People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Higher School of Education
Department of English

ECOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE D'ORAN

ENSO – AMMOUR AHMED
Ecole Normale Supérieure d'Oran AMMOUR Ahmed
المدرسة العليا للأساتذة بوهران - عمور احمد

AN INTRODUCTION TO
SOCIOLINGUISTICS

THIRD YEAR

PRE-SERVICE (SECONDARY SCHOOL) TEACHERS

Lecturer: Dr. Lynda DALI YOUCEF

Academic Year
2023-2024

Course title	Department
An Introduction to Sociolinguistics	English
Field	**Course Schedule**
Linguistics	2 hours a week
Lecturer	**Year of study**
Dr. Lynda DALI YOUCEF	3rd Year

Course Description

Globalization has affected the world in many ways that were perhaps unimaginable even decades ago, but it has directly affected the way we communicate with each other. Through co-present interactions, through the media and through digital communication, multicultural interactions are becoming the norm rather than an exception. Understanding communication in a globalized world is related to an understanding of the ways in which language may be interpreted differently depending on the sender, the receiver and the context of the message. In this course we examine the social, cultural and pragmatic factors of language in context. Having a grasp of how these factors interact in a given language and in intercultural communication is crucial to the development of mutual understanding in the global world.

Course Objectives:

The main objectives of the course are to:

- Provide students with an understanding of the study of language as a social phenomenon;
- Draw examples from international contexts of language use to examine the interrelationship of language and social context, how language is actually used, people's language attitudes, and how language use and language attitudes are often opposed;
- Consider factors such as age, gender, social class, race, ethnicity and style and the relationship of these factors to linguistic differentiation and the construction and display of identities.
- Encourage students to explore the connections between the discipline and their world, and build awareness of power and political issues related to language use globally as well as in specific contexts.

Learning Outcomes:

After completion of the course students are expected to be able to:

1. Show an understanding of sociolinguistic concepts;

2. Have developed an awareness of the diverse areas of sociolinguistic inquiry such as dialectology, the social psychology of language, language variation, interactional sociolinguistics and gender studies;

3. Show an awareness of the interrelationship between sociolinguistic research and theories/ methods drawn from various fields, such as linguistics, sociology, anthropology and education;

4. Critically evaluate literature in the sociolinguistic field

Course Content:

Learning Activities and Teaching Methods:

Lectures, Discussions with Class Participation and Assignments

Assessment Methods:

Midterm Examination, Presentation and Class Participation

Required Textbooks / Readings:

Holmes, J. (2013). An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. London: Longman Group Ltd.

Recommended Textbooks / Readings:

Chambers, J. K (2004) Sociolinguistic Theory (2nd Edition), J. K. Blackwell

Romaine, S. (2000) Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics (2nd Edition) Oxford University Press

Tannen, D. (2001) You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation Ballantine

Lecture 1

THE SCOPE OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS

1. Language behaviour from a social point of view

Anecdote (Trudgill, 1974)

Two Englishmen who have never met before come to face to face in a railway compartment – they start talking about the weather.

While it is important *what* the other person says about the weather, it is far more important -- and most informative! -- *how* he says it.

Two aspects of their language behaviour from a social point of view:

(i) the function of language in establishing a *social relationship*;

(ii) the role played by language in conveying *information about the speaker.*

⇩

social background – education, economic status !

geographical background -- accent!

ideas and attitudes -- personality!

etc.

> *"These aspects of linguistic behaviour are reflections of the fact that there is a close inter-relationship between language and society".* Trudgill: *Sociolinguistics: An introduction* (1974)

2. Basic linguistic concepts:

The revival of the Saussurian langue/parole distinction by N. Chomsky (competence/performance) is indirectly responsible for the accelerated development of sociolinguistics.

Linguistic competence: knowledge of the grammar by the native speaker of the language.

Linguistic performance: the way this knowledge is used in communication.

"Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its (the speech community's) language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of this language in actual performance" (Chomsky, 1965)

His *asocial* view has been received by many linguists as a *sterile* approach --

According to **Skinner**, children learn the language by imitating and repeating, while the mind is a blank slate at birth. There is nothing innate in it. **Noam Chomsky** rejected the behaviourist theory. He suggested that something more than imitation is going on to explain language acquisition. He gave birth to a whole reconsideration of language -**from** a learned behaviour which is acquired through habit formation **to** a system of rules, innate in the mind-

Noam Chomsky criticized the structuralist view of language and discarded it on the basis that it did not account for the uniqueness and creative nature of

---

Hymes (1972) assumes systematicity outside of competence in Chomsky's narrower sense of the latter term by extending the notion of competence to cover most of the aspects that Chomsky attributed to performance.

'Communicative Competence'

⇩

Knowledge of the rules of a language *plus* the ability to use these rules in socially and culturally appropriate ways

"This is a question of what a child internalizes about speaking beyond the rules of grammar or dictionary, while becoming a member of its speech community. Or it is a question of what a foreigner must learn about a group's verbal behaviour in order to participate appropriately and effectively in its activities" (Hymes, 1972)

$$\Downarrow$$

Heterogeneity

William Labov is called the father of sociolinguistics. He studied sociolinguistics as an independent subject. Labov (1972) recognizes systematicity in *performance* as well as in competence;

He began to develop theories concerning systematicity in performance. He has been described as an enormously original and influential figure who has created much of the methodology of sociolinguistics.

All studies of language in its socio-cultural context assume that:

LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE (=knowledge of a language) ALSO MEANS KNOWING *HOW TO USE THAT LANGUAGE*

3. Linguistic Variations

It is necessary to distinguish between the speech repertoire of the *community*

↓

"SPEECH REPERTOIRE"

and the speech repertoire of the *individual*

↓

"VERBAL REPERTOIRE"

SPEECH REPERTOIRE : the choices available for the individual.
VERBAL REPERTOIRE: the utilization of available varieties.

Sociolinguists study the *relationship between language and society*:
Different social contexts trigger differences in speech - why?

- How does speech reveal social identity?
  - ✓ Vocabulary variations;
  - ✓ Pronunciation variations;
  - ✓ Variations in grammatical structures;
  - ✓ Dialectal variations.

- How do social relationships affect speech?
- Why do we say the *same* things in *different* ways?
- What is the role of linguistic variation?

> Study examples 1 & 2 and exercise 1 (Holmes, 2013)

Example 1

Ray : Hi mum.

Mum : Hi. You're late.

Ray : Yeah, that bastard Sootbucket kept us in again.

Mum : Nana's here.

Example 2

Ray   : Good afternoon, sir.

Principal : What are you doing here at this time?

Ray   : Mr Sutton kept us in, sir.

Exercise 1

(a) Identify the words in examples 1 and 2 which suggest that Ray's relationship with his mother is a friendly one compared to his relationship with the principal.

What does this suggest about the social significance of choice of words?

(b) Ray greeted the principal with the words *Good afternoon, sir.*

How do or did you greet your school principal? Would you use the same words to your father or mother? Would you use the same greeting to your best friend? Why (not)?

(c) Nicknames can express affection as well as dislike. What clues indicate that Ray is not feeling affectionate towards his teacher?

4. Social factors

Sociolinguists identify the factors relevant to the employing of certain variety of speech.

These factors may be grouped as follows:

a. The **participants**:

Who is speaking?

Who are they speaking **to**?

b. The **setting** or social contexts of the interaction:

   where are they speaking?

c. The **topic**: **what** is being talked about?

d. The **function**: **why** are they speaking?
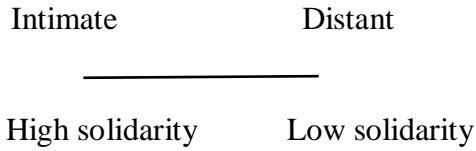
5. Social dimensions

The relevance of *four* social dimensions in the realization of the linguistic variety of choice may be analyzed by identifying degrees of

(i)   participant relationships

(ii) setting or type of interaction

(iii) purpose or topic of interaction

The solidarity-social distance scale

Intimate   Distant

——————————

High solidarity   Low solidarity

Our linguistic choice is determined by the degree of our knowledge/relationship with the relevant person. Provide an example!
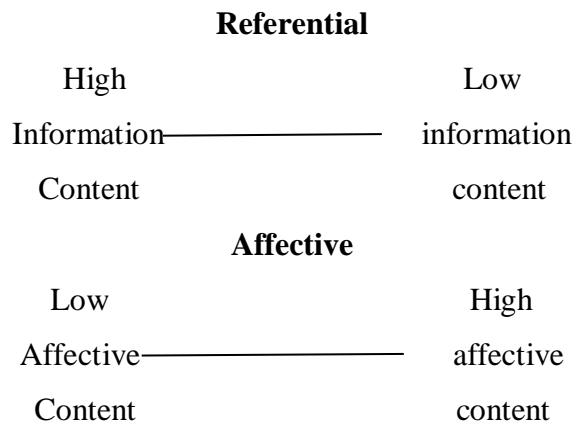
The status scale

Superior | High status
Subordinate | Low status

The relevance of social status may determine our linguistic choice. Provide an example!

The formality scale

Formal | High formality
Informal Low | formality
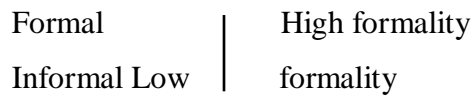
The influence of social setting and the type of interaction is relevant to our linguistic choice. Provide an example!

The referential and affective function scales

Referential

High   Low
Information——————— information
Content   content

Affective

Low   High
Affective——————— affective
Content   content

There is an interaction between referential (=information content) and the affective (how someone is feeling) scales. In general, the higher the information content, the affective content is lower -- explain and provide an example!

6. Looking for explanations

The objective of sociolinguists is to

(i) establish a theory which accounts for the ways language functions in society;

(ii) provide explanations of linguistic choices speakers employ in communication.

Study examples 3 and exercise 2 & 3 (Holmes, 2013)

Example 3

Every afternoon my friend packs her bag and leaves her Cardiff office in southern Wales at about 5 o'clock. As she leaves, her business partner says *goodbye Margaret* (she replies *goodbye Mike*), her secretary says *see you tomorrow* (she replies *bye Jill*), and the caretaker says *bye Mrs Walker* (to which she responds *goodbye Andy*). As she arrives home she is greeted by *hi mum* from her daughter, Jenny, *hello dear, have a good day?* from her mother, and simply *you're late again* ! from her husband. Later in the evening the president of the local fl ower club calls to ask if she would like to join the club.
Good evening, is that Mrs Billington? she asks. *No, it's Margaret Walker, but my husband's name is David Billington*, Margaret answers. *What can I do for you?* Finally a friend calls *Hello Meg, sut wyt ti?*

Exercise 2
- Make a list of all the names you are called by people who know you. For each name note who uses it to you and when or where.
- Do some people call you by more than one name?
- What are the reasons why people choose one name rather than another for you?

Exercise 3

We often have different names for people when we are addressing them directly, as opposed to when we are referring to them in different contexts.

Note what you call your mother in different contexts:

(a) addressing her

(i) at home alone with her

(ii) on the telephone with friends listening

(iii) in a shop.

(b) referring to her

(i) at home to another family member when she is present

(ii) at home to another family member when she isn't present

(iii) to an acquaintance who doesn't know her

(iv) to a sales assistant in a shop when she is present.

What influences your choice of address form and reference form in each of these

Lecture 2

LANGUAGE, DIALECT and VARIETIES

1. Choosing your variety or code

code or variety $\Longrightarrow$ neutral term

language, *dialect*, *standard,* etc.: these terms imply judgement,

emotion, attitude

} not neutral terms!

It is important to distinguish between language and dialect. At first sight there will be no problem at all. If two people speak differently, there seem to be 2 possibilities. If they understand each other, they must speak varieties of the same language. If not, they can be said to speak the same language.

But is it really that simple? Probably not!

We will first of all look at some problems then we will look at criteria to define what a language really is.

"LANGUAGE" or "DIALECT" ??

These terms do not represent clear-cut concepts.

Traditionally, *dialect* is defined as follows:

a.   It is a specific form of a given language spoken in a certain geographic area

b.   It differs substantially from the standard of that language (pronunciation, grammatical construction, idiomatic usage of words, etc.).

c.   It is *not* sufficiently distinct to be regarded as a different language.

Problem: It has often been said that *language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects.*

'mutually intelligibility' → this is a *linguistic* criterion

⇩

Different dialects speakers usually understand one another under the umbrella of a single language

Mutual Intelligibility

The rule-of-thumb which is most commonly applied to differentiate a *language* from a *dialect* is that of mutual intelligibility. When varieties of languages become mutually unintelligible, then they are classed as different languages. If they are mutually intelligible, they can be classed as dialects of the same language. This works well for a majority of cases, but not for a significant minority.

From the speaker's perspective it is less important, than *political and social criteria!*

Examples:

Serbian and Croatian -- languages or dialects?

Mandarin and Cantonese -- languages or dialects?

Hindi and Urdu -- languages or dialects?

Ranamål and Bokmål – languages or dialects?

(You may add more examples!!)

- Sweden/Nowegian
- Spanish/Portuguese
- Urdu/Hindi

Similar but considered to be different

o Though each language in the pair is the official language of a separate nation, the languages actually remain highly mutually intelligible, and *could* be considered dialects of the same language if sociopolitical identity did not divide them.

o Similarly, **Swedish, Danish and Norwegian** are considered **different**, because they are the national languages of different countries (which they share a name with). However, a Swede, Dane and Norwegian could converse with each other and understand one another. So, are they each speaking a dialect of the same language or a different one? Well, it depends on how you look at it. In the case of Scandinavia, languages are delineated along national lines, not in terms of mutual intelligibility.

o   In the case of **Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina**, the five countries that **emerged out of the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia**, variants of Serbo-Croatian, the language of Yugoslavia, became distinct national languages that the newly born nations identified themselves under. Some linguists assert that the difference between them is less than the differences between variations of English. However, such cases, the elevation of dialects to languages are less about intelligibility and are more about the politics of national identity

- Chinese and its dialects (Mandarin & Cantonese)   **Different but considered one**

o   Despite the fact that the Chinese dialects are *not* mutually intelligible, they are linked by a common identity, as well as a "central variety" (Chinese), used in official domains. This leads to their classification as dialects of the same language.

- Dialects can be defined as different varieties of the same language that have evolved over time and in different geographical locations. For example, Italian, French and Spanish were once dialects of Latin, but over centuries have evolved into their own languages and in turn, have spawned their own dialects, some of which have become languages.

Political and Cultural History

In some cases the mutual intelligibility criterion is not able to be applied consistently due to the political and cultural history of those particular speech communities. For instance, Danes, Norwegians and Swedes can all understand each other, yet their varieties are considered separate languages because they are spoken in different countries. Similarly, Hindi and Urdu, and Serbo, Croation and Bosnian are listed as separate languages for political or religious reasons, yet are mutually intelligible (in their spoken forms) (Crystal 2000, Wardhaugh 2000). In other words, *dialects* can become *languages* (or vice versa) simply because of political decisions (Milroy & Milroy 1997).

Examples

Is the crowning of a dialect as ruler over all others an accident of history? A dialect may be elevated to the status of language for political or national purposes. For example, newly formed nation-states may elevate a dialect to the status of language by making it the official language of the newly formed country to create a sense of national cohesion and identity. This can be seen in the case of Italy. What we now think of as Italian is actually evolved from a dialect that was spoken in Florence. As this was the literary centre of Italy at the time, its dialect was adopted by the elites as the language of a unified Italy, which up until 1861, was a collection of independent city-states with their own dialects, still regionally spoken today.

Italy

- Today's 'Italian' was such a little known language that it was only spoken (and understood) by roughly
- 3-5% of all people who were living in the newly unified country.
- Italian didn't become the official language of Italy until 2007

Turkish

During the Ottoman Empire, Persian and Arabic words integrated into Turkish and as a result of that, Turkish turned out to be a combination of these three different languages. In 1928 there was a dramatic change when a "new language" movement was begun by Kemal Ataturk in which he strove to keep the language more pure. Kemal Ataturk changed the alphabet from Arabic to Latin, and he began the Turkish Language Association. The association tried to eradicate all foreign words and began replacing non-Turkish words with Turkish equivalents.

Tamazight

Arabic remained Algeria's only official language until 2002, when Berber was recognized as a second national language. And in 2016 Berber was recognized as a second official language of Algeria

**The only universal difference
is socio-political**

So, what's the difference between these two? Generally, a language is written as well as spoken, while a dialect is just spoken until it is promoted to the elite status usually for political purposes. When it becomes a national language, it then becomes codified into that nation's literary tradition and acts as an identifier or national identity.

In the end, all linguistic codes are essentially beautifully complex dialects, some of which have been better polished and chosen to occupy a particular role and thus becomes standardized and recognized as a language.

'LANGUAGE' -- superordinate term: it can be used without reference to dialects.
a. 'DIALECT' -- subordinate term: it is meaningless unless it belongs to a language.

Lecture 3

LANGUAGE, COGNITION AND CULTURE

What do we mean by culture?

"… 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 any one of themselves" (Goodenough, 1957)

Culture is to know how to conduct daily life – knowledge of 'high culture' -- such as music, literature, arts, etc. – is *not* a requirement to function in a particular culture.

1. Whorf

Basic question: What is the relationship between language and thought?

The relationship between language, thought and 'reality' has fascinated linguists and philosophers for centuries. In recent times, the person whose name is most closely associated with investigations of the relationship between language and thought is Benjamin Lee Whorf. Whorf was an anthropological linguist who began his career as a chemical engineer working for a fire insurance company. He first investigated Native American languages as a hobby, but later studied with Edward Sapir at Yale University.

Important quotation by Benjamin Whorf (an anthropological linguist): Example 1

Example 1

'We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. 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 organised in our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances 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.'

Exercise 1

Make four points which counter Whorf's position as expressed in this quotation. Consider, for example, experiences which suggest that thought is independent of language: e.g., the experiences of bilinguals, responses to music, searching for *le mot juste*.

1.1 Vocabulary and cognition

Inuit

for *snow*: 100 words,

for *seal*: 30 words

Saami (for *reindeer*: several hundred words)

Arabic (for *camel*: about 1,000 words)

These examples suggest that there is a close relationship between language and perception. 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 pre-determine 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, do different languages encode experience differently?

1.2 Linguistic determinism: the medium is the message

Ludwig Wittgenstein (20th century philosopher):
"The limits of my language mean the limits of my world".
But towards the end of his life (1951) he had arrived at a more positive view:

"If the limits of language could be defined, then speakers would not attempt to express the inexpressible. Therefore, you must learn the limitations of language and try to accommodate yourself to them, for *language offers all the reality you can ever hope to know"*.

Does the structure of a language determine the way in which speakers of that language view the world?

Sapir (studied with Whorf) wrote (1929):
"human beings … are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society".
Whorf:
"Language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather itself the *shaper of ideas.*"
He emphasized GRAMMAR rather than VOCABULARY as an indicator of the way a language can direct a speaker to certain habits of thought.
He wrote an analysis of the language of Hopi (an Amerindian language):
HOPI vs. ENGLISH
English: *He stayed five days.*
Hopi: *He stayed until the sixth day.*

English: *five days, five men*
Hopi: *five men*

A speaker cannot perceive five days through any of his senses:

Hopi perceives DURATION rather than CYCLES.

⇩   ⇩

more concrete   more abstract

Most European languages: *tenses* (designate distinct units of past, present and future).

HOPI: no tenses

English: *he runs, he is running*

Hopi: *I know he is running at this very moment*;

    I know he is running at this very moment even though I cannot see him.

English culture: concept of TIME

Hopi culture: concept of EVENT

⇩

e.g., Plant a seed -- and it will grow. The span of time the growing takes is NOT important, but rather the way in which the EVENT of growth follows the event of planting is important. The Hopi speaker is concerned that the sequence of EVENTS should be in the correct order (e.g., building a house) not that it takes a certain amount of time.

Whorf: The *contrasting world views* of the speakers of Hopi and English resulted from *contrasts in their languages.*

There are two hypotheses relating to the Sapir-Whorf philosophy:

(i) Strong hypothesis: <u>*Linguistic determinism*</u>

⇩

    The forms of language are prior to,

     and determinative of, the form of knowledge

(ii) Weak hypothesis: <u>*Linguistic relativity*</u>

⇩

    Human languages are highly variable;

    this variability will be reflected in non-linguistic knowledge and behaviour

(i) is largely discredited;

(ii) is still being tested and researched.

3. Linguistic Categories and Culture

Misconception: "simple societies can't have complex grammars"

Lexico-semantic levels:

Even at the lexico-semantic level, Aboriginal languages challenge Western preconceptions about primitive languages, as Kunwinjku (Australian Aboriginal language) kangoroo terms (Table 13.3, Holmes, 2013 p. 348) illustrates. Clearly Kunwinjku has many more terms to label distinctions among kangaroos and wallabies than English does. The reasons are obvious: kangaroos are an important part of the Aboriginal people's environment. In cultures which use rice as a staple of the diet, there are distinct terms not only for different types of rice, but also for many different ways of cooking rice. Bird-watchers, skiers, geologists and gardeners are similarly able to lexically identify distinctions of importance to them. This suggests an alternative to Whorf's position, then: rather than language determining what is perceived, it is the physical and socio-cultural environment which determines the distinctions that the language develops.

Lecture 4

REGIONAL AND SOCIAL DIALECTS (1)

1. Diversities in languages

No language is as monolithic as some descriptive grammars suggest.

Whenever we have sufficient data from a language, we find diversity in all areas of the grammar.

These diversities can be studied along three dimensions:

(i) *Geographical* ⟶ *Regional varieties*

(ii) *Social* ⟶ *Social dialects (or sociolects):*

a. socio-economic status

b. gender

c. ethnic group

d. age

e. occupation

f. education

g. others

> Study Example 1
> Review the anecdote in Trudgill (1974), Lecture 1

(iii) *Functional* ⟶ *Registers:*

a. formal

b. casual

c. technical

d. intimate

e. others

2. Regional Variation

2.1. *International Varieties*

- pronunciation differences;
- vocabulary differences;
- grammatical differences.

> Study Examples 1, 2 & 3 (Holmes, 2013)

> **Example 1**
> *Telephone rings.*
> Pat : Hello.
> Caller : Hello, is Mark there?
> Pat : Yes. Just hold on a minute.
> Pat (to Mark) : There's a rather well-educated young lady from Scotland on the phone for you.

When you answer the telephone, you can often make some pretty accurate guesses about various characteristics of the speaker. Pat was able to deduce quite a lot about Mark's caller, even though the caller had said nothing explicitly about herself. If the person has a distinctive regional accent, then their regional origins will be evident even from a short utterance. And it may also be possible to make a reasonable guess about the person's socio-economic or educational background, as Pat did.

The pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary of Scottish speakers of English is in some respects quite distinct from that of people from England, for example. Though there is variation within Scotland, there are also some features which perform an overall unifying function. The letter *r* in words like *girl* and *star* is pronounced in a number of English-speaking areas, and Scotland is certainly one of them. And a Scot is far more likely to say *I'll not do it* than *I won't do it*.

Example 2

A British visitor to New Zealand decided that while he was in Auckland he would look up an old friend from his war days. He found the address, walked up the path and knocked on the door.

'Gidday,' said the young man who opened the door. 'What can I do for you?'

'I've called to see my old mate Don Stone,' said the visitor.

'Oh he's dead now mate,' said the young man.

The visitor was about to express condolences when he was thumped on the back by Don Stone himself. The young man had said, 'Here's dad now mate', as his father came in the gate.

To British ears, a New Zealander's *dad* sounds like an English person's *dead*, *bad* sounds like *bed* and *six* sounds like *sucks*. Americans and Australians, as well as New Zealanders, tell of British visitors who were given *pens* instead of *pins* and *pans* instead of *pens*. On the other hand, an American's *god* sounds like an English person's *guard*, and an American's *ladder* is pronounced identically with *latter*.

There are vocabulary differences in the varieties spoken in different regions too. Australians talk of *sole parents*, for example, while people in England call them *single parents*, and New Zealanders call them *solo parents*. South Africans use the term *robot* for British *traffic-light*. British *wellies* (*Wellington boots*) are New Zealand *gummies* (*gumboots*).

Example 3

    (a) Do you have a match?

    (b) Have you got a cigarette?

    (c) She has gotten used to the noise.

    (d) She's got used to the noise.

    (e) He dove in, head first.

Pronunciation and vocabulary differences are probably the differences people are most aware of between different dialects of English, but there are grammatical differences too. Can you distinguish the preferred US usages from the traditional British usages in the sentences in example 3?

o   Speakers of US English tend to prefer *do you have*, though this can now also be heard in Britain alongside the traditional British English *have you got*.

o   Americans say *gotten* where people in England use *got*.

o   Many Americans use *dove* while most British English speakers prefer *dived*.

o   Americans ask *did you eat*? while the English ask *have you eaten?*

o   In New Zealand, where US forms are usually regarded as more innovative, younger New Zealanders say *dove*, while older New Zealanders use *dived*.

Sometimes the differences between dialects are a matter of the frequencies with which particular features occur, rather than completely different ways of saying things. People in Montreal, for example, do not always pronounce the *l* in phrases like *il pleut* and *il fait*. Parisians omit the *l* too – but less often.


Exercise

How do you pronounce *batter*? How many different pronunciations of this word have you noticed? Use any method you like to represent the different pronunciations.

2.2 *Intra-national or Intra-continental Variation*

Isoglosses:

Lines on dialect maps showing the boundaries between two regions which differ with respect to some linguistic feature (such as a lexical item, pronunciation, etc.)

Study the dialect map
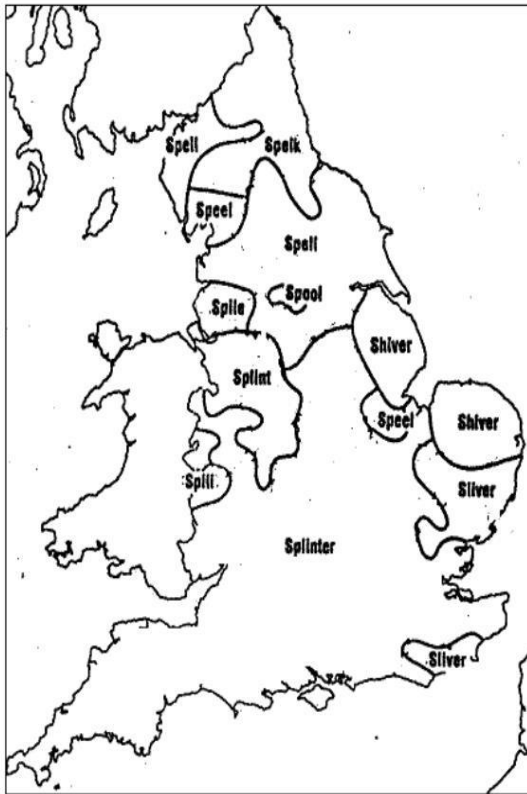
Words for 'splinter'

spell
spelk
speel
spill
splie
spool
splint
shiver
silver

Source: Upton, C. & J. Widdowson (1996). An Atlas of English Dialects. Oxford Univ Press

This map of England showing where different dialect words are used for the standard English word *splinter*. The boundary lines are called *isoglosses*. This is just one word out of thousands of linguistic features which vary in different dialects, and which were documented by Harold Orton's comprehensive *Survey of English Dialects* in the 1950s.

When all the information on linguistic regional variation is gathered together on a map, with isoglosses drawn between areas where different vocabulary, or grammatical usages or pronunciations occur, the result looks something like a spider's web.

2.3 *Dialect Chains*

Dialects on the outer edges of the geographical area may not be mutually intelligible, *but they will be linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility.* If you move from one region to another, you observe that linguistic characteristics change gradually through a chain of mutually intelligible varieties known as dialect continuum.

At no point is there a complete break (with regard to mutual intelligibility); but the cumulative effect will be such that the greater the geographical separation, the greater the difficulty in comprehending.

e.g., Italian - French

Paris ----------> Italian border

more and more 'Italian like'

Rome ----------> French border

more and more 'French like'

Study Example 4 (Holmes, 2013)

Example 4

Ming is an elderly woman who lives with her son in a rural village near the town of Yingde in Guangdong Province in southern China. The family grows vegetables for the local market. Ming speaks only her provincial dialect of Chinese, Cantonese. Last summer, Gong, an official from Beijing in the north, visited her village to check on the level of rice and ginger production.

Gong also spoke Chinese, but his dialect was Mandarin or putonghua. Ming could not understand a single word Gong said.

Languages are not purely linguistic entities. They serve social functions. In order to define a language, it is important to look to its social and political functions, as well as its linguistic features. So, a language can be thought of as a collection of dialects that are usually linguistically similar, used by different social groups who choose to say that they are speakers of one language which functions to unite and represent them to other groups. This definition is a sociolinguistic rather than a linguistic one: it includes all the linguistically very different Chinese dialects, which the Chinese defi ne as one language, while separating the languages of Scandinavia which are linguistically very similar, but politically quite distinct varieties.
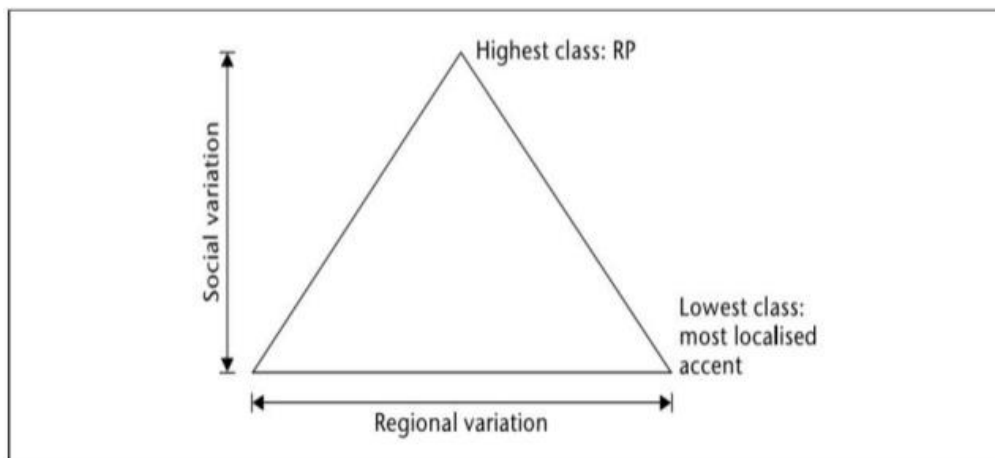
Lecture 4

REGIONAL AND SOCIAL DIALECTS (2)

3. Social Variation

RP: Received Pronunciation → a s*ocial* accent; the regional origin of the speaker is concealed!

Study the relationship between linguistic variation and socio-economic levels: Figure 3.1

Figure 3.1 Social and regional accent variation
Source : From Peter Trudgill (1983) *Sociolinguistics*.

As the triangle suggests, most linguistic variation will be found at the lowest socioeconomic level where regional differences abound. Further up the social ladder the amount of observable variation reduces till one reaches the pinnacle of RP – an accent used by less than 5 percent of the British population.

Figure 3.1 captured the distribution of accents in England until recently. Today a more accurate diagram might have a somewhat flatter top, suggesting accents other than RP can be heard amongst those who belong to the highest social class. In fact, RP now tends to be perceived by many people as somewhat affected (or 'real posh'!).

Negative reactions to RP resulted in the development of a new variety:

Estuary English (labeled also as the 'new RP". The rapid spread of this new variety

⇩

Demonstrating Estuary English
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qFXvafXsulI

---

4. Social dialects

4.1 Standard English

RP: social accent

Standard English: social dialect

There are more variations in a social dialect than in social accents.

Study the relationship between social and regional variations in relation to socioeconomic levels: Figure 4.1.
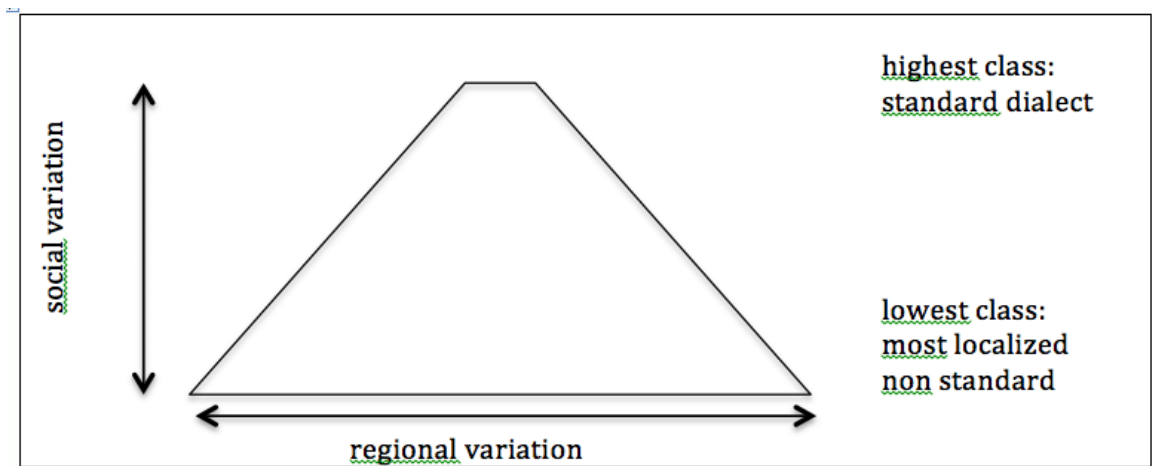

Figure 1: Trudgill's model of standard and non-standard dialect (2000:30)

Standard English is more accommodating than RP and allows for some variation within its boundaries. This is represented in figure 4.1 by the flat top of the trapezium or table-topped mountain. The flat top symbolises the broader range of variants (alternative linguistic forms) which qualify as part of the standard dialect of English in any country. It is estimated that up

to 15 per cent of British people regularly use standard British English. So, in standard English, a limited amount of grammatical variation is acceptable. The dialect we grace with the name standard English is spoken with many different accents.

Patterned variation: the role of significant social factors in speech.

4.2 Social Class Dialects

The term social class is used here as a shorthand term for differences between people which are associated with differences in social prestige, wealth and education. There is a consistent relationship between social class and speech.

4.2.1 Pronunciation:
o **[h] dropping**

Study Figure 2 Comment!

Figure 2 [h]-dropping in Norwich and West Yorkshire social groups.   85)
(This diagram was constructed from data in Trudgill 1974 and Petyt 1985)
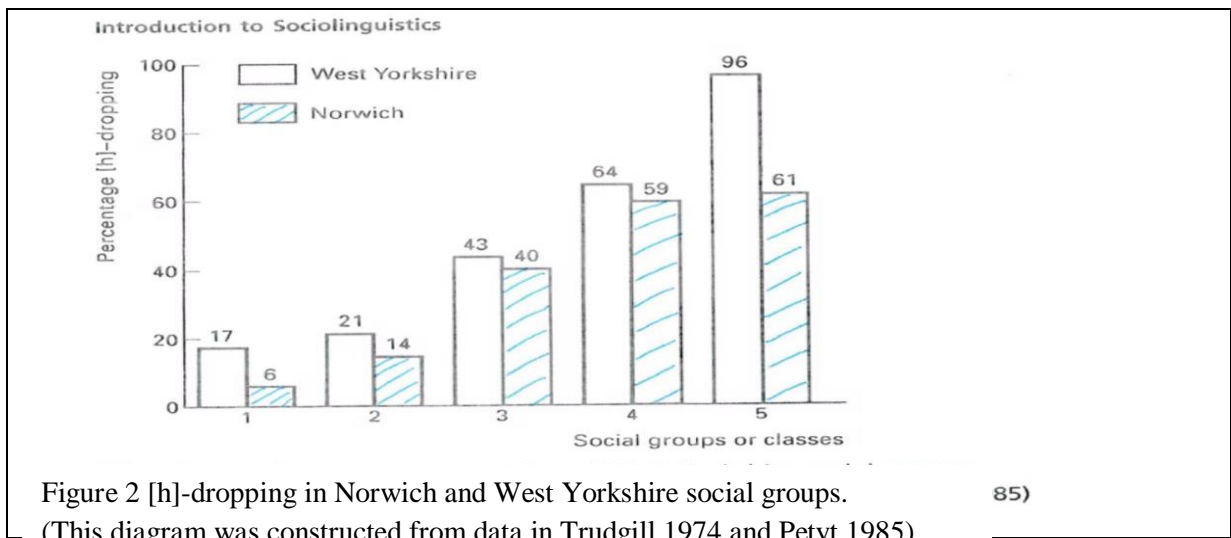
Figure 2 shows the average [h]-dropping scores for five different social groups in two different places in England: West Yorkshire and Norwich. In this figure, group 1 refers to the highest social group (often called the upper middle class or UMC) and group 5 to the lowest (usually called the lower or working class). In both areas the highest social group drops the least

number of [h]s and the lowest group omits the most. In the West Yorkshire study, for example, one person who belonged socially in the middle group (3) dropped every [h].

o **[in] prononciation**

Study table 1 comment !

Social Group	1	2	3	4
Norwich	31	42	91	100
West Yorkshire	5	34	61	83
New York	7	32	45	75
Brisbane	17	31	49	63

Table 1 Percentage of vernacular [in] pronunciation for four social groups in speech communities in Britain, the USA and Australia

The way different pronunciations fall into a pattern indicating the social class of their speakers was first demonstrated by William Labov in a study of New York City speech which is now regarded as a classic in sociolinguistics. He designed a sociolinguistic interview to elicit a range of speech styles from 120 people from different social backgrounds, and then he analysed their pronunciations of a number of different consonants and vowels.

He found regular patterns relating the social class of the speakers to the percentage of standard as opposed to vernacular pronunciations they produced. The pronunciation *-ing* vs *-in* ' ([iŋ] vs [in]) at the end of words like *sleeping* and *swimming* , for instance, distinguishes social groups in every English-speaking community in which it has been investigated. The figures in table 5 demonstrate that in each community, people from lower social groups use more of the vernacular [in] variant than those from higher groups.

- **Post-vocalic [r]**

  William Labov's study (1966)

Example 5

In New York City in 1964, a man was observed in three different department stores asking one store worker after another: 'where are the women's shoes?' The man appeared not only to have a short memory, since he repeated his question to a shop assistant in each aisle on several different floors, he also appeared to be slightly deaf since he asked each person to repeat their answer to him. After receiving the answer, he would scurry away and scribble something in his notebook. Oddest of all, when he finally made it to the fourth floor where the women's shoes were, he showed absolutely no interest in them whatsoever but wandered around the floor asking, 'Excuse me, what floor is this?'

When questioned by a puzzled store detective, he said he was a sociolinguist!

- Labov (1966) combined elements from place of education and socioeconomic status by looking at pronunciation differences among salespeople in three New York City department stores. They were Sacks Fifth Avenue (with expensive items, upper middle class status). Macy's (medium- priced, middle class status) and Klein's (with cheaper items, working class status).

- As example 5 described Labov went into each of these stores and asked salespeople specific questions, such as *where are the women's shoes?*, in order to elicit answers with the expression *fourth floor*. This expression contains two opportunities for the pronunciation (or not) of postvocalic /r/, that is, the sound /r/ after a vowel. Strictly speaking, it is /r/ after a vowel and before a consonant or the end of a word.

In the department stores, there was a regular pattern in the answers. The higher the socio-economic status of the store, the more /r/ sounds were produced, and the lower the status, the fewer /r/ sounds were produced by those who worked there.

Peter Trudgill's Study (1974)

• In a British study conducted in Reading, about 40 miles west of London, Trudgill (1974) found that the social value associated with the same variable (r) was quite different. Middle class speakers in Reading pronounced fewer /r/ sounds than working class speakers. In this particular city, upper-middle-class speakers didn't seem to pronounce postvocalic /r/ at all.

% of /r/:		
New York City	**Reading**	**SOCIAL CLASS**
3	0	Upper Middle Class
2	2	
2	8	Lower Middle Class
0	4	
1	4	Upper Working Class
2	4	
0	9	Lower Working Class

Percentage of postvocalic /r/s pronounced (in S. Romaine: *Language in Society*. 1994.)

o The results show clear social stratification of /r/ pronunciation.
Post-vocalic /r/ is a *variable* which illustrates the arbitrariness of the particular forms which are considered prestigious: **SOCIAL JUDGEMENT.**

- In New York City: **LOWER** social status → fewer postvocalic /r/ is used;
- In Reading (England): **HIGHER** social status → fewer postvocalic /r/ is used.

4.2.2 Grammatical Patterns
Sharp stratification: a sharp distinction between social classes with regard to the use of standard vs. vernacular grammatical structures.
Here are some examples of standard and vernacular grammatical forms which have been identified in several English speaking communities.

Form	Example
Past tense verb forms	**1.** I finished that book yesterday.
	2. I finish that book yesterday.
Present tense verb forms	**3.** Rose walks to school every day.
	4. Rose walk to school every day.
Negative forms	**5.** Nobody wants any chips.
	6. Nobody don't want no chips.
Ain't	**7.** Jim isn't stupid.
	8. Jim ain't stupid.

• As with pronunciation, there is a clear pattern to the relationship between the grammatical speech forms and the social groups who use them. Figure 6.6 illustrates this. The higher social groups use more of the standard grammatical form and fewer instances of the vernacular or non-standard form.

• The third person singular form of the present tense regular verb (e.g. standard *she walks* vs vernacular *she walk*), there is a sharp distinction between the middle-class groups and the lower-class groups.

Sociolinguists describe this pattern as *sharp stratification*. People are often more aware of social stigma in relation to vernacular grammatical forms, and this is reflected in the lower incidence of vernacular forms among middle-class speakers in particular. Note that this pattern is found both in a variety of US English spoken in Detroit, and in a variety of British English spoken in Norwich.

• Sentence (6) in the list illustrates a pattern of negation which is sometimes called 'negative concord' or 'multiple negation'. Where standard English allows only one negative in each clause, most vernacular dialects can have two or more. In some dialects, every possible

form which can be negated is negated. An adolescent gang member in New York produced the following:

9. It ain't no cat can't get in no coop.

Translated into standard English, the meaning of this utterance in context was

10. There isn't any cat that can get into any (pigeon) coop or, more simply, no cat can get into any coop.

Sentence (11) comes from an adolescent in Detroit:

11. We ain't had no trouble about none of us pulling out no knife.

Multiple negation is a grammatical construction which has been found in all English-speaking communities where a social dialect study has been done. In every community studied, it is much more frequent in lower-class speech than in middle-class speech. Thus, Middle-class speakers tend to avoid multiple negation, while lower-class speakers use it more comfortably.

Lecture 5

LANGUAGE AND GENDER

The word *sex* has biological implications. The word *gender* is more appropriate: it distinguishes people based on their social and/or linguistic behaviour. Women and men from the same speech community may use different linguistic forms (S. Romaine. 1994. *Language in society*). The discussion of *gender* in this lecture focuses largely on contrasts between empirically observed features of women's and men's speech.

Women and men from the same speech community may use different linguistic forms.

1.   Gender-exclusive speech differences: highly structured communities

There are communities where the language is shared by women and men, but particular linguistic features occur only in the women's speech or only in the men's speech. These features are usually small differences in pronunciation or word-shape (morphology).

Examples:

(i)   Gros Ventre (Amerindian)

(tribe in Montana) pronunciation differences, for example:

[kja tsa] women's form

[dʒa tsa] men's form

Meaning 'Bread'
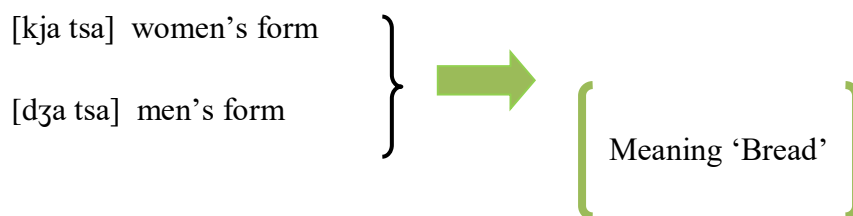
(ii)   Bengali (in India) Women: initial [l] Men: initial [n]

(iii)   Yana (extinct Amerinidian language): words used by men are longer than the same words used by women.

(iv)   Japanese : Vocabulary differences

In some languages, there are also differences between the vocabulary items used by women and men, though these are never very extensive. Traditional standard Japanese provides some clear examples.

Women's form	Men's form	
Ohiya	Mizu	Water
Onaka	Hara	Stomach
Oisii	Umai	Delicious
Taberu	kuu	eat

In modern standard Japanese, these distinctions are more a matter of degrees of formality or politeness than gender; so the 'men's' forms are largely restricted to casual contexts and are considered rather vulgar, while the 'women's' forms are used by everyone in public contexts. Increasingly, too, as gender roles change, with more women in the workforce and more men prepared to assist in child-rearing, young Japanese women are challenging restrictive social norms, and using the 'men's' forms. While initially women who used these forms were regarded as rather 'macho', the social meaning of these forms is changing. They are no longer so much signals of masculinity as of informality and modernity.

- Pronouns also reflect gender differences in many languages:
Some languages signal the gender of the speaker in the pronoun system. In Japanese, for instance, there are a number of words for 'I' varying primarily in formality, but women are traditionally restricted to the more formal variants.

o So *ore* is used only by men in casual contexts and *boku*, the next most casual form, is used mainly by men in semi-formal contexts,

o while women are conventionally expected to use only the semi-formal variant, *atashi*, the formal *watashi* and the most formal *watakushi* (forms also used by men in formal contexts). However, again modern young Japanese women are increasingly challenging such restrictions.

> **Changes in modern Japanese: vocabulary differences reflect degrees of formality as opposed to signalling gender !**

Exercise 1

Do English pronouns encode the gender of the speaker?

2-   Gender-Preferential Speech Features: Social Dialect Research

Speech styles of women and men vary in the frequencies with which they employ particular linguistic alternatives:

•   -ing **[ɪŋ]** vs. -in' **[ɪn]** more women use the *–ing* form

•   In Montreal French, men delete **[l]** more often than women in phrases such as *il y a* or *il fait.*

•   In Sidney (Australia) words like *thing* may be pronounced with initial [f] more frequently by men!

Both the social and the linguistic patterns in these communities are gender preferential (rather than gender-exclusive). Though both women and men use particular forms, one gender shows a greater preference for them than the other.

•   Women tend to use more standard forms!
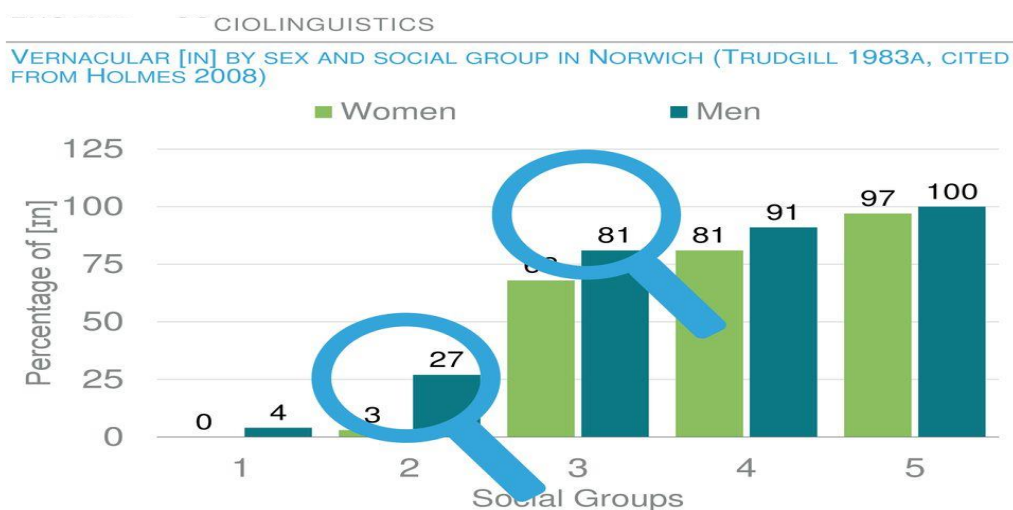
3-   Gender and Social Class

Study Figure 3

Figure 3 shows, for instance, that in social dialect interviews in Norwich, men used more of the vernacular [in] form at the end of words like *speaking* and *walking* than women. And this

pattern was quite consistent across five distinct social groups. (Group 1 represents the highest social group.)

In the highest and the lowest social groups, women score similarly to men:

↓

social status appears to be more important than gender identity.

But this is not so true of women in group 2. Their score (of 3 per cent) for vernacular forms is closer to that of women in group 1 than it is to that of men from their own group. This may indicate they identify more strongly with women from the next social group than with men from their own social group.

↓

Gender identity is more important in the other social groups!

•   Multiple negations (non-standard forms! e.g. *I don't know nothing about it*) are used in   the lower middle class group 32% by men vs. 1% by women.
•   Vernacular forms are used more frequently by men: a typical pattern in many speech communities. This pattern is apparent also for young children – for example, boys use more the *in'* form, than girls; their speech contains more frequent consonant cluster simplification in words such as [las] for *last*, [toul] for *told*, etc.

4. Explanations of Women's Linguistic Behaviour

4.1 The Social Status Explanation

Hypothesis: women are more status-conscious than men, thus they use the standard form. Standard forms are associated with higher social status -- women want to signal social status when using standard speech.

Counter argument: working women (having social status!) employ more standard forms than women staying home – Stay-home women reinforce the use of vernacular forms used by those they are in social contact.

4.2 Woman's role as guardian of society's values

<div style="text-align:center; border:1px solid;">Study Example 1</div>

'A woman's place is in the home.'

> **Example 1**
>
> Mrs Godley, an early New Zealand settler, believed in the civilising influence of women. When two young men she knew were about to begin work on a sheep station in the South Island province of Canterbury in 1852, she warned them that they would become 'semi-barbarous'. She begged them to have a 'lay figure of a lady, carefully draped, set up in their usual sitting-room, and always behave before it as if it was their mother'.

- Society expects "better" behaviour from women – thus it is expected that women speak the standard variety. Comment!
- In certain social context, women use more standard forms than men; in other context they move away from the standard, for example, mother/child conversation. Implications?

4.3 Subordinate Groups Must be Polite

> **Example 2**
>
> 'You are an intolerable bore Mr Brown. Why don't you simply shut up and let someone speak who has more interesting ideas to contribute,' said Lord Huntly in the well educated and cultured accent of the over-privileged.

• Women as a subordinate group, it is argued, must avoid offending men – and so they must speak carefully and politely.

• It is not immediately apparent why *polite* speech should be equated with *standard* speech. It is perfectly possible to express yourself politely using a vernacular Liverpool or

Glaswegian accent, and it is equally possible to be very insulting using RP, as example 2 illustrates.

A more sophisticated version of this explanation, however, which links it to the social status explanation, suggests that by using more standard speech forms women are looking after their own need to be valued by the society. By using standard forms a woman is protecting her 'face' (a technical term used by sociolinguists with approximately the same meaning as in the phrase *to lose face*). She is also avoiding offence to others.

• Women may employ rising pitch at the end of declarative sentences more frequently, whereas men use a steady or lowering pitch.

The rising pitch variant is interpreted as a questioning contour and, according to R. Lakoff (1975), this leads to women's self-presentation as hesitant, uncertain, and lacking in assertiveness.

• "tag questions" (sentences in which the speaker makes a declarative statement and adds on a tag in the form of a question about their assertion).

Examples: Jane came home, *didn't she?*

It is cold here, *isn't it?*

Lakoff states that women use tag questions as a signal of their reluctance to make direct assertions. They can "avoid committing themselves and thereby avoid conflict with the addressee"

Such a deferential style *may be* perceived as the speaker's uncertainty and lack of definite opinions.

Number of Tag Questions		
	Women	**Men**
Facilitative	59 %	25%
Softening	6 %	5%

Softening tags: mitigating the force of command or criticism.

Examples:

Open the oven door for me, *could you?*

You're driving rather fast*, aren't you?*

Facilitative tags: they indicate the speaker's desire to engage the addressee in continuing conversation.

Examples:

Still working hard at your office, *are you?*

The hen's brown*, isn't it?*

Holmes (1984): there is a significant difference in the function role of tags in women's and men's speech. Men more often use tags for "speaker-oriented" goals, to obtain or confirm information about themselves, whereas women more often use tags for "addressee-oriented" goals, particularly as strategies to engage addressees in talk.

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px; text-align:center;">
Study example 3
</div>

4.4 Vernacular forms express machismo

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

Example 3

Knocker : Comin' down the club Jim?

Jim: Not friggin' likely. It's rubbish that club.

Knocker : It ain't that bad. Music's cool. I seen a couple of sharp judies there too. If we plays our cards right . . . Anyways you was keen enough las' week.

Jim : The music's last Knocker. I'm off down the Pier 'ead if there ain't nothin' better on offer.

Knocker : Bleedin' rozzers crawlin' round down there. Come down ours instead.

</div>

One answer which has been suggested to the question 'why don't men use more standard forms?' is that men prefer vernacular forms because they carry macho connotations of masculinity and toughness. If this is true, it would also explain why many women might *not* want to use such forms.

⇩

Men may regard vernacular forms positively: *covert prestige*

Lecture 6

GENDER AND AGE

B.   AGE

1.   Age-graded features of speech

Example 4

I was listening to New Zealand radio when they announced that they were going to be interviewing the Minister of Health after the news. I couldn't think who the Minister was. So I listened to the interview and I was very impressed with the policies he outlined, and particularly with his sensitive and sympathetic attitudes to the need for cervical screening for women. 'How sensible,' I thought, 'what an intelligent man!' I waited for the end of the interview to find out who he was. 'And that was an interview with the Minister of Health, Helen Clark,' announced the interviewer. Well at least that explained the sympathetic attitude to women's health issues!

(i) Pitch differences: social implications!

Study example 4 (Holmes, 2013)

-        Lower pitch – socially expected from public figures; they are taken more seriously Influence in public domains has been a male prerogative until relatively recently. The fact that women politicians, like Helen Clark in example 4, often have deeper voices than average may reflect the public's preference for voices with masculine associations in politics; or perhaps women politicians are using male models in order to gain acceptance in spheres previously dominated by males.

(Margaret Thatcher underwent training to lower her pitch when she was Britain's Prime Minister, since she was persuaded that this would make people take her more seriously.)

- Cultures differ with regard to expectations concerning pitch differences.

There are cultures where the average pitch of men's voices is considerably higher than that of the average American male, for instance, and the upper reaches of some Japanese women's pitch range are out of sight compared to those of English-speaking women. Only a young child could compete.

• Vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar may reflect age difference: social implications!

Study Example 5 (Holmes, 2013)

Example 5

G is a teenage Australian girl and I is a female interviewer.

G : We went – I've seen 'One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest' – can't even say 'cuckoo' properly. That was a good show. The only thing is they swear a lot in it.

I : And that really bothers you?

G : Mm. Sometimes, like, sometimes I'll be in the mood for it another times I'll think, you, know 'I don't wanna say that.' Cause when you listen t'other people it sounds terrible, you know . . .

I : You don't think about that when you're 13 or 14 doing it yourself.

G : No, you don't. When you get older, you think, 'Oh Jesus, what did I ever say that for?

• Swear word

The extensive swear word vocabulary which some teenagers use is similarly likely to change over time, as example 5 suggests. The frequency with which they use such words tends to diminish, especially as they begin to have children and socialise with others with young families. It seems possible that adult men restrict swearing largely to all-male settings, whereas females reduce their swearing in all settings as they move into adulthood.

- Slang relating to age

Slang is another area of vocabulary which reflects 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.

Exercise

Ask five people over 70 years old and five people aged between 15 and 25 from similar social backgrounds to tell you what words they would use in the following contexts:

a) I've just got a new car. It's _____
(Ask for two or three words meaning they like it and think it is good.)

(b) The Australians were beaten by 6 wickets and I'm not surprised. Their playing was
_____ .
(Ask for two or three words meaning it was terrible.)

(c) I heard a talk about personality types on the radio today. The speaker didn't know a thing about the subject. It was _____

(Ask for two or three words meaning it was wrong or misleading.)
You could add another couple of sentences if there are particular slang words you would like to check out in this way.

Is there any pattern in the forms you have collected?
Are some words used only by the older people and others used only by young pople? Are there any words you had not heard before? Are there any words used by one group which you think members of the other group would not understand?

Age grading and language change

Increase or decrease of a linguistic form over time: ***linguistic change*!**

When a form is on the increase, we talk about ***innovation***

⬇

Higher use by younger speakers!

Exercise

There are at least two alternative explanations for the pattern shown in ***table 1***

Table 1 Vernacular pronunciation of standard [t] in medial and final position in New Zealand English

Linguistic form	*Age group*	
	20–30 years (%)	*40+ years (%)*
Glottal stop [ʔ] for final [t] (e.g. [baʔ] *bat*)	82	33
Flap for medial [t] (e.g. [leder] for *letter*)	35	6

Source: from Hui (1989, p. 6)

Milton Keynes is Britain's fastest-growing new town. It was founded in 1967 and by 2005 its population had more than quadrupled. A social dialect study of teenage speech in the town indicated that [f] was rapidly replacing standard [Ө] in words like *thought* and *mouth*, and [v] was replacing standard [ð] in words like *mother* and *brother*.

This feature has been called *(th)- fronting* since the standard sound is pronounced a little further back against the teeth, while the lips are involved in [f] and [v]. Is this a feature of adolescent speech or is it a change in progress?

The evidence suggests that this is a change which began in London as long ago as 1850, and though it took a while to get started it is now accelerating as it spreads northwards.

Lecture 7

BILINGUALISM

Introduction

Monolingual communities worldwide are rare. Instead, most communities have more than one language variety at hand. Multilingualism is then obviously a more prevalent global condition than monolingualism. "A simple indication here is that something like 5,000 languages exist in a world divided into only 200 states", i.e., about 25 languages per state (Edwards, 1994:44).

Crystal (1997) estimates that about two-thirds of the world's children grow up in a bilingual environment. Cortés (2013) also reports that more than half of the world's population is bilingual or multilingual: 56% of Europeans are bilingual, while 38% of the population in Great Britain, 35% in Canada, and 17% in the United States are bilingual.

The definition of bilingualism has always been a matter of debate. The dimension of such contention is clearly captured in the definitions of two linguists which could best be described as paradoxical:

o   Bloomfield (1933:56) sees multilingualism as "a native-like control of two languages". This is a narrow definition as it suits the person who uses two languages equally fluently. As such, it would automatically exclude, for instance, a beginning foreign/second language learner. It would also keep out the person who comprehends but does not produce utterances in a second language.

o   Macnamara (1967a) uses a broad definition and observes that having a minimal competence in one of the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) in a language other than the mother tongue qualifies the person as a bilingual.

A number of other definitions lay between these two extreme edges. Mackey's (1957) views "bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual". Grosjean (1982) reveals a more adequate definition arguing that "the most relevant factor is the regular use of two languages".

Types of Bilingualism

Theory-builders often draw a distinction between:

Individual bilingualism   societal bilingualism

⬇   ⬇

Micro level   Macro level

(Bilingualism as a personal possession   )   (Bilingualism as a group possession)

Societal Bilingualism

Bilingualism is perceived as a societal attribute: it describes a particular society or nation in which more than one language is used and that a number of individuals can use these languages. Sociolinguists, like Mackey (1967), identify two types of societal bilingualism: de jure (official) bilingualism vs. de facto (in reality) bilingualism.

1.   De jure /ˌdeɪ ˈdʒʊəri/ bilingualism

Two or more languages are officially recognized within the speech community, generally by the constitution or linguistic laws. These languages are often supported by services of the central/local government (Media, public administration, schools, parliament, etc).

Examples of de jure multilingual communities:

•   Switzerland: is a de jure multilingual speech community since 4 languages are considered   official: German, French, Italian and Romansh.
•   Morocco is a de jure bilingual speech community (Arabic and Berber are official languages)
•   South Africa: 11 official languages; all of them are formally equal.

- Kenya: Swahili and English are official languages

2. **De facto** /ˌdeɪ ˈfæktəʊ/ **bilingualism**

This type of bilingualism appears when the actual linguistic situation in a nation acknowledges the existence of more than one language; this is apart from official recognition. To say it another way, official monolingual speech communities may expose other languages (probably minor) with no official status giving rise to de facto bilingualism.

Examples of de facto multilingual communities:

- France: is officially (de jure) a monolingual community since its constitution recognizes French as the sole official language of the country. But it is a de facto (in reality) multilingual country as some other minor languages (e.g. Alsatian, Breton, etc) in addition to immigrant languages (Portuguese, Arabic, etc) are used throughout the nation.

- Canada: de jure bilingual (English and French), but de facto multilingual country because other languages are also spoken in the country, like Mandarin, Italian, German, Penjabi, to count but a few.

Individual bilingualism

Individual bilingualism is perceived as an individual attribute denoting the individual's ability to behave linguistically in more than one language. Hamers and Blanc (2000) use the term bilinguality to refer to individual bilingualism. Individual bilingualism is dependent on a number of internal and external factors, like upbringing, education, place of residence, age, attitude, motivation, etc.

There exist many distinctions and classifications of individual bilingualism, and writers generally consider four dimensions in their classification

- Cognitive organisation of the two languages
- Age of acquisition/learning
- Language proficiency
- Sequence of acquisition

Examples:

Classification according to the age of acquisition/learning:

☐ Early bilingualism: refers to a child who has simultaneously acquired the two languages (simultaneous or native bilingualism.) or who has already partially acquired a first language and then learns a second language early in childhood (Successive early bilingualism). Bilinguals of this sort are competent in both languages (additive bilingualism)

☐ Late bilingualism: concerns situations in which L2 is learned after the age of 6-7 (critical age). With the first language already acquired, late bilinguals use their first language experiences to enhance the learning of the second language.

Classification according to language proficiency:

Here, different distinctions are put forward. We mention what follows:

- balanced bilinguals: These people are equally competent in the two languages.
- unbalanced bilinguals: they do not use the two languages with equal ease.
- Active bilinguals: those individuals who can speak the two languages, i.e., their productive skills are developed in both languages.
- Passive bilinguals: those people who can understand the two languages. They will also speak one of these languages. Here only receptive skills are relatively developed in the second language.

Assignment:

1. Characterize societal bilingualism in Algeria
2. How would you qualify Algerians?
3. Provide the classification of individual bilingualism according to the cognitive organization of languages and sequence of acquisition

Lecture 8

LINGUISTIC BORROWING

Borrowing is the by-product of language contact situations. Hoffer (2005:53) states that "one of the most easily observable results of intercultural contact and communication is the set of loanwords that is imported into the vocabulary of each language involved". Haugen (1989:197) defines borrowing as "the general and traditional word used to describe the adoption into a language of a linguistic feature previously used in another". Languages worldwide are borrowers and the lexicon of any language can be divided into indigenous and foreign words. Lexical material is the most likely to borrow, and nouns come in the forefront of loanwords. This does not dismiss the verity other materials (morphemes, inflections, etc) are not borrowed.

1- Types of Borrowing

Myers-Scotton (1993b; 2006) differentiates between cultural borrowings and core borrowings.

1.   Cultural borrowings: enter the language abruptly and have the semantic role of filling lexical gaps in the host language. These are items for objects and concepts new to the culture of the recipient language.

E.g: pizza and paella entered Arabic when the food to which they refer were adopted by the Arabic-speaking community.

2. Core borrowings: enter a language even though that language already has an indigenous equivalent item to refer to the object or concept in question. They are normally redundant and unnecessary as they only duplicate meaning.

E.g: The media language, which is normally Standard Arabic, includes words like 'reportage', 'mechanism', 'mondial', etc. Such words, which are of a foreign origin (English or French),

are of a gratuitous nature as Standard Arabic has viable equivalents (/taqri:r/, /ʔa:lijja:t/, /ʕa:lami:/, respectively).

Linguists also identify other types of borrowing, such as:

Calque (also called loan translation): in such a case, the linguistic unit has no foreign features. It is rather a word-for-word native version of the original.

e.g 1.   English   French   Arabic

           Skyscraper   gratte-ciel   /na:tiħat saħa:b/

e.g 2. English 'computer' is calqued in Arabic as /ħa:su:b/

2- Borrowing vs. Codeswitching

In analyses concerning the dichotomy code-switching vs. borrowing, the true challenge lies in deciding on the status of single words: whether they are instances of borrowing or code-switch utterances. To help bring an adequate differentiation, two major, yet contradictory, approaches have been postulated with recourse to two chief criteria:

•   Degree of EL items integration in the host language;

•   Degree of use by monolingual speakers.

For Poplack and her associates (1981, 1987), loanwords show a degree of morphological and syntactic (+/- phonological) integration into the host language. An example of borrowing of such a kind is:

French word		**Arabic loanword**	
• table	[ṭabla(h)]	تاء التأنيث	('h' feminine marker)
• la table	[aṭṭabla]	'al' (assimilated as 'at', def. article)	
• deux tables	[zu:ʒ ṭwa:bl] or [zu:ʒ ṭa:bla:t])	(dual form)	
• tables	[ṭa:bla:t]	(femine plural)	

Myers-Scotton (1993 b) and her associates discard the idea of morphosyntactic integration. Instead, they observe that frequency of use is the single reliable criterion to distinguish between code switching and borrowing, arguing that items that appear very frequently are regarded as loanwords, whereas those that appear only occasionally constitute instances of code switching. In this view, code switching is typically associated with bilingual speakers; borrowed words are used even by monolinguals.

Lecture 9

CODE SWITCHING

Code Switching

(i) One of the many forms of language contact phenomena.

(ii) It can be understood by placing it in the double context of

a. verbal repertoires of a bilingual or multilingual community

b. verbal repertoires of individual members of the community

(iii) A boundary-leveling (solidarity) or a boundary-maintaining (power) strategy.

(iv) It contributes to the understanding of the relationship between social processes and linguistic forms.

Code switching is a direct, automatic outcome of language contact. Speakers who have control over more than one language are known for their ability to switch between, or even mix, codes during a communication episode. This linguistic behaviour, which characterizes bilingual speakers, is termed code switching (also written codeswitching or code-switching, henceforth CS).

Gumperz defines CS as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz, 1982, p.59). Auer (1984, p.1) refers to CS as "the alternating use of more than one language".

Code Switching Classification

External (cross-linguistic)   Internal

⇩   ⇩

Occurs between two different   occurs between varieties of

languages   the same language

between H and L (diglossic switching) Or two or more dialects

It was only by the early 1970s that code switching turned to be an interesting phenomenon that attracts much of scholarly attention. It had been traditionally seen as an aberration of the 'correct' language even by highly acclaimed linguists, not least the structuralists led by Bloomfield and later Weinreich. It was after Blom and Gumperz' work of 1972, a groundbreaking research, that many significant works overflowed CS literature.

Types of Code Switching

Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduced two types of code switching:

i) *Situational code switching:* the use of different language varieties in different social situations.

Linguistic varieties symbolize the social situations (participants, status, formality, etc.).

This type of code-switching is *unmarked* (=expected!)

The topic relates to the function of the speech event; for example, Chinese students speak Mandarin between each other, except when discussing their studies – they switch to English

ii) *Metaphorical code switching:* alternating the code in order to discuss a topic that would normally fall into another conversational domain.

Misuse of codes (= in unconventional context) has the effect of inappropriateness (= normally the other code is operative).

This type of switching is *marked* (=unexpected!)

The "marked choice" can be

o positive: when it narrows social distance

o negative: when it increases social distance

(Scotton: "Code-switching as indexical of social negotiations," 1989.)

There are no obvious reasons for the switch -- the switch "symbolizes a set of social meanings, and the speaker draws on the association of each, just as people use metaphors to represent complex meanings". (p. 42)

Gumperz and Hymes (1986) summarize the difference this way:

An important distinction is made from situational switching, where alternation between varieties redefines a situation, being a change in governing norms, and metaphorical switching, where alternation enriches a situation, allowing for allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation

It is clear that code switching was considered as a complete alternation from one language (variety) to another. This can be captured in, for example, Weinreich's (1953, p.73) statement arguing that the "ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation […] but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence". Weinreich, like other linguists of the time, do not consider sentential switching which was considered a corrupt form of language. This is not the case with later writers. Myers-Scotton (1993a, p.vii), an outstanding figure in CS scholarship, defines CS as "the use of two or more languages in the same conversation". Likewise, Milroy and Muysken (1995, p.7) perceive code switching as "the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation".

CS scholarship revolves around two basic questions:

1.   Why do bilinguals code switch?

2.   When do bilinguals switch code?

The first question deals primarily with the motivations for code switching, or simply the function of code switching. The second question considers CS from a syntactic standpoint, i.e., where switches are permitted and where they are not.

 Functions/Motivations of Code Switching

Below we list some of the motivations that make people alternate between the codes at their disposal.

- Lexical need: bilinguals code switch in cases where there is lexical need, i.e., switching is used to compensate for linguistic gaps (gaps can be momentary or complete).

- Language Skill Showing: sometimes people deliberately switch back and forth between the languages that they control to display their linguistic abilities.

- Quoting: quoting can cause the language user to shift from one language to another in order to cite the exact speech of another person.

- Accommodation: accommodation is used to refer to the state where an addressee adopts the same linguistic choice of the addresser. This is an act of convergence. If the addressee refuses to use the language of his interlocutor, he then reinforces divergence.

- Euphemism: there are some words which are culturally unacceptable in certain situations in every society. Bilinguals have the advantage of avoiding these words by switching to another language in which these items bear no, or at least less, vulgarity.

Lecture 10

DIGLOSSIA

The term **diglossia** refers to situations when two distinct codes exist in the speech community, and these two codes are kept apart in their *functions*.

The classic definition of diglossia by Ferguson (1959) has been in usage ever since for identifying diglossic situations:

> "DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language … there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respective body of written literature …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". Ferguson, Diglossia (1959)

There are three crucial features of diglossia:

(i) Two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the community, with one regarded as high (or H) variety and the other a low (or L) variety.

(ii) Each variety is used for quite distinct functions; H and L complement each other.

(iii) No one uses the H variety in everyday conversation.

Ferguson (1959) approached diglossia on the basis of four speech communities. In all such cases, Fergsuon identifies a high (H) variety and a low one:

	H		**L**
Arab World	Standard Arabic	vs.	Colloquial Arabic
Greece	Katharevousa	vs.	Dimotiki
Haiti	French	vs.	Haitian Creole
German-speaking Switzerland	German	vs.	Swiss German

Ferguson set out to expound this sociolinguistic condition under nine rubrics which are prioritized according to **function**, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. The **functional distribution**, or the specialization of function, is the chief feature of diglossia. This implies that H and L are used in different settings and for different purposes. About this, Wardhaugh (2006, p.89) argues that "a diglossic situation exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show clear functional separation; that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances, and the other in an entirely different set". The identification of the H and L varieties does not pose a problem, suffice it to say that "H and L have disjoint functions: where H is appropriate, L is inappropriate and vice versa" (Sebba, 2011, p. 450)

The following table is summery about Ferguson's nine features that were cited by Britto (1986, p.58).

Rubrics	Characteristics of H:	Characteristics of L:
Function	Used for formal speeches, writing, and high functions.	Used for informal conversations and low functions.
Prestige	More prestigious.	Less prestigious.
Acquisition	Learned formally at school, in addition to L.	Acquired naturally and informally at home or playground.

Standardization	Highly standardized by descriptive and normative studies.	Poorly standardized, though informal standards may exist.

Literary heritage	Vast amount. Highly esteemed literature	Small amount. Less highly esteemed literature.

Stability	Autonomous and stable, with some interference from L	Autonomous and stable, with some interference from H.

Lexicon	The bulk of the vocabulary is shared with L. But there are also words used exclusively or paired with L	The bulk of the vocabulary is shared with H. But there are also words used exclusively or paired with H
Phonology	With L constitutes a single phonological structure. Features divergent from L are a subsystem	With H constitutes a single phonological structure. L, however, is the basic system

Grammar	More complex.	Simpler

In fact, it is the function dimension which puts diglossia in its proper context. The following table is an illustration of some functions of the H and L varieties or listing situation where H and L are used attributed by Ferguson:

Exercise 5

Fill in the following table on the basis of your predictions about when H will be used and when L will be used in diglossic communities.

	H(igh) Variety	L(ow) Variety
Religion (sermon, prayers)		
Literature (novels, non-fiction)		
Newspaper (editorial)		
Broadcasting: TV news		
Education (written material, lectures)		
Education (lesson discussion)		
Broadcasting: radio		
Shopping		
Gossiping		

Table1.2. Specialization of function for H and L varieties in the Diglossic situation.

Extended diglossia

Ferguson's definition of classical diglossia was extended by Joshua Fishman (1967). He hypothesized that diglossia could occur in any situation where two language varieties, even unrelated ones, are used in functionally distinct ways.

Diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which recognize several languages and only in societies that utilize vernacular and classical varieties but also in societies which employ several dialects, registers or functionally differentiated varieties of whatever kind (Fishman, 1972, p.92). The widespread nature of Paraguayan bilingualism caused Fishman to hypothesize that diglossia could occur in any situation where two language varieties, even unrelated ones, are used in functionally distinct ways. The important point in Fishman's definition of Diglossia is that all societies, being monolingual or bilingual ones, where "two or more varieties are used in given circumstances are characterized by the diglossic situation." There are two types of diglossia:

- Intra-lingual diglossia when the varieties are genetically related as it is the case in Algeria where Standard Arabic is H variety and Algerian is the L variety.

- Inter-lingual diglossia when the varieties are not genetically related as it is the case in Algeria where French is H variety and Berber is the L variety.

Fishman (1967) distinguished between bilingualism, as the individual ability to use more than one language, and diglossia as the social reality of the languages is used within the same speech community: "bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic behaviour whereas diglossia is a characterization of linguistic organization at the sociocultural level (Fishmen1967, p.34). He proposed that bilingualism can exist with or without diglossia and diglossia can exist with or without bilingualism (Fishmen 1967, p.30)

Type1: both Diglossia and Bilingualism	Type 2: Diglossia without Bilingualism
Description: every member of the speech community is fluent in both H and L Examples: German and Swiss German in Switzerland, Spanish, and Guarani in Paraguay	Description: H and L speakers are two disjunctive groups living in the same area. Examples: Czarist Russia before W.W.I (Nobility speaks French, masses speak Russian).

Type 3: Bilingualism without Diglossia	Type 4: Neither Diglossia nor Bilingualism
Description: H and L have merged; either language may be used for any purpose. Examples: Industrialized countries in the Western world,	Description: Completely monolinguistic societies with no varieties. Examples: Isolated tribes, bands, or clans (hypothetical).

"westernized" African and Asian countries	

Table1.3. Fishman's Extension of Diglossia. (Fishman,2000)

Assignment: Characterize diglossia in Algeria

Lecture 11

NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

1.   A Unique Diglossic Case in Paraguay

90 per cent of the population speaks Guaraní;

60 per cent speaks Spanish;

Spanish: official language

Guaraní: symbolizes tradition and culture; it is considered as the national language;

Positive attitude to Guaraní – in other South American nations the colonizers' language is dominant – the indigenous languages have little status there.

> Study Example 1 and Work on the Exercise (Holmes, 2013 p100)

Example 1

Reinaldo Decoud Larrosa is a highly educated Paraguayan who lives in Asunción, the capital city. He has spent many years fighting to develop and encourage pride in Guaraní, the indigenous language, among Paraguayans from all social backgrounds. Upper-class Paraguayans have always regarded Spanish as the language of culture, education and civilisation, and in the past they tended to belittle Guaraní as the language of the ill-bred and uneducated. Larrosa has pointed to the linguistic richness of Guaraní, with its fourteen indicative tenses, and extensive vocabulary in areas such as botany, medicine and agriculture. He has also emphasised its importance as the only language which can adequately express Paraguayan national identity. As a result of his efforts and those of others, Guaraní is now a language most Paraguayans are proud of.

Paraguay is he only Latin American nation with a distinctive national language – Guaraní. Guaraní is an indigenous American Indian language spoken by over 90 per cent of the

population, and it has co-existed for the past 300 years with Spanish (which is spoken by no more than 60 per cent of the people). Paraguay provides a clear case of stable broad diglossia, with Spanish, the H language, used in formal contexts, for administration, a great deal of education and legal business, and Guaraní, the L language of solidarity, the language of love, humour and poetry.

In Paraguay, we find an interesting example of the competing claims of an indigenous language and a world language for the status of national language. Paraguayans are generally happy to recognise Spanish as a useful language for official business. But though Spanish and Guaraní both have official status, it is Guaraní which most people regard as their real national language. Guaraní is felt to be the language which best expresses their distinctive culture and traditions. These positive feelings towards Guaraní make Paraguay unique among Latin American countries.

In other countries, the indigenous languages have little status compared to Spanish or Portuguese, the colonial languages. Many Paraguayans consider that Guaraní is an important symbol of Paraguayan identity. People feel that you cannot be a true Paraguayan unless you can speak the language. Some claim that there are things they can say in Guaraní which are more difficult to express in Spanish. So, while people find Spanish a useful language for formal and business interactions, and it is increasingly heard in urban Paraguayan homes, most are proud of Guaraní and express strong loyalty towards it. Paraguayans who meet overseas, for instance, often use Guaraní to each other.

Exercise 1
Which of the following factors do you consider most relevant in assessing the suitability of Guaraní as the national language of Paraguay? Order the factors according to their importance in relation to this issue.
(a) Guaraní is a linguistically interesting language with a complex tense system.
(b) Guaraní is spoken by over 90 per cent of Paraguayans and is the only language of many rural people. (c) Guaraní has an extensive vocabulary, especially in areas such as botany, medicine and agriculture. (d) Guaraní expresses solidarity between Paraguayans both at home and abroad.
(e) Guaraní is considered a melodious language, especially appropriate for expressions of love.

(f) Guaraní is an indigenous language which attracts a great deal of language loyalty from Paraguayans. (g) Guaraní is a morphologically interesting language which forms words using additive and synthetic processes.

(h) Every president of Paraguay has been able to speak Guaraní.

(Holmes, 2013 p.102)

2.   National and official languages

A *national language* is the language of a political, cultural and social unit; it symbolizes national unity.

An *official language* is used government business; its function is practical, and it is not symbolic. (Holmes, 2013 p. 102-103)

Several scenarios may exist:

• Two official languages and one national language Paraguay: Guaraní and Spanish (official languages)

Guarani (national language);

Tanzania: Swahili and English (official languages)Swahili (national language).

• Three official languages and one national languages (Bislama) Vanuatu:
  Bislama, English and French (official languages)

Bislama (national language).

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Study Example 2 (Holmes 2013, p202)

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Example 2

Vanuatu is a multilingual Pacific republic consisting of about 80 islands with a population of around 200,000. It declared independence from a joint British and French colonial administration in 1980. Vanuatu is unique in the Pacific because it has adopted a non-European language, a former pidgin, Bislama, as its sole national language. Bislama is an English-

lexified creole with origins in a Melanesian plantation pidgin. It is an invaluable lingua franca in Vanuatu, and a very politically acceptable national language.

In the 1960s, the Paraguayan government used two different terms to distinguish between the status of Spanish and Guaraní: Guaraní was declared the 'national' language while Spanish was an 'official' language of Paraguay. In sociolinguistics the distinction between a national language and an official language is generally made along the affective–referential dimension, or more precisely in this context, the ideological–instrumental dimension. A national language is the language of a political, cultural and social unit. It is generally developed and used as a symbol of national unity. Its functions are to identify the nation and unite its people. An official language, by contrast, is simply a language which may be used for government business. Its function is primarily utilitarian rather than symbolic. It is possible, of course, for one language to serve both functions.

Not surprisingly, governments do not always recognise the distinctions made by sociolinguists. They use the terms 'official' and 'national' to suit their political ends, as the Paraguayan case described above illustrates. However, the Paraguayan situation changed again in 1992, when Guaraní was granted official status alongside Spanish. So, Paraguay now has two official languages and one national language, Guaraní. The same pattern is found in multilingual Tanzania with one national language, Swahili, but two official languages, Swahili and English. Similarly, in Vanuatu, the national language is Bislama, a Pacific creole, and it is also an official language alongside French and English, the languages of the previous colonial administrators. Many countries make no distinction between a national language and an official language. In countries which regard themselves as monolingual nations, the same language serves both purposes. In multilingual communities, however, all kinds of permutations have been used in order to satisfy both political and social goals on the one hand, and more practical and utilitarian needs on the other.

Exercise 2

Can you fill in the following table? Why do you think some countries have more than one language with official status?

Country	Official language(s)
Australia	
Belgium	
Brazil	
Canada	
Finland	
France	
Haiti	
India	
Indonesia	
Kenya	
New Zealand	
Norway	
Papua New Guinea	
Paraguay	
Philippines	
Singapore	
Tanzania	
Uruguay	
Vanuatu	

In multilingual countries the selection of the *national language* may be motivated by political reasons: e.g., establishing an identity of newly formed nations: for example, Hebrew in Israel, Malay in Malaysia, etc.

To declare an *official language* can be problematic in multilingual countries, for example, in India fourteen regional languages serve as official languages in addition to

English and Hindi – this is for the wholeof the country, but different states have their own official languages as well.

3. Official Status and Minority Languages

Minorities in many countries have achieved their language to be an official language. For example, in New Zealand, Maori is now an official language – although English is the language of the majority, English is notdeclared an official language – similarly, in England and in the United States English is not legally an official language.

> Study the Examples 3 and 4 (Holmes, 2013 p.104-105)
>
> Comment!

Example 3

Dun Mihaka is one of a number of Maori activists who have campaigned for many years for Maori rights. An articulate, stimulating and abrasive public speaker, he has often ended up in court on charges of breaching the peace as a result of his protests. There he has insisted on addressing the court in Maori – a language which until 1987 was not recognised by the New Zealand courts. Now he has the right to address the court in Maori – and the court will provide a person to translate his words into English.

Maori was declared an official language of New Zealand in 1987. What that means, however, is far from clear. Cynics have described it as merely a cosmetic procedure aimed at quietening the demands of Maori activists. But the declaration clearly gave the language a status it did not have previously, and acknowledges its symbolic importance to the country as a whole, as well as to the indigenous Maori people in particular. It could also be regarded as a positive statement of intent – a first step in a process which could encourage the use of Maori in an increasing number of official institutional domains such as the law courts, official government ceremonies and transactions, and in education.

Example 4

> Thousands of Moldavians demonstrated in the republic's capital Kishinev yesterday and threatened general strike if Soviet leaders failed to meet their demands for language concessions . . . Demonstrators, many waving Romanian flags, repeated demands for a return to the Latin alphabet from the Cyrillic imposed by Soviet dictator Josef Stalin. (b) Russian-speaking workers in Estonia on the Gulf of Finland struck for four days last week against language and election laws saying they discriminate against them. (c) International Mother Language Day was established by UNESCO in 1999. The date (February 21st) was chosen in memory of students shot and killed in 1952 by police in Dhaka, now the capital of Bangladesh but then part of Pakistan, as they demonstrated for official recognition of their language, Bengali.

Many minorities would like to gain official status for their languages, but the costs in terms |of providing services and information in all official languages are considerable, and most governments count them carefully. In Canada, for instance, as well as French speakers and the indigenous Canadian peoples, such as the Cree and Mohawk, there are many other Canadian minorities – Italians, Portuguese, Chinese and Ukrainians, for instance. Together they make up about 27 per cent of the total Canadian population. Many resent the special status of the French, who make up only 23 per cent of the population. Providing services, information, legal representation and, in some places, education in just two official languages is an expensive business. It seems unlikely other minorities will earn such rights easily.

What about the Official Languages Act (1968-69) in Canada? Comment!

4.   Language Planning

Planned   language change   and   planned   social   change   are   highly interrelated activities (Fishman, 1970)
The logic of language planning is dictated by recognizing that language is a *societal resource*.
The importance of this resource is due to the communicational andidentity values attached by the community to one or more languages.

Language planning is defined most simply as deliberate language change. It covers a variety of activities, such as developing standard varieties, spelling reforms, developing orthography, advice on non- sexist terminology, regulating new sources of vocabulary, etc.

"Language planning is a government authorized, long-term, sustained and conscious effort to alter a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems". (Weinstein, 1980)

Language planning can proceed by identifying the concrete areas of societythat demand planned action regarding language resources.

5.   Planning for a national official language -- developing a standard variety

There are four aspects of standardization (see Lecture #4):

a.   selection of norm -- the variety to be developed;

b.   codification of form -- standardizing the linguistic features of the code.
Corpus planning: developing grammars, dictionaries, etc.

c.   elaboration of function -- use of the codified language (in administration,education, literature, etc.): extending the codified forms for additional functions;

d.   acceptance by the speech community – enhancing prestige: *Status planning*.

Corpus planning   (based on the *allocation of its use)*; it is aimed at developingthat language (or variety) for the functioning in all areas in society.

Status planning: (based on the *importance of the language*); it changes the*function* of a language (or variety) and the *rights* of those using it;

	Form	**Function and Attitudes**
Social	Selection	Acceptance
Linguistic	Codification	Elaboration

Haugen 1966a: 934 in (Holmes, 2013 p.108)

STANDARD VARIETY: *A characteristic societal treatment of language, givensufficient social diversity and need for elaboration.*

What about the objectives of language planning for minority languages?

Review the Skolt Saami case -- relate government efforts there to the concepts of"corpus planning" and "status planning". (See .ppt presentation in Lecture #4; for more details see McRobbie 1995 on the instructor's web page).

Corrubias (1983) has proposed four typical ideologies that may aid actual decision making in the process of language planning:

(i)   Linguistic assimilation:

United States (English);

Guam (English, until 1973 Chamorro did not have official status);

The former Soviet Union (russification of minorities);France (French), etc.

(ii) Linguistic pluralism:

Canada (English, French);

Belgium (Dutch, French, German);

Switzerland (French, Italian, German, Romansh);etc.

(iii) Vernacularization: developing an indigenous language for functioning as an official language.

Papua New Guinea (Tok Pisin);Philippines (Tagalog); etc.

(iv) Internationalism: a non-indigenous language functions as the official language. Singapore, India (English);etc.

11. SPEECH FUNCTIONS, POLITENESS AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

1. Summons and greetings

Brown & Gilman (1960) defined social relationships in terms of POWER and SOLIDARITY. Forms which indicate POWER establish who has authority and how great that authority is. Forms which indicate SOLIDARITY establish the degree of intimacy in the relationship.

SUMMONS: the opening of interactions; it is the verbal equivalent of catching someone's eyes (no conversation is likely to proceed without one or the other).

- It may take many forms and may or may not be combined with a address form.

  > eg.: *uh*, *excuse me*, *waiter*, *Joe*, *Dr. Taylor* etc.

- It has a purpose from the point of view of conversation; it implies that more is to come.

2. The Functions of Speech

GREETINGS:

- may or may not be followed by conversation;
- may also function as a summons;
- mainly social function: establishes the proper level of interaction.

Affective and referential functions of speech: there are several categories relating to these functions – study the list and the definitions with examples.

There are a number of ways of categorising the functions of speech. The following list has proved a useful one in sociolinguistic research.

1. Expressive utterances express the speaker's feelings, e.g. I'm feeling great today.

2. Directive utterances attempt to get someone to do something, e.g., Clear the table.

3. Referential utterances provide information, e.g. At the third stroke it will be three o'clock precisely.

4. Metalinguistic utterances comment on language itself, e.g., 'Hegemony' is not a common

word.

5. Poetic utterances focus on aesthetic features of language, e.g., a poem, an ear-catching motto, a rhyme, Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers.

6. Phatic utterances express solidarity and empathy with others, e.g. Hi, how are you, lovely day isn't it!

The first three functions are recognised by many linguists, though the precise labels they are given may differ. They seem to be very fundamental functions of language, perhaps because they derive from the basic components of any interaction – the speaker (expressive), the addressee (directive) and the message (referential). The phatic function is, however, equally important from a sociolinguistic perspective. Phatic communication conveys an affective or social message rather than a referential one. One of the insights provided by sociolinguists has been precisely that language is not used to convey only referential information, but also expresses information about social relationships.

Provide a solution to Exercise 1

Exercise 1

Identify in example 1

(a) An utterance that serves a primarily expressive function.

(b) An utterance which serves a primarily directive function.

(c) An utterance which serves a primarily referential function.

2.1 Directives

There are many ways speakers may make the addresseeto do something. Factors to consider include:

- power vs. solidarity relationships;
- status and degrees of formality;
- gender and age;
- context.

People who are close friends or intimates use more imperatives, for instance. The utterances in example 1 were all produced within a family, were (almost!) all said without rancour, and caused no offence.

Example 1

a) Roll over.

 (b) Shut up you fool.

(c) Set the table, Finn.

(d) Clap hands Nico.

(e) Wash your hands for dinner, children.

(f) Turn that blessed radio down.

(g) Bugger off idiot.

(Bugger off is not usually regarded as an offensive expression in New Zealand. It can be used in a friendly way between family members.)

Where status differences are clearly marked and accepted, superiors tend to use imperatives to subordinates. Teachers often use imperatives to pupils, for instance.

Example 2

(a) Open your books at page 32.

(b) Shut the door.

(c) Stop talking please.

Teachers can use very direct expressions of their meaning because of their high status relative to their pupils. On the other hand, the rights and obligations in a role relationship such as teacher–pupil are so clear-cut that teachers can also use minimally explicit forms and be confident they will be interpreted accurately as directives.

Example 3

(a) Blackboard! ('Clean the blackboard')

(b) Bus people! ('Those who get the school bus should now leave')

(c) I hear talking. ('Stop talking')

So clear-cut are the rules for classroom behaviour that it has been suggested that pupils operate with a very general rule of the form 'Scan every utterance of the teacher for directive intent.' In other words, pupils consider everything the teacher says as a possible directive. New entrant Jason in example 4, however, has obviously not learned this rule yet, so his teacher's attempts to gently direct him to the appropriate behaviour are initially far too indirect.

Example 4

Teacher : Jason, why have you got your raincoat on inside?

Jason : (Smiles)

Teacher : It's not raining inside.

Jason : (No response)

Teacher : What are you going to do about it?

Jason : (No response)

Teacher : Go and hang it up.

Formality and status may be very relevant in choosing an appropriate directive form. At a graduation ceremony the University Chancellor gave the Vice-Chancellor the directive in example 5.

Example 5

I now call on the Vice-Chancellor to read the citation for our distinguished guest.

The required action ('read the citation') is embedded as a subordinate clause in the second part of the declarative sentence, and this is a common grammatical means of expressing directives less directly and more politely. A study which looked at the directives used between medical professionals in a meeting also demonstrated the influence of relative status on the form of

directives in a formal setting. Imperatives were overwhelmingly used by superiors to those of subordinate status. The only imperatives used 'upwards' were greeted with laughter, and regarded as humorous because they so clearly flouted this sociolinguistic rule. The general rule was that directives upwards were couched as indirect forms, such as modal interrogatives, as in example 6 (a). Others took the form of hints as illustrated by the exchange in example 6 (b).

Example 6

Medical professional of lower status to person of higher status.

(a) Could you ring his mother and find out?

(b) A : We've got a referral from Dr T. He's your neighbour Jody.

    B : OK I'll take him.

The relevance of status in a less formal context was nicely demonstrated in a study of children's directives in a New Zealand child-care centre. Relative status in this centre was determined by age and size. The oldest, biggest and strongest child used by far the most imperatives, while attempts by the other children to get him to cooperate involved less direct forms such I think I need that now and Could I borrow that?

Another factor which is relevant to the form of a directive is the routineness or reasonableness of the task. A boss might produce utterance (a) in example 7 to his mechanic when giving her a routine task. If, however, he is expecting her to do something out of the ordinary or especially difficult, he is far more likely to use a less direct form such as (b) or even a hint such as (c).

Example 7

(a) Get those brake pads in by 5 o'clock Sue. That car's needed first thing in the morning.

(b) Could you stay a bit later tonight, do you think, and finish this job?

(c) That job's taking longer than we predicted. I don't know what we'll do if it isn't ready for tomorrow.

In general, imperatives are used between people who know each other well or to subordinates. Interrogatives and declaratives, including hints, tend to be used between those who are less familiar with each other, or where there is some reason to feel the task being requested is not routine. But there are many qualifications to these generalisations. Hints may also be used for

humorous effect between people who are close friends, as example 8 illustrates.

Example 8

(a) To someone blocking the light out. You make a better door than a window.

(b) Mother to teenage son. I'm not sure that a couple of smelly socks in the middle of the lounge floor can be beaten as a centre piece for our dinner party.

What do you think, Tim? It has also been noted that girls and women tend to favour more polite and less direct forms of directives than males – at least in many of the (mainly middle class) social contexts investigated. These are examples of children's utterances to each other in a play centre.

Example 9

(a) Tom : Give me that. I need it now.

(b) Seymour : Get off that car.

(c) Grant : Get out of my house.

(d) Maria : You fi nished with that rolling pin now?

(e) Lisa : My turn now eh?

(f) Meg : It's time for tea so you'll have to go home now.

The forms used by the girls are clearly less direct and more polite than those used by the boys. In a study of doctors' directives to patients, male doctors typically used imperatives (e.g., eat more fruit), while female doctors used less direct forms (e.g., maybe you could try fresh fruit for dessert). There are many other influences on the form of directives: the addressee's gender is significant, for instance. Women not only use less direct forms of directive, they typically also receive less direct forms in many contexts. Relative power or status and social distance clearly influence the form of directives, as some of the examples above have demonstrated. And in many societies, women as a group have less power and occupy less statusful positions than men.

Exercise 2

Consider the form of directives, i.e. how people get others to do things in your community.

(a) First make some observations in a range of different contexts, writing down the form of the

directives and the situations in which they occur. Then try to make some generalisations about the reasons for any patterns you observe.

(b) Note the form of the directives used in your family by both adults and children during a different two-hour period on three different days. List the different social factors (e.g. relative status/power, degree of solidarity, degree of formality, urgency) which you consider influence the forms of the directives.

Exercise 3

When we interact, we generally use language in complex ways, and this often involves expressing several functions of language simultaneously. Identify at least two functions which could be expressed simultaneously by each of the following utterances.

(a) Fire!

(b) Keep up that excellent work.

(c) I'd like to see Sam in my office at four.

(d) I'm very tired.

Exercise 4

Swear words serve many different functions in different social contexts. They may express annoyance, aggression and insult, for instance, or they may express solidarity and friendliness (see example 5 (g) above). Identify the main functions of the word fucking in the following excerpt from the pre-match rev-up talk by the captain of a regional New Zealand rugby team. (Remember as a sociolinguist, you need to be able to analyse the use of such words without being offended by them.)

Jon :   we're in teams boys right?

we got fucking nothing to lose here

it's a fucking game today alright?

let's fucking go out there and we'll show them

how fucking mean and how fucking good we are boys eh

we put forty minutes together last week l

et's put fucking eighty together this week eh

3. Politeness and Address Forms

3.1 What is Politeness?

"…politeness involves contributing to social harmony and avoiding social conflict".
(Holmes, 2013 p. 285)

A summons is used to get someone to attend to the summoner; greetings may be used phatically;

Address is used almost solely for indicating *power* and *solidarity*. Types of politeness:

(i)   *positive politeness*: based on solidarity

(ii)   *negative politeness*: based on power relations

Study the Example 10 (Holmes, 2013 p. 285)

In many cases, being polite involves adapting sensitively to evolving social relationships, as illustrated in example 10.

Example 10

Nurse : Good morning Mr Grant.

Mr G : Morning dear.

Nurse : I'm going to change that dressing. Is that OK?

Mr G : Gonna torture me again are you sweetie?

Nurse : Third degree, no mercy mate.

The nurse begins the interaction with a polite greeting using the patient's title plus full name. He responds using the friendly form dear as an address form. The nurse continues politely, signalling her intentions and checking that he is agreeable. Mr Grant then uses humour and an even more informal address form sweetie. In response, the nurse shifts to a more casual style, also using humour and a casual address form mate.

In this interchange, then, we see the two participants actively negotiating a comfortable way of relating to each other. Being linguistically polite involves speaking to people appropriately in the

light of their relationship to you. Inappropriate linguistic choices may be considered rude. Using an imperative such as stop talking or shut that door to a superior at work is likely to earn the office junior a reprimand. Calling the managing director Sally when you do not know her well and have only just started work as a stores assistant in the department is likely to be considered impolite.

Making decisions about what is or is not considered polite in any community of practice therefore involves assessing social relationships along the dimensions of social distance or solidarity, and relative power or status. We need to understand the social values of a community in order to speak politely. These two dimensions also provide the basis for a distinction between two different types of politeness.

Positive politeness is solidarity oriented. It emphasises shared attitudes and values. When the boss suggests that a subordinate should use first name (FN) to her, this is a positive politeness move, expressing solidarity and minimising status differences. A shift to a more informal style using slang, endearments (as in example 18) or swear words (as in exercise 5) may function similarly to express positive politeness.

By contrast, **negative politeness** pays people respect and avoids intruding on them. Indirect directives such as those in example 11 (b) and (c) express negative politeness. Negative politeness involves expressing oneself appropriately in terms of social distance and respecting status differences. Using title + last name (TLN) to your superiors, and to older people that you don't know well, are further examples of the expression of negative politeness. Being polite may also involve the dimension of formality. In a formal situation, the appropriate way of talking to your brother will depend on your roles in the context. If he is acting as the judge in a law court then calling him Tom will be considered disrespectful, while at the dinner table calling him Your honour will be perceived as inappropriate or humorous.

Interactions are dynamic: the degree of politeness may change!

Study Example 11 on (Holmes, 2013 p. 290)

It is important to remember that interaction is not static. What is considered polite at the beginning of an interaction may be considered rather stuffy and formal as the interaction proceeds and people engage in lively conversation. On the other hand, an interaction that starts politely

may deteriorate as it progresses if the participants find they disagree. In other words, what is considered polite or impolite may emerge, change and develop throughout an interaction, as illustrated in example 11, a telephone conversation between two women whose husbands work together and who do not particularly like each other.

Example 11

June : Hi. June speaking.

Frances : Hi June. Happy New Year. Just ringing to check if you and Ricky are coming to our barbecue tomorrow.

June : Oh, sorry erm didn't Ricky tell you, we're busy tomorrow.

Frances : No he didn't. Would have been useful to know a little earlier. We were expecting to be able to use your barbecue as well as ours.

June : Well too bad I guess since we won't be there.

Frances : Ok. Thanks for letting us know (sarcastically).

June : Bye (puts phone down).

This conversation starts in a sociable manner with a friendly greeting from Frances, but deteriorates as June indicates they are not coming to the barbecue without providing a convincing or detailed excuse. Frances's complaint that this will upset their planning elicits a rather unsympathetic response from June too bad. Frances then indicates that she is offended with her sarcastic comment Thanks for letting us know, and June abruptly ends the conversation without the standard closing telephone sequence of OK from each participant.

So, while this conversation begins politely, it does not end so. Interpreting politeness as well as impoliteness involve sensitivity to continually changing social relationships. In example 21, the participants used language in ways intended to convey dissatisfaction. Sometimes, however, people unintentionally offend others as a result of different norms and expectations about how to express friendliness or respect.

Though the relevant dimensions (solidarity and status) may be universal, the ways in which they are realised tend to differ in different communities. People from culturally different speech communities often express particular speech acts differently, and use different rules of interaction. As a result, misunderstandings may arise and they may unwittingly offend one

another, as we shall see in the next section.

3.2 The Pronouns of POWER and SOLIDARITY

TU   (T): familiar form

VOUS (V): polite form

T and V are used to control social interactions by indicating the *degree* ofpower and solidarity.

non-reciprocal T/V usage: *power relationship*

reciprocal V usage: *polite*

reciprocal T usage: *intimacy*

4. Linguistic Politeness in Different Cultures

Cross-cultural communication problems:invitations
polite acceptance and refusal address forms   different expectations/norms!etc.

Study the Examples 12 and 13 on pp. 292-293.

Example 12

Christina Paulston, a Swede, returned home after living in America for some time. One evening soon after arriving back she invited some people to dinner, including her brother and his wife. She was in the kitchen when they arrived, and when she came through into the lounge she said to her sister-in-law, in impeccable Swedish, 'do you know everyone?' An American or an English person would assume that Christina, as hostess, was checking that her sister-in-law had been introduced to anyone she had not previously met. In Sweden, however, etiquette requires a new arrival to introduce themselves to anyone they do not know. Her sister-in-law was very offended by Christina's question, assuming Christina was implying she did not know the rules for greeting people politely.

Christina encountered a cross-cultural communication problem on returning to her own native culture. The potential areas of misunderstanding are even greater when we venture into new

cultures. Anyone who has travelled outside their own speech community is likely to have had some experience of miscommunication based on cultural differences. Often these relate to different assumptions deriving from different 'normal' environments.

A Thai student in Britain, for example, reported not being able to understand what her hostess meant when she asked on which day of the week would you like to have your bath? Coming from a very hot country with a 'water-oriented culture', the notion that she might have a bath only once a week was very difficult to grasp. Learning another language usually involves a great deal more than learning the literal meaning of the words, how to put them together and how to pronounce them. We need to know what they mean in the cultural context in which they are normally used. And that involves some understanding of the cultural and social norms of their users.

Example 13

Hostess : Have another helping.

Guest : No thanks I am thoroughly fed up.

There are sociolinguistic norms for polite acceptance and refusal which differ cross-culturally. Refusing an invitation appropriately in Western culture can be a challenging task. How do you refuse a lift home from someone you don't like? How do you refuse an invitation to a meal from someone who is your social superior? An excuse is mandatory, and it needs to be plausible and reasonably specific. In some cultures, there are very general vague formulas such as I'm busy that night I'm afraid, which are perfectly acceptable. But in many Western communities people expect to be provided with a more specific reason for a refusal.

Javanese has a complex system of address forms:

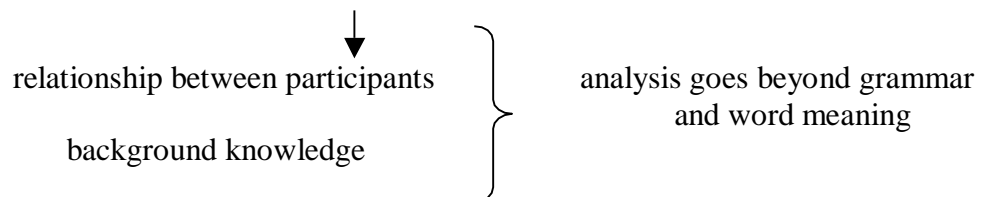http://truevis.com/indon/javaaddress.html

12. ANALYZING DISCOURSE

"Discourse analysis provides a tool for sociolinguists to identify the norms of talk among different social and cultural groups in different conversational and institutionalcontexts, and to describe the discursive resources people use in constructing different social identities in interaction". (Holmes, 2013 p. 364)

Five approaches (among several more) to the analysis of discourse will be identified:

        (i)   Pragmatics and politeness theory

        (ii) Ethnography of speaking

        (iii) Interactional sociolinguistics

        (iv) Conversation Analysis (CA)

        (v) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

1.   Pragmatics and Politeness Theory

1.1   Pragmatics: The study of how *context* affects linguistic interaction.

relationship between participants

background knowledge

analysis goes beyond grammar
and word meaning

Interpret Examples 1 and 2 on Holmes (2013) p.364)

Example 1

you didn't buy a paper?

What does this sentence mean? Even if we know the meaning of each of the words, realising that paper refers to a newspaper, and recognising that it is an interrogative structure, that is not enough to unambiguously decode its meaning. It could be interpreted as a request for information, or as

a complaint, or even a rebuke, depending on the social relationship between participants and the background expectations regarding newspaper-buying in the household. Similarly, although example 3 could be treated as a declarative, a simple statement of fact, it may convey considerably more meaning, depending on who said it to whom.

Example 2

I can hear someone talking

Consider, for instance, the difference in meaning conveyed if this utterance was said by a teacher in a classroom as opposed to two police officers investigating an 'empty' house. Context is clearly crucial in interpreting what is meant, and pragmatics extends the analysis of meaning beyond grammar and word meaning to the relationship between the participants and the background knowledge they bring to a situation. Pragmatics is concerned with the analysis of meaning in interaction.

Exercise 1

Consider this brief conversational exchange.

Example 3

 Lionel is lying in a hospital bed after an accident. Kirsty is visiting him.

1. Kirsty : [pointing to the pain relief drip] are you sure that thing's

2. giving you enough pain relief

3. Lionel : yeah heaps

4. Kirsty : you are using it?

5. Lionel : any time I need it

6. Kirsty : you're not using it

(Transcript from Shortland Street, South Pacifi c Pictures (TV soap shown in New Zealand), © South Pacifi c Picture Serials Ltd 1995)

What possible interpretations can you provide for Lionel's responses to Kirsty's questions in lines 3 and 5?

What do you think Lionel intends Kirsty to understand? On what basis does she infer that he is not using the pain relief?

1.2   Conversational Maxims and Implicatures

Assumption with regard to conversations: the speakers conform to the *cooperative principle* in accordance to four maxims (Grice, 1975, p. 365)

Quantity: say as much as but no more than is necessary

Quality: do not say what you believe to be false, or that for whichyou lack evidence

Relation: be relevant

Manner: be clear, unambiguous, brief and orderly

Do speakers always follow these maxims?

> Study the Examples 4 and 5 on Holmes (2013) p. 366.
> Which maxim is *not* being followed? Possible reasons?

Example 4

Sally's father, Sam, has promised to give Sally a lift to the gym when she has finished her homework.

Sam : Have you finished your homework?

Sally : (with a smile) I've got my kit and I'm ready to go

Sam : Ok we're off.

Sally does not say anything false here. But her statement implies she has fulfilled the conditions for the lift. Assuming that her answer follows the maxims, her father wrongly (as it turns out) infers that she has finished her homework. Another common reason for not following the maxims is to avoid responsibility for saying something unpleasant. Grice gives the example of writing a job reference for someone who does not fulfil the job requirements. By commenting on irrelevant characteristics while omitting mention of skills crucial for the job, the reference writer generates the inference that the applicant does not have the required skills. Example 7 looks like a perfectly

normal conversation, but if you look carefully at Joyce's utterance, you will see that it does not actually answer Harry's question.

Example 5

Harry does not like lending the family car to the children. Joyce knows this but she has just lent their car to their son Dan.

Harry : Where's the car?

Joyce : Dan needed to do some shopping

Joyce's answer does not follow Grice's conversational maxim of relevance, and hence it generates a conversational implicature (i.e. we can infer more than is literally said). Again the addressee infers, on the basis of logic and knowledge of the world, that something additional is being conveyed to what is explicitly stated.

There has been some discussion about whether the conversational rules that Grice proposed can be considered as universals. Do the maxims apply in all cultures? In some communities, for instance, such as the Malagasy Republic, for a variety of cultural reasons people are systematically uninformative. So, for example, they deliberately avoid providing precise information about their relatives and friends, since by doing so they believe that they may attract the attention of evil spirits. However, since all members of the community know about this constraint, it generates no conversational implicatures. Similarly, in cultures where one does not utter the name of a person who has died, or refer to one's husband by his given name, one could say the quantity maxim is 'suspended' in such contexts.

1.3   Conversational Maxims and Politeness

One of the reasons people don't follow conversational maxims is theirattempt to be polite.

Lakoff's three rules of politeness:

Politeness, as discussed in chapter 11, entails taking account of social factors, such as how well you know somebody, what their social role or relative status is in relation to yours, and the kind

of social context in which you are interacting. Robin Lakoff, an American pragmatics researcher who has been called 'the mother of modern politeness theory' introduced three rules of politeness.

1. Don't impose: e.g., use modals and hedges: I wonder if I might just open the window a little

2. Give options e.g., use interrogatives including tag questions: do you mind if I open the window? it would be nice to have the window open a little wouldn't it?

3. Be friendly e.g., use informal expressions, endearments: e.g., Be a honey and open the window darling. The first two rules express the notion of negative politeness which was introduced in chapter 11, while the last rule relates to the concept of positive politeness.

The concepts of negative and positive politeness are components of a theory of politeness associated with the pragmatics researchers, Brown and Levinson, referred to in chapter 11. Brown and Levinson identified three social factors which they suggested qualified as universal influences on linguistically polite behaviour. The first two are very familiar to sociolinguists: they are how well you know someone and what is their status relative to yours. The third factor is illustrated in example 6

> Rules 1 and 2 express *negative* politeness;
>
> Rule 3 expresses *positive* politeness.

Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that there are three social factors thatuniversally relevant to polite conversational practices:

(i)   how well you know someone;
(ii)   what is their status relevant to yours;
(iii)   ranking of the imposition.

> Analyze Example 6 on Holmes (2013) p. 367 relating to these factors!

Rick makes a request to his mother in the family living room. [Pauses are indicated in tenths of a second: e.g. (0.5) is half a second.]

Rick : um mum (0.5) um do you think um I could possibly just borrow your car (2)

Mother : [frowns]

Rick : um just for a little while (1)

Mother : um well [frowns]

Rick : it's just that I need to get this book to Helen tonight

In this example the two participants know each other well and, since the son is a young adult, the status or role difference is not huge. Both of these factors would predict that Rick's request could be expressed relatively directly. However, there is another factor which influences the way he expresses his request. He is asking a big favour; his mother's car is an expensive sports car and she does not generally allow her children to borrow it. Hence, in making his request, Rick includes a number of negative politeness strategies in the form of mitigating devices or hedges (hesitation markers um, modal verb could and particle possibly, minimisers just, a little) as well as the positive politeness strategies of using an in-group identity marker (mum) and providing a reason for the request. In other words, simply the cost of the request (what Brown and Levinson call 'the ranking of the imposition') can influence the kind of politeness strategies which are appropriate: e.g. compare asking your best friend if you can borrow their newspaper to check the sports results, as opposed to asking to borrow their brand new mountain bike.

Exercise 2

Using the terms provided in this section, what pragmatic rule is illustrated in this example? What kind of politeness is illustrated in this example? Would Des's comments be considered polite in your socio-cultural group? If not, why not?

Example 9

Small talk between workers in a New Zealand plant nursery at the start of the day. Des is the manager. Ros is the plant nursery worker.

Des : be a nice day when it all warms up a bit though

Ros : yeah (pause) it's okay today

Des : what did you get up to at the weekend? anything exciting?

1.4   Sociolinguistics and Politeness

Politeness strategies are *not* universal – they are social and culturespecific!

Examples: Igbo practices

Asian values: sincerity, respect, consideration, negative politeness strategies -- as opposed to focusing on the social distance and solidarity dimensions.

Study Example 11 on Holmes (2013) p. 369. Comment!

Example 11

1. Shizai bu hao yisi,

'It's truly quite embarrassing

2. you ge shiqing xiang he ni shangliang yixia.

But I'd like to discuss a problem with you

3. Wo erzi jiu yao qu Aodaiya shang xue le.

My son is about to go to Australia to study

4. Xianzai qian hai mei chouji.

Right now the money is insufficient

5. Bu zhi nimen shoutou shi bu shi fangbian?

I was wondering if it would be convenient for you people to help us out

The request is introduced with an explicit statement in line 1 indicating reluctance to impose on the addressee. Then the speaker prepares the way for his request in line 2. The next discourse move in line 3 involves providing a reason for the request, a discourse move known as a 'grounder'.

The reason for the need is expressed rather obliquely, a strategy which saves the speaker's face, while it is also suggested that this is a temporary situation, right now the money is insufficient.

Line 5 finally presents the request in a very mitigated form, using a negative politeness strategy which provides a way out for the addressee if it is not convenient to provide some financial help.

The request thus expresses respect for the addressee and consideration for both participants' face, important values in Chinese culture. By contrast, in other communities, such as Greek, Turkish and Moroccan Arabic, politeness typically involves positive politeness strategies, and the expression of concern, consideration, friendliness and intimacy, rather than imposition-avoidance and distance maintenance strategies. Example 12 illustrates requests from a Greek study of politeness. In both cases, the speaker explicitly expresses positive feelings towards the addressee.

2.   Ethnography of Speaking

In different societies there are different ways of using language.

There is a need for a *framework* to conduct systematic studies on how people of different cultural backgrounds use language, how they carry out conversations.

The ethnography of speaking (ES) studies language use as displayed in thedaily life of particular speech communities. (*"ethnography of speaking"* is often referred to by the term *"ethnography of communication"*)

ES obtains and interprets information by learning the ways of communicating appropriately in a community.

Its theoretical contributions are centred around the study of"SITUATED DISCOURSE"
↓
linguistic performance as the locus of relationship between *language*
and *socio-cultural order*.

> ES studies what is accomplished through speaking and how speech is related to and is constructed by particular aspects of social organization.

HYMES (1972): "communicative competence" -- see Lecture 1!

He developed a framework with several components for analyzing communicativeevents:

Study the analysis based on this framework (Example 12, pp. 373-374).

Example 16

Communicative Event: a thanking feast

Genre : feast to repay workers who have donated labour to building a house

Topic : negotiable between participants

Purpose : to acknowledge or balance the work given by presenting food and kava to the appropriate workers

Setting : village green, late afternoon or evening

Key : relatively formal

Participants :

A: Senior male host

B: Other males from the hosting clan

C: Church elder

D: Serving/preparing males

E: Hosting females

F: Children from hosting families

G: Senior visiting male

H: Other visiting males

I: Visiting females

J: Visiting children

Message form : when everyone has arrived, A makes a short speech thanking the visitors for their work

Act sequence

A: Thank you speech

C: Prayer ALL clap.

A calls on G to take the first cup of kava which is presented to them by

D. G must drink the kava in full view of the audience and standing.

When G is finished, all clap.

Then A drinks.

ALL clap

A calls on members from B and H to drink the kava in relative order of age. Members are entitled to decline, or defer for others to go ahead of them. Drinkers may specify how full the cup should be, the default is full. (It is bad form to leave kava in the cup when returned to D.)

Drinkers other than A and G need not drink in front of the audience but slip back into the shadows and drink, and spit.

Drinkers must thank D, but need not directly thank A.

When the first round is finished, all drinkers are invited to drink again until all the kava runs out.

The analysis highlights the complexities of a communicative event in an unfamiliar culture, including the different roles that participants play and the different rules for speaking which operate. In many communities, high school children are expected to speak only when given permission. The audience in a TV studio during an interview has a very restricted role; they may laugh appreciatively and applaud at appropriate moments; but only the interviewer and interviewee are expected to speak. At a traditional English wedding ceremony, most of those involved are expected to remain as silent auditors during the core ceremony, although they may contribute to the singing of hymns or songs. Because the framework was devised to highlight features of a communicative event that people tend to take for granted, it is particularly useful for comparing speech events between different social and cultural groups.

ES *does* contribute to research on communicative competence: its focus of investigationis on the *predictable structure of verbal performance* in the conduct of social life.

What is the difference between *ES approach* and *pragmatic analysis*?

ES approach:

- stronger concern for the socio-cultural context of the use of language;

- stronger interest in clarifying the relationship between *languageand local systems of knowledge and social order*.

> ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING: Analysis of *all* factors that are relevant to understanding how a communicative event achieves its objective.

3. Interactional Sociolinguistics

This approach to communication has developed from the ethnography ofspeaking framework, but it includes analysis of *clues* speakers employ inorder to analyze conversations within its ethnographic context.

> In addition to observing turn-taking practices, hesitations, paralinguisticbehaviour, interactional sociolinguists acknowledge the importance of socio-cultural contexts.

3.1 Contextualization Cues

Gumperz (1982) identifies contextualization cues as features "bywhich speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is,how the semantic content is to be understood and *how* each sentence relates to what precedes or follows".

> Study the Example 13 on Holmes (2013) p. 380.

In some parts of Canada, the choice between French and English for an interaction is politically loaded. At the very least, this choice may convey information about cultural identity. In example 13, the waiter tries to do his customers a favour by offering them a choice of languages.

> **Example 13**
> Three people in a Montreal café. Two are fluent bilinguals, one has only a working knowledge of French. 1. Waiter : Anglais ou francais, English or French?
> 2. Bilingual Customers : Bien, les deux ['well both']
> 3. Waiter : No, mais, anglais ou francais? ['No, but, English or French?']
> 4. Bilingual Customers : It doesn't matter, c'est comme vous voulez ['Whatever you want']
> 5. Waiter : (sigh) OK, OK, I'll be back in a minute.

The customers refuse to choose and so force the waiter to make the choice. Here the contextualisation cues – in the form of the waiter's persistence and repetition of his question (line3), his sigh and his temporary abandonment of the customers – all suggest that he is very unhappy at being forced to make this choice.

4.   **Conversational Analysis (CA)**

Talk is action: conversation is an activity, such as dancing, etc. Focus:

structure of conversation at *micro-level*.

Adjacency pairs: greetings, questions/answers, acceptances/refusals, farewells, invitation/acceptance, etc.

"…related utterances by produced by two successive speakers in such a way that the second utterance is identified as a follow up to the first." (Holmes, 2013 p. 384)

> Study Example 14, Holmes (2013) p. 384.
> Identify adjacency pairs in Exercise 1, p. 384.

Example 14

(a)   A : Hi there

         B : Hi

(b)   A : See you later

         B : Ciao

(c)   A : What page are you on?

         B : Thirty-three

(d)   A : Wanna come up for dinner tonight?

         B : Mm yeah thanks that'd be nice

Greetings, farewells, questions and answers, invitations and acceptances/refusals are all examples of adjacency pairs.

Exercise 1

Identify possible adjacency pairs in the following list of utterances and comment on any difficulties you encounter. The first step is to sort them into first pair parts and second pair parts. Then try to match them up.

  Can I help you?

  I'd like some juice

  Sorry I didn't mean to be rude

  I haven't actually most of them are in the dishwasher

  No, I am fine thanks

  Just be careful when you open that cupboard

  Don't talk to me like that Could you open the door?

  OK thanks

  Yes, the bus station is the end of this street

  Like what?

  Well don't you boss me around

  I can't understand what you're saying

  Sorry but I just have to go or I'll be late

  My hands are full

  Too bad

  Let me try again

  When you say go to the end do you mean as far as the bus station?

  You've left me all the dirty dishes again

4.1   Preferred and dispreferred second pair parts

  Linguistic and paralinguistic clues function in identifying preferred or dispreferred responses: for example, *OK*, *well* in Exercise #14; hesitations, initial pauses, falling intonation, etc. (Example 15, p. 385).

Example 15

[↓ indicates a marked falling intonation on the following word (here expressing unwillingness).]

Sara : Barbara I have to go to a lecture in a few minutes and Joan isn't back from lunch (2) could you take over the desk for me

---

> Barbara : erm (0.5) (tut) well I I ↓ could but it would be better if you could find someone else cos I have to leave at two

The verbal hesitation erm, the dental click (tut), the discourse marker well, the repeated I, and the stressed could (with marked falling intonation) are classic signals that a dispreferred response is coming next.

4.2 Conversational Feedback

Verbal (*mm, uh-huh, right*, etc.) or non-verbal (*nodding, gaze*, etc.)signals attention to the speech of the conversation partner.

> Verbal feedback on the phone – important!!

4.3 Keeping just to the text

> CA claims that 'problems' and 'solutions' speakersencounter in conversations can be described without referring to socio-cultural contexts.

This implies moving towards a more "autonomous" approach, one that is shared by formal linguists – important methodological point!

The difference between Conversation Analysis and the Ethnography of speaking approaches is that for CA the *interaction* is the only legitimate source for analysis (= what occurs in the interaction is important).

5. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Pragmatics and politeness theory
Ethnography of speaking   *descriptive* approaches!
Interactional sociolinguistics
Conversation Analysis (CA)

Critical Discourse Analysis …"by contrast is explicitly concerned with investigating how language is used to construct and maintain power relationships in society". (p. 393)

Example 16

Police Officer behind desk in police station greets a woman who approaches the desk.

PO : Good morning love, what can I do for you

Woman : Good morning constable. I want to see your sergeant

And its not 'love', it's Detective Inspector.

In example 16, the police officer's choice of the friendly, and perhaps patronising, term love turns out to be an inappropriate form of address for the senior police woman he is addressing. Her response makes it clear that she does not approve of this way of greeting women.

5.1 Power and CDA

The participants in the conversation are *unequal*!

Analyze example 17 on Holmes (2013) p. 394.

Example 17

A police officer is questioning a suspect about growing cannabis. The interview is aimed at establishing whether he was growing it for his own use or for sale.

1. PO : okay you also told me that you haven't got enough money to live on

2. is that right so that's why you grow the cannabis

3. cos you haven't got enough money

4. isn't that what you said Sam

5. Sam : I've got enough money just to buy food and pay my way

6. PO : okay

7. Sam : but I ain't got enough money to buy my extras that I need

8. PO : okay (0.5) so where are you growing that cannabis

9. Sam : near in my own backyard

10. PO : I thought you said that place didn't belong to you

11. it belongs to the X organisation

> 12. Sam : yeah well I was growing it in in the backyard in there

In this unequal encounter, the police officer has the right to ask questions and to expect the suspect to answer them. In lines 1–4, the police officer first asks Sam to confirm something he has said earlier, is that right (line 2) and then isn't that what you said Sam (line 4). Sam is not given a chance to respond to the first request for confirmation (there is no pause after is that right), before the second proposition and request for confirmation are put to him. If you compare this interaction with a conversation with a friend, it is immediately apparent that this technique could be interpreted as badgering and even verbally bullying Sam into a response. The police officer is here challenging Sam to confirm a proposition that will form the foundation for an argument that he needs to sell the cannabis he grows in order to survive. It appears that Sam does not see the trap, since he voluntarily reveals that he is in need of money for extras above bare sustenance (line 7).

The police officer then asks another question where are you growing that cannabis (line 8), and when Sam responds, the police officer challenges the accuracy of his response by referring to earlier information that he has supplied which contradicts the implications of this response that the place he is growing cannabis belongs to him. In any normal conversation, Sam's use of the phrase my own backyard is understandable, given that it is the backyard of the place in which he is living. The police officer's challenge thus reminds us that this is a formal interview where precision about such details is a legal issue.

In later sections of this interview, the police officer overtly challenges Sam with questions such as what do you have to say Sam?; come on Sam I'm asking you some straight questions ; is that what you are saying? ; is that right, isn't that what you said ? These features of the discourse clearly indicate that this is an unequal encounter. A CDA approach focuses on such features to demonstrate how the police officer uses verbal means to intimidate the suspect and make him feel powerless.

Democratic interactions: more subtle ways of exercising power.

> Study Example 18 on Holmes (2013) p. 395.

In a formal meeting, this may take the form of a written agenda whose contents are determined by the meeting chair in advance. When there is no written agenda, the meeting chair usually exercises power by determining what topics will be discussed and who may contribute, as in example 18.

Example 18

Meeting in a large commercial organisation chaired by section manager.

1. Clara : Seth has gone to collect the minutes from the previous meeting

2. okay shall we kick off and just go round the room um doing

3. an update and then when Seth comes in with the minutes

4. we need to check on any action items from our planning

5. over to you Marlene

Here Clara's power or authority is apparent from the discourse: she determines the order of items for discussion and she allocates the first turn of talking to Marlene. Even in less formal interactions, particular participants may influence what is to be discussed: e.g. it's time we sorted out where we are going; well I just thought we needed to talk this through a bit further; or they may declare certain contributions irrelevant (that's a red herring; you're way off track there). One criterion for deciding on their relative power or influence in the context is to note whether others pay attention to their declarations.

5.2   Ideology and CDA

Researchers employing the CDA methodology aim at discovering hidden messages and assumptions in the discourse.

Most obvious areas of using CDA: advertisements, news items – researchers identify ways of manipulating readers and/or listeners: vocabulary choices, pronoun uses, etc.

Study the Examples 19, a and b (p. 398) and the Example 20, (p. 399)
Comment!

> **Example 19**
>
> (a) Surgery is also indicated when . . . hormone treatment has failed to control the symptoms…. Since many women erroneously believe that following hysterectomy…..obesity is usual, the physician must explain that removal of the uterus has no side-effects.
>
> (b) Alternative treatments include radiation and birth control pills, but these are considered controversial and can cause serious complications…..If your doctor suggests any of these treatments, be sure to get a second opinion.

Both sentences use educated, technical vocabulary, but they address different readerships. The main clue to this is the stance expressed through the choice of grammatical structures. In (a), the use of the passive voice (is also indicated) removes any reference to the actor or agent, i.e.; the doctor or physician, thus enabling the writer to avoid allocating explicit responsibility to the physician for the decision to undertake surgery as well as conveying an impression of clinical objectivity. And though this is a book written for medical students, they are not addressed as 'you', but rather the physician is referred to in the third person and presented as an expert who must correct the erroneous assumptions of many women.

By contrast (b) treats the women target readers as intelligent agents rather than passive, ignorant objects of surgery. They are addressed in the second person (your doctor), giving the impression of friendliness or solidarity. Moreover, the information provided is empowering rather than didactic: the reader is presented with alternatives, and evaluative comments, and recommended to seek a second opinion. This is a very different approach from (a).

A CDA approach seeks to identify ways in which readers or listeners are manipulated through choices of particular words and constructions to take a particular position in relation to the topic of discussion. Pronoun choices, for example, can quickly and effectively position a reader as one of 'us', observing the behaviour of 'them', thus including the reader or listener in one group while objectifying another group and distancing the reader or listener from them.

One might expect that the pronoun we would consistently convey inclusiveness and solidarity. But context is crucial as has been consistently demonstrated in this book. So, when we clearly does not include the speaker, and refers only to the addressee(s), it may function as a distancing device, conveying a rather patronising tone, as in example 20.

> **Example 20**
>
> An email from a manager to her supervisors in a white collar organisation.
>
> Hi,
>
> When we are looking at grading positions, could we please ensure that we abide by the rules of the XB structure rather than creating grades for positions because of salary constraints….If we do not grade appropriately then the responsibility for the grading system will go back to Finance and we will have to ask for a grade for each role change. This is not a position that I would like to see happen.
>
> Thanks
>
> Barbara

Although the manager uses, we, she is not herself directly involved in grading positions, but only in managing those who are. Her usage thus sets up a false impression of shared responsibility and solidarity. It is similar to the usage of a nurse who asks a patient how are we today? or the mother who asks her child did we have a good sleep then? In other words, we mean 'you', and the effect is patronising rather than inclusive.

Lecture 14

ATTITUDES AND APPLICATIONS

1. Attitudes to language

Post-vocalic [r] in New York City and in England: *Arbitrariness* – not relevant linguistically; *Attitude* (positive or negative): social judgement.

Some of the factors influencing social judgements:

- politics -- see the Example 1 (Holmes, 2013 p. 410)

Example 1

'Danish is not a language, but a throat disease,' wrote one Norwegian respondent in reply to a 1950s postal questionnaire asking for Scandinavian people's opinions of the relative aesthetic qualities of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian.

The results of the questionnaire placed Swedish first and Danish at the bottom of the pile. These results reflected not so much the relative aesthetic qualities of the three languages as the political fortunes of the three countries associated with each. Sweden was at that time the undoubted political leader, while Denmark – the former ruling power – was in a less influential political position. People's attitudes to Swedish and Danish reflected Scandinavian politics rather than any intrinsic linguistic features of the language. With the rise of Danish influence through its membership of the European Economic Community, one would expect different results from a similar questionnaire in the twenty-first century.

- positive feelings to speakers of a language or language variety;
- status of a language or a language variety: official vs. non-official,

e.g., English vs. Wells English vs. French in Québec

Québec French vs. Parisian French

- cultural vs. political/social importance, e.g., selecting a script for Somali.

1.1   Overt and Covert Prestige Standard

variety: *overt* prestige
Positive attitudes towards vernacular or non-standard varieties:

Covert prestige. Solidarity!!

Speakers are not always aware which variety they speak – they recognizethe value of the standard and believe they speak that variety, criticizing others speaking the vernacular.

> Study Labov's report (Example 2, p. 412).
> Comment on the contradiction between attitude and reality!

In example 2 Labov tells the sad story of how he unintentionally disillusioned a New York woman and her daughter about the way they spoke, not realising how damaging his slice of reality would be.

Example 2

'The case of Debbie S. and Mrs S. ends on an unhappy note. In the discussion of r, both mother and daughter insisted that they always pronounced all their r 's . . . They had ridiculed Speaker 2 [one of the speakers on the tape played to them] for dropping a single r, and they could not believe that they would make such a mistake themselves. Unwisely I played back the section of tape in which Mollie S. recited 'Strawberry shortcake, cream on top, tell me the name of my sweetheart'. She could hear the consistent [lack of r] in her speech but after a moment's thought she explained the situation as a psychological transference – she had imagined herself in her childhood setting, and had used a childish speech form. I then played a section of careful speech, the discussion of common sense,, and also Debbie's reading of the standard text. When Mrs S. and her daughter at last accepted the fact that they regularly [omitted r] in their own speech, they were disheartened in a way that was painful to see. An interview which would otherwise have been an exhilarating experience for this lady and her daughter was thus terminated in a bitter disappointment for them both: and once the damage had been done, there was no way to restore their pride in their own speech.'

The realisation that we do not always speak as we had imagined can serve as a warning not to be too hasty in judging the speech of others.

British Jamaican Creole or Patois (see Lecture #8): although it is less and less spoken, several features are incorporated into the local vernaculars.

What is the attitude towards this vernacular?

> Study the Example 3, p. 414. Comment on the negative attitude of the teacher and the evident solidarity factor by the speakers of Patois!

Example 3

Ray is a West Indian teenager whose linguistic repertoire includes features of Jamaican Creole as well as standard English with a local Manchester accent. He has no illusions about his teacher's views about the language variety that he speaks with his friends. 'She'd rather we said nothing at all if we don't use "proper English". And as for Patois she hits the roof if she hears us using it at school. She calls it sloppy, ugly speech.'

British Jamaican Creole, or Patois seems to be gradually disappearing. But many of its linguistic features have been incorporated into local varieties of English. These new varieties are highly valued as markers of identity by their users. Moreover, it seems that Patois retains covert prestige since few Black people admit to outsiders that proficiency in this variety is greatly admired, especially among young British Blacks. As example 5 indicates, official attitudes to the linguistic varieties used by young Black people treat their speech as a deplorably deficient form of English which hinders their educational progress. Some teachers have described the language of their West Indian pupils as 'babyish', 'careless and slovenly', 'lacking proper grammar' and 'very relaxed like the way they walk'! In fact, Patois is a language variety with a complex grammar, distinctive pronunciations and some distinctive vocabulary items

Negative attitudes to the new variety of English:

Jafaican

↓

A variety of English used by young people of several ethnic backgrounds -- the use of this variety is associated with poor, lower class people.

The negative attitude was tested in a study using "matched guise"technique (p. 415).

1.2 Attitudes to standard English and RP

Standard English has overt prestige; this status, however, has nothing to do with the linguistic characteristics of English – in fact, English used tobe considered until the eighteenth century as inferior to languages such as Latin or Greek – the prestige of a language variety *changes* in varying social context!

RP also has overt prestige; speakers of RP are rated more positively than those not speaking this social accent; the attitude of even those speaking a vernacular variety is positive to RP!

1.3   Attitudes to vernacular forms of English

AAVE (African American Vernacular English): controversial issue regarding the use of this variety instead of the SAE language.

Negative attitudes: comment on the reference to students in Japan(p. 417)!

> Study the Example 4, p. 417. Ignorance by AAVE speakers?
>
> Is this example a critique of the AAVE?

Example 4

'. . . what makes me feel that blacks tend to be ignorant is that they fail to see that the word is spelled A-S-K not A-X. And when they say aksed, it gives the sentence an entirely different meaning. And that is what I feel holds blacks back.' (female call-in viewer, Oprah Winfrey Show 1987)

As example 8 indicates, critics typically assume that AAVE use indicates ignorance rather than choice. Given the minuscule sound difference between [ask] and [aks], and the lack of logic in arguing for a particular pronunciation on the basis of a written form, it is ironic that ask has been a particularly frequent focus of comment. (And in fact [aks] for [ask] has a long history as a vernacular form since it can be found in the speech of the yokels in Shakespearean plays and in Chaucer's tales too.) Yet this is quite typical of the kinds of comments made about AAVE use,

no matter which particular feature is selected for condemnation.

African American newsreaders and movie stars typically use SAE, while those entertainers and sports celebrities who do use AAVE features tend to restrict them to more intelligible, stereotypical features in less formal contexts. T

Political issue: frequent re-labeling!

> Comment on the list presented in the Example 5, p. 418.

Example 5

Negro Dialect
Substandard Negro Dialect
Non-standard Negro English
Black English
African-American English
Ebonics
Vernacular Black English
African American Vernacular English

AAVE is a prime example of a language variety which is so politically 'hot' that it has been constantly labelled and re-labelled, as example 9 illustrates. The term 'Ebonics' was originally coined in the 1970s, but it was revived and popularised in the 1990s when the Oakland Unifi ed School District Board of Education passed a resolution affirming the legitimacy of Ebonics (as they labelled AAVE) as a language system, and supporting its use as a bridge to learning standard English in school. The decision created a furore and even resulted in a Senate sub-committee hearing on the status of AAVE and its role in education.

Many African American parents were unconvinced of the benefits of using AAVE and concerned that the time would be better devoted to acquiring SAE. Their letters to the newspapers and contributions on talk-back and call-in shows expressed fears that the use of AAVE in schools was just another strategy for preventing their children from achieving educational success. On the other hand, many successful African Americans asserted the importance of maintaining and giving status to AAVE, and of resisting

attempts by the majority group to impose SAE on everyone.

What is the attitude of African-American parents regardingthe use of SAE?

What is the attitude expressed by an African-American political activist?

> Study the Example 6, p. 418.

Example 6

'Language is political. That's why you and me, my Brother and Sister, that's why we sposed to choke our natural self into the weird, lying, barbarous, unreal, white speech and writing habits that the schools lay down like holy law. Because in other words the powerful don't play; they mean to keep that power, and those who are the powerless (you and me) better shape up mimic/ape/suck-in the very image of the powerful, or the powerful will destroy you – you and our children.' (June Jordan, poet, writer, political activist)

Adopting SAE, even for part of the time, seems a betrayal of their home dialect to many African Americans. The issue has become too politicised for the notion of a broader verbal repertoire, or the construction of different social identities, to provide a simple resolution. For many minority ethnic group members, ethnic identity is fundamental and colours or infuses everything they say and do, think and believe.

From this perspective, advocating bidialectalism is perhaps like asking a woman to pretend to be a man for the duration of each working day, or vice-versa.

What about successful African Americans? Refer to the solidarityfactor concerning the use of AAVE!

What about popular movies?

Social disadvantage of using AAVE – a basic argument in the1990s (Ebonics debate!):

If you use AAVE you wont's get a job (Holmes, 2013 p. 419)

Identify the fallacy regarding this statement!

2. Sociolinguistics and Education

2.1 Vernacular dialects and educational disadvantage

Fact: in schools middle-class children tend to do better than working class children. Further, minority group children don't do as well as children belonging to the mainstream culture.

Language issues!

Study the famous court case, summarized in theExample 7, p. 424.
Comment!

Example 7

In 1977, Moira Lewis was 8 years old. She lived in the city of Ann Arbor in the USA in Green Road, an area where there were both rich and poor people. She went to the local school, Martin Luther King Elementary School. It was a school with mainly white children, but there were also some African American children like Moira, and a few Asian and Latino children. By the time Moira was 8, her mother was getting concerned that she was not doing well at school. She talked to some of the other African American mothers and found they were worried too. The school took the view that Moira and her African American friends were problems – they labelled them as 'learning disabled'. But Moira's mother and her friends knew better. Their kids were perfectly healthy, bright children. It was the school which was failing not the children. The mothers decided to take the school to court claiming that the teachers were not adequately providing for their children's education. The mothers won their case, and the school was required to provide a programme for Moira and her friends which gave them a better chance of educational success

In this example, the African American mothers argued that the local school was not taking proper account of their children's linguistic proficiency and educational needs. A number of sociolinguists were called as 'expert witnesses' to testify that the variety of English used by the children was a dialect distinct from SAE, with a distinct history and origins in a Creole which developed on American slave plantations. The judge accepted their testimony and ordered the school to take account of features of the children's dialect. He pointed out that the teachers and children could understand each other, and expressed the view that the main barriers to the

children's progress took the form of unconscious negative attitudes held by the teachers to children who spoke AAVE. The steps that were taken to remedy the situation consisted mainly of in-service training for the teachers. This involved, for example, helping them distinguish between features of the children's dialect and reading errors, and suggesting ways they could help the children develop the ability to switch between AAVE and SAE.

Sociolinguists argue for the acceptance of non-standard language varieties in school …"without condemning or stereotyping their users as uneducated and low status, rather than to train vernacular users to adopt a standard form". Comment!!!

Tasks for educational linguistics – ongoing debate!

2.2   Linguistic Deficit

Working-class children and minority group children have been judged as linguistically deprived – this judgement is based on tests that most scholars consider inadequate.

↓

Most test materials were familiar to middle-class children!

Working-class children and minority group children "have no language" or, have the "restricted code" only -- this is a frequently stated opinion. Comment

Labov (1972) argues for the values of AAVE:

Black children live in a culture of rich verbal values!
Many AAVE speaking children have highly developed communication skills – for example, research showed that story telling by these children frequently shows more advanced and mature verbal skills than white middle-class children.

"The formality and unfamiliarity of the testing context for these children accounted for the misleading inference that they werelinguistically deprived". (p. 427)

Study the Example 8 on p. 428. Comment!

Example 8

Fifteen-year-old Alan was totally disgusted with his English teacher. 'She's not interested in our ideas,' he said, 'or whether we are original or creative. All she cares about is big words! The guy who gets top marks uses a thesaurus. He just looks up the longest words he can find and sticks them in. He doesn't even know what they mean half the time!'

At secondary level (students aged 11 and above), sociolinguists have explored more specifically the ways in which the vocabulary range of middle-class children differs from that of working-class children. Through wide reading of the kinds of books that teachers approve of, and exposure to the vocabulary of well-educated adults, some children are more familiar than others with words of Graeco-Latin origin. These words – words like education, exponent, relation and expression – make up between 65 per cent and 100 per cent of the specialist vocabularies of subjects taught in secondary schools and tertiary institutions. Obviously, children who are familiar with such words will be at an advantage. One study showed that between the ages of 12 and 15 massive differences developed in the oral use of such words by children from different social backgrounds.

3. Sociolinguistics and forensic linguistics

Forensic linguists study written and spoken language use in different contexts. Their work is especially important in legal settings – court cases, police interviews, etc.

Example 9

Raj, a man with a strong West Indian accent, was accused of murder in Britain. During his trial, the prosecution alleged that Raj had stated that he had got on a train and shot a man to kill, A socio-phonetician was able to demonstrate that what Raj had actually said was that he got on the train and showed a man ticket.

The person transcribing the West Indian man's statement in this case was unfamiliar with the variety of English that he spoke and so, although she honestly transcribed what she thought he said, she was wrong. Fortunately, a qualified linguist who was familiar with the range of variation

in different dialects of English was able to provide an alternative and much more reliable account of what the West Indian had said.

Forensic linguists work in a very wide range of social contexts. In addition to research about how language is used in written and spoken legal settings, they also provide expert evidence to courts about language issues. Sometimes this involves analysis of language and communication in legal contexts such as police interviews, courtroom interaction or legal documents. Or it may entail examining language used in academic writing (for example in plagiarism cases), in trademarks, in phone conversations, in text messaging and in email interactions. In providing expert evidence to courts, forensic sociolinguists aim to identify sociolinguistic clues and understandings which will assist in resolving legal questions and contribute to justice being done.

Phonetic analysis: accent identification!

Lexical analysis: important to detect plagiarism!

Syntactic analysis: purposely misleading sentence structures, biased grammaticalstrategies!

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