
- There is no evidence either for the '*foreigner-talk' or'baby-talk'* theory , i.e. that they a the result from Europeans deliberately simplifying their languages in order to communicate with others. The fact that similarities have been found between pidgins from quite different geographical regions and in pidgins where quite different languages have contributed to their development, suggests things are not quite so straightforward. Moreover, pidgins are far less frequently used between Europeans and non-Europeans than among non-Europeans. . There is plenty of evidence showing that it is the Europeans who learn the pidgins from non-Europeans rather than the opposite. Pidgins are not imperfectly learned standard languages; nor are they the consequence of very simple processes of simplification. All pidgins apparently share some of the same features , no matter which languages they are based on.
- Another view concerning any similarities that are found is that these owe their origin to an **African sub-stratum**, i.e. that they retain certain characteristics of ancestral African languages. This means that pidgins and creoles are European-language based and were freshly created in different places but the similarities existing between them are due to the presence of a common African element. Many disagree with the substratum theory however, arguing that the theory fails to explain from among the many different African languages which were represented in the slave groups brought to the Americas. Besides, there are pidgins, such as the Hawaiian pidgin which bear most of the similarities of other pidgins but has no connection whatsoever with African sources. The theory claiming a common origin is a **monogenesis** theory.
- An alternative theory, the theory of **polygenesis**, is that pidgins and creoles have a variety of origins; any similarities among them arise from the shared circumstances of their origin. Thus certain simplified forms of English have developed independently in a number of places, giving rise to varieties of pidgin.
- Another variant of a *monogenesis theory* is that the similarities among pidgins and creoles might be attributable to a common origin in the language of sailors in some kind of nautical jargon. The ship crews were often drawn from a variety of sources, so they developed among the members of the sailing community a lingua franca , a pidginized variety of a standard language that was carried along the shipping routes. However, the evidence for this theory is weak.
- The theory of **relexification** is another monogenesis theory . According to it, all the present European-language-based pidgins and creoles derive from a single source, a lingua franca called **Sabir** used in Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. In the 15 and 16 c. the Portuguese relexified this language, i.e. they introduced their own vocabulary into its grammatical structure, so that the Portuguese-based pidgin came into wide-spread use as a trade language. Later, this pidgin was in turn relexified into pidginized French, English and Spanish. In each case the underlying grammatical structure remained largely unaffected, but a massive shift occurred in vocabulary. But, the theory of relexification is not without its problems. One is that the similarities between them are so very general that ti is simply impossible to prove that they have a common origin.

Relexification is also dubious in that it asks us to believe that in learning a language, people somehow can learn the grammar quite independently of the vocabulary and ythat they do indeed learn the first but completely replace the second during the process of learning. Although there is plenty of evidence that some relexification must have occurred.

- Bickerton (1983) claims that only one hypothesis adequately explains the similarities among creoles and that is that universal principles of first language acquisition are involved. He calls his the **bioprogram** hypothesis or the **theory of universal language learning.** Bickerton argues that it is better to focus on what pidgins and creoles *have* and *do* than on what they *lack*. What they have and do has developed naturally because each child has a *bioprogram* to develop a full language . Children use *this bioporgram* in the same way wherever they happen to be and the consequence is that ' the grammatical structures of creoles are more similar to one another than they are to the structures of any other language. He further develops this thesis, claiming that children have certain innate language abilities that they are actually forced to suppress as they learn a second language. Consequently, the essential difference between pidginization and creolization according to him is that pidginization is second-language learning with restricted input and creolization is first-language learning, also with restricted input.

It seems fair to note that currently the major contestant theories as to the origins of pidgins and creoles are Bickerton's theory and the theory of relexification, with the scales tipped toward the former so far as general acceptance is concerned.

5. From Pidgin to Creole and Beyond

Whatever their origins, it is generally acknowledged that a pidgin is involved in the earliest stage of each creole. The pidgin comes about from the need to communicate, particularly when those who need to communicate speak a variety of languages and the speakers of the target language are 'superioe' in some sense and perhaps transient, too. Thus, pidginization seems to have happened – and seems still to happen – repeatedly, for it is one of the basic means by which linguistic contact is made among speakers of different languages.

Many present day creoles are spoken by descendants of the African slaves in America and the Caribbean. As the families' communicative needs expanded, so did the resources of the language they used. The pidgin developed into a Creole.
Alternatively a pidgin may become so useful as a lingua franca that it may be expanded and used even by people who share a tribal language. In this case, too, children will often acquire it as their first language and it will develop into a creole. Tok Pisin is the first language of many children in Papua New Guinea. Not every pidgin eventually becomes a creole. Most pidgins are lingua francas, existing to meet social local needs. If a pidgin is no longer needed, it dies out.

Creolization occurs only when a pidgin for some reason becomes the variety of language that children must use in a situation in which use of a "full" language is effectively denied them.So, they creolize the pidgin. Once a Creole has developed it can be used for all the functions of any language - politics, education, administration, literature etc. Many creoles have become accepted standard and even national and official languages. Once developed there is no evidence in their linguistic structure to reveal their pidgin origins. A linguist doing a present day analysis of, say, Afrikaans would not be able to identify it as a creole. In fact French, Spanish, Romanian, Italian are all creoles based on Latin. This suggests that the process of pidginization may be universal processes which reveal a great deal about the origins of language and the ways in which languages develop.

Creole languages do develop ways of systematically signalling meanings such as tenses and these may develop into inflections or affixes over time. Cf. e.g. Tok Pisin, J. Holmes. As pidgins develop into Creoles they become more structurally regular which makes the forms easier to learn and easier to understand. Cf. e.g. Holmes.
As the creole develops paraphrases (cf. ex. 6 Holmes) become more compact and concise, often at the cost of semantic 'transparency'. This is clearly a normal process in language. e.g. 'daiman' could mean 'executor' or 'hangman' but in fact means ' corpse'. When concise compounds like these develop from longer phrases they become less transparent and this is a common process in the development of languages. In sum, here are some of the most salient features of creolization:

- Faster rate of delivery; faster speech
- Processes of assimilation and reduction are at work cf. *paitman* (fighter) exists alongside *man bilong pait* (man of fight)
- Development of a tense system in verbs, e.g. bin (past time marker); bai (future marker)
- Greater sentence complexity; we – (from ‘where” is developing into an introductory marker of relative clauses

Recent studies of pidgins and creoles has revealed how quickly such languages can and do change. In fact one of the reasons linguists find the study of pidgins and creoles so fascinating is precisely that they provide laboratories of language change in progress and for testing hypotheses about universal linguistic features and processes. Pidgins and creoles also demonstrate the crucial role of social factors in the development of languages - since it is the meanings which motivate the structural changes, and the functional demand which leads to linguistic elaboration.

Indeed pidgins and creoles are like any other languages , yet sometimes there may be as rather special relationship between the Creole and the variety which is the present-day representative of the dominant language on which its parent pidgin was based if the two co-exist in the same country. In such situations two alternatives are possible: a) **diglossia** with specialization of functions of each variety; b) **de-creolization**. That is, the standard languge exerts such a great influence on the creole that it is gradually improved and becomes closer to the standard. Bickerton has suggested different stages of the **continuum** of decreolization process:

Basilect ->	mesolect…mesolect ->	acrolect-> Standard language
Closest to pidgin……..		closest to standard

However, iyt is important to note that a continuum is possible only when the two extreme varieties are carieties of the same language; (e.g. Jamaican Creole and Standard English). When different languages are involved there can be no continuum.. A continuum appears to require that there be some kind of continuity in society among the various sub-groups, especially that there be some chance of upward social mobility. . However, Bickerton has been criticized that the continuum he has suggested is over too simplistic. Authors have given examples showing that various things may happen to a creole. Thus Afrikaans, once a Creole , has developed into a full language in South Africa; Bahasa Indonesia has been developed out of certain varieties of Malay, and Tok Pisin is now used in Papua New Guinea as a unifying language. The different linguistic situations create different social and educational problems.

Eventually there may exist a continuum of varieties between the standard language and the creole. This is known as the post-creole continuum (cf. e.g. Jamaica and Guyana) Eventually a creole in this situation may be engulfed by the standard language (e.g. Negerhollands - Dutch, in West Indies). One further possibility is that a creole may be standardised and adopted as an official language as did Indonesian, a language which developed from Pidgin Malay.

6. Attitudes

Though outsiders' attitudes to creoles are often as negative as their attitudes to pidgins this is not always the case for those who speak the language. Tok Pisin has status and prestige for people in Papua New Guinea who recognise its usefulness as a means of communication with a wide range of influential people as well as in getting a decent job. It is also a language of solidarity between New Guineans with different vernaculars. Though Haitian Creole is the Low language alongside prestigious French in Haiti, nevertheless the majority of the people who are monolingual in the Creole express strong loyalty to it as the language which best expresses their feelings.

Examine the following example of British Solomon Islands Pidgin with its English gloss. Describe as many of its grammatical features as you can

Mifɛ́lə i-go go loŋ solwater, lukautim fiš, nau win i-kəm. Nau mifɛ́lə i-go oləbaut loŋ kinú, nau bigfelə win i-kəm nau, mifɛ́lə i-fafasi oləbaute, roŋ tuməs.

(We kept going on the sea, hunting for fish, and a wind arose. Now we were going in canoes, and an immense wind arose now, and we were thrown around and were moving very fast.)

Based on:

Coupland, N. and A. Jaworski (1997) Sociolinguistics: a reader. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Holmes, Janet. (1992) 2005) An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Longman.
Wardhaugh, R.. 1986, 1992. An introduction to Sociolinguistics

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Chapter Ten
Intercultural communication: English as an International language

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1. Global English – the BIG NEWS of post-modernity

"For good or ill, at the end of the second millennium AD and the fifth full millennium since recorded history began, English is unique. No language has ever before been put to so many uses massively by so many people in so many places – on every continent and in every sea; in the air and in space; in thought, speech, and writing; in print on paper and screen; in sound on tape and film; by radio, television, and telephone; and via electronic networks and multimedia. It is also used as mother tongue or other tongue – fluently, adequately, or haltingly; constantly, intermittently, or seldom; happily, unhappily, or ambivalently – by over a billion people. Perhaps a fifth of the human race. "

(The English Languages, Tom McArthur, 1998: 30)

Traditionally, most people have regarded languages as ethnic and communicative monoliths. Even today, the ever intensifying globalization processes notwithstanding, the predominant view tends to be that "each nation is entitled to its own language" though it has often in fact been " to each nation its languages" Against this backdrop, the fast spread of English in the world may indeed be regarded as the BIG NEWS of our post modern times. According to sociolinguistic estimates (Crystal 1997, D. Graddol, M. Arthur) today there are over 70 countries in which English has held or continues to hold a special status with many other countries giving English the special priority commonly referred to as an international/ world/ global language or lingua franca. (Crystal 1997, D. Graddol, M. Arthur). Today, the language is in daily use by over 700 million speakers and only half of them native speakers of the language. The current situation has faced sociolinguists and language policy makes with a number of serious issues:

- What does it mean to say that a language has become a global language?
- Does the globalization of English imply that each and every country should recognize it as an official language?
- Why was English chosen to be made a world language?
- When a language becomes a global language, does it remain such forever?
- Should speakers of a global language follow the norms of use of it native speakers?

These are fascinating questions to explore whether your first language is English or not.

Thus, those for whom English is their mother tongue may have mixed feelings about the way it is spreading about the world. On the one hand they may feel pride that their language has been so successful. On the other, they may feel concerned about the way the language changes in consequence of it being used by people from other countries that do not feel obliged to follow the norms of use pertaining to native speakers but tend to promote regionally specific variants of English. A situation well accounted for by the question some native speakers of English pose,

"World English or Worse English?" showing NSs' attitude towards the globalizing processes affecting their mother tongue. Indeed, the expansion of the language which is nowadays spoken not only by native speakers but also , and predominantly at that, as a second and a foreign language by millions of speakers, has imposed serious strains on its norms of use bringing about an inordinate variability of usage due to the varied language and cultural background of its speakers or differences in their proficiency level.

The problems facing nonnative speakers of English (NNES) are equally serious though different in nature. On one hand, NNES may feel envious,, resentful, or angry that English is encroaching into local spaces, ousting local languages and threatening their functionality and vitality. An attitude aptly manifested in the stance "There is too much English in the world' that a growing body of scholars, language policy makers, or language teaching experts the world over tend to share. Condemning the fast spread of English and its diffusion in local territories as a new form of Anglo-Saxon colonialism and linguistic imperialism, they argue that serious measures should be taken to curb the pernicious effect of globalizing English and maintain the linguistic and cultural diversity in the world.) Whether real or imaginary, these are natural feelings that would arise whichever language emerged as global, but these are also fears that may lead to conflict and require more serious attention.

So, how does a language achieve a global status? And why was English chosen for this role?

2. What is an international language?

Smith (1976) was one of the first to define the term "international language". According to him an ***international language*** is a *language which is used by people of different nations to communicate with one another*. A language serving as a means of international communication further implies that:

- Its learners do not need to internalize the cultural norms of native speakers of that language;
- It is "denationalized", i.e. no group of speakers can claim ownership of that language;
- The educational goal of learning it is to enable learners to communicate their ideas and cultures to others. This means that it serves as language " for communication" and not for "identification" . Further, that *transactional functions* of language will prevail over *attitudinal (affective*) functions.

Referred to English, the above definition would imply that:

- In addition to its function as mother tongue to around 320 – 380 million people, English can also be used *globally* , as an international language of communication between speakers

from different countries (100 – 1000 million), as well as *locally*, as a language of wider communication between speakers of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds within multilingual societies (150 – 300 million).

- As a means of wider/ international communication, the use of English does not need to be connected to the norms of use and cultural models pertaining to its native speakers.
- As an international language English becomes embedded in the culture of the country in which it is used, i. e. becomes localized in a sense.
- As an international language its primary function is to enable speakers to share with others their ideas and culture, i.e. it serves as "language for communication" not "identification"

Some other features characterizing English as an international language are:

- English tends to establish itself alongside local languages in multilingual contexts composed of bilingual speakers.
- Unlike its former role as an *elite lingua franca* (among academics, politicians and businessmen) EIL is now not confined to the socioeconomic elite but is learned and used by various levels f society.
- EIL spreads not by native speakers migrating to other areas (as it used to be in the past) but rather by many individuals acquiring the language (Brutt-Griffler " large-scale language acquisition)
- So, EIL is the product of the development of a world etnocultural system, which includes the development of a world market and business community, as well as the development of a global scientific, cultural and intellectual life.

It is important to emphasize that as an international language EIL establishes itself along local languages which comes to imply that any complaints of its spread to threaten local languages and cultures seem to be a little exaggerated.

3. Reasons for the spread of English and people's attitude to it

a. A historical perspective

The movement of English around the world begins with the pioneering voyages to the Americas, Asia, the Antipodes (Australia and New Zealand – an informal term). It was an expansion which continued with the 19th c. colonial developments in Africa and South Pacific, the establishment of the two big English speaking countries in Northern America (the US and Canada - the establishment of Canada (1867) as a self-governing dominion to the British crown) and took a significant further step when it was adopted in the mid-twentieth c. as an official or semi-official language by many newly independent states. As a result English is today represented in every continent, and in islands of the three major oceans – Atlantic (St Helena), Indian (Seychelles) and Pacific (e.g. Fiji and Hawaii). It is this spread of representation which makes the application of the label "global language' a reality.

In addition, by the beginning of the 19th c. Britain had become the world's leading industrial and trading nation. Most of the innovations of the Industrial revolution were of British origin, resulting in new terminology for technical and scientific advances. Hence, those who wanted to learn more about these innovations needed English both to understand the new terminology and to talk to English-speaking inventors and manufacturers. Similar developments were taking place

in the US, and by the end of the 19th c. the US had overtaken Britain as the fastest growing economy producing many new inventions.

Describing the processes running in the spheres of economy and business, science and technology, politics and culture, Crystal concludes that one of the primary reasons for the spread of English is that it has been in the right place at the right time. As he puts it:

> In the 17th and the 18th c. English was the language of the leading colonial nation – Britain. In the 18th and the 19th c. it was the language of the leader of the industrial revolution – also Britain. In the late 19th c. and the early 20th c. it was the language of the leading economic power – the USA. As a result, when new technologies brought new linguistic opportunities, English emerged as a first-rank language in industries which affected all aspects of society – the press, advertising, broadcasting, motion pictures, sound recording, transport and communications. (Crystal 1997: 110-11)

b. An economic and socio-cultural perspective

Colonialism, speaker migration, and new technology developed in English speaking countries were important in the initial spread of English. The current spread of English, however, was also fueled by some socio-economic developments specific for the period of post-modernity (of the late 20th c and up to the present time) commonly referred to as **globalization.**

Globalization is generally used to refer to the set of processes generating a multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend territorial and social boundaries which make up the modern world system (McGrew 1992:65). This "vogue" word is often associated with McLuhan's idea that the world has shrunk to a "global village" through the shared, simultaneously spread information of electronic media. Researchers commonly agree that globalization is not a single phenomenon but embraces a complex and multifaceted set of ever intensifying integration processes. Some of the more salient manifestation of globalization processes are:

- Internationalization and de-territorialization of social practices;
- Intensive cross-border mobility of workforce, finance and culture (International travel for work and study)
- Hybridity of social practices and cultural models
- Technologization and democratization of discourse practices

A major characteristics of all these processes is that they are all realized in and through communication and consequently require and depend strongly on the availability of a shared language. This is where English comes in. Analyzing the present-day socio-economic and cultural situation we can see that:

- Of the 12, 500 international organizations listed in the 1995 – 96 union of International Associations' Yearbook, approximately 85 per cent make official use of English
- English is practically also the official language for communication in the European Union and all its administrative bodies;
- English is the dominant language used in High communication technologies; English is the language of the Internet; about 80 per cent of the electronically stored information is in English
- English is the dominant language in the field of finance and business;

- English is the dominant language used in the film industry (e.g. in the mid-1990s, the US controlled about 85 per cent of the world film market)
- English is the dominant language in the area of popular music; of the pop groups listed in the *Penguin Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, 99 per cent of the groups work entirely or predominantly in English.
- Publications; more books are published in English than in any other language
- International travel: the US is the leader in tourism earning and spending
- Education: in more and more countries a significant portion of courses in higher education are conducted in English in order to attract international students.

So, the widespread use of English in all these diverse social fields makes it imperative for any country wishing to access the global community for economic development to create conditions for its population to acquire the language serving all these global practices. This has led to radical restructuring of local language policies and creating conditions for English language teaching/ learning on a large-scale basis. Today, there is hardly any person who is not convinced that knowing English is a necessity for accessing the "goodies" of globalization. However opinions tend to differ regarding the status of Global English, its link to the other Englishes, in particular English as a Native Language, and last but not in importance , the norms of teaching and using English as an international language.

c) Attitudes towards the spread of English

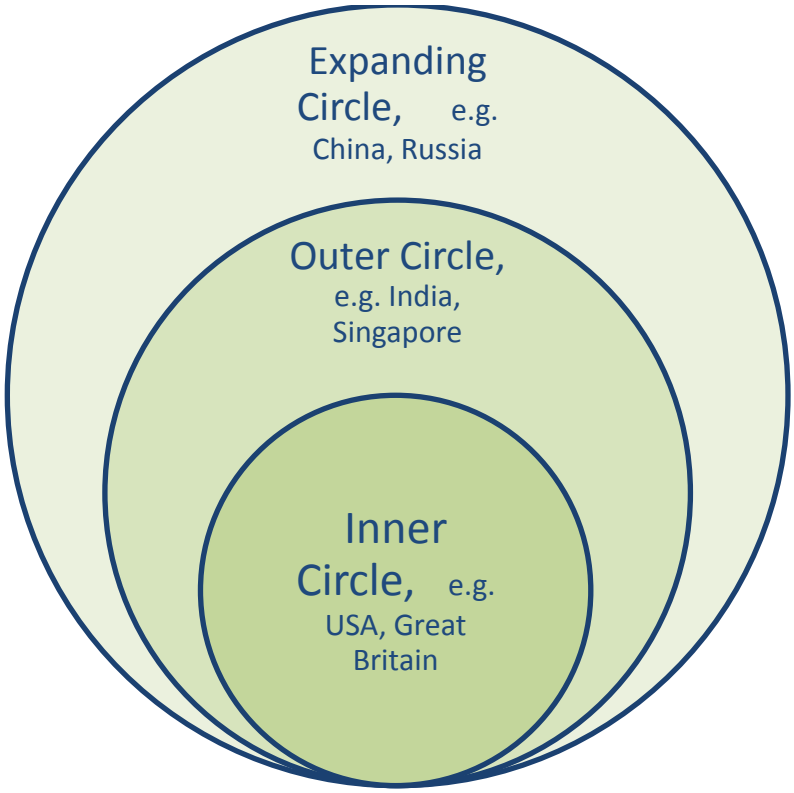
Given that Global English figures as both the **product** and **driver** of globalization, people's attitudes towards globalization also reflect on the language as such. Thus **globalist enthusiasts** who associate globalization with the spread of the free-market, knowledge-based economy to practically all countries speak with excitement about the opportunities it opens for participation in networks and activities of interest across geographical and cultural boundaries and the freedom it gives to people to break away from the narrowness of their homeland and travel the world mixing with other peoples and cultures do not see any threat in the massive influx of English in local spaces and the influence on local culture of the cultural models it brings with it. **Globalist skeptics**, in turn, bring into prominence such less attractive aspects of globalization as the aspirations of some social and political forces to achieve and sustain a territorial dominance of neo-liberal capitalist ideology on the planet thus cementing their hegemony and all the benefits that global control can bring them. In consequence, they argue, smaller societies are in danger of fragmentation and reduction of functionality caused by weakening of the ties between culture and place and mingling of cultures and values which undermines the security of belonging to a particular place. Accordingly, they stand for protection of local languages and cultures, for maintaining the richness of the world tapestry of languages and cultures and, conversely, for putting the unrestrained growth of English in global space under more strict control.

But these processes develop in specific ways in different countries.

4. Models of English

With the growth of English as an international language, the English language situation has become extremely complex to describe and investigate. In the first place it is because the day to day speech activity of English speakers worldwide - written, spoken, typed, printed, broadcast, telephoned, faxed, texted, emailed – is so vast and varied that no person, or group or program

could ever catch and catalogue it in all its diversity and complexity. A second difference stems from the fact that it is not just the norms of use that are varied but also the language situations in which the language is used. According to some scholars the differences in the norms and situations are so great that it seems pertinent to speak of a "**family of Englishes'** rather than of one more or less stable system. Yet, scholars have tried to introduce some order in the seeming havoc of different varieties using for that purpose different criteria. Furthermore, since scholars tried to grasp the language situation at a particular synchronic level, the chronological models dominant in the past (viz. Old English, Middle English, Modern English) appeared irrelevant and were replaced by geo-political models centred on representing the social shapes of the language. There are a number of good models of the family of Englishes currently in use today (cf. Peter Strevens's world map of English, McArthur : 95, Tom McArthur's Circle of World English, McArthur:97, etc.) But one of the most influential, as well as one of the most seriously criticized is the model of Brat Kachru (1985)



Kachru's model

So, the **Inner Circle** contains countries in which the language is spoken as native. The **Outer Circle** contains post-colonial English-using countries such as Bangladesh, Kenya, and the Philippines. The third and largest circle holds all those countries in which the language is spoken as foreign.

From a historical perspective we can say that like many other languages English only became English when it began to be printed and standardized on paper and spoken 'elegantly" in educated circles. Scholars belonging to those circles were inevitably influenced by them. And they preferred a single stable English to a mass slippery , barbarous Englishes, and for many the 'story of English' (and indeed language) from the dawn of history till their own time was the story of how this admirable stability came into being.

Today, however, English has manifestly and extravagantly become many again, diversity reaching even into its standard varieties. The period of a widespread and stable languagehood was brief – if indeed it ever really existed. So current models share and exhibit the multiplicity of the English language complex rather than its uniformity, ragged at the edges, showing how hard it is to hold the old centres as so many rough but colourful beasts slouch towards Jerusalem. (McArthur 99)

5. Bilingual users of English. Defining the Native Speaker

Graddol argues that languages in a multilingual context often have a hierarchically ordered status.

At the base of the diagram are languages that are typically used in the home. They are generally geographically based and are often the first language that a child acquires. The Big Languages at the top of the pyramid, on the other hand, are used in addition to their native speakers also by speakers who have acquired such a language as foreign, the latter group being by far more numerous than the former . Put another way, we can say that the Big Languages have a wider territorial reach. As they can reach by far more people than national languages, they are the languages generally used for international communication.

Owing to its globalization, English can be found at any of the levels of the language system. The questions that arises in this connection are:

- Do the speakers using the language in any of the above roles – as national, official, regional, etc. – follow the same norms of use?
- How relevant and how feasible is the native speaker model for speakers using the language in different geographical locations and in different roles?

The answers to these questions are different for the different sociolinguistic contexts of English use and English standards (the so called Native Speaker standard) provide the pivotal demarcation line between the different varieties of English

- **Problems with the Native Speaker Model**
  - Standards of English use in the Inner Circle countries (ENL speakers)

ENL speakers, naturally, feel entitled to the role of custodians over what is acceptable usage of the language they have acquired by birth and are reluctant to sanction a place in the English mix of all those emerging varieties that threaten the monolithic nature of ”good English”, one of the “key achievements of Anglo-Saxon civilization” (McArthur, 1998:214).

- Standards of English use in the Outer Circle countries (ESL speakers of “New Englishes”)

ESL speakers, particularly defendants of post-colonial ‘New Englishes’, argue in favour of **pluralistic centres of reference** for norms and standards. They discard as old-fashioned the concept of monolithic English as the exponent of cultures and norms of communication in all English using countries. Instead, they strive to promote new norms of use that incorporate features of the local languages and cultural values, and that manifest bilingual writers’ creativity, stylistic experimentation and ‘intermeshing’ of codes (Sridhar, 1996: 56; Kachru, Y. 1985; Kachru & Nelson, 1996; Kirkpatrick, 2001). The varieties of English spoken in these context are generally referred to as **endonormative, i.e.** they tend to create their own norms of use that are to a bigger or lesser degree different from the norms established for the use of the language by native speakers. Consequently, ESL speakers claim an independent status of the varieties used in these sociolinguistic contexts.

“How realistic is it to expect an East, West or Southern African, an Indian, a Singaporean, a Fillipino, or a Carribean to shift to American or British English?”, asks Kachru (1985:229*) .“ It is not a matter of putting people through intensive language training. It is a matter of motivating or coercing people to assume new identities that will ensure new linguistic interaction patterns. For the purposes of cross-cultural communication through English, the only choice is to recognize the reality of world Englishes.*

In his article *“English as an Asian language”* Kirkpatrick (2001) also argues in favour of promoting language learning models that reflect local cultural values and provide knowledge of the culture of the people who are in contact, since it is impossible to identify and isolate an ‘English’ culture that is common to all speakers of English. ‘It is a regional variety of English,

not an external model that needs to be promoted, because it is a regional variety of English that people in the region will want to use to signal their cultural identity' (Kirkpatrick 2001)

- Standards of English use in the Expanding Circle countries (ESL speakers pf "New Englishes")

The English spoken spoken as foreign is generally considered exonormative as speakers tend to adopt as norm of use some of the standards relevant to native speaker communities. Consequently, EFL used to be treated as a "performance variety" that is to a bigger or lesser extent close to a standard variety of the language depending on the proficiency level of the EFL soeakers.

However with the growth of English as an international language a source of tension has emerged. The source of tension stems from the paradoxical situation in which Global English finds itself. It is a mother tongue, a stronghold of nationhood, characterized by standards and norms of use set and followed by its native speakers. At the same time, it is a world language that spearheads transnational communication, a role that divests it of cultural identity as it is shaped at least as much by its non-native as by its native speakers. This controversy bears directly on the all-pervasive communicative approaches proclaiming native speaker behaviour as the only acceptable target language norm. The current situation has triggered a heated debate on a) the status of English used as an international language 9 or, as lingua franca); b) the relevance of Native Speaker norms in contexts in which English is used as a lingua franca.

5. The ELF/EFL debate

a. arguments against the NS model

Traditionally language learning was viewed as just one aspect of 'acculturation'. It was generally acknowledged that 'the degree to which a learner acculturates' (Schumann 1978:34), i.e. becomes adapted to the target culture, controls the degree of his/ her fluency of communication in that language. Scholarly discussions usually revolved around what aspects of culture seem most relevant for enhancing learners' communicative competence, the social structure of the target speech community, modes of life, values, attitudes and ways of speaking being amongst the most likely candidates for ELT curricula.

In the modern context of English learning and use, however, there is an increasing awareness amongst scholars that imposing foreign socio-cultural models onto local norms of social behaviour might be threatening and is likely to be unwanted by local people.

Observing the diversity of speech variants among native speakers in real life communication, a lot of educators have defined the NS model as an unnecessary abstraction, or a linguistic myth (Alptekin 2002), and have raised a voice in favour of a language teaching policy that takes due account of the ways in which English forms a part of the local language ecology. Models of communicative competence based on an idealized image of the native English speaker focus only on the language and culture of Britain and the US, notes Kramsch, and can foster *a* ' form of Anglo-American colonialism, a neo-pluralistic stance that conflicts with local, religious, educational and political traditions' (1997: 15). It has also been pointed out that native-speaker based authenticity restricts dramatically non-native teachers' and learners' autonomy, which require activation of shared linguistic and cultural experience in the use of language as part of the

teaching/learning process (Alptekin 2002), and dooms to failure most foreign language learners by emphasizing their foreign status in relation to the target language culture (Graddol 2001).

Indeed, it is a well-known fact that in the modern context of an ever-growing international role of English more and more people want to learn the language to the extent that it is practical for them to do so. Hence, pedagogical models that require of learners to adapt to British or American communicative patterns when English is used for international communication, or merely for access to information in a particular domain seem devoid of reason, all the more so that in such uses 'the culture of the native speech community is largely irrelevant' (M. S. Troike (1982 : 362). When people interact with one another cross-culturally, they want to project their culture-laden social identities upon the communicative situation and be perceived as belonging to a certain social group, whose beliefs, values, and traditions they share. That is why, more and more English language teachers nowadays consider it more relevant to develop in EFL learners skills of language use in intercultural settings, rather than penalize them for reasons of being deviant from a 'chimerical native speaker ideal' (Norrish 1997)

b. The status of EFL

The debate on NS norms of use called into question the very status of English as used by foreign speakers of the language. Currently we may distinguish three generally defined strands in the debate over the status of EFL/ ELF.

Firstly, there are scholars who draw a distinction between 'English as a foreign language' and 'English as a lingua franca' (House, 2003, Jenkins, 2006), insisting that hybridity and nonstandard use should be accepted as natural manifestations of speakers' creativity and stylistic self-expression in lingua franca contexts of communication . Accordingly, according to this view, ELF speakers should be entitled to some partial autonomy that permits a certain degree of systematic distinction from ENL. Given the utilitarian purposes for which the language is being used, EFL speakers are believed to owe 'no allegiance to any descendants of its ancestry in the present' (Widdowson, 1994) and have a legitimate right of "appropriation of the language" for their own purposes (Seidlhofer, 2002). The corollary for EFL speakers of the new role attributed to the variety they speak is that they are now viewed as transformative agents willing to express their own social and cultural identity (Seidlhofer, 2001; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Jenkins, 2006), as users in their own right (Cook, 1993). Moreover, as expert communicators capable of adapting their speech performance to the requirements of the particular interactional context (Pennycook, 2003) EFL speakers are entitled to shape and be shaped by the language they are using.

Lingua franca English, they argue, should be considered as a specific variety in its own right, "bereft of collective cultural capital" (House 2003: 559). ELF is predominantly employed as a "language of communication" by speakers of other languages, alongside their mother tongues which alone can function as "language of identification." ELF is a hybrid language with highly variable norms of use as it is derived from diverse sources. It has its speakers and its own "proficiency clines" (Jenkins 2006: 141) characterized by features that are not imitations of any other English variety. ELF also has its specific nonnative (non-ENL) contexts of use which enable it to have "a life of its own, independent of the norms of English" (Seidlhofer et al. 2006:8-9). Accordingly, the thrust of descriptive work is to identify and describe its salient features that would lead to its codification with the ultimate objective of "making it feasible,

acceptable and respected alternative to ENL in appropriate contexts of use" (Seidlhofer 2001:150).

The second strand of research conceives of ELF as a specific kind of contact language, "adopted through foreign language instruction rather than personal contact" (Mauranen 2006: 126). The focus is on those mechanisms that are known to be at play in language contact situations such as negotiation and accommodation, code switching and code mixing. ELF is not generally treated as an autonomous, culture-free variety, but as a product of "dialectal" contact (Mauranen 2006: 127) that might result in a language shift in future due to running processes of "leveling and standardization" (Meierkord 2006:27). They provide ample evidence to support their view that there are no sufficient grounds for granting ELF a status of a specific variety, sui generis.

The third strand is more heterogeneous and includes all those scholars who are not directly involved in the theoretical debate on the status and future development of ELF (Modiano 2001; Canagarajah 2006; Park 2007) but rather concentrate on the interaction process itself seeking to explore how mutual values are defended or contested, how identities are created and negotiated or how culture is discursively constructed. The thrust of their exploratory work, therefore, is not so much the system of ELF, but the pragmatics of communication, in particular, the strategies that "enable speakers to maintain their own varieties and still communicate without hindrance "(Canagarajah 2006: 204) .

c. Could and should ELF be codified as a specific variety in its own right?

Sociolinguists commonly classify language varieties according to "users" or "contexts of use." A broad overview of available research, however, reveals that the ELF variety as it is currently described could not be assigned to either category as different scholars tend to employ either one or the other of these dimensions as defining characteristics. Instead, the distinctive feature that most studies appear to converge on is its "nonnativeness." Put another way, ELF is represented as the variety employed for communication between nonnative, especially foreign, users of English in diverse nonnative contexts. Against this backdrop it seems worth pointing out that ELF users' community largely exists in our imagination. In some ways it is like present-day national societies which by growing more and more heterogeneous in the context of globalization are also described as *imagined communities* by sociologists (Hall 1992). On the other hand, it also differs substantially from them both in terms of size and heterogeneity. Inasmuch as it is reasonable to accept ELF community as a viable category, we have to bear in mind its transnational nature and the diversity and instability that this entails. The forces that unite ELF speakers do not stem from shared narratives, shared sets of stories, images, rituals or traditions that influence and organize people's conceptions of national or cultural belonging. Rather, the image of communion is based on speakers' *exclusion* from, hence their determination to challenge implicitly or explicitly, the "sacred imagined community" (Bhatt 2002: 76) of British and American native speakers axiomatically taken as the sole source of authenticity and knowledge power. Conceptualizing ELF as a specific variety in its own right, therefore, would be conducive to reifying an *imagined community* of ELF speakers roughly coterminous with such formations as "nation" disregarding the sociocultural differences between them. Whether category membership is associated with deficiency in speakers' competence (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig 2001) or with mere registering of differences in communication patterns (e.g.,Tannen

1984); in either case "native" and "nonnative" are assumed as predetermined psychological constructs, lodged within each individual's mind and relevant in all communicative situations. Such largely essentialist understanding of ELF speakers' community appears to be ignoring the mediating role of language in "constructing culture discursively" (Piller 2007: 211) and trivializes the socio-historical conditions underlying social practices known to play a key role in identity construction .

It is often argued that English of global communication is both a product and a driver of globalization (Graddol 1997, Crystal 1997). On the one hand, it serves to unite people having little else in common. On the other, it crosscuts societies, forming numerous internal divisions and social networks on the basis of shared needs, interests, affiliation, or occupational status. As a result EIL materializes in myriads of discourses, each facing its speakers with a specific challenge. In this complex situation, some EIL speakers seem fully satisfied with a kind of partial competence enabling them to get their ideas across and transfer messages on particular specialized subjects. Others, however, for the most part young, multilingual, geographically and upwardly mobile individuals, aspire to a more active participation in globalization processes and seem reluctant to accept as legitimate such truncated competence. Seeking positions on the staff of big international companies, they try to reach the topmost levels of English proficiency that would enable them to assert themselves as professionals and trustworthy team players in a culturally and linguistically diverse social environment. To this end, they need to be equipped with such communicative skills that would allow them to negotiate role-relationships, to resolve dilemmas requiring crossing of cultural boundaries, to signal peer solidarity and support for other people's views and values but also maintain their own stance and identity. These are functions of a much higher order than could be accounted for by a code axiomatically taken as deviant from universally accepted standards. Consequently, speakers willing to be active players in globalization processes would be unwilling to accept other than the widely recognized ENL standards of use. Presumably, there may be times when acting as purposeful agents they may modify and adapt their speech to build their own specific identity. Yet, meeting the demands of the situation at hand in ways that would inspire confidence and assurance on an international scale would reasonably be given priority.

Based on:

CRYSTAL, D. (1997/2003). English as a Global Language. Cambridge University Press
GEORGIEVA, M. (2011) Global English in Bulgarian Context. Varna: Silueti Publishers
GRADDOL, D. (2000). The Future of English. The British Council
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Chapter Eleven

Context, Style, Register. Audience Design. Accommodation

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1. Introduction

Language varies according to its users as well as its uses. In everyday life we often hear such labels as " informal speech", "scientific term", "women's speech", "slang", "academic speech', etc. that serve to describe differences between linguistic forms. Metalinguistic labels of this kind link speech repertoires to enactable pragmatic effects, including images of the person speaking (woman, teenager, educated person, etc.), the relationship of speaker to interlocutor (formality, politeness), the conduct of social practices (literary or scientific activity, religious sermon, etc.); they hint at the existence of **cultural models of speech** – a meta-pragmatic classification of discourse types – linking speech repertoires to typifications of actor, relationship and conduct. This is most generally the domain of style and register variation.

Speakers of any language can intuitively assign speech differences to specific style or register classifications and, correspondingly, can respond to others' speech in ways sensitive to such distinctions. Competence in such cultural models based on style or register variation is an ***indispensable resource in social interaction***. Consequently, one of the moist intriguing questions is how are these models, - in particular, their socially distributed existence, their ideological character, the way in which they motivate tropes of personhood and identity – are formulated and disseminated in social life and become available for use in interaction by individuals.

It is generally assumed that individuals become acquainted with registers and styles through processes of **socialization** that continue throughout the lifespan. Hence every member of a language community cannot identify all of its registers with equal ease, let alone use them with equal fluency. Such differences depend on the particular life-course and trajectory of socialization of the individual speaker. (E.g. an educated speaker will not probably be familiar with scientific and technical terminologies; older people don't know current youth slang, etc.). In short, an individual's **style/ register range** , i.e. the variety of styles and registers he has in his repertoire, equips him with portable emblems of identity, sometimes permitting distinctive modes of access to particular zones of social life. In complex societies, where no fluent speaker of the language commands more than a few of its registers, the register range of a person may influence the range of social activities in which that person is entitled to participate; in some professions, especially in the domain of technologies, a display of register competence is a criterion of employment. Differences of register competence are thus often linked to asymmetries of power, socioeconomic class, position within hierarchies, etc.

2. Style and Audience design

Differences in speech motivated by shifts in the context of speech are generally referred to Style variation or style-shifting. The key question that researchers of style try to answer is: ***Why did the speaker say it this way on this occasion?*** Put another way, the relevant motif for style variation is NOT some specific social characteristics of the speakers themselves, but the **situation,** or the **context** that subsumes such elements as relationship between speakers, formality, the conduct of social practices, etc. Because style shifting involves **alternative choice** it is located in variationist studies**.** Consequently, studies of style shifting focus on a search for **regularities and patterns. The** context of style is the **speaker** together with the **situation** she/he is in**.** Here are some examples**:**

Example 1:

Alan Bell (2001) adduces an example of the New Zealand Public Broadcasting where two radio stations - one private, one public - broadcast from the same studio. Since the two radio stations used the same staff as well, the commentators and reporters had to style-shift depending on which radio-station was on air. Put another way, the speakers adapted their speech performance to their audience .

The example below (2) comes to show that this is common practice in Bulgarian media as well.

Example 2:

Two magazines published by the same Media Group; one, High Club Magazine is addressed to teenage readership; Second, Everything about Woman, is addressed to age and gender specific readership – women. We observe an interesting difference in the way they mix codes: e.g.

High Club:

Example 10: Материалното момиче ще е една от първите пътнички на космическия самолет *„Спейсшип 2”.* Не дай си боже, космонавтката да остане не само *4 Minutes*, а във вечна орбита около Земята, някъде там *Miles Away*.

Everything about Woman

- Все пак продължават да са връх моделите "oversize" (огромни), които придават загадъчен и „звезден" вид.
- "Красивото направено добре" – това е девизът на италианските дизайнери във времето, когато всичко се продава с етикет Made in Europe (произведено в Европа).
- Наблягаме на тишъртите, на контраста на цветовете, както и на т.н. полошърт – *блузите с яка и три копчета*.

3. Audience Design

On the basis of such findings Allan Bell (1984, 1997) constructed the term '**audience design'** and tried to establish its characteristics. This is a variationist version of speech accommodation theory; quantitative study of linguistic variables according to Labovian principles is taken as the norm. The model assumes that speakers adjust their speech primarily towards that of their audience in order to express solidarity or intimacy with them, or conversely away from their audience's speech in order to express distance. According to Bell **audience design** as a characteristics of the style of an individual's speech performance is based on the following basic principles:

1) **Relation to addressee, i.e. *Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people*.**

The style is orientated to people rather than to mechanisms or functions. It marks inter-personal and inter-group relations. It is interactive and active
The speaker's relation to the addressee is crucial in determining the appropriate style of speaking. Also important how well you know someone/ how close you feel to them, also their age, sex, social roles, whether people work together or are part of the same family, etc. Here are some more examples:
Cf (cf. magazine example)

Example 3 (age of addressee)

- Excuse me. Could I have a look at your photos, too, Mrs. Hall?
- C'mon Tony, gizzalook, gizzalook.

(Holmes 1992: 246);

Example 4 (Social background of addressee**)**

- **Last** week the British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher met the Australian Premier Mr. Bob Hawke in Canberra… their next meeting will not be for several months.
- Las' week the British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher met the Australian Premier Mr. Bob Hawke in Canberra… their nex' meeting won't be for sev'ral months.

2) ***Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups.***

The social evaluation of the group is transferred to the linguistic features associated with the group. So style derives from inter-group language variation by way of **social evaluation**. Evaluation of a linguistic variable and style-shift of that variable are **reciprocal.** Evaluation is always associated with style-shift and style-shift with evaluation. Stylistic meaning therefore has a **normative** basis. A particular style is normally associated with a particular group or situation and therefore carries with it the flavour of these associations.

MaCaulay (2009) adduces some examples of English teenagers' slang which show that norms can and do **change.** His examples come from two studies = one conducted in 1997 and another one in 2003.

Example 5
In the 1997 study the working class adolescents used two non-traditional intensifiers ***dead*** and ***pure*** instead of ***very,*** e.g.

- I'd look **dead** funny without a fringe, wouldn't I?
- This is **dead** embarrassing
- I was standing **pure** close to him

But, in 2003, there is a new intensifier **heavy** that was apparently just beginning in 1997. E.g.

- He's no pure **heavy** sexy
- We think you're **heavy c**ool man
- I'm going to **heavy** kill him anyway
-

There's also a new term of approbation, **healthy (= good looking)**, that is not found in the 1997 recordings.
E.g.

- This is **healthy** man – sit and talk about shit
- He's pure **healthy** but he's a wee fandang
- That's a **healthy** phone innit?

Another epithet that is used more frequently in the 2003 recordings is mad which can be used with both a positive and negative effect, e.g.:

- He got caught on a **mad** website
- I had a **mad** throat infection

- They're doing all **mad** tests
- Harry bought a **mad** fitbaw man

The use of pure, heavy, healthy and mad shows that the Glasgow working-class adolescents have developed their own characteristic form of intensification.
It is important to point out that once acquired, a particular style/ register functions as a tacit emblem of group membership

3) ***Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience.***

For instance, we may expect that any young person who wants to signal membership, affiliation to or solidarity with the community of Glasgow working-class adolescents will switch to their style of speaking in speech encounters involving representatives from this group.

4) ***Style shift primarily occurs in response to a speaker's audience. i.e. a speaker shifts her style to be more like the person she is talking to.***

Put another way, a speaker tries to **accommodate** to his/ her conversational partner/ speech situation he finds in. According to Accommodation theory (Giles and Powesland) an individual can induce another to evaluate him more favourably by reducing dissimilarities between them employing for that purpose some **converging** strategies; or, conversely, a speaker may try to distance himself/ herself from his/ her conversational partner by means of some strategies of **divergence**. The process of speech accommodation operates on socio-psychological principles and may be considered as an effective instrument for rapport building, establishing social equilibrium among participants and gaining social approval.

It is important to emphasize that Style is a responsive phenomenon. That is, response is a primary mode of style shift. Responsiveness to the audience is part of the active role of the speaker.
So, speakers construct a conversation not only verbally, they shape and adapt their conversation in a way that would show a close convergence of styles. In this sense speakers' styles of response are an essential and constitutive feature of communication; there is a natural link between stylistic and inter-personal differences.

Here is an example adduced by Holmes:

A number of people who were learning Welsh were asked to help with a survey. In their separate booths in the language lab they were asked a number of questions by an PR-sounding English speaker. At one point this speaker arrogantly challenged the learners ' reasons for trying to acquire Welsh which he called a "dying language which had a dismal future". In responding to this statement the learners generally broadened their Welsh accents. Some introduced Welsh words into their answers, while others used an aggressive tone. One woman did not reply for a while, and then she was heard conjugating Welsh verbs gently into the microphone. (Holmes 1992:257)

5) ***Audience design applies to <u>all codes</u> and <u>levels</u> of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual.***

Audience design comprises – <u>style-shift</u> (colloquial/ formal), <u>choice of personal pronouns, address terms</u>, <u>politeness strategies</u>, etc. it applies to all codes and repertoires including the switch from one code into another.

6) ***Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes <u>the variation which exists between speakers on the 'social' dimension.</u>***

This means that the same linguistic variables operate simultaneously across different social groups of people. Audience design is therefore a strategy by which speakers draw on the range of linguistic resources available in their speech community <u>to respond to different kind of audiences.</u>

7) ***Speakers have the ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members.***

i.e. speakers accommodate their style to their hearers to win approval. (Cf. accommodation strategies)

a) **Compare the strategies used by NS and BT1 and see how they try to achieve their communicative aim, which is practically the same; to persuade BT2 that what her suggests does not appear pedagogically well motivated.**

b) **Example 6**

NS: Okay. Did they develop … *How did they compare to their performance in the other bits*? (4)
BT2: That was the weakest side.
NS: *How did they feel about that*? (5) *Did you ask them*? (6) *Did they feel that they were prepared for this and were not …(7)*
TB2: It was difficult
……..
NS: … *Perhaps the simplification for the writing should be simplified for year two and made slightly more complex for year three …*(8) What about their freedom in terms of … writing… uhm, *I got lost on that one* .. (9) In year three …yeah … *Probably … what they have to do is summarize a text, which is a type of writing ability, but that … constitutes a part of the reading* …(10)
BT2: [Yeah
NS: [exercise in fact. . […] *So, in practical terms there is, as it were, a reading paper which incorporates a kind of a writing exercise*.(11) Errrr (…) And that's it. *There wasn't any … there wasn't any place for writing in the 'Use of English' … in year three?(12)*
… … … …
NS: Yeah. Okay. **What I see as a problem is that … we've got sort of labels which mean different things at different times. (13)**

(*NS uses a lot of indirect strategies, but feeling that he is being misunderstood, he finally expresses his thought directly*. However as we see later, since directness of expression runs counter with his native communicative way of speaking, later (cf. example 8) he uses some strategies of self-face protection to resume the balance in the conversation according to the way he sees how things stand)

BT1: *I don't quite agree,* frankly speaking*... because there are texts and texts. It's a matter of difficulty ... not the same task (1)*

BT2: Yes, but if you have to assess once … their comprehension through the questions … and twice… their comprehension through the summary … *there is no reason* …(2)

BT1: *No, I don't believe so*. (3)In the first case you assess […]

BT2: So, if the form is good and they have not understood the text …. Can we give them a very high mark on the summary?

BT1: Well, *this is a completely different matter* (4)whether you should use the same text for the summary and the comprehension questions..

BT2: *That's it*. (5)That's why I use one text which they read …[…]

BT1: *For me they are different skills*, (6)frankly speaking.

(BT1 is direct, and might appear to someone unused to Bulgarian style of speaking as downright rude. However, according to the Bulgarian participants her way of speaking is in conformity with the professional tone and key of the conversation and no one considers it rude or inappropriate. However, notice how she changes her tone when she addresses NS, who is a guest and also has a socially more important role in the communicative situation (consultant)

Example 7

BT1: Excuse me, G. *Could I ask a question* before you summarize the generalities?

NS: Yeah.

BT1: Is it really very important where our writing task is as long as we have included a writing task? […]

(asking for advice)

Besides, she also uses some strategies of self-protection, for once because she wants to build a more fabourable image of herself; and 2) to avoid being taken as a domineering person and to maintain the atmosphere of harmony and solidarity. (Example 8b)

Example 8a

NS: That I think is something that we have to think over. I think from my point of view as a student I'm finding it a bit confusing. .*(* Point- of- view deixis and impersonalization *)*

….

Example 8b

BT1: I don't know, maybe… maybe my colleagues will say why it doesn't make sense … you know, we always focus on grammar, on the importance of grammar, and we do a lot of grammar things, and give the highest weighting to grammar, errr but I don't … I don't like it. I think,

really, that ‘use of English’ should have the same weighting as’ Reading’ … Hm? Aiche, what do you think?

8) ***Style-shifting according to topic and setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying <u>association of topics or settings with typical audience members.</u>***

9) ***As well as the responsive dimension of style, there is the <u>initiative dimension</u> i.e. the style-shift itself <u>can initiate</u> a change <u>in</u> the situation rather than <u>resulting from</u> that change.***

Example 9

NS: This means that in fact *you don’t distinguish between* the kind of task that you expect them to do.

BT4: Although according to the programme there should be a distinction between the two courses because …

(a knock on the door. Someone opens the door and says, Извинете, Мариета...)

NS; A-ha, the distinction is maybe in terms of content, or focus ...

BT1: (имаме заседание)

BT4: [yes, content...]

(Чакай, чакай, моля те кажи на студентите да ме чакат. Идвам след малко. ..

BT2: И аз трябва да тръгвам...

BT1: Още молко моля ви. Трябва да свършим.

BT4: …Sorry, G.

NS: Yes, so *these do not deal with progression.... these are so to say, subject specific....*

e.g. situational code-switch reflects the speech community’s norms of what is appropriate speech for certain audiences.

10) ***Initiative style-shifts are in essence ‘referee-design’ by which the linguistic features associated with a reference group can be used to express identification with that group***.

Initiative style-shifts derive their force and direction of shift from their underlying association with classes of persons or groups. They focus on an often absent reference group – e.g. by adopting a non-native accent ,- rather than the present addressee. <u>Referees are third persons not usually present</u> at an interaction <u>but possessing such salience for a speaker that they influence style even in their absence</u>. Cf. Monty Python’s example – Holmes

Initiative style shift is essentially a redefinition by speakers of their own identity in relation to their audience. The baseline from which initiative shifts operate is the style normally designed for a particular addressee

Referee design can involve a speaker shifting to identify more strongly with their own in-group, or to an out-group with which they wish to identify.

4. Style as context-related variety

Labov defines style as: any consistent… [set of] linguistic forms used by a speaker, qualitative or quantitative, that can be associated with a… [set of] topics, participants, channel, or the broader social context."

There are two general approaches to the study of style variation in sociolinguistics: a) variationist (descriptive, distributional) that focuses on the distribution of stylistic variants across different social situations and b) functional – that centres on the link between language styles on one hand and social relationships and identity construction on the other.

4.a. variationist (descriptive) approach

An example of the variationist approach are W. Labov's studies on the distribution of two main styles - **vernacular** and **careful** – in different social contexts. Labov uses as a basis for the distinction between vernacular and careful style the amount of **attention** people pay to their speech. He describes the vernacular as *the style in which the minimum of attention is given to the monitoring of speech* and considers it a person's ***most basic style***, the style which provides the sociolinguist with the most basic and most valuable data for analysis. On the basis of his analyses Labov concludes that v**ernacular style** is more common in *informal setting*, *speech on personal topic*, relating *personal experiences*, *telling stories*, etc. Another important element of the variationists' investigations concerns the identification of the features characterizing a particular style. Here are some of the linguistic features characterizing <u>vernacular style</u>:

<u>Pronunciation features:</u>

[h] dropping – 'e bought an 'ouse in 'ulton (He bought a house in Hulton)

[ŋ] dropping – stop starin' at the ceilin'

<u>Grammatical features</u>

Irregular forms of 'be' - , We was up there cuttin';

Syntactic reduction (omission of S or aux)

Inversion of normal word order

Use of specific linguistic formulae or routines

Heavy noun modification

Use of non-traditional quotatives, *go, be like*, e.g.

- I was like that "Shut up"
- Goldie was like that " What you talking about?"
- And it went "ding, ding"
- And he just goes "wauff pff"

Also some <u>discourse features</u>: e.g. Coates provides an example how in Tasmanian informal narratives, there is a tendency to use <u>animation for objects.</u>

Example 10

"Old Kit …'e had the only chopping axe john B. had. Nobody 'ad a pretty good axe … they got Kit entered in this Chop y'know …'e was off say three or five or whatever. When they said 'Five!' 'e's no sooner [……] than 'e hit 'er [the block], 'y'know, and 'e chopped two or more six-inch nails clean off … 'e dug himself in too low, y'see … and 'e holds 'er round to

John, and ‘e’s got a great big gap clean through the face of ‘er, and ‘e said ‘CRIPES!’ Hahaha! When he turned – when’e showed it to John.

This pattern of animating objects and assigning them a gender in casual narratives has been noted in the colloquial speech of rural New Zealand men too.

Animation for objects is also common in Bulgarian spontaneous speech; e.g. Яхнах *Алекси* и за има-нема час си бех у дома. (Алекси -> Москвич Алеко)

Other findings by Labov et al. related to style include:

- Social class distinctions tend to be preserved in each speech style; conversely, the slope of style-shifting tends to be identical across social classes.
- Linguistic variables can be characterized in terms of their salience, or of speakers’ awareness, and consequently of the patterns of style-shifting they produce.
    - Variables which show social stratification but not style-shifting are called (social) INDICATORS;
    - If speakers show both stratification and style-shifting, but do not comment overtly upon a feature, the variable is known as a MARKER; and
    - If speakers do remark upon a socially-diagnostic variable, it’s a STEREOTYPE.
- The degree of variation along the style axis, from one extreme to another, is almost always less than the degree of social class differentiation. This has been used to argue that style variation is derived from social variation (Bell 1984, but see Biber & Finegan 1994 who disagree; see also Preston 1991).
- Patterns of variation in casual, vernacular speech give a truer picture of linguistic changes in progress than formal speech does; formal speech tends to be conservative or distorted.

Problems with Labov’s model of style:

- Channel cues turn out to be unreliable and ambiguous in use.
- One-dimensional models are found insufficient to represent the repertoire of stylistic options available to most speakers.
- Reading and speaking, e.g., are not necessarily part of the same dimension in all communities, and not necessarily ordered as in Labov’s NYC data (cf. Milroy 1980 in Belfast); reading may produce a citation register which is different in kind from speech.
- The experimental results used to argue for the attention model prove on closer inspection to be contradictory.
- There are cases easily found in which greater attention to speech does not result in a higher level of formality, e.g. switching into a non-standard dialect by a native standard speaker who is not fully fluent in it, or dialect performance speech.

4.b. functional approach

From a functional perspective*, style has generally been recognized as the dimension of* ***intra-personal variation****, somehow linked to* ***variation in situational context****.* Functionalists argue that “style’ relates in a very specific way to social factors: <u>it defines a particular speech situation.</u> Some other style characteristics relevant to this approach are:

- style varies independently of other domains of socially meaningful variation
- style is a situational correlate
- stylistic variants are semantically equivalent
- style-shifting is one-dimensional:
    - situationally – i.e. one individual uses different style variants across situations
    - linguistically – style-shifts are either toward or away from a linguistic norm
    - psychologically – shifts relate to " attention to speech" which is scalable intra-personal variable
- style is a characteristic of the spoken text
- styles index personal and contextual attributes; they do not serve local communicative intents. (N. Coupland)

Further, it is argued that when information about the way people from different social groups speak is combined with contextually motivated style-shifting it becomes clear how class membership as a social dimension interacts with contextual style. Because this interaction is perceived as 'normative' in a way, it is often used by authors to achieve humorous effect. For instance in E.g.11 below we can see how the formal and Latinate vocabulary appropriate to very formal settings contrasts with the inappropriately informal vocabulary used by the judge obviously for humorous effect.

Example 11

Judge: I see the cops say you were pickled last night and were driving an old jalopy [dʒə'lɒpi] down the middle of the road. True?

Defendant: Your honour, if I might be permitted to address this allegation, I should like to report that I was neither inebriated nor under the influence of an alcoholic beverage of any kind."

Jalopy – very old car in bad condition (banger)

5. Style differs from ways of speaking

A distinction should be made between: **dialect style (social dialect)** – stylistic variation in respect of variable features associated semiotically within "social" class differentiation and attribution within sociolinguistic communities) and "**expressive' or "attitudinal" style** – those prosodic and paralinguistic variables which are not indexically linked to social group membership.

Expressive/ attitudinal style is also different from **ways of speaking** the term used to refer to the style choices which are patterns of ideational selection – *what we choose to mean, to whom, when and where.* i.e. style choices have social meaning; they are motivated by the full range of semantic/ pragmatic concerns ways of speaking are often referred to as discursive patterns which are socially and culturally motivated)

.

Dialect styles and ways of speaking are distinguished in that, with **dialect style** we are considering semiotic variants that do not themselves distinguish referential (ideational)

meanings, although they may, of course, " colour" these meanings in socially important ways. Ways of speaking are by definition patterns of ideational selection.

Dialect style operates primarily in the expression of identity and relational goals; *ways of speaking* operate in relation to all three constellations of communicative goals; instrumental, identity and relational goals.

Dialect style variants may be alternative ways of achieving the same reference. i.e. characterized by referential sameness. *Dialect style* become meaningful for our self-identities and our relationships through the ways in which they cross-refer to other symbolic processes in discourse.

6. Register

Agha defines register as a **linguistic repertoire** that is associated , culture-internally, with **particular social practices** and with **persons** who engage in such practices. Put another way register is a variety of language defined largely by differences in the **social situation of use.** The repertoires of a register are generally linked to systems of speech style f which they are the most easily reportable fragments. From the standpoint of language structure , registers differ in the type of repertoire involved, e.g. prosody, lexemes, sentence collocations. Therefore it affects variation of all language levels – e.g. choice of words or syntactic ordering of utterances, etc. From the standpoint of function , distinct registers are associated with social practices of every kind, e.g. law, medicine, prayer, science, magic, prophecy, commerce, military strategy, the observance of respect and etiquette, the expression of civility, stats, ethnicity, gender. Some of these registers are known only to specialized communities of speakers, others are more widely known. Some lack official names, others have their own dictionaries.Some are highly valued in society, others are derogated by prescriptive institutions. Some are widely recognized as habits of particular groups. In common ideological view, Standard English is just 'the language", the baseline against which all other facts of register differentiation are measured. Yet from the standpoint of usage Standard English is just one register among many, highly appropriate to certain pubic/ official settings, but employed by many people in alteration with other varieties – e.g. registers of business, of journalism and advertising, of technology and computer sciences, etc.

One of the recent findings of **corpus linguistics** is that there is **far more variation** as a result of **register** than as a result **of dialect.** Furthermore, register differences operate within and across dialectal differences. E.g. things like 'playing a computer game' or 'writing a letter of invitation" preserve their specific features even within different dialects. What is surprising is that people are far more aware of dialectal differences than register differences.
Register is socially motivated and involves social negotiation among the participants in a discourse in order to speak or write in a particular way.

Register can be defined either narrowly or broadly;
Narrow - an occupational variety of language. Most commonly perceived as **jargon**, and most people associate it with particular word choices.

Broad – seen as a kind of social genre of linguistic usage. Examples of registers under this definition would include the language of newspaper articles, the language of conversation about the weather, academic prose, recipe in a cookery book, etc.

Like other cultural models, registers are **historical formations** affected by processes of **valorization** and **counter-valorization**, exhibiting change in both form and value over time. For example when prestige registers used by upper-class speakers are imitated by other groups, the group whose speech is the sought after variety often innovates its own speech habits seeking to renew or transform the emblem of distinction. ***Competing models*** of register value sometimes exist in societies as well and contribute to historical changes in register systems.
The *utterance* or *use* of a register's form formulates a sketch of the social occasions of language use, indexing contextual features such as interlocutor's roles, relationships, and the type of social practice in which they are engaged. A register's tokens are never experienced in isolation during discourse; they are encountered under conditions of textuality (cooccurrence) with other signs – both linguistic and nonlinguistic signs – that form a significant context , or co-text for the construal of the token uttered.

A register is a social regularity: a single individual's activity does not suffice to establish the social exiastence of a register unless confirmed in some way by the evaluative activities of others. Thus in identifying registers linguists observe not only that certain kinds of metapragmatic typifications *occur* in the evaluative behaviour of language users but, more specifically , that certain patterns of typifications *recur* in the evaluative behaviour of many speakers. Thus from recurrent **typifications** in individual speech performances, register gradually moves to the order of **stereotypes of discourse**. To speak of metapragmatic stereotypes is to say that social regularities of metapragmatic typification can be observed and documented as data.

It is important that register is defined primarily by the **circumstance and purpose** of the communicative situation rather than by the individual user or ethnic/social group using the variety. In other words the definition must be a non-linguistic one, against which particular linguistic features can be set. One way of pinpointing a register is to identify a communicative event along the three dimensions proposed by M. Halliday:
Field *– the social setting and purpose of interaction e.g. the subject matter of the article, the purpose in publishing it (to advertise, to inform, etc)*
Tenor – *refers to the relationship between the participants in the event.*
Mode – *refers to the medium of communication (spoken, written, e-mailed)*

Clearly there are further details and sub-types within each set of three dimensions. The **context of use** is the crucial determinant in identifying register. In this way slight differences in linguistic style can be ascribed to close differences in social function.
e.g. a **RECIPE** – may have the following register dimensions:
field – cookery
tenor – ranging between a professional cook to amateur cook
mode – written
e.g. French cookery book addressed to a very knowledgeable reader; too technical in tenor and makes difficult reading for an amateur reader

‘coffee table’ recipe book – with sumptuous photographs and mouth-watering lyrical prose, intended more as a ‘coffee table’ recipe book than for cooking and this linguistic variation is determined by a difference in ‘field’.
Finally an instruction on how to make an ‘apple pie’ dictated on the telephone by your mother – difference in ‘mode’.

a) Register and socialization

The continuous historical existence of a register depends upon the mechanisms for the replication of its forms and values over changing populations (e.g. from generation to generation). The group of “users” of a register continuously changes and renews itself. Hence the differentiable existence of the register , an awareness of its distinctive forms and values , must be communicable to new members of the group in order for the register to persist in some relatively constant way over time. Once acquired , proficiency in the register functions as a tacit emblem of group membership throughout adult life and, in cases such as law and medicine, may be treated as an index of achieved professional identity.

Processes of register dissemination and replication are inevitably constrained by principles that limit the participatory access of individuals to criteria institutions 9 e.g. mechanisms of gatekeeping in elite schools). Hence, in practice, register stereotypes and standards are nee replicated perfectly over a population of speakers.

b) Register and asymmetries

All speakers of a language do not master all its registers during the normal course of linguistic socialization. Thus two members of a language community may both be acquainted with a linguistic register, but not have the same degree of competence. Many speakers can recognize some registers but cannot fully use or interpret them . The existence of registers therefore results in the creation of social boundaries within society, partitioning off language users into groups distinguished by differential access to particular registers, and to the social practices which they mediate; and through the creation and maintenance of asymmetries of power, privilege, and rank, as effects dependent on the above processes.

c) Stereotypes and ideology

Registers often have an ideological – hence “distorting” – character. Here are a few varieties of ideological distortion that are very common in languages of the world

a) The first concerns the ideological nature of of competing valorization. In so far as register systems vary society-internally particularly socially positioned models may contrast with each other as alternative systems of normality. Each is ideological from the perspective of the other in so far as it gets the (normative) facts incorrect. Why do competing models of normativity coexist in societies/ Firstly, because they are the result of asymmetries of replication noted above. Second, systems of normative value invariably serve the interests of some speakers , not others; they are therefore subject to manipulation, different allegiance, and society-internal competition.
b) A second ideological aspect of registers derives from the open-ended possibilities of functional reanalysis. Registers are open0 cultural systems in the sense that once a distinct register is culturally recognized as existing within a language its repertoires are susceptible for further reanalysis and change.

c) A third reason is that stereotype judgments typically under=differentiate the semiotic orders of *lexeme* and *text.* Native speakers' judgememts about register are often formulated as models of pragmatic values of isolable words and expressions. . But since lexemes are never used in isolation from their signs in interaction, the effect of co-textual signs may on a give occasion of use either be congruent with it or, by degrees , may cancel the stereotypic effects of the lexemein question. Register distinction can thus be manipulated interactionally to achieve effects which – thought depemndent on the stereotypic values of a certain lexeme - are at the lecel of text , significantly at odds with such values. Common examples are ; the use of female speech by males, the use of honorific language to enact veiled aggression, the use of technical terminologies to evoke jocular effect, etc.

7. Style, Register and Way of Speaking

Register and Style are both means of **marking out social groups** and **establishing solidarity.** In general the sort of lexico-grammatical choices made at this level are based on selection of words and sequencing them in a particular way. Selection can be seen as a sort of metaphorical system since one word is chosen to fill a linguistic slot in as a sort of metaphorical system. **Idioms** often rely for their meaning on metaphorical interpretations (e.g. kick the bucket – die) Conversely **euphemisms** can be seen as a lexical replacement by a closely associated word (a **metonymy**). E.g. 'the rest room' conveys a slightly different, more pleasant association than' water closet'. A similar effect – using foreign words, e.g. French – toilet, Latin – lavatory, Italian – netty, French – loo)

a) Style /Register – a dynamic perspective

Today scholars agree that in the domain of registers there is a trend towards increasingly more interactive and dialogically conceived notions of contextually situated talk. " What matters is not what chances to surround performance in the real world, but *what effectively surrounds performance* in the mind and influences the creation of texts. Sociolinguistics must account for the social organization of meanings through interactive discourses.

- professional stratification of language
- Every register is a **typification**, a *style*, the bearer of specific sociocultural intentions; at the same time register is the bearer of self-referential identity which we recognize as such. Registers cannot help advertising themselves. We recognize them as pertaining to certain groups and certain social activities, hence as the registration of historical and social distinctions – not least power relations and hierarchies.

b) Variable dialect personas and style

Bakhtin argues that **styles/ registers are socially indexical .** Accordingly**, style can be used as a persona management**: Fowler uses the notion of " **mind-style**" to express how value judgments and " impression of a world-view" are necessarily represented in all manner of social texts (cf. светоглед). Fowler's mind-styles are voicing conventions through which, in literary works, an author can project a diversity of individual world-views **indexically** through linguistic representations of characters' values and belief systems.

How do we know that dialect styles carry these identity formatting potentials within them? - It is at the level of the person – an individual's personal and social identity – that our social judgements of speech style reside.

Theoretical benefits follow from this perspective:

- Dialect style as persona management captures how individuals, within and across, speaking situations manipulate the conventionalized social meanings of dialect varieties – the individual thorough the social.
-
- Individuals within what we conventionally recognize to be meaningful social categories enact dialect personas with sufficient uniformity for survey researchers to detect numerical patterns of stratification.
-
- It is in relation to group norms that stylistic variation becomes meaningful. ; it is through individual stylistic choices that group norms are produced and reproduced.

Dialect style as persona presumes that stylistic variation will be inherently multidimensional. – reveals competence/ incompetence; community affiliation, etc.

- Styles can operate within a speaker's primary (resources normally available to him within the local community) vs. secondary repertoires (use of mimicry in verbal play) .
- Stylistic variation is a dialogic process, with style choices open to complex negotiation, inferencing and interpretation.
- The designing of acts of linguistic display would be geared to the speaker's self-perceptions, projecting various versions of his or her social and personal identity, with different degrees of confidence and plausibility.
- From a self-identity perspective, shifts that are "appropriate" are nevertheless creative in the sense that speakers opt to operate communicatively within normative bounds. All dialect style usage is, to that extent, **metaphorical and creative,** but we sometimes opt to invoke personas whose metaphorical associations are predictable and so " appropriate" to particular social circumstances.
- Style as self-identity also gives us a more mediated view of what has been called " topic" versus " addressee" effects. (cf. convergence/ divergence with an audience) promoting distinctiveness at the level of the social group will often entail projecting a self which is aligned with some group outside the recipient's own. Promoting efficiency is a goal more obviously located at the level of the relationship, although with a clear implication of a speaker wanting to appear ' pro-communicative".

In these ways, addressee related style-shifts are again better explained as strategies in the arena of persona management. i.e. speakers being accommodative

If so, dialect style should be treated **analytically,** as a repository of cultural indices, mediated by individual performance. Its salience will be located not within any aggregated " level" or " range" of dialect variants, but in the placement of individual or specifically grouped dialect features relative to other culturally signifying linguistic amd discursive forms – dialect styles operating within ways of speaking.

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Chapter Twelve
Language choice in bilingual and multilingual speech communities. Attitudes to language varieties. Stereotyping and identity

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I. Bilingualism and Multilingualism

It is generally believed that homogeneous, monolingual societies tend to be the norm in the world. However, the ability to speak more than one language is not at all remarkable. In many parts of the world it is just a normal requirement of daily living that people speak several languages. In fact, there are many countries in the world where a speaker of just one language would be regarded a misfit, lacking an important skill in society, the skill of being able to interact freely with the speakers of other languages. Here's how S. Romaine describers a language situation in multilingual India.

> "A foreigner who manages to learn a variety of Telegu sufficient to get by on the streets of Hyderabad will soon find out that this particular variety of Telegu cannot be used for all those purposes for which an English monolingual might use English. The average educated person in Hyderabad may use Telegu at home, Sanskrit at the temple, English at the university, Urdu in business, etc. He may also know other varieties of Telegu, or Kannada, Tamil or Malaysian for reading, dealing with servants, or other specific purposes. Many South Asians have active control over what amounts to complex linguistic repertoires drawn from different languages and varieties. In societies such as these multilingualism is not an incidental feature of language use, but a central factor and an organizing force in everyday life. In most parts of India monolingualism would be problematic relative to the norms and expectations about the number of languages and varieties a person needs in order to manage the everyday things a normal person has to do. (Romaine 1989: 9)"

I.1. Defining bilingualism

Ordinary people commonly refer to the number of languages a speaker knows and uses as:

Monolingualism - the ability to use a single language code.
Bilingualism – the ability to speak two different languages.
Multilingualism – the ability to speak more than two languages.

There are scholars, however, who argue that bilingualism is a much more complex phenomenon than one might think because alongside **individual bilingualism**, the term can also be used metaphorically to refer to a phenomenon on a territorial level, the so-called '**societal bilingualism'.**

The coexistence of two languages in one region, often and incorrectly interpreted as a case of individual bilingualism, raises the important question of **language choice**. Earlier scholars, e.g. Weinreich's (1953) argued that ***the ideal bilingual*** switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation but NOT in an unchanged situation. Later scholars have provided evidence that rebuts this view to a different degree and cast doubt on Weinreich's view that code choice is linguistically motivated. Another extreme view, but on the opposite end, is expressed by W. Labov (1971: 457) who argues that ' no one (of the sample of Spanish/English speakers he observed) has been able to show that such rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints. Accordingly, he defines bilingualism as an "***irregular mixture*** of two distinct systems"

In general, in most world countries a special significance is attached to **monolingualism** and switching and mixing of language is stigmatized. In Nigeria, for example, instances of code-mixing are referred to as *amulamala* or *adaluade* , i.e., " verbal salad". In older times it was believed that bilinguals do not acquire full competence in any of the languages they speak. Such individuals are said to be '*semilingual*'. "These early discussions of bilingualism produced such terms as '*ideal bilingual'*, ' *full bilingualism'*, '*balanced bilingualism'* … which shows that bilingualism was regarded as inherently problematic and that it represents an undesirable mode of organization for the speech community and for the individual (Romaine 1989:6).

I.2. Types of bilingualism

At the level of the ***individual bilingualism,*** the fundamental question is when a person can be considered bilingual. Opinions tend to oscillate between a ***narrow*** definition (*someone who manages two languages at a more or less equal level*) and a ***broad*** definition (*those persons who have in fact learnt two languages before reaching adolescence*.) There are, of course, many levels of individual command of two or more languages learnt at different ages than are found in these two more "extreme" standpoints.

Mackey suggests that there are four questions which the description of bilingualism must address: **degree, function, alternation and interference**.

- ***degree* of competence** which concerns the level of proficiency in the languages one speaks;
- ***function*** , that is, what uses a bilingual speaker has for the languages s/he speaks and the different roles they have in their total repertoire;
- ***alternation*** which treats the extent to which the individual alternates between the languages;
- ***Interference*** which has to do with the extent to which the individual manages to keep the languages separate, or whether they are fused. ***(Romaine 1989:11)***

Other scholars have also considered important such factors as *origin* (how the languages have been acquired), *language aptitude and motivation*, *attitude*, etc.

Bilingualism is thus both a quantitative and a qualitative concept, used for very different purposes and often without defining which criterion or criteria are being employed. U. Weinreich (1953), one of the first scholars who studied bilingualism in depth, distinguished the following types of bilingualism:

- **Coordinate bilingualism** – the person learns the language in separate environments, and the words of the two languages are kept separate with each word having its own specific meaning. Normally the second language is learnt later.

- **Compound bilingualism** - the person learns the two languages in the same context, where they are used concurrently , so that there is a fused representation of the languages in the brain. For the compound bilingual the languages are interdependent, whereas for the coordinate bilingual they are independent.

- **Sub-coordinate type** – the bilingual interprets words of his weaker language through the words of his stronger language. Thus the dominant language acts as a filter for the other.

According to Weinreich then the *compound bilingual* would have one set of meanings and two linguistic systems tied to them. The *coordinate bilingual* has two sets of meanings and two linguistic systems tied to them. The *sub-coordinate bilingual* , however, has a primary set of meanings established through his first language, and another linguistic system attached to them. (Romaine 1989: 76). Evidence from later studies did not confirm this classification and today scholars believe that the variety of individual bilingualism is much greater.
The issue of bilingualism becomes much more complex when considered from a territorial perspective, i.e. the so-called **societal bilingualism**. It must be pointed out that it is very difficult to make a neat distinction between bilingualism as a societal and individual phenomenon, particularly in the treatment of certain aspects of bilingual behaviour. It is also necessary to elucidate the distinctions between societal bilingualism and diglossia, which is also a societal phenomenon.

I.3. Societal bilingualism

In Europe, it has generally been the case that language differences have been associated with distinguishable territories , and later, the nation-states occupying these territories. Because of the identification of national entities with linguistic integrity, heterogeneity has tended to be limited to the frontiers and was for that reason regarded local and peripheral, e.g. the Basques in Spain and France. Hence, most European countries are officially unilingual. In countries where bilingualism, or multilingualism, is established, usually the more powerful groups in any society are able to force their language upon the less powerful.

On a territorial level, the mere existence of two languages within one territory tends to give the presumption that the population is bilingual, which is not at all the case. First of all, in most cases only the speakers of what is the *minority* language (and one of the languages is almost always considered a minority language in relation to the official language of the country or region, although these can be different as in Catalonia or in Slovakia until its independence.) are generally bilingual. A more or less total bilingualism in the long run often leads to the ***loss*** of the minority language given that its usage is always more restricted.

YOUR TURN

Read the case studies provided in the Further Reading section and compare the language situations in each country. Comment on the problems a foreign visitor may face in territories where bilingualism/ multilingualism tends to be the norm. Suggest some survivor strategies.

Estimates show that societal bilingualism is widespread and that the people living in these territories do not consider the language situation either strange or limiting in any way. From a sociolinguistic point of view however a crucial questions is whether there exists some regularity in the use of the coexisting languages and what **patterns** of language choice can be established.

II. Territorial bilingualism/ multilingualism - what does the choice of a language depend on?

II.1. BILINGUALISM AND DIGLOSSIA

Before we focus on the possible approaches to studying the interaction patterns of language choice, we need to clarify in what way societal bilingualism differs from diglossia.

Ferguson originally used the term 'diglossia' to refer to a specific relationship between two or more varieties of the same language in use in a speech community in different functions. So the most important hallmark of diglossia, according to hin, is the **functional specialization** of High and Low varieties. Later other scholars, e.g. Fishman also define diglossia as a societal arrangement in which individual bilingualism is not only widespread but institutionally reinforced.

Diglossia is a stable situation which may persist for at least several centuries. For instance, in the Arabic –speaking world, it seems to go as far back as the recorded history of the language. However, as Fishman points out, the relationship between individual bilingualism and societal diglossia is not a necessary or causal one. Either phenomenon can occur without the other. Both are relative notions. Fishman defines diglossia without bilingualism as an instance of political or governmental diglossia in which two or more differently monolingual communities are brought together under one political roof. Various modern states such as Canada, Belgium, Switzerland fall into this category. There is an institutional protection for more than one language at the federal level , though in individual territories there is widespread monolingualism.

Today there has been an increase in open networks, social mobility, more fluid role relationships and urbanization which have greatly marred the distinction between diglossia and bilingualism.

II.2. Earlier studies - Coexistent systems and free variation

When variants attracted the attention of linguists at all, they were generally regarded either as belonging to different co-existent linguistic systems (i.e. different languages) or as unpredictably free substitutes. The notion of **co-existent systems** held that speakers maintained *separate phonologies* (and grammars) that gave them access to more than one code, thus allowing them or perhaps causing them to switch from one to another. The notion of *free variation* held that the variants were merely random fluctuations. This carried a strong implication that the variants cannot be predicted by any factor.

One of the first systematic studies of intralingual variation, by Fishman (1958), set out to discover " the determinants of the selection of the variants" –'in' and 'ing' in participles as used by Boston children. He found those determinants in correlations with the *social class, the sex,* and other independent variables.

In multicultural (multilingual) societies, scholars set as their aim to uncover the factors that determine the selection of a language code and the patterns of language use in a community

II.3. Social factors as determinants of code choice.

There is a bulk of evidence in research literature showing that the choice of a particular code in multilingual communities is predominantly determined by social factors: *situation, location, formality, sex, status, intimacy, seriousness and type of activity.* Put another way, *who you are talking to, the social context of the talk, the function and topic of the discussion*, etc., have an important part to play in language choice. Janet Holmes adduces the following examples of language choice in multilingual countries:

YOUR TURN

Read the examples below and make a list of the social factors that you think have triggered the change of code.

Example One:

Kalala is 16 years old. He lives in Bukavu, an African city in eastern Zaire with a population of about 220000. It is a multicultural, multilingual city. Over forty groups speaking different languges can be found in the city. Kalala, like many of his friends, speaks a number of varieties during a normal day: he speaks an informal style of Shi, his tribal language at home with his family, and he is familiar with the formal Shi used for weddings and funerals. At the marketplace when he wants to communicate with people from a different tribal group, he uses the lingua franca of the area, Swahili. In fact the variety spoken at the market is a dialect known as Kingwana, which is different from the standard Zairean Swahili which he studied at school. Standard Zairean Swahili, one of the national languages is the language used for official purposes, despite the fact that French is the official language of Zaire and Kalala uses it when he contacts government officials. He uses it when he applies for a job, but there are very few jobs around. So, most of his time Kalala spends with his friends. The young people in Bukavu, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds or tribal affiliations use an in-group slang , Indoubil, based on Swahili but which has developed into a

distinct variety. Therefore Kalala speaks three varieties of Swahili and the varieties of his tribal language. (Holmes 1992:21)

Example Two:

Anahina is bilingual Tongan New Zealander living in Auckland. At home with her family she uses Tongan almost exclusively for a wide range of topics. She uses Tongan with her grandmother and mother. They use Tongan at meal-times. it is only with her older sisters that she uses English when they are talking about school or doing homework. (Holmes 1992:23)

The Domain Model

Analyzing examples like the above, scholars have found useful to identify 'typical interactions' which involve social factors. E.g. a typical family interaction' ,' typical interaction at meal-time' , etc. One of the first scholars who studied the relationship between typical interaction patterns and contexts of their use was J. Fishman (1958) who identified five **domains** – family, friendship, religion, employment, education. He defined a domain as an ***abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings, and role relationships.*** Put another way***, a domain involves typical interactions between typical participants in typical settings (***Fishman1958). The chart below is an example of correlation between language variety and domain of interaction:

Domain	Addressee	Setting	Topic	Language
Family	parent	home	Planning an outing	Guarani
Friends	friend	cafe	funny anecdote	Guarani
Religion	priest	Church	Sunday liturgy	Spanish
Education	teacher	Primary school	Telling a story	Guarani
Education	lecturer	University	a science lecture	Spanish
Administration	official	Office	import licence	Spanish

The abstract concept of domain proved useful for capturing broad generalisations about any speech community. While it obviously simplifies the complexity of bilingual interaction the domain model also has some important advantages: a) it summarizes what we know about the patterns of language use in the community; b) it provides a clear basis for comparing patterns of code choice in different speech communities. Finally, the model is also useful to a newcomer in a community providing him/ her with a simple list of the appropriate patterns of code use in that community. Although quite useful from a descriptive point of view however, analyses like the above are currently considered inadequate for they fail to show the ***social meaning*** of variability, or **why** do people switch code when they do. A number of scholars have argued that in each domain there may be pressures of various kinds , e.g. economic, administrative, cultural, political and religious which may influence the bilingual towards use of one language rather than another. Often knowledge and use of one language is an economic necessity (Mackey)

II.3.a. **Other social or contextual factors that have been shown to affect code choice are: a) economy of effort**

People may select a particular variety or code because it makes it easier to discuss a particular topic, regardless of where they are speaking.

b. **social distance –** e.g. solidarity
c. **status relationship** - +/- power, authority
d. **social role** - teacher - pupil; official - citizen; mother - child etc.
e. **+/- formality of the setting**
f. **function or goal of interaction**

Here is a good example of code alternation used as a signal of solidarity with the audience:

Hola Europa, Hello Europe, Hei Europa, Salam Avropa, Bonjour l'Europe, Bună ziua Europei, Olá Europa, Привет Европы, Merhaba Avrupa... ;)
GENIAL, GREAT!!!! Estuvo muy bien este festival, el escenario, las interpretaciones... It was good this festival, the stage, performances ...Ya veremos que tal el proximo año en Alemania! We will see that this next year in Germany!(Locote23 (Eurovision 2010)

So in describing the patterns of code use of particular communities, the relevant social factors may not fit neatly into institutionalized domains. As shown above more specific social factors often need to be included, and a range of social dimensions may need to be considered too.

Studying the choice between English and French in a Montreal hospital during the summer of 1997, M. Heller has observed that , language [lays a sy,mmbolic role in our lives, and when there is a choice of languages the actual choice may be very important particularly when there is a concurrent shift in the relationship between the languages. She observes that "negotiation in conversation is a playing out of a for position in the community at large."(109). The reason is that too many other factors are involved to make the choice that simple:

> … the negotiation of language has to do with judgments of personal treatment, that is, how one expects to be treated in such a situation . But such judgments are dependent upon social knowledge, knowledge about group relations and boundaries and ways of signaling them, and knowledge about social differences such as status differences. […] The negotiation itself serves to redefine the situation in the light of ongoing social and political change. In the absence of norms, we work at creating new ones. The conventionalization of the negotiation strategies appears to be a way of normalizing the relationships, of encoding social information necessary to know how to speak ro someone (and which languge to speak is but one aspect of this)." (Heller, M., as quoted in Wardhaugh 1992: 105)

There are still other examples of how a speaker may deliberately choose to use a specific language to assert some kind of 'right'. A bilingual French Canadian may insist on using French to an official of the federal government outside Quebec, a bilingual (Catalan & Spanish) resident of Barcelona mayu insist on using Catalan, and so on. In these cases code choice becomes a form of political expression , a move either to resist some other 'power', or to gain 'power', or to express 'solidarity'. These examples come to show how what Heller calls "*conventionalization*" - i.e. asking the other which language is preferred – often does not work very well in practice. Social and political relationships are too complicated to be resolved by such a simple linguistic choice.

We are therefore turning to the issue of speakers' motivations in choosing one or another variety or code.

III. Language choice in terms of national cultures and identity building

III.1. Attitude to multilingualism.

It is important to note that societies vary widely in their attitude to multilingualism. In most European countries prestige is given to only a few '*classical*' languages (French, German, Spanish, Latin). One generally gets little credit for speaking Swahili, e.g., or Japanese, Arabic, Romanian or Bulgarian. Bilingualism is actually sometimes regarded as a 'problem' in that many bilingual individuals tend to occupy rather low social positions and knowledge of another language becomes associated with 'inferiority'. Bilingualism is seen as a personal and social problem. One tragic consequence is that many western societies tend to wipe out the languages that immigrants bring with them. Another effect of bilingualism/ multilingualism is that it may lead to language loss e.g. language loss among immigrants. But sometimes it leads to diffusion i.e. certain features apparently spread from one language to the other, particularly some kind of syntactic features. E.g. on the Balkans – features of Turkish have diffused into Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian.

III.2. Language as a marker of national identity

In the modern world, the national cultures into which we are born, and native languages as an indelible part of culture, are a principal source of cultural identity. This means that when we define ourselves as *English, French or Bulgarian*, we speak metaphorically because these identities are not literally imprinted on our genes. However, we do think of them as if they are part of our essential natures. As the philosopher R. Scruton suggests, "… *the condition of man requires that the individual, while he exists and acts as an autonomous being, does so only because he can first identify himself as something greater – as a member of a society, group, class, state or nation, of some arrangement to which he may not attach a name but which he recognizes instinctively as home.* " (Scruton 1986:156)

National cultures are a distinctly modern form. The allegiance and identification which, in a pre-modern age or in more traditional societies, were given to tribe, people, religion and region, came gradually in modern societies to be transferred to the ***national culture***. Regional and ethnic differences were gradually subsumed beneath the '***political roof***' of the nation-state, which thus became a ***powerful source of meanings*** for modern cultural identities.

The formation of a national culture helped to create standards of *universal literacy*, generalized *a single vernacular language* as the dominant medium of communication throughout the nation, created a ***homogeneous culture*** and ***maintained national cultural institutions***, such as a national education system. In these and other ways, national cultures became a key feature of industrialization and an engine of modernity.

The scholarly tradition of Romanticism, motivated by the emergence of nationalism, indelibly linked language to ethnicity in a quasi-biological fashion. In this version of ethnicity, identity is rooted not in genetics but in heritable cultural forms, especially **language,** which symbolize and iconically embody an ethnic group's distinctive cultural identity. Hence languages, like the cultural identities that gave rise to them, were thought to be necessarily

separate and non-overlapping. Conversely, perceived or asserted cultural similarity produced an expectation of linguistic similarity. So social identities have often been represented in 20th c. popular and academic discourse as delineated from one another, internally homogeneous, and linked to distinctive linguistic practices. Put another way, divisions such as nation, region, ethnicity, etc. are considered not only as political/ social/ religious/ etc. entities but as something which produces meanings – a *system of cultural representation*. " *We only know what it is to be 'English', 'Bulgarian', Highlander, Gipsy, etc. because of the way 'Englishness/ Bulgarianness/ .....' has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by the respective national/ regional/ ethnic culture.* (Hall: 292).

In addition to '**nationalism**' as the strongest unifying force there were also some other social and political divisions represented via language that also functioned as identity-formative, respectively as factors that could affect language choice: E.g.

a) the relative degree of ***cultural*** and ***political prestige*** of the respective language varieties***;***

b) **political divisions** within the country that promote separate developments of the different communities, e.g. political parties;

c) **Religion** that held together communities of different linguistic background.

The political divisions within a country caused a distinction to be made between ***minority*** and ***majority languages*** which could also affect the pattern of language choice in people's everyday communication. For instance, it is important for the survival of the minority language whether it is spoken in the local capital or spoken by a leading group in the region or town. This is the case in Catalonia, where half of the population speaks Catalan and half Spanish. Still, the predominant bourgeoisie uses Catalan as an identity marker. In general, when a majority feels threatened in some way the language issue becomes more critical, provoking exaggerated nationalistic statements on both sides.

In countries and regions with two official languages both are sometimes **taught at school** as in Quebec, Catalonia, and (formerly) in Finland (Finnish-Swedish).

III.3. Mobility and language variation

Although mobility has seldom been studied directly as an independent variable in sociolinguistics, dialectologists have long been aware of its power as a dialect leveller. It has the force of a natural linguistic law: **mobility causes people to speak and sound more like people from other places; isolation causes people to speak and sound less like people from other places.** Mobility is an essential characteristics of modern globalization processes and as such has a strong impact on a community's interaction patterns.

III.4. Language choice and identity building

Today, it is generally acknowledged that national identity does not fully subsume or cancel cultural difference. There is a host of historical evidence that tells us that most nations consist of disparate cultures which were only unified by a lengthy process of a violent conquest. Each conquest subjugated conquered peoples and their cultures, customs, languages and traditions and

tried to impose a more unified cultural hegemony. So, these violent beginnings which stand at the origins of modern nations have first to be 'forgotten' before allegiance to a more unified, homogeneous national identity could begin to be forged. In the light of this new understanding of the relationship between national and cultural identity the earlier stance that identities are ***attributes*** to individuals or groups is abandoned as deterministic and contrary to reality. Instead, it is superseded by a a view that social identities are constructed in action and in communities/ situations in which individuals acting as agents have to perform. Accordingly, correlation approaches to language and identity that associate rates of use of particular linguistic forms with particular kinds of speakers are considered inadequate. The **deterministic** outlook on identity has been replaced with a more **agentive** perspective. The semiotics of language concerns **not identity** as a set of fixed categories but **identification** as an ongoing social and political process. Respectively, the question how the choice of a language contributes to identity building is considered against the backdrop of these ongoing social processes, in particular, a society's **practice, conventions of indexicality, ideology and performance.**

Practice

Speakers may select to engage in certain activities or to affiliate with social groupings in which particular practices are expected. These are the so-called "communities of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1991). While affiliating to one or another community of practice every individual, functioning as an **agent**, must rely heavily on **symbolic resources**, with language being the most important of these symbolic resources. Consequently, in such situations **the choice of language** proves a useful resource that enables individuals to display themselves as acceptable cultural members.

Indexicality

The idea of indexicality was first put forward by Charles Pierce who argued that some signs, which he called indices, function via repeated and non-accidental co-occurrence, e.g. smoke is an index of fire, etc. This process of extracting meaning from juxtaposing events or entities has been generalized for the analysis of the social and ideological realm by Michael Silverstein (1985) and Eleanor Ochs (1992). Ochs notes that linguistic structures become associated with social categories not directly but indirectly, through a chain of semiotic associations. The accretion of social meanings through repeated occurrence together with the denotation meaning of these linguistic forms, results in the formation of social stereotypes based on language: See for example the pattern of code-choice by Dominican Americans (CASE STUDY – FR2). Such stereotypes are not neutral but highly politicized.

Ideology

By the concept **of ideology** we understand a *specific way of organizing cultural beliefs and practices as well as power relations that result from these that gives a specific nuanced view of social and political realities.* The discourse of ideology deploys several strategies:

a. **Erasure –** the elimination of details that are inconsistent with a given ideological position;

b. **Indexicality** – representing particular beliefs or practices through iconic signs (indices);

c. **Essentialism** – the creation of a naturalized link between the linguistic and the social that comes to be viewed as even more inevitable than the associations generated through indexicality

d. **Fractual recursivity** – to produce multiple identity positions at one and the same time, e.g. asserting the superiority of Europeans over Africans could be played out at the level of languages, nations, socioeconomic status of individuals, etc.

An example of ideologically motivated choice of language would be Heller's idea of **commodification** of language. Francophones reproduced the idea that Canadian society should be organized across uniform categories with clear boundaries and much of the history of the last forty years in Canada has been about trying to bring this goal into being. Since with time the *fuzziness* of the boundaries between Francophones and Anglophones has become quite obvious the nationalists mobilized and managed to construct a regional market access to which was only possible by the use of French. That is they used the French language as a commodity, as an index of *homogenized authenticity* They have also managed to market the ideal French authenticity outside Canada. French Canadian cultural artifacts and their producers circulate mainly in francophone Europe with great success.

Performance

Whereas practice is habitual and often less than fully intentional, **performance** is highly deliberate and self-aware social display. In everyday speech, the type of display that performance refers to involves an *aesthetic component* that is available for evaluation by an audience. In this sense performances are *marked speech events* that are more or less sharply differentiated from more mundane interaction.

Again the choice of language serves as a good resource to effect change thought linguistic means under appropriate social conditions.

A good example is Tim Greer's idea of *translation as backward-oriented medium-repair*, For instance, when a speaker in multiparty bilingual conversation says something in the language of interaction and then translates it into another language (commonly his/her partner's dominant language) as a kind of *solidarity strategy* or a specific signal that s/he is aware that the conversational exchange is conducted in an intercultural context and is doing his best to help those who might have problems with the language of interaction.

III.5. Language Choice in the context of globalization

Globalization has significantly changed the communicative practices, including the patterns of code choice in today's postmodern societies. It is worth pointing out that what in everyday discourse is referred to as 'globalization' is actually a set of processes *operating on a global scale, crossing national boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organizations in hereto unknown space-time combinations, making the world in reality and in experience more interconnected*.

. Globalization implies a movement away from the classical sociological idea of a ***'society' as a well-bounded system***, In the new social order boundaries are blurred and gradually replaced by a perspective which concentrates on 'how social life is ordered across time and space'. The compression of distances and time-scales are among the most significant aspects of globalization

affecting cultural identities. Stuart Hall (1992) points out three main consequences of globalization on identity:

a) National identities are being eroded as a result of the growth of cultural homogenization.

b) National and other 'local' identities are being strengthened by the resistance to globalization.

c) National identities are declining but new identities of ***hybridity*** are taking their place.

Some cultural theorists argue that the general effect of these globalizing processes has been to weaken or undermine national forms of cultural identity. Strong identifications with the national cultures are losing ground, whereas cultural ties and allegiances 'above' and 'below' the level of the nation-state (cf. ecological movements, gay and lesbian societies, music, fashion, communication technologies, etc.) are strengthened. Above the level of the national culture, 'global' identifications (cf. I'm a citizen of the world; Eurovision fans) begin to displace, and sometimes override national ones.

Cultural flows and global consumerism between nations create the possibilities of '**shared identities**' – as '*customers for the same goods*, 'clients' for the same services, '*audiences' for the same messages and images* – between people who are far removed from one another in time and space. As national cultures become more exposed to outside influences, it is difficult to preserve cultural identities intact. This has a strong effect on people's communication behaviour, There is an influx of foreign borrowings in national languages, mainly from English that has been deeply entrenched as the language of world communication; the choice between relatively autonomous language varieties is gradually superseded by a kind of **hybrid communication patterns** detached from specific times, places, histories, and traditions. Differences and cultural distinctions which hitherto defined identity become reducible to a sort of ***international lingua franca*** into which all specific traditions and distinct identities can be translated. This phenomenon is known as '**cultural homogenization'**.

Alongside the tendency towards global homogenization, however, there is also a fascination with difference and the marketing of ethnicity and 'otherness'. Thus people from different ethnic groups in multicultural societies may insist on using a distinctive language associated with their ethnic identity to **index** their ethnicity.

E.g. In New Zealand many Maori people routinely use Maori greetings , emphatic phrases, softening tags etc. even when neither speaks the Maori language fluently.

Maori - Ki ora, Hemi. Time to broom the floor, eh?

For groups where there are no identifying physical features to distinguish them from others in the society, these distinctive linguistic features may be an important remaining symbol of ethnicity once their ethnic language has disappeared. Food, religion, dress and distinctive speech style are all ways that ethnic minorities may use to distinguish themselves from the majority group.

Based on:

Fishman, J. 1980. Bilingualism and biculturalism as individual and social phenomena. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1:3-17.

Holmes, J. (1992) *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. London: Longman.
Meyerhoff, M. 2006. *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge
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Chapter Thirteen
Code-mixing, code-switching, language crossing. Communicative role and attitude towards code-mixing

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1. Context of code-mixing and code-switching

Code-switching (CS) is but one of a number of the linguistic manifestations of language contact and mixing, which variously include borrowing on the lexical and syntactic levels, language transfer, linguistic convergence, interference, language attrition, language death, pidginization and creolization, among others. There is little consensus in the literature over which aspects should be subsumed under the label *codeswitching* but the phenomenon is generally related to contexts of bilingualism / multilingualism and diglossia/ polyglossia.

Case 1: Canada (Heller 1995:158)
In 1977, the government of Quebec passed Bill 101, a law to affirm and support French as the official language of the province. Among other things it required practitioners of certain professions (pharmacy, nursing, engineering) to demonstrate adequate knowledge of French in order to be licensed to practice. For some it meant passing tests of French proficiency. In 1978 an English speaking gentleman arrived at the office where these tests were administered and went to the front desk, where the receptionist was chatting in French with a co-worker. The following conversation followed:

Gentleman: Could you tell me where the French test is?
Receptionist: Pardon (in French)
Gentleman: Could you tell me where the French test is?
Receptionist: En francais?
Gentleman: I have the right to be addressed in English by the government of Quebec according to Bill 101."
Receptionist: (to her friend) Qu'est-ce qu'il dit? (What is he saying?)

In Quebec it is still possible to see that the struggle between speakers of French and speakers of English is waged not only in the legislature but also in face-to-face interactions. Indeed, the politics of language permeate not only interactions in the kinds of institutional settings where language is closely and obviously linked to ethnic interests but also many others which occur regularly in daily life.

Case 2 :(Ermasn Boztepe 2002)

The National Centre for Education Statistics (2002) has reported that in the school year 2000/01, over 3,4 million English language learners (ELL) were enrolled in public schools in the US. In the same year these students made up 8.4 % of all students in New York State and 17.8 % of New York City's public school enrolment. (*ELL are defined as those who, by reason of foreign birth or ancestry, speak a language other than English and (1) either understand and speak little or no English or (2) score at or bestow the 40th percentile of an English assessment instrument approved by the Commissioner of Education.*) This shows how widespread I bilingualism in the US and, also, that the nature of bilingual speech is of crucial importance and has significant implications for educational research.

As one of the most engaging aspects of bilingual speech, code-switching (CS) is a highly stigmatized form of conversation, i.e. it is regarded as part of the performance of the imperfect bilingual. Instances of CS have in fact been the major inspiration for the *deficit hypothesis* in the US and its practical applications at schools

In bilingual classrooms, the notion of semilingualism (the popular belief that bilingual speakers who code-switch do so because of their lack of linguistic competence in their repertoire) embodies itself in the form of negative teacher attitudes toward students who code-switch in classroom interaction. CS, therefore, is seen as a deviation from some norm. Within the pragmatic framework of language in use, however, CS is considered a common stylistic device which cannot be adequately explained in terms of internal structure of sentences but requires a broader, discursive approach.

2. Code-mixing/code-switching

a. definitions

The study of the alternate use of two or more languages in conversation has developed in two distinct but related directions**: structural** and **sociolinguistic. The structural** approach is primarily concerned with its grammatical aspects. Its focus is to identify syntactic and morpho-syntactic constraints on CS. The sociolinguistic approach sees CS primarily as a discourse phenomenon , a *discourse strategy*, with a focus on questions such as how social meaning is created in CS and what specific discourse functions it serves. It is important to note that these two approaches are not in contradiction, but complementary to each other.

First of all, we have to bear in mind that there is a great terminological confusion. There is a range of terms to mark the same phenomenon : *code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, code-alternation.* In this lecture I shall use **code-switching (CS)** as an umbrella term.

Here are some definitions:

- *The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (Gumperz 1982:59)*

- *The use of two or more languages in the same conversational utterance" Penelope Gardner-Chloros*

- CS refers to the *utterance-internal juxtaposition, in unintegrated form, of overt linguistic elements from two or more languages, with no necessary change of interlocutor or topic.* (Poplack, Shana. 2004)

Some researchers use **code-alternation** as a hyponym to replace CS (e.g. Auer 1995) meaning by **alternation** instances of one language being replaced by another halfway through the sentence, and it is mostly, but not always associated with longer stretches of CS. The term **insertion**, in contrast, mostly correlates with occurrences of single lexical items from one language into a structure from the other language. In this sense, the terms represent two distinct but generally accepted processes are work in CS utterances. (Muysken 1995, 2000)

Others (Kachru 1983, Singh 1985, Sridhar and Sridhar 1980) reserve the term *code-switching* for *inter-sentential* switches, and prefer to use *code-mixing* for *intra-sentential* switches. The reason is that only code-mixing requires the integration of the rules of the two languages involved in the discourse. But as far as the structural constraints are concerned, the intra-sentential distinction can equally well distinguish the two types of switches. So it largely remains a matter of individual preference, but at the same time it creates unnecessary confusion.
It is noteworthy that the type of behaviour characteristically referred to as code-switching is quite distinct from the linguistic situations described by Ch. Ferguson as *diglossia*. In cases of diglossia there are two language varieties that co-exist and are specialized according to function. There is an almost one-to-one relationship between language choice an social context , so that each variety can

be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire. Where such compartmentalization of language occurs, norms of code selection tend to be relatively stable and only one code is usually employed at any one time.
An issue of debate is also the distinction between code-switching and borrowing , especially within the structural analytic framework.

b. Structural dimensions of code-switching

i. code-switching vs. borrowing

Some researchers (e.g. Poplack 1978, 1980, 1981) have argued that single word switches are fundamentally different from longer stretches of switches. She proposes morphosyntactic and phonological integration of foreign words into the recipient language as criteria for establishing the status of such single words. This is how she describes the difference between borrowing and CS.

> "It is uncontroversial that CS differs from the other major manifestation of language contact: *lexical borrowing.* Despite etymological identity with the donor language, established loanwords assume the morphological, syntactic, and often, phonological, identity of the recipient language. 155 They tend to be recurrent in the speech of the individual and widespread across the community. The stock of established loanwords is available to monolingual speakers of the recipient language, along with the remainder of the recipient language lexicon. Loanwords further differ from CS in that there is no involvement of the morphology, syntax or phonology of the donor language. (Poplack, Shana. 2004:150 – 64)"

Thus Poplack argues that borrowings and CS are in fact based on different mechanisms. When a lexical item shows (a) only syntactic integration, or only (b) phonological integration, or (c) no integration at all, it is considered to be an instance of **CS**. In contrast, cases where a lexical item shows all three types of integration – phonological, morphological and syntactic – it constitutes a **borrowing**. There is also an *intermediary* category **– nonce** borrowings . **Nonce-borrowings** are single lexical items or bound morphemes which are syntactically or morphologically integrated into the base language, but which may or may not show phonological integration. They differ from established borrowings in that they do not meet the criteria of frequency of use or degree of acceptance. Thus, lexical borrowing is seen as a continuum ranging from established loanwords to nonce borrowings.

established loanwords ----------→----------to nonce borrowings

Another group of researchers (e.g. Meyers-Scotton 1992, 1993) claim that assimilation may not always be the defining criterion to distinguish borrowings from CS. Meyers-Scotton argues that a categorical distinction between borrowings and CS need not be made and that frequency may serve as the single criterion to link borrowed forms more closely with the recipient language culture. Meyers-Scotton also draws a distinction between **cultural borrowings** (those lexical items that are new to the recipient language culture, e.g. батълстрайкърс) and **core borrowings** (such lexical forms that have "viable equivalents in the recipient language", e.g. кастинг/прослушване; плейофи/преиграване and hence do not really meet any lexical need in the base language) . The use of such items is commonly

associated with ***prestige*** and bilingual speakers may consciously use the foreign pronunciation when using them.

What is important in Meyers-Scotton's theory is that she does not see ***CS*** and ***borrowing*** as two distinct processes, nor does she see such a distinction to be crucial. It is commonly argued by other researchers from this trend that in most cases it cannot be determined with any degree of precision whether a certain item is borrowed or is a case of code-switching as the interpretation is strongly dependent on the overall discourse structure. In general the opinion that tends to prevail today is that " *efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed and that it is crucial that we "free ourselves of the need to categorize any instance of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch if we want to understand the social and cultural processes involved in CS* (Eastman 1992).

ii. Grammatical constraints

A number of scholars have suggested that CS is characterized by an asymmetry with respect to the degree of participation of the languages involved**.** Speakers and hearers generally agree on which language the mixed sentence is 'coming from'**.** This language is called the **matrix language** and the other **– the embedded language.**

An example of an asymmetrical model of insertion is that of Meyers-Scotton. According to this model "CS is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation"(p.4).Myers-Scotton calls her model the **Matrix Language Frame Model**. This model is characterized by: a) it makes no distinction between borrowing and code-switching as far as morphosyntactic integration is concerned; b) code-switched utterances have an identifiable matrix language; c) there is always an asymmetrical relationship between the **matrix language (ML**) and the **embedded language (EL)** such that the matrix language dominates a mixed clause according to the following three principles:

- *The morpheme order principle* - In ML+EL constituents consisting of singly occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface order will be that of ML. (i.e. this principle determines the order of elements)
- *The System Morpheme Principle* – in ML+EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML
- *The Blocking Hypothesis* – In ML+EL constituents, a blocking filter blocks any EL content morpheme which is not congruent with the ML with respect to three levels of abstraction regarding subcategorization. *(M-Scotton 1993a:83-120)*
-

Meyers-Scotton has been criticized that she hasn't provided reliable criteria for determining the matrix language. That is, there are different patterns of switching in different language contact situations which are mostly related to the typological characteristics of the language pairs involved in CS. Most of the disagreements in the structural approach to CS stem from the different types of models and syntactic constraints proposed to explain the general properties of CS for which *universal validity* as suggested. Despite these disagreements over the properties of patterning, however, there is also widespread agreement on the question of bilingual speakers' degree of competence:" It is generally acknowledged

that ***"code-switching is quite normal and widespread form of bilingual interaction, requiring a great deal of bilingual competence."*** In fact, little if any evidence has been found in research to date that CS leads to semilingualism or that CS is random linguistic behaviour.

3. Sociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching

Analysts of code-switching within the sociopragmatic framework take a different starting point and address the question of what discourse functions code-switching serves. By way of an introduction to the topic let us look at Romaine's example again and see how in multilingual societies alteration between codes is the norm rather than an exception.

> "A foreigner who manages to learn a variety of Telegu sufficient to get by on the streets of Hyderabad will soon find out that this particular variety of Telegu cannot be used for all those purposes for which an English monolingual might use English. The average educated person in Hyderabad may use Telegu at home, Sanskrit at the temple, English at the university, Urdu in business, etc. He may also know other varieties of Telegu, or Kannada, Tamil or Malaysian for reading, dealing with servants, or other specific purposes. Many South Asians have active control over what amounts to complex linguistic repertoires drawn from different languages and varieties. In societies such as these multilingualism is not an incidental feature of language use, but a central factor and an organizing force in everyday life. In most parts of India monolingualism would be problematic relative to the norms and expectations about the number of languages and varieties a person needs in order to manage the everyday things a normal person has to do. (Romaine 1989: 9)"

It has long been recognized, in fact, that a variety of social fators constrain code-switching, such as setting, topic, degree of competence in both languages. The evidence of code-switching, however is so diverse and uncontrolled that some linguists, e.g. Labov, describe it as an "irregular mixture of two distinct systems (1971:475, quoted in Romaine 1989: 115). Gumperz (1982: 72), however, argues that the mixture is not random , but that the motivation for code-switching seems to be stylistic and metaphorical rather than grammatical. Thus Blom and Gumperz distinguish between two types of CS:

- **Situational CS –** it occurs when participants redefine each other's rights and obligations. Or, these are changes in language choice with a change of interlocutor, setting or topic.
- **Conversational CS (Metaphorical CS – as a sub-type) –** is motivated by factors within the conversation itself; i.e. it is triggered by changes in the topic rather than in the social situation. Metaphorical CS is assumed to pursue a particular **evocative** purpose.

- Later they also added **Tag-switching -** when speakers add short phrases in a language different from the language of communication for solidarity purposes.

E.g. A native English teacher to his Bulgarian colleague: **Здрасти!** I tried to call you last night but you were not at home.

The switching of codes for metaphorical purposes echoes E. Goffman's notions (1982) of *front stage* and *back stage.* While the standard dialect is associated with front stage behaviour, the CS from the emebedded language symbolizes in-group solidarity, and creates islands of *backstage talk* within the flow of interaction. Gumperz himself in his later work treats conversational CS as a contextualization cue used to index particular social meanings. For instance, cases of CS may be

taken as an indication of personal qualities, of lack of competence, etc and thus as an objective ground for rejection and devaluation of those attempting to communicate in the matrix language.

Other researchers (e.g. AUER 1984, 1988, 1995) have employed CA in analyzing CS. Auer has argued that "any theory of conversational CS is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of CS depends in essential ways in its "sequential environment"(p. 116). i.e. the meaning of CS needs to be interpreted in relation to the preceding and following utterances. For Auer, the sequential embeddedness of meaning in bilingual conversation is "relatively independent" of its social meaning for the community.

The significance of Blom and Gumperz's study lies in their attempt to define social meaning largely as a product of individual interactions to the extent that it is created and negotiated locally. That is, their approach allows the individual speaker a kind of flexibility that is not found in Fishman's (1965, 1972) **Domain Theory,** characterized by a macro-level approach to language choice involving correlations between *code choice* and *types of activity*. In Fishman's theory, social meaning lies NOT within the acts of switching itself, but in the perceived association between speech activities on the one hand, and norms of language choice on the other. It is the stable patterns of use that give meaning to individual choice.

By interpreting CS as a discourse strategy Gumperz emphasizes the fact that it is a communicative option which is available to a bilingual member of a speech community on much the same basis as switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolingual speaker. Switching in both cases serves an expressive function and has pragmatic significance. It shows further that bilinguals have a linguistically more diverse pool of resources and feel free to avail of the wider choice available to them especially when they communicate with other bilinguals.

The tension between macro- and micro-sociolinguistic dimensions of CS has shaped much of the later discussions in the study of the social aspects of code choice. However, recent empirical evidence from urban contexts tends to show that Fishman's model of domain analysis is too deterministic to explain CS in all its diversity. Similarly there is evidence from global communication. So the predominant view today seems to be that ***societal factors*** (features of different domains) do ***form the basis***, at least partially, ***of the contextual interpretation of code choice***, but certainly ***not at the expense of determining language choice in all cases per se***. As Gal 91983) has accurately pointed out, " neiher the more macro approaches nor those giving primacy to micro variables constitute a conceptually unified group."(64). She sees norms associating codes with general spheres of activity as " not rules to be obeyed, but requisite knowledge to build on in conveying one's communicative intents."(69)

In her **Markedness Model**, Meyers-Scotton (1993b, 1993c) tries to incorporate the micro- and macro- perspectives into CS research. She argues that any code choice is indexical of norms of society at large, yet norms only determine the relative markedness of choices, rather than the choices themselves. So, code choice is a function of ***negotiation of position between the speakers***

rather than a situated behaviour . Speakers use the codes in their repertoire to index the rights and obligations holding between the participants. Following Grice, she formulates a **negotiation principle** as underlying all code choices in bilingual speech, for which she claims universality and predictive validity. "***Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (M-Sc 1993 b:113)***

Myers- Scotton proposed several related maxims to account for such switching phenomena.

- **The unmarked Choice Maxim** requires the speaker to switch from one unmarked (i.e. expected code) to another on the basis of situational changes during interaction such that the unmarked code changes.
- **The Marked Code Choice Maxim** when the speaker chooses to negotiate the rights and obligations balance for such purposes as increasing social distance or creating an aesthetic effect.
- **The Exploratory Choice Maxim** occurs when an unmarked choice in accordance with community norms is not obvious from situational factors; e.g. there is a clash of norms and role relationships (e.g. Mary addresses Mrs. Smith , who happens to be her English teacher but also her aunt in an informal Bulgarian style and Mrs. Smith answers in English to show that in the context at hand Mary is being treated as an ordinary student like everybody else.)

The model has been severely criticized for being too **static**. That it gives a mistaken view of indexicality and social behaviour where speakers are described as simply following rules for already existing norms. They also accuse the model for leaving no room for the constitutive nature of talk of the social structure as well as its ignorance of diachronic language change in the history of the community.

In a later version of her model (1999:1260) Meyers-Scotton argues that *CS is best explained by the optimal use of speakers' resources in their linguistic repertoires. i.e. speakers engage in CS because, through conscious calculation of costs and benefits, they discover that the rewards of CS will be greater than those of maintaining a monolingual discourse pattern. But whether human action can be the outcome of conscious calculation is the subject of much debate in sociology.*

Another theory integrating macro and micro-approaches is Bourdieu's **Theory of Practice** which says that by virtue of one's **habitus** individual actions should be seen as an *encounter* between already possessed predispositions to act in certain ways and an immediate contextual situation. That is, Bourdieu assumes a fundamental link between one's actions and interests, which one may consciously or unconsciously pursue. In the same vein, he sees a strong correlation between one's linguistic utterances and the particular contexts, or to use his term, *linguistic markets* in which those utterances are produced. (i.e. *the setting, social situation, social event*) Given the fact that the properties of linguistic markets endow linguistic expressions with a certain value, part of one's language socialization involves knowing when and how to produce utterances that are highly valued in those markets. Put another way, according to Bourdieu, it is the speaker's assessment of the contextual cues and the

anticipation of the likely reception of his/ her linguistic utterances that serve as internal constraints on his/ her code choice. To put it another way, all utterances are in a sense *euphemized*: What is said is a compromise between what would like to be said and what can be said". But the important point here is that the chances for accessing the linguistic variety with higher prestige is differentially distributed in societies, including the so-called monolingual nation-states. Ironically, however, even those who have little or no access to the standard, or the legitimated variety accept its legitimacy and correctness. This is what Bourdieu calls ***symbolic domination*** or ***misrecognition of language*.** B. notes that " *what are called* ***linguistic conflicts*** *arise when the possessors of the dominated competence refuse to recognize the dominant language – and with it the monopoly of linguistic legitimacy which its possessors arrogate to themselves – and claim for their own language the material and symbolic profits that are reserved for the dominant language*." At the same time he notes that linguistic forms do not have power per se, but rather it is the speakers who attribute value and power to languages and language varieties. Therefore , the future of the legitimate language and the reproduction of linguistic capital depend on the school system, a fact constantly and deliberately distorted by the state, the media, and the educational system itself in capitalist societies. Thus Heller points out that CS is one of the most powerful and potentially effective strategies at the disposal of French/English bilingual students to collaborate with or resist the monolingualizing and standardizing efforts of the school.

4. Discourse functions of CS

Bourdieu's theory has been criticized for emphasizing the dimension of ***power*** at the expense of downplaying the role of ***solidarity*** in vernacular varieties.

A number of more recent studies have drawn attention to the function of CS as a ***symbol of group identity and solidarity a***mong members of speech community (cf. Bailey – Dominican Americans) . In fact Gumperz referred to the two codes in switching as the *we-code* and the *they-code*, categoprizing them in terms of their primary function – *i.e. solidarity*. While the former is associated with in-group solidarity and informal activities, and is aesthetically undervalued, the latter refers to the majority language that often serves as the communication tool for out-group relations with the mainstream community.

Grosjean (1982) provides a fairly comprehensive list of factors influencing language choice

participants	situation	Content of discourse	Function of interaction
Language proficiency	Location/setting	topic	To raise status
Language preference	Presence of monolinguals	Topic of Vocabulary	To create social distance
Socioeconomic status	Degree of formality		To exclude someone
age	Degree of intimacy		To request or command
sex			
occupation			
Ethnic background			
Individual interaction history			

Kinship relations			
intimacy			
Power relation			
Attitude toward languages			
Outside pressure			

Gal (1979) demonstrated that in a border town called Oberwart, there is a strong correlation between the individual's language choice patterns and his/her age such that while older speakers preferred Hungarian (a symbol of traditional peasant culture), younger speakers chose German even in cases when their interlocutors addressed them in Hungarian. She also observed that the interlocutor is the most critical factor influencing a speaker's code choice. Given the social values symbolized by each language, she looked at the role of speakers' contacts in the community, i.e. social network, on their language choice. She discovered that there was a high correlation between *speakers' patterns of language choice* and their *social network* . the idea of social network was further developed by Milroy (1987).

Milroy developed a **network strength score** based on the nature of social network connections within a group of people. She used two dimensions: **density** – a dense social network results when all the people in a group are linked to each other so that everyone knows everyone else. (e.g. working team) **; plexity (uniplex vs. multiplex) –** a multiplex network results when individuals in a group are related to each other in a number of different ways. In her study of three inner city communities in Belfast she found that that the dense and multiplex nature of a working class individual's social network has the power to impose the vernacular form, which symbolizes in-group solidarity, on speakers' code choice.

On the basis of three language contact situations around the world, **Gumperz** (1982) identifies six basic discourse functions that CS serves in conversation to illustrate its most common uses. These are: **Quotations ; Addressee specification; Interjections; Reiteration; Message qualification Personalization / Objectivization**

Gumperz's categorization of conventional functions of CS is not unproblematic. In at least three of categories, the labels do not tell us what the speaker *accomplishes* in conversation through code-switching. (e.g. quotation, interjection(the so-called tag switching) and message qualification) . Besides, some scholars have criticized him that his framework is rather static and relies on / emphasizes essentialist qualifications.

5. Code-switching and the Politics of Language

In her studies, Monica Heller (1995) argues that the study of code-switching is relevant to the politics of language, i.e. language practices are bound up in the creation, exercise, maintenance or change of relations of power. Accordingly, she holds that the study of CS illuminates language politics only to the

extent that it is situated in the broader study of language practices.. CS has to be seen as an interactional strategy whose significance can only become apparent when linked to other instances of language use. In the framework of her analysis she see language related to power in two ways; (1) it is part of processes of social action and interaction, paret of the way people do things, influence others, etc; (2) language itself thereby becomes a resource which can be more or less valuable, according to the extent that the mastery of ways of using language is tied to the ability to gain access to, and exercise power.

a. Code-switching, repertoires and resources

CS becomes available as a ***resource for the exercise of, or resistance to, power*** by virtue of its place in the repertoires of individual speakers, on the one hand, and its position with respect to other forms of language practices in circulation, on the other

Re: its place in the verbal repertoire – Heller borrows Bourdieu's concept of *symbolic capital* and considers CS part of a person's ***symbolic resources*** that he can deploy in order to gain or deny access to other resources, symbolic or material . Through CS a speaker calls into play specific linguistic and cultural knowledge forms which conventionally possess certain kind of value. Certainly some resources have a concrete, functional basis to their value (like food); but most are related in more indirect ways to the methods people have of calculating honour, or status or prestige. Their value is in any case a function of processes of power and solidarity, i.e. on one hand the means to mobilize other people in the name of common concerns which are held to override both what the members of a group might have in common with others and any differences which may exist among them. Solidarity can thus be bound up in the development of ties and cultural practices which help members of an elite to maintain their position of power, or in the development of relations and practices which help members of a subordinate group cope with, or resist, their condition of subordination.

Groups which control valued resources (of whatever kind) also control the 'marketplace' (in Bourdieu's terms) in which they are exchanged, the set of social relations in which the value of resources is defined and resources themselves are exchanged. Beyond sheer force, such market places operate through hegemonic practices, through symbolic domination, through convincing participants that the values and modes of operation of the marketplace are immutable (changeless) and universal. In terms of the metaphor of power as game, specific groups set the rules of the game by which resources can be distributed. In other words, it is necessary to display appropriate linguistic and cultural knowledge in order to gain access to the game, and playing it well requires in turn mastery of the kinds of linguistic and cultural knowledge which constitutes its rules. Buying into the game, means buy into the rules, it means accepting them as routine, as normal, indeed as universal, rather than as conventions set up by dominant groups in order tto place themselves in the privileged position of regulating access to the resources they control.

It is important to note that forms of language are distributed unevenly across communities. Individual verbal repertoires rarely have all the forms in circulation. It is this unequal distribution as well as the

way in which unequally distributed resources are deployed which drives the operation of the marketplace and hence the reproductions of relations of power. Only some members of a population are in a position to decide what will count as appropriate behaviour in situations where resources are distributed and to evaluate performances there; normally, it is the symbolic capital which dominant groups already possess which the key to participation and success in the situation they control.

In order to understand the value that CS has as a practice, then, it is essential to understand the broader game in which CS is merely one set of possible moves. In order to explain CS's occurrence, it is equally necessary to grasp the nature of individual repertoires, i.e. to understand why it is available as a resource to some or not to others. Similarly, it is necessary to understand how it can be that CS as a practice can emerge in specific communities at specific historical moments, and not at others, and how it can persist or fade away.

CS is thus a form of language practice in which individuals draw on their linguistic resources to accomplish conversational purposes, those resources have value in terms of the various existing marketplaces. In other terms, those resources constitute the basis of strategies for playing the game of social life. Language practices are inherently political insofar as they are among the ways individuals have at their disposal of gaining access to the production, distribution, and consumption of symbolic and material resources, i.e. insofar as language forms a part of processes of power.

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Chapter Fourteen
Language maintenance and shift. Problems of smaller languages. Language policy and language education

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1. Language practices, ideology and beliefs, language management and planning

In studying Language Policy scholars are usually trying to understand in what way non-language variables co-vary with the language variables. For instance, they investigate the range of institutional practices related to language and language instruction with the aim to establish how and to what extent they embody and shape people's attitudes toward the languages spoken in a given nation-state. They further explore the current practices of language choice and language use in the community and the deliberate choices made by governments or other

authorities with regard to the relationship between language and social life. Language policies generally involve two types of goals: a) ***language related***; b) ***politically and economically motivated***. Among the language related goals are: i) ***language shift policy; ii) language maintenance policy; iii) language enrichment policy***.

a) Language practices

The diversity of language practices in the world is really enormous. Here are some examples:

➔ ***Public signs as outward evidence of language policy.***

✓ In the old city of **Jerusalem**, after years of litigation the court has finally ruled that street signs in cities with a mixed Jewish-Arab population should include Arabic.

✓ In **New Zealand**, although officially a national language, Maori was added to road and place signs as late as in the year 2000.

✓ **In Wales**, Carmarthenshire County Council decided that place and road signs should be in Welsh only. Swansea City Council disagreed: "As a council we have a policy of bilingual signs …if we are going to make Swansea a tourism centre we have to attract people of all nationalities." (South Wales Evening Post, March 3, 2000)

✓ **In Canada**

In 1977 René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois introduced the new French language charter, Bill 101, in an attempt to protect the dwindling French culture and language from English dominance. Bill 101 declares French as the only official language of government, education and business in Quebec. All companies with more than 50 employees operating in Quebec are required to function in French. Companies need a "francization certificate," proving that all internal business is indeed conducted in French. French is the only language allowed on commercial and road signs. Municipalities with English names are to be replaced with French names.

The white paper also calls for restricting access to English schools. Every child, regardless of where they came from — another country or even another province — would be educated in French.

Thus under Bill 101, even the "apostrophe s" in Eaton's, the venerable Canadian department store, became illegal. The reaction to this measure was both jubilant and critical. The critics compared it to "lunatics taking over the asylum."

Many department store owners fought for bilingual signs and launched appeals with the Supreme Court of Canada. In 1988 Canada's highest court unanimously rules that Section 58 of Bill 101, requiring French-

only commercial signs, is in violation of freedom of expression as protected by both the Canadian and the Quebec Charters of Rights. Many Canadians could sigh with relief. Eaton's department store could put the "apostrophe s" back on its sign.

➔ ***Language issues may lead to major social or political conflicts***

✓ At the end of June2001 after a long period of riots and fighting in Macedonia, the Council of Europe urged the Macedonian government to grant ethnic Albanians "the use of the Albanian language in Macedonian courts, schools and administration".

✓ A fifty-six-year-old Turkish woman was refused a heart transplant by clinics in Hanover on the grounds that her lack of German made the recovery process dangerous.

➔ ***National language policy is a regular topic in most countries.***

✓ **China** recently passed a new language law that bans the use of foreign words and the misuse of Chinese. According to the law Putonghua is to be the officially legal language of China, its standard spelling and pronunciation to be required of all radio announcers , teachers and civil servants.

✓ In August 2002 , the **Turkish** parliament , applying for admission to the European Community , had passed laws abolishing the death penalty and permitting the use of the Kurdish language in broadcasting and education.

✓ Om November 15, 2002 , the **Russian** Duma passed a law saying that the "alphabets of the Russian federation 's state language and the state languages of the republics of the Russian federation are based on the Cyrillic alphabet.

✓ After three decades of debate , the **Tanzanian** parliament decided to switch the language of secondary schools from English to Kiswahili (2001).

✓ In **Bulgaria**, there is an ongoing debate whether or not the mother tongues of children from the minorities (mainly Turkish), should be included in Bulgarian state school curricula.

➔ ***Businesses, too, are involved in language policy***

✓ The policy for all EU member countries is that imported goods should have labels with instructions in the respective local/ national language. The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa supported Zimbabwe's policy that dairy imports from Zambia must have instructions on the packages written in Shona and Ndebele, the official languages of Zimbabwe.

✓ With increasing globalization , more and more translation engines are being announced giving multilingual access to the web.

The above examples are just a tiny portion of the great diversity of language practices across the world but how do they translate into data that might allow the building of a theory? Some countries record their language policy in their constitutions or in law, but others do not; Some countries implement their written policies but others do not; some countries can provide data about the number of people speaking different languages. Others do not even ask that question in their national census.

B. Spolsky suggests as a useful first step in understanding cases like the ones described above to distinguish between three components of the language policy of a speech community:

- Its **language practices** – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire;
- Its **language beliefs and ideology** - the beliefs about language and language use;

- its specific effort to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention , **planning or management**.

E. Haugen suggested that the field could be organized under four headings: a) **selection** of a norm when someone has identified a language problem; b) **codification** of its written or spoken form; c) **implementation,** i.e. making sure that a policy is accepted and implemented; d) **elaboration** – the continued modification of the norm to meet the requirements of modernization and development. The first two headings were later called "***status planning***" (selection)and "***corpus planning***" (codification), respectively.

Like language , the policy of language use exists in , and must contend with, highly complex, interacting and dynamic **contexts** , the modification of any part of which may have correlated effects on any other part. A host of non-linguistic factors - political, demographic, social, religious, cultural, psychological, bureaucratic, etc - regularly account for any attempt by persons or groups to intervene in the language practices and the beliefs of other people or groups, and for the subsequent changes that do or do not occur.

2. Language ecology

A useful metaphor for the **contexts** is ecology, defined by Haugen (1971) as ' *the study of the interaction between any given language and its environment*", where *people* and *societies* are the *environment*. From the standpoint of linguistic ecology, language forms a cultural system of unbelievable complexity and flexibility. We acquire the language practices of the community/ communities to which we belong in constant ' contrastive interaction" with our social environment, both human and natural, so that changes in language variables 9 and so in languages) are most likely to be associated wih non-linguistic variables (Spolsky 2004:7). Scholars argue that the dynamic forces at work in the everyday activity of language communities are far more powerful than conscious, ideologically motivated policies. Language evolution is to be explained not by just small random variation strengthened by geographical isolation, but also by including functional and social selection. Put another way, it is changes in society that affect linguistic diversity, so that it is social policy rather than language policy that is neededto maintain it (Spolsky 2004:8).

a) Intervention (language management and planning)

Language policy often involves the exertion of direct efforts to manipulate the language situation. . When a person or a group directs such intervention it is usually dubbed as ***language management (*** other terms – planning, engineering, treatment***) .*** The language manager may be a legislative assembly writing a national constitution. (e.g. About 125 of the world's constitutions mention language and about 100 of them name one or more official or national languages with special privileges of use.) Or it might be a national legislature, making a law determining which language should be official (e.g. there are such language laws in France, Rumania, Poland). Finally, it could be a state, provincial, cantonal or other local government body determining the language of signs. There can also be a special interest group seeking to influence a legislature to amend a constitution or make a new law.

Language policy exists even where it has not been made explicit or established by authority. Many countries do not have written or formal language policies , so that the nature of their language policy must be derived from the study of their language practice or beliefs. Even where there is a formal, written language policy, its effect on language practices is neither guaranteed nor consistent.

Besides, a state's language policy might deal not just with named languages and varieties but also with parts of language, so that it includes efforts to constrain what is considered bad language use. E.g. in August 2002, the US Supreme Court agreed to rule on a law requiring libraries receiving federal funding to use software to filter out pornography and obscenity.

b) Language practices and levels

Language practices is a term that embraces the whole range of purely **linguistic** typological characteristics (e.g. grammatical structures, lexical choices, specific pronunciation patterns, etc that individual speakers of a particular language use sometimes consciously and sometimes less so, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language) as well as conventional differences between levels of formality of speech, politeness strategies and other agreed communication rules or patterns as to what variety is appropriate to what communicative situation. In multilingual communities , they also include rules for the appropriate context of use of each named language. Thus language policy will subsume *all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity.*

c) Language ideology and beliefs

The members of a speech community share also a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices , sometimes forming a consensual ideology, assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it. These beliefs both derive from and influence practices. They can be a basis for language management or a management policy can be intended to confirm or modify them.

Language ideology or beliefs designate a speech community's consensus on what values to apply to each of the language variables or named language varieties that make up its repertoire. In most states there are many ideologies, just as there are a number of speech or ethnic communities: one is commonly dominant. Put simply language ideology is language policy with the manager left out, what people think should be done. Language practices on the other hand, are what people actually do. Institutional practices related to language and language instruction, embody and shape attitudes toward language. They affect several aspects of language education

A wide range of conditions can affect language policy. As Ferguson (1977) put it, " All language planning activities take place in particular sociolinguistic settings, and the nature and scope of the planning can only be fully understood in relation to the settings." Sociolinguistic setting should be interpreted to include anything that affects language practices and beliefs or that leads to efforts at intervention.

3. The nature of language policy and its domains

a) Towards a theory of language policy

The analysis of language policy as it affects language choice and language use provides a good basis for understanding the field. Spolsky discusses four main assumptions to language policy that can serve as reference points in constructing a theory.

A. The tripartite division of language policy into language practices, language beliefs and ideology, language management or planning activities that attempt to modify the practices and ideologies of a community.

B. Language policy is concerned not just with named varieties of language but all the individual elements at all levels (structural, discourse, pragmatic) that make up language. Questions of how to handle variation and how to categorize varieties of language are at the very centre of LP studies.

C. The third fundamental assumption is that language policy operates within a speech community of whatever size – family, school, professional / academic/ religious formations, diasporas, etc. A good reason for the attention concentrated on political units is the association of language policy with power and authority. In the modern world, states are an obvious locus of power, with a constitutionally established authority of governments over their citizens. In principle, governments establish policy by constitution, law or regulation, and has the means to enforce or implement it. The relationship between language policy and power is in fact two-way. The implementation of language policy requires power. But as illustrated clearly in the case of France, Cardinal Richeleu's motivation in establishing the French Academy, with its role as initiator of language policy, was to provide one more means of bolstering centralization.

D. The fourth assumption is that language policy functions in a complex ecological relationship among a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables and factors. As in other social sciences, the concepts of language policy are fuzzy and observer dependent. For example, while there is a physical and physiological dimension to age and gender, any categorization in terms of social grouping – ethnic groups, social class groups, professional communities, academic communities and all other communities of practice - defined by their acceptance of a set of conventions and norms are difficult to delineate.

While interaction between factors and policies is often expressed causally (if A, then B), it is wiser to think of it as a probable association of ***constructive interaction***. Put another way, it is better to consider the relationship between factors and policies as conditions that are co-occurring and interactive , producing stronger or weaker probabilities as they interact constructively.

b) Domains and language policy

a) FAMILY

Just as in other social unit, language policy in the family may be analyzed as language practice, ideology and management. Further, in any language –choice situation, the three major conditions affecting choice are: i) the speaker's language proficiency ; ii) a speaker's desire to achieve advantage by using his or her stronger language and iii) a speaker's desire to derive advantage by accommodating to the wishes of the audience. It is likely that in most families , as in other social units, there won't be explicit language management but simply choices based on practice and ideology. This concerns distinctions between men's and women's language, age grading, decisions on language choice in cases of intermarriage. The main pressures on family language policies is immigration whether to another country or to the city. Here is an examples:

A British immigrant from Uganda: At home she speaks Guajarati[4] with her parents and grandparents; at work she speaks Guajarati with the other girls who work in the factory. Later she's promoted to floor supervisor and has to speak more English but could still use some Gujerati with her old workmates. Then she takes an evening course and moves to work in the main office where she speaks only English. (cf. typical interactions – Fishman, previous picture)

Among the immigrant families in the Seattle area , Tuominen (1990) found that while the linguistic composition of the family predicted **parental choice** , " the children usually decided the home language ." There are family "language rules" but the children had at one time or another challenged them; many of them protest against being forced t attend heritage language schools and they object to using the hoe

[4] **Gujarati people** or **Gujaratis** are an Indian ethnic group that is traditionally Gujarati-speaking. Famous Gujaratis include Mohandas Gandhi (The Father of India), Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (The Iron Man of India), Dhirubhai Ambani (Billionaire rags-to-riches , Muhammad Ali Jinnah (The Father of Pakistan),

language in public. As a results many parents compromised and finally gave in. After several generations of immigrant's life the vernacular (what used to be their mother tongue once) is lost in the gamily. Thus it is generally acknowledged that in an immigrant situation, it is common for ***the children to take leadership in the socialization process. The child's peer group is more influential than the home in passing on social values.***

ii) SCHOOL

Of all the domains for language policy , one of the most important is the school, that is why some scholars add alongside the original " status planning" and " corpus planning' also ' acquisition planning". As might be expected there isn't uniformity in the language acquisition policies of different countries. Some governments have produced specific comprehensive policies covering languages in education, however, it is more usually the case that language-in-education planning is embodied in a range of different documents including policy papers, curriculum and assessment documents and other official documents that affect the language teaching profession. These documents cover a wide range of issues relating to language education. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997; 2002) put forward several areas of focus in language-in-education policy:

access policy: policies regarding the designation of languages to be studied and of the levels of education at which language will be studied;

personnel policy: policies regarding teacher recruitment, professional learning and standards;

curriculum and community policy: policies regarding what will be taught and how the teaching will be organized, including the specification of outcomes and assessment instruments;

methods and materials policy: policies regarding prescriptions of methodology and set texts for language study;

resourcing policy: policies regarding the level of funding to be provided for languages in the education system

evaluation policy: policies regarding how the impact of language-in-education policy will be measured and how the effectiveness of policy implementation will be gauged.

In sum, the issues that fall under language education policy most generally are:

- Decisions on the language to be used as medium of instruction. There are many factors that lead to the emergence of a gap between the language of the home and the language that the school wants everyone to acquire. The language of the home may be a vernacular that does not have a written variety. Or, it may be a local dialect that does not have officially recognized prestige. So the first task of the school should be , but seldom is, to help students overcome the gap between the language of the home and the official language to be mastered. A central controversy in language education policy is over the issue of what is generally referred to as mother tongue education. Mother tongue education assumes that whatever the ultimate linguistic goal of the school, initial teaching should be conducted as far as possible in the language/ variety that the children brought with them from home. However, there obvious difficulties in implementing this measure in real life.

- The second related question is how early to begin teaching the school language, and how early to begin teaching in it. Different practices exist. There are systems (e.g. the British colonial education system) that start teaching in the children's vernacular and introduce standard or official language teaching in the first few years and move on to instruction in the standard or official language ast various stages – commonly by the intermediate or secondary level. There are other systems (e.g. the French and Portuguese colonial models; or, the spreading goal of the English Only Movement in the US)

that start teaching from the first day in the colonial or official standard language and assume that pupils will pick it up from simple immersion. In between these two extremes are a whole range of possibilities, e.g. in Bulgaria, the children of Turkish background are taught in Bulgarian from the start but are also provided with a Turkish language course as elective. On the other hand, there is research evidence that demonstrates that NS students who use a *nonmainstream dialect* ***comprehend*** mainstream speakers quite well by the time they've had 4 or 5 years of formal schooling, but teachers who are mono-dialectal mainstream speakers frequently misunderstand students who use other dialects. (Therefore, effort is needed from insiders and outsiders.) In such cases, teachers need to develop the same kind of receptive competence in local dialect features that is expected of their students with respect to mainstream language if they wish to ensure an accurate understanding of their students, particularly in the initial years.

A further aspect of language acquisition policy is the teaching of other languages in addition to the mother tongue and the school language. Having no clear purpose and no strongly felt reason to learn another language, people are unlikely to expend the effort required. So it is important to sensitize students to the benefits of learning another language/s with regard to the diversification of opportunities to produce appropriate functions in society. Teachers need to have good understanding of the local social context which may promote certain types of language and literacy activities for some groups but deemphasize them for others.

iii) THE WORKPLACE

Every institution and regular social group may have its own language policy, certainly in terms of understood language practices, sometimes in ideological positions on language choice , and occasionally in explicit efforts at language management. Many of the language management policies come from a higher level. For example the policy in units of the Canadian military to use French and English on alternate days derives from the official policy of bilingualism. Sometimes strictly pragmatic considerations govern the situation. For instance Cooper and Carpenter have found that it is generally the seller who makes an effort to learn the buyer's language. business firms often establish their own language policies. There have been many reports of multinational European firms that expect their staff to use English. For instance, ALCATEL , a French communications business company was reported in the Los Angeles Times (2000) to have made English its official language.

iv) SUPRANATIONAL GROUPINGS

The language policy of supranational organizations are often marked by tension between pragmatic and symbolic considerations. Pragmatic concerns favour parsimony, i.e. the use of as few languages as possible. This accounts for the firm rejection of the French proposal made in 1995 to reduce the number of working languages in the European parliament to five , a move that would need unanimous support from all member states. The pragmatic arguments were clear: no room space for interpretation booths; high cost of interpretation and translation services. However, as noted in De Swaan's report at a conference in 1999, all member states would each support a proposal that included their own language , but oppose one that went further. Before expansion there were 11 working languages, now they are over twenty. In 1999 interpretation costs for the Commission amounted to 30 per cent of the internal budget . in practice , in spite of the major efforts to maintain the status of the national languages, English is developing into the lingua franca of the European Union.

A second thrust of the EU language policy is improving the capacity of member states and their citizens to collaborate across the borders established by their national languages. Pragmatically this could be served most efficiently by selecting a single language as a lingua franca for the Union. If English were seen as neutral , it would be an ideal auxiliary language, but its historical association with both a single member of the EU and the country perceived as the main challenge to restring European hegemony (USA) means that non-pragmatic arguments continue to hold sway.

To try to counter the threat of English, a major effort to coordinate improvement in foreign language teaching in Europe was a principal activity in the Council of Europe. It worked to develop a common framework for language teaching, a European curriculum and integrated methods of assessment of what it called plurilingual proficiency – the ability of individuals to function appropriately in their various languages. Among the innovations of the Council's work was a progressive reduction of the age at which foreign language instruction began , emphasis on communicative proficiency , encouragement of teaching of two foreign languages to most pupils and encouragement of programmes for visits of other countries. Foreign language teaching is an essential part of the union's language policy.

The third thrust of EU policy concerns for rights of minority languages. Having proclaimed ideological acceptance of multilingualism in order, no doubt, to argue for the recognition of their national languages by the Union , it was hard for the member nations to resist arguments for granting some rights to their own minority languages.

Other supranational organizations have their own language policies. For instance the United Nations started with two working languages (English and French) and added to these Russian, Chinese and Spanish (later also Arabic) as official languages.

In 1990 the European Parliament adopted the principle of "complete multilingualism" and thus posed considerable pragmatic constraints on the implementation of its policy.

c) National Language Policies and Planning

The diversity of national language policies is enormous and different nation-states tend to deploy different management or planning strategies. In general, issues of policy and planning considered by scholars may be grouped into three strands:

a) language as problem (e.g. purist movements)

b) Language as right (e.g. struggles for minority language rights)

c) Language as resource (e.g. policies of FL learning that in some way resolve some of the conflicts emerging out of the other two constructions.

Here are some examples of how national language policies are implemented in predominantly monolingual or bilingual countries.

France serves as a good example of a country which has a single national language and does little or nothing for any other language. Most inhabitants simply assume that French is the language of France. Consequently, they virtually ignore other languages so that there is little interest in any move to try to ascertain exactly how many people speak Provencal or Breton or to do anything for, or against , Basque. Likewise, if an immigrant group wants to try to preserve its language, it must try to do so in its own time and with its own resources, for it is widely assumed that French is the proper language of instruction in schools in France.

In **Belgium**, French and Flemish (Dutch) co-exist in a somewhat uneasy truce. The struggle between the French and the Flemish in this country has a long history. In 1815 the politically and socially ascendant French in Belgium found themselves returned at the end of the Napoleonic Wars to Dutch rule. William of Holland proceeded to promote Dutch interests and language and limit the power of the French, the Walloons. H was also a strong Calvinist, and in 1830 both French and Walloon Catholics rebelled and gained independence for Belgium. However, this religious unity between the Flemish Catholics and the Walloon Catholics soon gave way to cleavage along linguistic lines, language proving in this case to be a stronger force for division than religion for cohesion. The new state became French-oriented and Flemish was banned from the government, law, army, universities and secondary schools. French domination was everywhere and it was not until the 20th c. that the Flemish, who are actually a majority of the population were able to gain a measure of linguistic and social equality. Today's equality, however, is still coloured by memories of past discrimination based on language. Periodically linguistic differences surface in Belgium to create tensions between the Walloons and the Flemish.

New Zealand is generally considered to be a strongly monolingual English- speaking country although according to its constitution, it has two official languages – English and the indigenous Maori. Maori was granted an official status with the Maori Language Act of 1987. This came as a result of some revitalization measures - e.g. the ***kohanga reo*** (literally '***language nest'***; a Maori language pre-school) movement which began in 1982 and also the launching of Maori TV in 2004 - taken to assuage concerns about the loss of the Maori language, and the possibility of language death. There is a general agreement, however, that revitalisation has not occurred 'in the sense of the restoration of natural intergenerational transmission' (Spolsky 2005: 82),. Survey data show that Maori mainly serves as an identity marker. There is widespread acknowledgement of the fact that ***te reo Maori*** is the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand, that it is spoken only in New Zealand, and that therefore it is a ***taonga*****, a treasure**, which must be protected and preserved in much the same way as endangered native species such as the *tuatara* and the *kiwi*. In short, the Maori language is largely presented as a ***core marker of ethnic identity.*** As the scholar Ngaha (2004: 45), writes***,*** the desire to articulate *te reo* is very high […] but learning and maintaining *te reo* requires much more than just the desire' which leads to the suggestion that language loss may still continue which reduces its role of the language as an identity marker. Other scholars also argue that the increasing presence of Maori words and phrases in English need not necessarily be viewed as a positive development in terms of language maintenance and language revitalization. These uses do not make Maori one language out of two in a bilingual society, but only as a flag , a marker of distinctness. On the other hand, it is generally acknowledged by all new Zealanders that the Maori language and the Maori culture form a unifying thread joining the whole nation. 'If we as a nation get "Into Te Reo", … [knowing at least some Maori]' Boyce notes,' that would be a marker of what it means to be a citizen of New Zealand'. While the emphasis here is on New Zealanders attaining a degree of bilingualism, for most non-Maori New Zealanders knowledge of the Maori language primarily entails familiarity with a range of borrowings from Maori into English. It is certainly the case that the Maori language plays an important role in marking a New Zealand identity through its influence on the New Zealand English lexicon. (*John Macalister).*

With regard as language as a resource, debates on language policy focus on two main issues:

a) <u>Establishment of standard language.</u>

Established as the standard, the "national language" lends itself to defining a vertical social hierarchy. Along the vertical axis, language proficiency in the standard functions as a means of enhancing and reinforcing stratification among speakers of the same language. Thus the standard may be used as a gate keeping mechanism to limit upward mobility to those who have acquired it.

b) <u>The role of foreign language proficiency for the development of society.</u>

LP often pursues economically motivated goals. In this sense , knowledge of foreign languages may have an important role to play in a) improving communication with trading partners; in facilitating communication and language discrimination in the workplace; in broadening the opportunities for landing jobs requiring advanced degrees and professional credentials. At the same time, knowledge of foreign languages can also serve as a powerful gate keeping mechanism and thus serve to enhance and reinforce the stratification among speakers of the same language background.

Finally, Language Policy may be said to have a positive impact on the national economy in modern technological societies. In the current information age, education provides one of the major means of promoting language acquisition planning and language shift policy. Schools play a major role in promoting national standard languages and thereby help to extend the influence of the state along its horizontal axis along groups.

4. Language shift in different communities

a. Language shift

I. Migrant minorities

Language shift is typical for migrant workers who use a minority language in a predominantly monolingual society. The order of domains in which language shift occurs may differ for different individuals and different groups but gradually over time the language of the wider society displaces the minority mother tongue. There are many different social factors which can lead a community to shift from using one language for most purposes to using a different language, or from using two distinct codes in different domains, to using different varieties of the same language for their communicative needs. In the first place this is the **school** where children of migrant families are expected to interact in the dominant language. For many children of migrants, English soon becomes the normal language for talking to other children , including their brothers and sisters.

There is also pressure from the wider society. Immigrants who look and sound 'different' are often regarded as threatening by majority group members. There is pressure to conform in all kinds of ways. Language shift to English , e.g. has been regarded as a sign of successful assimilation and it was widely assumed that that meant abandoning the minority language.

II. Non-migrant communities

Language shift is not always the result of migration. Political, economic and social changes can occur within a community and this may result in linguistic changes. E.g. Oberwart/ Felsoor a small town at the border between Austria and Hungary belonged to Hungary before WWI and the population spoke Hungarian. Then it became part of Austria in 1920. German became the official language and Hungarian was banned in schools. This marked the beginning of a language shift. As Oberwart grew and industry replaced farming as the main source of jobs, the function of German expanded. As a result German became the high language in a broad diglossia situation. Hungarian is still used as the low language, among friends and between townspeople. . It is the language of solidarity used for social and affective functions. But in the speech of young people German has expanded whereas the functions of Hungarian have contracted. Now the pattern of language use for each individual in Oberwart depends on his/her social networks. Those working in jobs associated with the new industries or in professional jobs use predominantly German.

III. Migrant majorities

Besides language shift caused by political factors such as changes of state borders, for example, it may also result from economic developments resulting from migration in search of better working conditions. Over the last couple of centuries , many speakers of Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Welsh , e.g., have moved to England and consequently shifted to English , to adapt to the new working conditions and improve their social well-being.

Also, when 19th c. colonial powers invaded many countries in Africa and Asia, their language became dominant. Thus Portugal, Spain, France and England literally imposed their languages alongside their rule in areas where multilingualism was not widespread. This threatened indigenous languages. **The general implication from these developments is that where one group abrogates political power and imposes its language along with its institutions – government, administration, law courts, education, religion, etc. – it is likely that minority groups will find themselves under the increasing pressure to adopt the language of the dominant group.** Thus the Maori people in New Zealand, most aboriginal people in Australia and many American Indian people in the US have overwhelmingly moved from monlingualism in their vernaculars, to bilingualism and finally to monolingualism in English in the second half of the 20th c. The result of colonial economic and political control was not diglossia with varying degrees of bilingualism as found in many African ,

Asian and South American countries, but the more or less complete eradication of the indigenous languages. Now however, as noted above, some attempts are being made at revitalizing Maori in New Zealand.

When language shift iccurs it is almost always a ***movement towards the language of the dominant, powerful group***. A dominant group has no incentive to adopt the language of a minority. The dominant language is associated with status, prestige, and social success. This explains why young members of minority groups soon abandon their mother tongues and shift towards the dominant language to take advantage of the benefits they can get from the new language situation.

5. Language death and language loss

When all the people who speak a given language die, the language dies with them. This is what happened with Manx, a language spoken on the isle of Man. Similarly Cornish effectively died in Cornwall in the 18th c. .

Of the approximately 200 aboriginal languages spoken in Australia when the Europeans arrived, between 50 – 70 disappeared as a direct result of the massacre of the aboriginal people, or their death from diseases brought by the Europeans. Their languages died with them. Thus these are also cases of **language death** rather than language shift because the languages are not spoken anywhere.

When a language dies gradually, the process is similar to that of language shift . The functions of thde language are taken over in one domain asfter another by the dominant language. As the domains in which speakers use the language shrink, the speakers of the dying language become gradually less proficient in it. They experience **language loss**. And if there aren't any written materials in the dying language which could compensate for the loss , it becomes less functional. The process of death for the language comes about through this gradual loss of fluency and competence by its speakers. Competence in the language does not disappear overnight. It gradually erodes over time.

With the spread of a majority group language into more and more domains , the number of contexts in which individuals use the ethnic languages diminishes. So the ethnic language may survive only for ceremonial and ritual occasions and such personal activities as counting, praying and dreaming. But those who use it in these contexts will be few in number and their fluency will often be restricted.

6. Factors contributing to language shift

a) economic, social, political

The economic reasons are often connected with finding a good job. This might lead to migration and eventually bilingualism. Bilingualism is often a necessary precursor of language shift, although stable diglossic communities demonstrate this is not always the case.

Political dominance of one group typically results in its imposing its language on the rest of the population;

Social: For instance, the community sees no reason to take active steps to maintain their ethnic language. They may not see it as offering any advantages to their children, or they may not realize that it is in any danger of disappearing. Without active language maintenance, shift is almost inevitable in many contexts. Very often without consciously deciding to abandon their ethnic language, a community will lose it because they did not perceive any threat.

Young upwardly mobile people are likely to shift fastest. It has also been noticed that the shift to another language may be led by women or by men depending on where the new jobs lie.

b) Demographic factors

-Migration from rural to urban areas;
-Intermarriage;
-Mobility of workforce in the context of globalization

7. Attitudes and values

Language shift tends to be slower among communities where ghe minority language is highly valued. When the language is seen as an important symbol of ethnic identity, it is generally maintained longer. Positive attitudes support efforts to use the minority language in a variety of domains , and this helps people resist the pressure from the majority group to switch to their language.

The status of a language internationally can contribute to their positive attitudes, maintaining French in Canada is easier because French is a language with an international status. Pride in one's ethnic identity and language can be an important factor which contributes to language maintenance, provided there is a strong community to support and encourage these attitudes.

More often than not, however, just a handful of words are preserved for identity purposes. See example.

I celluloid my forehead and hastily scribble: SCOTTISH. But that is inadequate, so I add: English, British, Pakistani, Indian, Afghan, Sadozai, Asian, European, Black(-ish), Minority Ethnic, Male, Non-resident, 21st Century person, 15th Century being, Glaswegian, Middle-class, Writer, Seeker, Lover, Physician, Agha Jaan, Son, English-speaking, Music-loving, Left-leaning… until I run out of space and time and ink. Scottishness becomes a metaphor through which I perceive other things. The ends of twigs catch in the stream.

Massed kilts 'n' cocaine ceilidhs unsettle me, though I love the Zen thrum of Gaelic song. I once bought a Clan Sinclair (Hunting) tie because of its mystical Levantine links and a MacPherson (Dress) one because it looked good. I have never felt any identification with the psycho-mechanics of Scottish football; this has nothing to do with the Sufi game, rather, I feel excluded by flag-waving and terrified by teams, mobs, tribes, which seem inherently unthinking and potentially fascistic. I connect with Ludhiana, Lahore and Herat, but not in the ken of the old gin Raj. I want to hear the tap-tapping of sepia fingertips at business board-table and parliamentary bench, I long to seed Ibrox turf and to ink the pages of long rags. Indigenisation, a physical, economic and spiritual dynamic, is a multi-dimensional, trans-mythic concept which requires, on all sides, a seeking after love, a need to be. We all negotiate our psychic relationships with land, icon and totem. (Suhayl Saadi _ A Scottish writer of a Pakistani descent)

8. How can a minority language be maintained

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Survey: What activities in the domain of education/ culture/ society can contribute to the maintenance of smaller (minority) languages?

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1. [i] A short theatrical episode