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МЕТОДИЧНІ РЕКОМЕНДАЦІЇ
ДО ВИКОНАННЯ САМОСТІЙНОЇ РОБОТИ СТУДЕНТІВ
ЗІ СПЕЦКУРСУ «СОЦІАЛЬНІ АСПЕКТИ МОВИ І МОВЛЕННЯ»

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**М 54 Методичні рекомендації до виконання самостійної роботи
студентів зі спецкурсу «Соціальні аспекти мови і мовлення» (англійською
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Методичні рекомендації до виконання самостійної роботи студентів з лекційного спецкурсу «Соціальні аспекти мови і мовлення» містять матеріал поетапного виконання завдань самостійної роботи студентів, що складається з опанування теоретичних знань з основних тем соціолінгвістичної науки та їхнього закріплення через низку контролюючих вправ. Запропонований теоретичний матеріал охоплює коло питань, пов'язаних зі статусом соціолінгвістики як наукової дисципліни та її об'єктом, її основними поняттями, теоріями та гіпотезами, соціолінгвістичним аспектом явища мовної варіативності та його видами, соціальними та регіональними діалектами англійської мови, співіснуванням мовних спільнот та їхнім впливом одна на одну, типами індивідуального білінгвізму, соціальною природою мови та нормами, що впорядковують мовлення, гендерними аспектами комунікації тощо. В представлених методичних рекомендаціях вказано послідовність вивчення матеріалу дисципліни, особливості вивчення окремих тем та підрозділів. Закріплення та уточнення знань досягається за допомогою спеціальних контролюючих питань та виконання запропонованих завдань.

Методичні рекомендації призначені для студентів старших курсів факультетів іноземних мов, а також усіх, хто вивчає соціальні аспекти мови і мовлення самостійно.

УДК.....

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ВСТУП

Метою викладання навчальної дисципліни «Соціальні аспекти мови та мовлення» є ознайомлення студентів з основними поняттями та проблемами соціолінгвістики – науки, що розвивається на стику мовознавства, соціальної психології, культурології та етнографії, та вивчає проблеми, пов'язані із соціальною природою мови, її суспільними функціями, механізмом впливу соціальних чинників на мову, а також роллю мови в житті суспільства.

Основними завданнями вивчення дисципліни «Соціальні аспекти мови та мовлення» є такі: *узагальнити* основні методологічні положення соціолінгвістики як теоретичної дисципліни на стику мовознавства, соціальної психології та етнографії, *сформулювати* основні положення та визначити концептуальний апарат соціального аспекту мовної діяльності, *сформулювати* у студентів здатність до самостійної критичної оцінки розвитку світових політичних та суспільно-громадських змін у їх взаємообумовленості з мовним плануванням та державотворчими процесами, *розвинути* усвідомлення студентами важливої ролі мови та мовлення у розвитку будь-якого суспільства.

Самостійна робота студентів (далі СРС) – найвищий етап учбової діяльності, провідна форма навчання, оскільки вміння та навички опановуються студентами саме шляхом самостійної пізнавальної діяльності. У процесі самостійної роботи найповніше виявляються індивідуальні здатності студентів до вміння аналізувати факти та явища, що сприяє критичному мисленню та творчому розвитку особистості, створенню її особистої думки, поглядів та уявлень, власної позиції.

СРС є одним з найскладніших моментів організації учбового процесу, оскільки у порівнянні з аудиторними формами (лекціями, практичними заняттями, семінарами) вона найменш керована зовні. Однак, вона є чи не найефективнішою формою учбової роботи студентів, оскільки розвиває мотиваційну складову останньої. СРС сприяє також розвитку таких навичок, як планування власної освітньої діяльності, постановка системи задач, вичленовування серед них головних напрямків роботи, здійснення оперативного контролю за їх виконанням, аналіз та коригування проміжних та загальних підсумків роботи.

Зі зміною ролі викладача в учбовому процесі акцент ставиться на функцію керування викладачем зовнішніми факторами (замість традиційної контролюючої функції), а отже викладач формує установки, визначає характер інформаційного середовища, залучає завдання самостійної роботи до структури заняття (лекційного, семінарського), обирає методи роботи згідно з поставленими цілями, організує публічність обговорення результатів СРС (на конференц-тижні, практичних заняттях тощо).

Представлені методичні рекомендації з СРС спрямовані на систематизацію та осмислення теоретичних знань и практичних умінь студентів з шести тематичних напрямків вивчення соціального аспекту мовної діяльності, а саме: базовий концептуальний апарат науки та її основні теорії та гіпотези, соціолінгвістичний аспект явища мовної варіативності та його види,

співіснування та змішування мов та діалектів, мовлення як тип суспільної взаємодії, гендерні аспекти комунікації, мовне планування і мовна політика.

Об'єм, тематика та ступінь складності викладеного матеріалу передбачає ґрунтовне володіння англійською мовою, отже його успішне вивчення та засвоєння видається можливим на старших курсах факультетів та інститутів іноземних мов.

Засвоєння суто теоретичних знань перевіряється низкою контролюючих питань та завдань. Після блоку інформації теоретичного характеру студентам пропонується прочитати наукову статтю із вивченої тематики та долучитися до її обговорення через усвідомлення основних думок автора шляхом відповідей на поставлені питання. Успішне виконання запропонованих завдань передбачає, по-перше, набуття студентами необхідних вмінь з аналізу та синтезу опанованого практичного матеріалу, а, по-друге, накопичення балів з кожної теми, які впливатимуть на оцінку практичного заняття з дисципліни. Критерії оцінки виконання СРС подані окремо.

**Інструкція студентам
щодо поетапного виконання завдань самостійної роботи**

Перед виконанням завдань прочитайте інструкцію щодо їх поетапного виконання



Ознайомтеся із переліком літератури до кожного підрозділу



Перед виконанням контролюючих завдань прочитайте та тезово законспекуйте запропонований теоретичний матеріал до кожного питання



Загальна кількість часу на виконання завдань СРС з усієї дисципліни складає 30 годин (по 5 годин на тему)



СРС з кожної запропонованої теми повинна бути виконана письмово до наступного семінарського заняття з дисципліни



Якщо у Вас виникнуть труднощі у процесі роботи, звертайтеся до викладача



Ознайомтеся із критеріями оцінки виконання СРС

Критерії оцінки СРС

Для перевірки рівня засвоєння знань та умінь студентів з дисципліни, що вивчається, використовуються такі методи, як опитування, тестові завдання, доповідь на семінарському занятті, захист творчого проекту. Формою обліку позааудиторної роботи студента є відмітка з обов'язковим оцінним судженням викладача та / або сума балів, що набирає кожен студент у процесі виконання завдань. Сума балів, що набирає студент, накопичується і впливає на оцінку практичного заняття з дисципліни. Підсумок позааудиторної самостійної роботи студента підбивається у вигляді позначки з оцінкою.

Критеріями оцінки СРС є накопичена сума балів за:

- виконану самостійну позааудиторну роботу;
- тестові завдання, що пропонуються у кінці семінарського заняття;

Максимальна сума балів за виконану роботу = 60

Від 55 до 60 балів – відмінно;

Від 45 до 54 балів – добре;

Від 35 до 44 балів – задовільно;

Від 35 і менше балів – незадовільно;

Студенту, що набрав менше, ніж 35 балів, необхідно знову виконати завдання СРС.

UNIT 1

Sociolinguistics as a science

PART 1 Questions to be tackled:

1. The object of Sociolinguistics, its basic concepts
2. Views of scholars on the essence of the subject
3. Doctrines and Hypothesis on the Relation of Language and Thought

Key words and phrases: language as a code, culture, society, the doctrine of linguistic relativity, generative grammar, Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

Question 1 The object of Sociolinguistics, its basic concepts

Sociolinguistics is the descriptive study of the effect of any or all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context, on the way language is used, and the effects of language use on society.

Sociolinguistics differs from sociology of language in that the focus of sociolinguistics is the effect of the society on the language, while the sociology of language focuses on language's effect on the society. Sociolinguistics overlaps to a considerable degree with pragmatics. It is historically closely related to linguistic anthropology and the distinction between the two fields has even been questioned recently.

It also studies how language varieties differ between groups separated by certain social variables, e.g., ethnicity, religion, status, gender, level of education, age, etc., and how creation and adherence to these rules is used to categorize individuals in social or socioeconomic classes. As the usage of a language varies from place to place, language usage also varies among social classes, and it is these *sociolects* that Sociolinguistics studies. The science is tightly related with Country Studies, Ethnology, Dialectology, Politology, the History of a Language and the Theory of Mass Communication.

Sociolinguistics is also focused on the effect of particular kinds of social situations on language structure (e.g. language contact studies, focusing on the origin and the linguistic composition of pidgin and creole languages); on the uses of language as an activity in its own right (vocabulary or sentence structure as a choice involving cultural values, norms of politeness, status); on the specific patterns and social rules for conducting conversation and discourse (opening and closing remarks, the rules of conversational entering / exiting / turn-taking etc.); on the language management according to cultural backgrounds and goals of interaction (the study of mixed-gender vs single-gender conversations, language acquisition through child-caring, language change and neologisms).

The social aspects of language were in the modern sense first studied by Indian and Japanese linguists in the 1930s, and also by Louis Gauchat in Switzerland in the

early 1900s, but none received much attention in the West until much later. The study of the social motivation of language change, on the other hand, has its foundation in the wave model of the late 19th century. The first attested use of the term *sociolinguistics* was by Thomas Callan Hodson in the title of his 1939 article "Sociolinguistics in India" published in *Man in India* subsequent to his *Analysis of the 1931 Census of India* [2]. Sociolinguistics in the West first appeared in the 1960s and was pioneered by linguists such as William Labov in the USA and Basil Bernstein in the UK. In the 1960s, William Stewart and Heinz Kloss introduced the basic concepts for the sociolinguistic theory of pluricentric languages, which describes how standard language varieties differ between nations (e.g. American / British / Canadian / Australian *English*; Austrian /German / Swiss *German*; Bosnian / Croatian / Montenegrin / Serbian *Serbo-Croatian*).

The basic concepts of Sociolinguistics are LANGUAGE, CULTURE, SOCIETY.

Culture may be viewed in a variety of ways, two of which are: 1) the arts, customs, and habits that characterize a particular society or nation; 2) the beliefs, values, behavior and material objects that constitute a people's way of life.

Society encompasses people in general living together in organized communities, with laws and traditions controlling the way they behave towards one another.

Language is on the one hand a system for communication sometimes also being called a "code" because it has a set of rules that both interlocutors must follow and understand to communicate well, and on the other it is a way of communicating.

Until the 1950s linguists studied languages from a purely descriptive perspective. The analysis of languages took place over the course of several stages:

1. Phonology – the study of a language's sounds.
2. Morphology – the study of a language's forms and morphemes.
3. Syntax – the study of the arrangement and order of words in phrases and sentences.
4. Lexicology – the study of the bulk of words of a language and their meanings.
5. Stylistics – the study of a language's expressive potential and stylistic effects on the reader

Descriptive-only approach to the analysis of a language can give an erroneous impression that none of the above mentioned elements of a language are connected and that a language has no relationship to culture and the way a people think. Around the 1950s linguists started to be more engrossed in the actual relationship between a person's language and their culture and mentality.

Discussion points and tasks:

- Account for the notion of Sociolinguistics as an Interdisciplinary subject
- What are the objects of study of this science?
- Why are *language*, *culture* and *society* considered the basic concepts of Sociolinguistics? Relate them to the object of the discipline

Question 2 Views of scholars on the essence of the subject

P. Trudgill (1974: 32) "Sociolinguistics... is that part of linguistics which is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon. It investigates the field of language and society & has close connections with the social sciences, especially social psychology, anthropology, human geography and sociology."

Wm. Downes (1984: 15) "Sociolinguistics is that branch of linguistics which studies just those properties of language and languages which REQUIRE reference to social, including contextual, factors in their explanation."

Janet Holmes (1992, 16) "The sociolinguist's aim is to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community, and of the choices people make when they use language."

Suzanne Romaine (1994, vii-ix) "Some distinguish between theoretical and applied sociolinguistics. The former is concerned with formal models and methods for analysing the structure of speech communities and speech varieties, and providing a general account of communicative competence. Applied sociolinguistics deals with the social and political implications of fundamental inequalities in language use in various areas of public life, e.g. school, courts, etc. ... [In another subdivision:] Macro-sociolinguistics takes society as its starting-point and deals with language as a pivotal factor in the organization of communities. Micro-sociolinguistics begins with language and treats social forces as essential factors influencing the structure of languages. [SR refers this division to Fasold's Sociolinguistics of Society vs. Sociolinguistics of Language]... This [is] an artificial and arbitrary division of labor, which leads to a fruitless reductionism... The large-scale socio-political issues typically addressed by the sociology of language... and the forms and uses of language on a small scale dealt with by sociolinguistics... are manifestations of similar principles, albeit operating on different levels. Variability is inherent in human behavior."

J. K. Chambers (1995, 203) "Upon observing variability, we seek its social correlates. What is the purpose of this variation? What do its variants symbolize? ... [These] are the central questions of sociolinguistics."

Florian Coulmas (1997) "The primary concern of sociolinguistic scholarship is to study correlations between language use and social structure... It attempts to establish causal links between language and society, [asking] what language contributes to making community possible & how communities shape their languages by using them... [It seeks] a better understanding of language as a necessary condition and product of social life... Linguistic theory is... a theory about language without human beings".

1. **Ronald Wardhaugh (1998, 10-11)** "[1] Social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behavior... [Hodson T.C. *Analysis of the 1931 Census of India: Race in India*//Government of India Press. – 1937] Linguistic structure and/or behavior may either influence or determine social structure [Whorf, Bernstein]... [Hodson T.C. *Analysis of the 1931 Census of India: Race in India*//Government of India Press. – 1937.

[2] The influence is bi-directional: language and society may influence each other... [Emre Özgen and Ian R. L. Davies (2002): *Acquisition of categorical color perception: A perceptual learning approach to the linguistic relativity hypothesis*. J. of Experimental Psychology: General, 131, 477–493]. There is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure... each is independent of the other... Although there might be some such relationship, present attempts to characterize it are essentially premature... this view appears to be the one that Chomsky holds."

Discussion points and tasks:

- Work out a list of concerns of Sociolinguistics as they are stated by the scholars above
- How is linguistic theory different from Sociolinguistics?
- What does an account in Wardhaugh's citation with?

Question 3 Doctrines and Hypothesis on the Relation of Language and Thought

Since the 1950s linguists felt committed to tracing down the relation between a person's language and their culture / mentality (way of thinking).

In the 19th century linguists used to rate languages as primitive and advanced based on an evolutionary scale of a group's society. They termed languages advanced and complex if they were spoken by "civilized" peoples, and primitive and simple if they were spoken by hunters and gatherers, that is tribal peoples.

A famous anthropologist named Franz Boas proved this approach to understanding language and culture in general to be very wrong. It became evident to Boas and later others that languages could not be rated on a scale from simple to complex and that there was no one-to-one relationship between technological complexity or cultural complexity and linguistic complexity. All languages known to linguists, regardless of their society are equally complex. Languages spoken by tribal peoples are as systematically patterned as English or Latin. This truth is known as linguistic relativity. The parallel concept when studying other cultures is called cultural relativity.

Boas also convincingly demonstrated that it was necessary to analyze each language in terms of its own structure. This is not to say that there are no universals in language. There have to be since all languages have a phonemic system, a morphology, and syntax.

Doctrine of linguistic relativity states that all known languages and dialects are linguistically equal as long as they are effective means of communication, hence they are unique and relative to one another.

There are two important theories about the nature of language that changed the way languages are scrutinized in any context. The first and one of the biggest influences on linguistics was a work by Noam Chomsky called "Syntactic Structure." Chomsky's book advocated a new method of linguistic analysis called ***transformational-generative grammar***.

In linguistics, a transformational grammar or transformational-generative grammar (TG, TGG) is a generative grammar, especially of a natural language, that involves the use of defined operations called transformations to produce new sentences from existing ones. Transformational grammar seeks to identify such transformations that govern relations between parts of a sentence, on the assumption that beneath such aspects as word order a fundamental structure exists. This approach to studying a language postulates that a language is more than the surface phenomena, i.e. sounds, words, and word order. Beneath the surface all languages share *a limited set of organizing principles*.

One of the most important of Chomsky's ideas is that most of this knowledge is innate, with the result that a baby can have a large body of prior knowledge about the structure of language in general (*a universal grammar*), and needs only actually to *learn* the idiosyncratic features of the language(s) it is exposed to. Chomsky was not the first person to suggest that all languages had certain fundamental things in common (he quotes philosophers writing several centuries ago who had the same basic idea), but he helped to make the innateness theory respectable after a period dominated by more behaviorist attitudes towards language.

Our knowledge of the rules enables us to use language creatively, to generate an infinite number of sentences according to a finite number of rules – we can produce sentences that no one has ever said before and we can understand other people's original statements because we know our language plan. Others can learn our language “plan” because their language “plan” has similar patterns.

In the 1960s, Chomsky introduced two central ideas relevant to the construction and evaluation of grammatical theories. The first was the distinction between *competence* and *performance*. Chomsky noted the obvious fact that people, when speaking in the real world, often make linguistic errors (e.g., starting a sentence and then abandoning it midway through). He argued that these errors in linguistic performance were irrelevant to the study of linguistic competence (the knowledge that allows people to construct and understand grammatical sentences). Consequently, the linguist can study an idealised version of language, greatly simplifying linguistic analysis. As Chomsky says, “*Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly...To study actual linguistic performance, we must consider the interaction of a variety of factors, of which the underlying competence of the speaker-hearer is only one.*” [Chomsky, Noam (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. MIT Press.]

Chomsky is saying we have to look deeper than the PERFORMANCE level, deeper than the surface sounds, words and inflections we make when we speak, to the level of COMPETENCE that is how we know what we seem to know when we speak.

A second important development in linguistics is **the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (or Linguistic relativity concept-paradigm)**. It holds that the structure of a language affects its speakers' cognition or world view. It used to have a strong version that claims that language determines thought and that linguistic categories

limit and determine cognitive categories. In simpler terms, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has it that a language functions not simply as a device for reporting experience, but also as a way of defining experience for its speakers. As Sapir himself says,

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation [Sapir, 1929, p. 69].

The hypothesis has influenced disciplines beyond linguistics, including philosophy, neurobiology, anthropology, psychology and sociology. The hypothesis' origin, definition and applicability have been controversial since first outlined. It has come in and out of favor and remains contested as research continues across these domains.

Recent research proves the validity of the main postulates of the hypothesis in question (*in a brain-damaged patient suffering from a naming disorder, the loss of labels radically impaired his ability to categorise colors [Roberson, Davidoff & Braisby, 1999]; categorial perception seems to be language-dependent (Roberson, Davies I. & Davidoff 2000); a new perceptual color category boundary can actually be induced through laboratory training [Özgen and Davies 2002].*

Still, most evidence points against the hypothesis. As Manuel Aicart, **the** most reputed linguist on Linguistic relativity states:

“Language is a reflection of thought, not the other way round. As Pinker (1995) said, "when people think about *spring* they are not confused as to whether they are thinking about a season or something that goes bo**o**ing. And if one word can correspond to two thoughts, thoughts cannot be words." If we accept the "nice" effects of language on thought (often stereotypes about being more or less rational, romantic, open-minded, etc) we should also accept that it could cause other "less nice" effects, like making us more or less homophobic or suicidal. If ideas depended or were constrained by language, some languages might promote wealth while others would promote poverty for example. Some languages would make you more hard-working while others would make you lazier and South Korea would rank #2 in suicide rate because they speak Korean. In 2011 behavioral economist Keith Chen argued that the structure of some languages determined how much money you saved, and cited the example of Chinese. However, in a list of countries by GDP, France ranks #6. Its official language is French. Someone might conclude that the French language promotes wealth. But if that is so, how come Haiti (also French speaking)

ranks #138? The same can be said when we compare other English or Arabic speaking countries or even if we tried to find a correlation between language and corruption."

Most recently, a common view is that language influences certain kinds of cognitive processes in non-trivial ways, but that other processes are better seen as arising from connectionist factors. Research is focused on exploring new ways to characterize cognition, including the influence of language.

Discussion points and tasks:

- What was Franz Boas's contribution to understanding the structure of every language?
- What is the main ground for the distinction between language competence and language performance?
- What arguments against the effect of a language on thought does Manuel Aicart make? How far can you agree?

PART 2 *Read the suggested article and be ready to discuss it along the lines of the questions that follow it*

Which comes first, language or thought?

Babies think first

By William J. Cromie

Harvard News Office

It's like the chicken and egg question. Do we learn to think before we speak, or does language shape our thoughts? New experiments with five-month-olds favor the conclusion that thought comes first. "Infants are born with a language-independent system for thinking about objects," says Elizabeth Spelke, a professor of psychology at Harvard. "These concepts give meaning to the words they learn later."

Speakers of different languages notice different things and so make different distinctions. For example, when Koreans say that one object joins another, they specify whether the objects touch tightly or loosely. English speakers, in contrast, say whether one object is *in* or *on* another. Saying "I put the spoon cup" is not correct in either language. The spoon has to be "in" or "on" the cup in English, and has to be held tightly or loosely by the cup in Korean. These differences affect how adults view the world. When Koreans and Americans see the same everyday events (an apple in a bowl, a cap on a pen), they categorize them in accord with the distinctions of their languages. Because languages differ this way, many scientists suspected that children must learn the relevant concepts as they learn their language. That's wrong, Spelke insists.

Infants of English-speaking parents easily grasp the Korean distinction between a cylinder fitting loosely or tightly into a container. In other words, children come into the world with the ability to describe what's on their young minds in

English, Korean, or any other language. But differences in niceties of thought not reflected in a language go unspoken when they get older.

Spelke and Susan Hespos, a psychologist at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn., did some clever experiments to show that the idea of tight/loose fitting comes before the words that are used/not used to describe it. When babies see something new, they will look at it until they get bored. Hespos and Spelke used this well-known fact to show different groups of five-month-olds a series of cylinders being placed in and on tight- or loose-fitting containers. The babies watched until they were bored and quit looking. After that happened, the researchers showed them other objects that fit tightly or loosely together. The change got and held their attention for a while, contrary to American college students who failed to notice it. This showed that babies raised in English-speaking communities were sensitive to separate categories of meaning used by Korean, but not by English, adult speakers. By the time the children grow up, their sensitivity to this distinction is lost.

Other experiments show that infants use the distinction between tight and loose fits to predict how a container will behave when you move the object inside it. This capacity, then, "seems to be linked to mechanisms for representing objects and their motions," Hespos and Spelke report. Their findings suggest that language reduces sensitivity to thought distinctions not considered by the native language. "Because chimps and monkeys show similar expectations about objects, languages are probably built on concepts that evolved before humans did," Spelke suggests.

The researchers describe their experiments and conclusions in the July 22 issue of the scientific journal *Nature*.

The sounds of meaning

Their findings parallel experiments done by others, which show that, before babies learn to talk for themselves, they are receptive to the sounds of all languages. But sensitivity to nonnative language sounds drops after the first year of life. "It's not that children become increasingly sensitive to distinctions made in the language they are exposed to," comments Paul Bloom of Yale University. Instead, they start off sensitive to every distinction that languages make, then they become insensitive to those that are irrelevant. They learn what to ignore, Bloom notes in an article accompanying the Hespos/Spelke report.

As with words, if a child doesn't hear sound distinctions that it is capable of knowing, the youngster loses his or her ability to use them. It's a good example of use it or lose it. This is one reason why it is so difficult for adults to learn a second language, Bloom observes. "Adults' recognition of nonnative speech sounds may improve with training but rarely attains native facility," Spelke adds.

Speech is for communicating so once a language is learned nothing is lost by ignoring sounds irrelevant to it. However, contrasts such as loose-versus-tight fit help us make sense of the world. Although mature English speakers don't spontaneously notice these categories, they have little difficulty distinguishing them when they are pointed out. Therefore, the effect of language experience may be more dramatic at the crossroad of hearing and sound than at the interface of thinking and word meaning, Hespos and Spelke say.

Even if babies come equipped with all concepts that languages require, children may learn optional word meanings differently. Consider "fragile" or "delicately," which, unlike "in," you can leave out when you say "she delicately placed the spoon in the fragile cup." One view, Bloom points out, "is that there exists a universal core of meaningful distinctions that all humans share, but other distinctions that people make are shaped by the forces of language. On the other hand, language learning might really be the act of learning to express ideas that already exist," as in the case of the situation studied by Hespos and Spelke. There are lots of situations involving the relation between ideas and language that Hespos and Spelke did not address, so the debate is still open. Do people think before they speak or do words shape their thoughts?

Answer the following questions:

1. Which does the author say comes first, thought or language?
2. How does the author say a language affects our view of the world?
3. What does the author say about a baby's distinction between categories?
4. What happens when the babies grow-up?
5. What does Paul Bloom say about a child's sensitivity to distinctions?
6. What do you think this says about Chomsky's ideas about universal grammar?
7. What do you think this says about Sapir-Whorf's hypothesis about language and thought?
8. What do you think about Paul Bloom's conclusions?

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UNIT 2

Linguistic Variation. Regional and Social Dialects

PART 1 Questions to be tackled:

1. Linguistic variation versus linguistic change
2. What is a language and a dialect. Problems defining a language. Standardisation of languages.
3. Regional dialects and Isoglosses
4. Social dialects. Idiolects.

Key words and phrases: linguistic variation, linguistic change, a language variety, the process of standardization, regional and social dialects, a linguistic variable

Question 1 Linguistic variation versus linguistic change

Languages change over time and some language change leads to new languages being created. For example, Latin was the original source language for many of the modern romance languages including Italian, French, and Spanish. Language change is the manner in which the phonetic, morphological, semantic, syntactic and other features of a language are modified over time. All languages are continually changing. The effect of language change over time is known as Diachronic Change.

Historical Linguistics began in the late 18th C, when Western European scholars began to notice that some modern European languages shared similar linguistic characteristics with Ancient languages such as Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. These similarities led linguists to believe that most of today's European languages and those Ancient languages must have evolved from a single ancestor or mother language called Proto-Indo European. Later they spread to form different languages over the world.

The language changes are brought about by many reasons, both linguistically intrinsic and extrinsic: analogy and reanalysis, syntactical change, language contact, semantic change, compounding and derivations, borrowing, economy, linguistic heterogeneity.

Analogy and Reanalysis are two sources of change having a cognitive basis. Cognitive factors play a role in change in all components of grammar.

Analogy reflects the preference of speakers for regular patterns over irregular ones. It typically involves the extension or generalization of regularity, on the basis of the inference that insofar as some elements follow a certain pattern, other elements should follow it as well. Both phonological and semantic characteristics can serve as a basis for analogy. Thus, an **analogical change** is the process of inventing a new element in conformity with some part of the language system that you already know. For instance, child learns pairs like dog/dogs, cat/cats and is then able to form other plurals. The way in which analogy can lead to a change is seen when the child learns

words like man and mouse, and forms the analogical plurals *mans* and *mouses* (instead of men and mice). As we can see analogy plays a very important role in morphological change.

Reanalysis is particularly common in morphological change. Morphological reanalysis often involves an attempt to attribute a compound or root affix structure to a word that formerly was not broken down into component morphemes. A classic example in English is the word *hamburger* which originally referred to a type of meet party deriving its name from the city of Hamburg in Germany. This word has been reanalyzed as consisting of two components ham + burger. The later morpheme has since appeared in many new forms including *fish burger*, *chicken burger*, *egg burger* and even as a free morpheme *burger*.

Syntactical change. Syntactic change (word order) like other components of the grammar, syntax is also subjected to change over time. Syntactic changes can involve modifications to phrase structure rule or transformations. For example word order. All languages make a distinction between the subject and direct object. This contrast is typically represented through case marking or word order. Since Old English had an extensive system of case marking, it is not surprising that its word order was same as that of modern English. The most common word order was Subject+ Verb + Object (SVO). However, when the clause began with an element such as *pa* “then” or *ne* “not” the verb occurred in second position preceding the subject.

Language contact. Language contact occurs when speakers of one language frequently interact with the speakers of another language or dialect what causes a linguistic change as a consequence. Extensive borrowing can occur particularly where there are significant numbers of bilinguals or multilinguals. Although borrowing can affect all components of grammar, the lexicon is typically most affected. English for example had borrowed many French words such as *parent*, *cousin*, *animal*, *soup*, *colour*, *major*, *cuisine*, *gateau* and *blasé*. In North America many American words including *Canada*, *Moccasin*, *totem*, *tomahawk*, *Chinook* and *moose* have also been added to the English lexicon. Among the effects that borrowing can have on the sound system are an introduction of new phonemes or allophones and changes in their distribution. For instance, in early middle English period the London dialect had [f] but not [v] in a word initial position. The [v] was later introduced as a result of contact with other dialects of English and with French, in which it did occur word-initially as found in modern English pairs such as *file* and *vile*.

Semantic change (also **semantic shift**, **semantic progression** or **semantic drift**) is the evolution of word usage – usually to the point that the modern meaning is radically different from the original usage. In diachronic (or historical) linguistics, semantic change is a change in one of the meanings of a word. Every word has a variety of senses and connotations, which can be added, removed, or altered over time, often to the extent that cognates across space and time have very different meanings.

Semantic broadening refers to the process in which the meaning of a word becomes more general or more inclusive than its historically earlier meaning.

Examples of broadening:

| Word | Old meaning | New meaning |
|------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Bird | Small fowl | Any feathered vertebrate with a beak |
| Barn | Place to store barley | Any agricultural building |
| Aunt | Father's sisters | Father or mother's sister |

Semantic narrowing refers to the process in which the meaning of a word becomes less general or less inclusive than its historically earlier meaning.

Examples of narrowing:

| Word | Old meaning | New meaning |
|---------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Hound | Any dog | A hunting breed |
| Meat | Any type of food | Flesh of an animal |
| Fowl | Any bird | A domesticated bird |
| Disease | Any unfavorable state | An illness |

Amelioration – the meaning of a word becomes more positive or favorable.

Example;

| Word | Old meaning | New meaning |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Pretty | Tricky, shy, cunning | attractive |
| Knight | Body | A man of honorable literary rank |

Pejoration – the meaning of a word becomes negative or unfavorable

Example;

| Word | Old meaning | New meaning |
|-------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Silly | Happy / prosperous | Foolish |
| Wench | Girl | Wanton woman / prostitute |

Addition of lexical items. Addition is frequently the result of technological innovations or contact with other cultures. Such developments result in lexical gaps which can be filled by adding new words to the lexicon. New words are added either through the word formation processes available to the language or through borrowing. The most important word formation processes are compounding and derivation although other types including conversion, blending, back formation, clipping and acronyms can play a significant role.

Compounding and derivations have always been available to English speakers for the creation of new words. In fact much of the compounding and derivations in Old English seem very familiar just as speakers of modern English can

use compounding and derivations to create new words (for example the N+N compound *airport*.) So could old English speakers create new words such as a poetic N+N compound *hwalmeg*, literary *whale + path* to mean “*sea*”

Borrowing. Language contact over time can result in an important source of new words – borrowing. Depending in the cultural relationship between languages, three types of influence of one language on the other are traditionally identified: *substratum*, *adstratum* and *superstratum*. Substratum is the influence of the less politically and / or culturally dominant language on the language of colonizers, for example, in the period of colonialism the English language borrowed words *safari*, *panga* from Swahili language. Adstratum is the mutual influence of the two equally dominant languages on each other while superstratum represents an influence of a politically or culturally dominant language on the language of aborigines which is less politically or culturally dominant in the area. For example, the influence of the Norman French on the English language during the Middle English period. Examples of English words borrowed from French are *blasé*, *soiree* and *garage*.

Economy changes in a language may be caused by economy whereby speakers tend to make their utterances as efficient and effective as possible to reach communicative goals. Purposeful speaking therefore involves a trade-off of costs and benefits. Speakers especially use economy in their articulation which tends to reduce in phonetic reduction of speech forms – vowel reduction, cluster reduction, lenition and elision. After some time changes may become widely accepted (it becomes a regular sound change) and may end up treated as a standard language.

Example: going to [goʊ mtʊ] → gonna [gʌnə]

Vowel reduction [ʊ] → [ə]

Elision [nt] → [n]

Linguistic heterogeneity. This was proposed by sociolinguist Jennifer Coates (1993), who explained that linguistic change can be said to have taken place when a new a linguistic form used by a sub-group within a speech community is adopted by other members of that community and accepted throughout the speech community as the norm.

Variation is a characteristic of language: there is more than one way of saying the same thing. Speakers may vary pronunciation (accent), word choice (lexicon), or morphology and syntax (sometimes called "grammar"). But while the diversity of variation is great, there seem to be boundaries on variation – speakers do not generally make drastic alterations in a sentence word order or the use of novel sounds that are completely foreign to the language being spoken. Language variation does not equate with language ungrammaticality, but speakers are still (often unconsciously) sensitive to what is and is not possible in their native tongue. Linguistic variation exists at one given time. Linguistic variation could not be conceivable without its dialectic counterpart – linguistic norm.

Linguistic Norm is the historically determined aggregate of linguistic means in common use in a given language; also, the rules governing the choice and use of such means—rules that have become generally accepted by a specific linguistic community during a specific historical period. The linguistic norm is one of the essential characteristics of a language, ensuring its functioning and historical

continuity. But there have always been and will be deviations from the norm which are called language varieties or “lects” that reflect social and geographical stratification of any society or rather speech community.

Discussion points and tasks:

- Where does the difference between linguistic variation and linguistic change lie?
- What are the main reasons of language change?
- Do self-study **and work out the list of to list the** inner contradictions (antinomies) existing in any world language that urge language change

Question 2 *What is a language and a dialect. Problems defining a language.*

Standardisation of languages

What’s the difference between a language and a dialect? Is there some kind of technical distinction? A language should be the larger linguistic family that can contain several dialects and can be considered the standard form of the language. A dialect should be a way of speaking a language that is used only in a particular area or by a particular group and characterized by systemic features in phonology, lexicon, or grammar that distinguish it from other varieties of the same language. However, problems arise when we start to try to differentiate dialects from languages. Faced with the question, linguists like to repeat the grand old observation of the linguist and Yiddishist Max Weinreich, that “a language is a dialect with an army and a navy.”

Two kinds of criteria distinguish languages from dialects. The first are social and political: in this view, “languages” are typically prestigious, official and written, whereas “dialects” are mostly spoken, unofficial and looked down upon. Speakers of mere “dialects” often refer to their speech as “slang”, “patois” or the like. (e.g. the Mandarin Chinese term for Cantonese, Shanghaiese and others is *fangyan*, or “place-speech”.)

Linguists have a different criterion. First of all, the term “dialect” is equally applicable to all varieties of a language – including the dialect that might become the standard. All language varieties are equal from a purely linguistic point of view. Thus, linguists apply the criterion of mutual intelligibility (or comprehensibility): if two related kinds of speech are so close that speakers can have a conversation and understand each other, they are dialects of a single language. If comprehension is difficult to impossible, they are distinct languages. Of course, comprehensibility is not either-or, but a continuum – and it may even be asymmetrical. For example, Danish speakers can understand Swedish, but Swedish speakers cannot understand Danish ones, Portuguese speakers from Brazil can understand Spanish, but Spanish speakers cannot understand Portuguese speakers from Brazil. Nonetheless, mutual comprehensibility is the most objective basis for saying whether two kinds of speech are languages or dialects.

By the comprehensibility criterion, Cantonese is not a dialect of Chinese. Rather it is a language, as are Shanghaiese, Mandarin and other kinds of Chinese. Although the languages are obviously related, a Mandarin-speaker cannot understand Cantonese or Shanghaiese without having learned it as a foreign language (and vice-

versa, though most Chinese do learn Mandarin today). Most Western linguists classify them as “Sinitic languages”, not “dialects of Chinese”. (Some languages in China, like Uighur, are not Sinitic at all.) Objective though it may be, this criterion can annoy nationalists – and not just in China. Danes and Norwegians can converse, making some linguists classify the two as dialects of a single language, though few Danes or Norwegians think of it this way. Thus, an issue of differentiating between a language and a dialect falls within the boundaries of nonlinguistic criteria such as political, historical, or geographic differences rather than purely linguistic ones.

R. T Bell in his book [Bell, R.T. (1976). *Sociolinguistics: Goals, Approaches and Problems*. London: Batsford] has put forward several criteria applicable to a variety to be pinned down to a dialect or a language. They are **standardization, vitality, historicity, autonomy, reduction, mixture, norms**. In his view a language must be standardized, have strong vitality, be felt as autonomous and distinct from another language, must not be perceived as a mixture of different ways of speaking and ought to have a set of norms of proper verbal usage to follow.

Some linguists rely only on the single criterion of standardization to differentiate one language from another – if both have a standard form then they are both languages. Therefore, the chosen standardized dialect becomes the standard language and every other dialect is considered a dialect of the language only. For a language to be considered Standardized it must fulfill the following requirements:

1. **Selection:** A particular variety is selected as the one to be developed into the standard.
2. **Codification:** Some agency such as the academy creates dictionaries and grammar or reference books to fix the language variety so that everyone agrees on how to use it and what is correct.
3. **Elaboration of function:** the chosen variety of the language must be suitably comfortable for all the social functions, e.g. government documents, education, literature, art, legislature, church ceremonies etc.
4. **Acceptance:** Acceptance means that the relevant population accepts this variety of language as the community’s language.

An example of a standardized language is Standard English. Standard English is a controversial term used to denote a form of written and spoken English that is thought to be normative for educated users. There are no set rules or vocabulary for "Standard English" created by a governing body as it is the case in France. In fact attempts have been made both in the USA and Britain to create a codified body of linguistic dogmas in English, but they all have failed. However, English does have a very well defined grammar rules and a number of dictionaries that define the language’s lexicon and are published all over the world. However, many contend that rather than speaking about “standard English” one should resort to the term "standard Englishes", or "standard English dialects", given that there are large distinct English language communities with distinct standards, such as American English and British English.

Discussion points and tasks:

- What does the process of standardization of any language comprise?
- Apply the criteria of differentiating a language from a dialect suggested by R.T. Bell while comparing two pairs of language varieties: Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese; Serbian and Croatian. Prove these varieties to be different languages or dialects of the same language. Account for your conclusion
- Trace out the history of standardization of a London dialect, following its four main stages (selection, codification, elaboration of function, acceptance) Provide all the necessary data for your report

Question 3 Regional dialects and Isoglosses

Three things are needed for a new dialect to develop: a group of people living in close proximity to each other; this group living in isolation (either geographically or socially) from other groups; and the passage of time. Given enough time, a dialect may evolve to the point that it becomes a different language from the one it started as.

English began existence as a Germanic dialect called Anglo Saxon that was brought to England by invaders from Germany. The Anglo Saxon peoples in England were now geographically isolated from their cousins in Germany which allowed the dialects to evolve in different directions. Other invaders would also influence the development of English with their languages until the modern English we speak today has become so different from the modern German spoken in Germany that a speaker of one cannot understand a speaker of the other. Thus English and German are considered to be two different, though related, languages. The other modern languages in this family are Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic.

A regional dialect is a linguistic variation based upon the membership in a long-standing regionally isolated group. The most common way sociolinguists look at regional dialects is by creating *dialect maps* of various dialects of a single language within the boundaries of that language.

For example in seeking to determine features of the dialects of English and to show their distributions, dialect geographers try to find answers to questions such as:

- *Is this an r-pronouncing area of English in post-vocalic positions, as in the words “car” or “cart”, or is it not?*
- *What past tense form of drink do speakers prefer: drank or drunk?*
- *What names do people give to particular objects in their surroundings, such as elevator or lift; petrol or gas; carousel or roundabout?*

Maps are drawn to show the actual boundaries of distribution of certain linguistic features so as to distinguish an area in which a feature is found from areas in which it is absent. These boundaries or lines delimitating the areas of distribution of a linguistic variable in dialect maps are called isoglosses. The importance of isoglosses lies in their ability to show the dialect variations.

Some linguists are used to confusing the terms “*a dialect*” and “*an accent*”.

In linguistics, an accent is a pronunciation characteristic of a particular group of people relative to another group whereas a dialect is a variety of language differing in vocabulary and grammar as well as in pronunciation. When a standard language and pronunciation are defined by a group, an accent may be any pronunciation that

deviates from that standard. However, accent is a relative concept and it is meaningful only with respect to a specified pronunciation reference. For example, people from New York City may speak with an accent in the perception of people from Los Angeles, but people from Los Angeles may also speak with an accent in the perception of New Yorkers. Americans hear British people speaking with an accent and vice versa.

The United Kingdom is probably the most dialect-obsessed nation in the world. With countless accents shaped by thousands of years of history, there are few English-speaking nations with as many varieties of language in such a small space.

Here is a list of the most important types of British English. While this is not a complete list by any means, it will give you an overview of the accents and dialects most often cited by academia.

Received Pronunciation. Received Pronunciation is the closest to a “standard accent” that has ever existed in the UK. Although it originally derives from London English, it is non-regional. You’ve probably heard this accent countless times in Jane Austen adaptations, Merchant Ivory films, and Oscar Wilde plays. It emerged from the 18th- and 19th-century aristocracy, and has remained the “gold standard” ever since.

Features:

- *Non-rhoticity*, meaning the *r* in post-vocalic positions isn’t pronounced
- *Trap-bath split*, meaning that certain *a* -words, like *bath*, *can’t*, and *dance* are pronounced with the *back unrounded -a* as in *father*. (This differs from most American accents, in which these words are pronounced with the *front open -a* as in *cat*)
- The vowels tend to be a bit more conservative than other accents in Southern England, which have undergone significant vowel shifting over the past century.

Cockney. Cockney is probably the second most famous British accent. It originated in the East End of London, but shares many features with and influences other dialects in that region.

Features:

- *Raised vowel* in words like *trap* and *cat* so these sounds like “trep” and “cet.”
- *Non-rhoticity*: see explanation above under *Received Pronunciation*.
- *Trap-bath split*: see explanation above under *Received Pronunciation*.
- *London vowel shift*: The vowel sounds are shifted around so that Cockney “day” sounds is pronounced IPA **daɪ** (close to American “die”) and Cockney *buy* verges near IPA **bɔɪ** (close to American “boy”).
- *Glottal Stopping*: the letter *t* is pronounced with the back of the throat (glottis) in between vowels; hence *better* becomes IPA **beʔə** (sounds to outsiders like “be’uh”).
- *L-vocalization*: The *l* at the end of words often becomes a vowel sound Hence *pal* can seem to sound like “pow.” (In IPA it may be rendered as /w/, /o:/ and /ʉ/)

- *Th-Fronting*: The *th* in words like *think* or *this* is pronounced with a more forward consonant depending on the word: *thing* becomes “fing,” *this* becomes “dis,” and *mother* becomes “muhvah.”

Estuary English (Southeast British). Estuary is an accent derived from London English which has achieved a status *slightly* similar to “General American” in the US. Features of the accent can be heard around Southeast England, East Anglia, and perhaps further afield. It is arguably creeping into the Midlands and North.

Features:

- Similar to Cockney, but in general Estuary speakers do not front *th* words or raise the vowel in *trap*. There are few hard-and-fast rules, however.
- Glottal stopping of ‘t’ and l-vocalization (see above) are markers of this accent, but there is some debate about their frequency.

West Country (Southwest British). West Country refers to a large swath of accents heard in the South of England, starting about fifty miles West of London and extending to the Welsh border.

Features:

- *Rhoticity*, meaning that the letter *r* is pronounced after vowels. So, for example, whereas somebody from London would pronounce *mother* as “muthah,” somebody from Bristol would say “mutherrr“. (i.e. the way people pronounce the word in America or Ireland).
- Otherwise, this is a huge dialect area, so there’s a lot of variation there.

Midlands English. Midlands English is one of the more stigmatized of Englishes. Technically, this can be divided into East Midlands and West Midlands, but the differences between the two will not be the focus of attention here. The most famous of these dialects is **Brummie** (Birmingham English).

Features:

- *The foot-strut merger*, meaning that the syllable in *foot* and *could* is pronounced with the same syllable as *strut* and *fudge*. (IPA ʊ).
- A system of vowels otherwise vaguely reminiscent of Australian accents, with short *i* in *kit* sometimes verging toward IPA **kit** (“keet”) and extremely open “loose” diphthongs.
- A variety of unusual vocabulary: some East Midlands dialects still feature a variant of the word “thou”

Northern England English. These are the accents and dialects spoken north of the midlands, in cities like Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool. Related accents also found in rural Yorkshire, although there are some unique dialect features there

Features:

- *The foot-strut merger*: (see the Midlands description above).
- Non-rhoticity, except in some rural areas.
- The diphthong in words like *kite* and *ride* is lengthened so that *kite* can become something like IPA **ka:ɪt** (i.e. it sounds a bit like “kaaait”)
- Unique vocabulary includes the use of the word *mam* to mean mother, similar to Irish English.

Geordie. Geordie usually refers to both the people and dialect of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, in Northeast England. The word may also refer to accents and dialects in Northeast England in general. It can be classified as a separate region from the rest of Northern England because it's so radically different from the language spoken in nearby cities.

Features

- *The foot-strut merger*(see the Midlands description above).
- *Non-rhoticity* (in the cities at least)
- The /ai/ diphthong in *kite* is raised to IPA $\epsilon\text{ɪ}$, so it sounds a bit more like American or Standard British “kate.”
- The /au/ diphthong in “about” is pronounced IPA u: (that is, “oo”) in strong dialects. Hence *bout* can sound like “boot.”

Welsh English. This refers to the accents and dialects spoken in the country of Wales. The speech of this region is heavily influenced by the Welsh language, which remained more widely spoken in modern times than the other Celtic languages.

Features:

- Usually non-rhotic
- English is generally modelled after Received Pronunciation or related accents, but with many holdovers from the Welsh language.
- Syllables tend to be very evenly stressed, and the prosody of the accent is often very “musical”.
- The letter *r* is often trilled or tapped.
- Some dialect words imported from the Welsh language.

Scottish English. This is the broad definition used to describe English as it is spoken in the country of Scotland. Note that *Scottish English* is different than *Scots*, a language derived from Northumbrian Old English that is spoken in Scotland as well. That being said, Scots has a strong influence on how English in Scotland is spoken.

Features:

- Rhotic, with trilled or tapped *r*'s.
- Glottal stopping of the letter *t* when in between vowels (similar to Cockney and related accents).
- Monophthongal pronunciations of the /ei/ and /ou/ diphthongs, so that that *face* becomes IPA fe:s and *goat* becomes IPA go:t .

Discussion points and tasks:

- What are the prerequisites **of for** a dialect to evolve?
- What is the main difference between an accent and a dialect?
- Generalize those linguistic features that account for a variety of English accents and dialects in the UK
- Do some small research into the number and names of the main regional dialects in the USA

Question 4 Social dialects. Idiolects

Dialect differences of course are not only regional. They can also be within a society. Whereas regional dialects are geographically based, social dialects originate among social groups and are related to a variety of factors, but in particular: social class, religion, ethnicity (ethnolect), age group and gender affiliation.

A social dialect (or a sociolect) is a linguistic variation based upon the membership in a long-standing socially isolated group. That is people may be more similar in their linguistic means to people from the same social group in a different area than to people from a different social group in the same area. Examples of social dialects might include African American Vernacular English, Jewish English in New York, Italian English in New York, teenage slang, women's talk. Sociolects involve both passive acquisition of particular communicative practices through association with a local community, as well as active learning and choice among speech or writing forms to demonstrate identification with particular groups.

One of the most important aspects of Sociolinguistics is discussing language variation among various social classes within a single society – hierarchical social groups people are organized into on the basis of their education, profession and income. Sociolinguists usually only divide a society into very broad social classes such as high class vs. low class, or upper classes vs. middle classes vs. lower classes. To try to define the classes more specifically leads to too many problems since many other social factors are involved in an individual's place in society and in their language use.

One of the fathers of American Sociolinguistics, William Labov, made several large-scale studies that determined where language variation occurs in most class-based societies. He showed, by carefully plotting a speaker's social position alongside their use of linguistic variables, that linguistic changes tended to be led by certain social groups, in particular, the upper working class and the lower middle class.

A linguistic variable is a collection of alternatives (identifiable variants). When a certain way of saying something becomes a set way of expressing it, phonetically, grammatically, or lexically, it is called a linguistic variable. The different ways, a linguistic variable is expressed, which can be substituted for one another are called variants.

Labov found that upper working class speakers tended to be the leaders of unconscious linguistic changes that were more common in casual speech, and that the lower middle class led changes towards overtly prestigious standard forms. That is, the working class is most responsible for creating the newest variations in how we speak – the working classes create change. The lower middle class is most responsible for spreading the prestigious standard forms of the language – the middle classes spread change. Moreover, social and regional factors are very closely interrelated.

Some Linguistic Markers of Social Variation in Britain and the USA

Long before the days of the 20th-century Linguistics and Phonetics, English novelists and dramatists (George Gissing, George Meredith, Charles Dickens, Thomas Hardy to name just a few) were observing the relationship between the manner of speaking and the adherence to a certain social class in Britain and thus using the assumption for characters' portrayal and social comment.

A 1972 survey carried out by National Opinion Polls in England provides an example of how significantly speech differences are associated with social class differences. The following question was asked: "*Which of the these [eleven specified factors] would you say are most important in being able to tell which class a person is?*" Respondents were randomly chosen from the British public. The factor that scored the highest was "*the way they speak*" followed by "*where they live.*" At the bottom of the list was "*the amount of money they have.*"

All this is evidence that speech is regarded as more indicative of social class than occupation, education and income. Other researchers also cite consistent findings of listeners evaluating anonymous British speakers with the standard RP accent more favourably for such status traits as intelligence, success, and confidence. British speakers themselves often characterize other British accents as either "posh" or "common" accents. Most speakers of British English would recognize these labels and create a fairly accurate image of the sound of these far ends of the spectrum: Received Pronunciation representing the "posh" end and a less broad version of Cockney representing the "common" accent. As language change continues to take place within Britain and within England, there are some who claim that a relatively newly established accent, "Estuary English" (EE) will soon replace the traditional educated accent of England's Received Pronunciation" (RP). Estuary English is reported to be used by speakers who constitute the social "middle ground."

Received Pronunciation

↑ ↓

Estuary English

↑

Cockney

G-dropping

There has been established a steady dependence of pronunciation on the social class of an individual. It has been traced out by scientists who researched the so-called g-dropping phenomenon. G-dropping is replacement of the final velar "ng" sound of a word ending in "-ing" by the alveolar "n" For instance, in a 1969 study done in New York City, William Labov found that in a casual conversation, g-dropping varied with social class as follows:

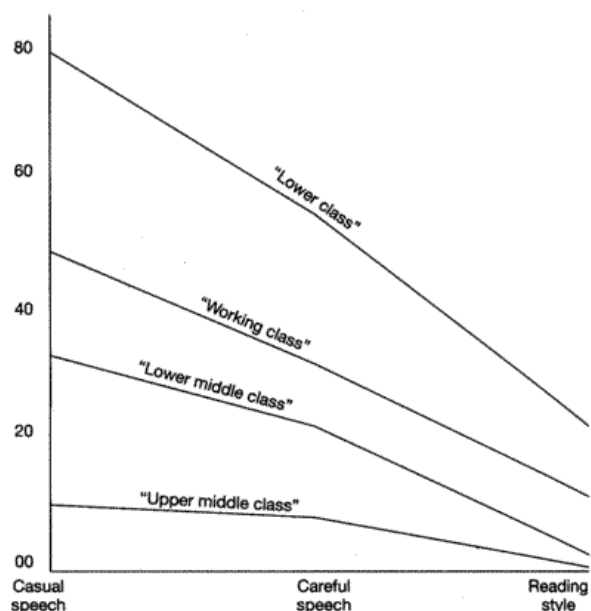
| <i>Percentage of g-dropping</i> | Lower class | Working class | Lower middle class | Upper middle class |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | 80% | 49% | 32% | 5% |

As class status "rises" the percentage of g-dropping falls. However, formality also matters: members of a given social stratum drop g's more often in less formal speech.

In the British Middle Class g-dropping has an interesting history and it takes on a different significance. In 19th- and early 20th-century England, the g-dropping pattern (which really was the "not g-adding pattern") marked the rural aristocracy, it was fashionable among the upper classes not to add –g finally in –ing endings. As the standardization of written English began to take hold, people began to see the dropping of the g as less prestigious. Educated people began to feel that if the g- was part of the spelling of the word, then it should be pronounced. Today, nearly all English speakers drop g's sometimes, but in a given speech community, the proportion varies systematically depending on formality, social class, sex, and other variables as well.

A particularly famous study of g-dropping was conducted in Norwich, England, by Peter Trudgill.

| | Casual speech | Careful speech | Reading |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------|---------|
| Middle-middle class | 28% | 3% | 10% |
| Lower middle class | 42% | 15% | 10% |
| Upper working class | 87% | 74% | 15% |
| Middle working class | 95% | 88% | 44% |
| Lower working class | 100% | 98% | 66% |



The table and the chart below it distinctly show that the lower the social class is and the more unprepared the speech gets, the stronger is the tendency of speakers towards dropping the g in the –ing ending of words.

Moreover, Trudgill's study discovered that the nonstandard” –in” forms occurred much more often in men's speech than in women's, and this was true for all social classes. When women were questioned about what they thought they were saying, they tended to say they used the standard -ing forms more often than they really did. When men were questioned about what they thought they were saying, they tended to say they used the nonstandard”–in” forms more often than they really did. Such answers of respondents highlight the fact that male speakers tend to value more informal (or lower-class) modes of speech than females do. Overall g-dropping rates seem to be somewhat higher in Norwich compared to New York. However, the general pattern of dependence on social status and the level of formality is maintained in both areas.

U and non-U

There are a wide variety of social dialects in Britain, but the best example of the difference between social dialects is the U and non-U study by *A.S.C. Ross*. The study was very broad because it only studied the difference between the features of upper class speech and not upper class speech, but the results still stand. Ross found out that these two varieties differ on a lexical level first of all, with upper class showing preference for particular set vocabulary.

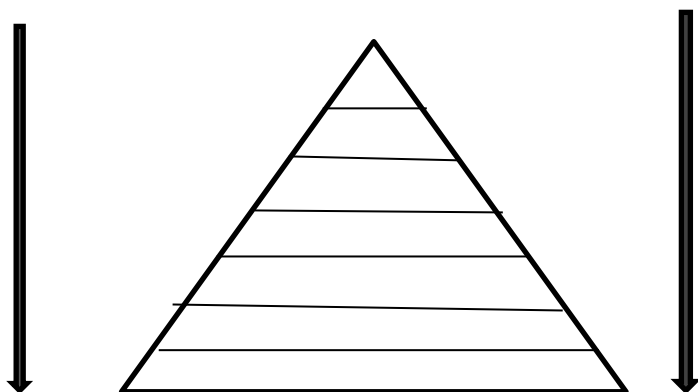
Some of the lexical oppositions proposed by Ross:

| U (upper class people) | Non-U (lower class people) |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Have a bath | Take a bath |
| Sick | Ill |
| Vegetables | Greens |
| Wireless | Radio |
| Lavatory paper | Toilet paper |
| Table napkin | serviette |
| Luncheon | dinner |

Similar studies have been done in many places, for many linguistic variables other than g-dropping (such as **h-dropping** in a word-initial position, the **r-dropping** in intervocalic positions vs **intrusive -r-** in pronunciation of a word where there is no “r” in the standard spelling of the word) and the pattern is always the same: there is a sort of systematic analogy between social class and formality.

The pyramid below represents the relationships between a speaker's social status and their speech. It shows the tendency towards broadening the scope in geographical accents and dialects with lowering of the social class. At the top are speakers of the highest social class: they speak the standard dialect with very little regional variation. Also at the top are those who speak RP, the educated accent that signals no regional information at all because it's not regionally specific – it's class based.

Speakers of the Highest Social Class= the least regional variation = RP-speakers



Speakers of the Lowest Social Class= the most regional dialect variation

The further down you move on the social scale and the further down the pyramid you go, the more regional accents and dialect variation you encounter. When you reach the lowest social class you encounter the widest range of local accents and dialects. In William Labov's words, "Thus for example speakers from the top social class will all use the same word, "headache", and give it the RP pronunciation, but speakers from the lowest class will use, "skullache, head-wark, head-warch, sore head", and other forms in a variety of pronunciations, depending on where they are from."

Idiolect is an individual's distinctive and unique use of language, including speech. This unique usage encompasses vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation. Idiolect is the variety of language unique to an individual. There are as many idiolects as there are individuals in a social group.

Discussion points and tasks:

- What is a sociolect?
- What basic social factors constitute the foundation for distinguishing different sociolects?
- Summarise the main findings / contributions of researchers into the issue of the social variation in England and the USA.

PART 2 Read the suggested article and be ready to discuss it along the lines of the questions that follow it

Eble, Connie. *Do you speak American? What is sociolinguistics?* "Sociolinguistic basics," from the PBS special on sociolinguistics, MacNeil / Lehrer productions

(2005). <http://www.pbs.org/speak/speech/sociolinguistics/sociolinguistics/> (accessed March 20, 2007)

Language is basic to social interactions, affecting them and being affected by them. Connie Eble of the University of North Carolina explains how the field of sociolinguistics analyzes the many ways in which language and society intersect.

Sociolinguistics is the study of how language serves and is shaped by the social nature of human beings. In its broadest conception, sociolinguistics analyzes the many and diverse ways in which language and society entwine. This vast field of inquiry requires and combines insights from a number of disciplines, including linguistics, sociology, psychology and anthropology. Sociolinguistics examines the interplay of language and society, with language as the starting point. Variation is the key concept, applied to language itself and to its use.

The basic premise of sociolinguistics is that language is variable and changing. As a result, language is not homogeneous — not for the individual user and not within or among groups of speakers who use the same language. By studying written records, sociolinguists also examine how language and society have interacted in the past. For example, they have tabulated the frequency of the singular pronoun *thou* and its replacement *you* in dated hand-written or printed documents and correlated changes in frequency with changes in class structure in 16th and 17th century England. This is historical sociolinguistics: the study of relationship between changes in society and changes in language over a period of time.

What is dialect?

Sociolinguists also study dialect — any regional, social or ethnic variety of a language. By that definition, the English taught in school as correct and used in non-personal writing is only one dialect of contemporary American English. Usually called Standard American English or Edited American English, it is the dialect used in this essay.

Scholars are currently using a sociolinguistic perspective to answer some intriguing questions about language in the United States, including these:

Which speakers in urban areas of the North are changing the pronunciation of vowels in a systematic way? For instance, some speakers in Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago pronounce *bat* so that it sounds like *bet* and *bet* so that it sounds like *but*. Linguists call these patterned alterations the Northern Cities Vowel Shift.

Which features of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) grammar are used by middle-class white teen-agers who admire contemporary African-American music, entertainment and clothing? For instance, white adolescents might speak approvingly of the style of a peer by saying *she money* or *he be jammin'* — sentence structures associated with African Americans.

Which stereotypical local pronunciations are exaggerated to show local allegiance? Such language behavior has been pointed out recently for Pittsburgh, New Orleans and the barrier islands off North Carolina known as the Outer Banks. At the end of the 20th century, connections between the isolated Outer Banks and the greater world increased. This changed the local seafood industry and made the Outer Banks a destination for a growing number of tourists. Using the typical way that the natives

pronounce the vowel in the words *high* and *tide*, these North Carolinians are called *Hoi Toiders*. They continue to use this distinctive vowel even though in other ways their dialect is becoming more like other American dialects.

What will be the linguistic impact of the impending loss of monolingual French speakers in the Acadian, or Cajun, region of southern Louisiana? What are the traces of French in Cajun Vernacular English, the dialect of monolingual speakers of English who consider themselves Cajun? Will these French features be sustained?

What slang terms do students use to show affiliation with subgroups of their peers and to distinguish themselves from their parents' generation? In 2002, for example, university students in North Carolina described things that were great, pleasing or favorable as *cool*, *hype*, *money*, *phat*, *tight* or *sweet* — but definitely not *swell*.

Variation in language is not helter-skelter. It is systematic. For instance, a speaker may sometimes pronounce the word *mind* to sound just like *mine* through a process called consonant cluster reduction. Pronunciation of the final *-nd* consonant cluster as *-n* tends to occur before consonants; i.e., the speaker's choice of saying *mine* instead of *mind* is conditioned by a feature of the language itself (whether or not a consonant sound follows the word). For instance, a speaker is likely to say "I wouldn't mind owning a BMW" (with both *n* and *d* pronounced before *o*), but "I wouldn't mine borrowing your BMW" (with *nd* reduced to *n* before *b*).

Variation also correlates with social factors outside of language. For example, Appalachian working-class speakers reduce consonant clusters more often than northern Anglo-American working class speakers and working-class African Americans, regardless of their region, reduce consonant clusters more frequently than do other working-class speakers. Thus, the occurrence of final consonant cluster reduction is conditioned internally by its position in the speech stream and externally by the social factors of socioeconomic class and ethnicity.

Another example of an internal linguistic variable is the pronunciation of the words spelled *pen*, *ten* and *Ben* so that they sound as if they were spelled *pin*, *tin* and *bin*. This variable correlates with being Southern, regardless of age, gender, socioeconomic class or ethnicity. However, among Southerners, the pronunciation of *ask* as if it were spelled *ax* correlates with ethnicity, because the pronunciation is used most often (but not exclusively) by African Americans.

Another pronunciation variant that correlates with a social category is heard in New Orleans. In working-class neighborhoods, words spelled with *oi* are often pronounced as if spelled *er*. For these speakers, then, the word *point* rhymes with *weren't*. Age is another social variable. In North Carolina, elderly speakers often pronounce *duke*, *stupid* and *newspaper* with a *y*-sound before the vowel. Instead of the common pronunciations *dook*, *stupid*, and *nooz* for these words, they say *dyuke*, *styupid*, and *nyuz*. (This is basically the difference all English speakers make between the words *food* and *feud*; *feud* has a *y*-sound before the vowel.) Speakers born after World War II seldom use this pronunciation.

The examples above have all concerned pronunciation, but language also varies in vocabulary, grammar and use.

Vocabulary sometimes varies by region

Vocabulary sometimes varies by region. The expression *lost bread* to refer to *French toast* is a translation of French *pain perdu*, part of the vocabulary of southern Louisiana. Other vocabulary is not regional but rather is old-fashioned, such as *frock* for ‘a woman’s dress’ or *tarry* for ‘wait.’ Some vocabulary may vary by degree of formality, as in the choice among the words *barf*, *upchuck*, *vomit* and *regurgitate*. Grammatical constructions also vary. In the Midland region of the United States, speakers use a construction called positive anymore, as in “Anymore you see round bales of hay in the fields.” In other regions, speakers would say, “Nowadays you see round bales of hay in the field.” A grammatical variation associated with AAVE omits the verb *be*, as in “The teacher in the classroom.” Another variation that is widespread in spoken American English is the double negative, as in “We don’t want no more construction on this road.” Such sentences are not Standard American English.

Putting It in Context

Considerations other than grammatical correctness often govern speaker choices. For example, *Sign this paper* is a grammatically correct imperative sentence. However, a student approaching a teacher to obtain permission to drop a course, for reasons having nothing to do with grammar, will probably avoid the imperative — expressing the request instead as a statement or a question, such as *I need to get your signature on this paper* or *Will you please sign this drop form?*

Some social factors are attributes of the speaker — for example, age, gender, socio-economic class, ethnicity and educational level. Many studies have shown that these factors commonly correlate both with variation within the language itself (such as the pronunciation of final consonant clusters) and with variation in the use of language (such as the use of more or less formal vocabulary, depending on the audience). These findings match our everyday experience; most people are well aware that men and women use the language differently, that poor people often speak differently from rich people, and that educated people use language differently from uneducated people.

People adjust the way they talk to their social situation

It is common knowledge that people also adjust the way they talk to their social situation. Socio-situational variation, sometimes called register, depends on the subject matter, the occasion and the relationship between participants — in addition to the previously mentioned attributes of region, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, age and gender. Here are some examples.

Constraints on subject matter vary from culture to culture. In American English, it is fine to ask a child or a medical patient, “Have you had a bowel movement today?” However, the same question to an acquaintance might be coarse. Even a good friend would find it at the least peculiar. American English speakers must approach other subjects with care. They wouldn’t dare ask, for example, “Are you too fat for one plane seat?” “What’s your take-home pay?” “Are you sure you’re only 50?” “Do you have a personal relationship with Christ?”

Any of these questions posed at a cocktail party might draw a prompt “None of your business” — or something less polite. However, in other situations, between other participants, those same questions might be appropriate. A public-health official encouraging Americans to lose weight might well ask a general audience, “Are you

too fat to fit in one plane seat?” A financial planner speaking to a client certainly should ask, “What is your take-home pay?”

Contact

Contact is an important concept in sociolinguistics — social contact and language contact. Language change spreads through networks of people who talk with one another. Tight-knit groups that keep to themselves tend not to promote change. Networks whose members also belong to other networks tend to promote change. People can live next door to one another and not participate in the same network. In the segregated South, blacks and whites often lived on the same piece of land; blacks worked in the homes of whites. The physical distance was minimal, but the great social distance led to different varieties of American English.

Contact between languages brings about variation and change. Situations of language contact are usually socially complex, making them of interest to sociolinguists. When speakers of different languages come together, the results are determined in large part by the economic and political power of the speakers of each language. In the United States, English became the popular language from coast to coast, largely replacing colonial French and Spanish and the languages of Native Americans. In the Caribbean and perhaps in British North America where slavery was practiced, Africans learned the English of their masters as best they could, creating a language for immediate and limited communication called a *pidgin*. When Africans forgot or were forbidden to use their African languages to communicate with one another, they developed their English pidgin into their native tongue. A language that develops from a pidgin into a native language is called a *creole*. African American Vernacular English may have developed this way.

Bilingualism is another response to language contact. In the United States, large numbers of non-English speaking immigrants arrived in the late 19th and early 20th century. Typically, their children were bilingual and their grandchildren were monolingual speakers of English. When the two languages are not kept separate in function, speakers can intersperse phrases from one into the other, which is called code switching. Speakers may also develop a dialect of one language that is heavily influenced by features of the other language, such as the contemporary American dialect Chicano English.

Sociolinguists: Subjects and Leaders

Sociolinguists study many other issues, among them the values that hearers place on variations in language, the regulation of linguistic behavior, language standardization, and educational and governmental policies concerning language.

The term sociolinguistics is associated with William Labov and his quantitative methodology. Around the world, many linguists study the intersection of language and social factors from other perspectives. The most prominent is M. A. K. Halliday, whose approach is called systemic-functionalist linguistics. Some other prominent sociolinguists are Guy Bailey, John Baugh, Jack Chambers, Penelope Eckert, Lesley Milroy, John Rickford, Suzanne Romaine, Roger Shuy, Deborah Tannen, Peter Trudgill, and Walt Wolfram.

Answer the following questions:

1. What is Eble's definition of a dialect?
2. What are some dialects found in the U.S?
3. What are some variations found in the U.S?
4. How does vocabulary vary by region?
5. How do people adjust the way they talk in social situations?
6. Why does contact matter in sociolinguistics?
7. What do you think about this article? Was it a useful article? Why? Why not?

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UNIT 3

Collision and mixture of languages

PART 1 Questions to be tackled:

1. Speech Communities
2. Diglossia versus Bilingualism
3. Pidgins and Creoles

Key words and phrases: a speech community, diglossia, L-variety, H-variety, bilingualism, types of individual bilingualism

Question 1 Speech Communities

Just as it is difficult to define such terms as “language”, “dialect”, and “variety”, it is also difficult to define “speech community”, and for many of the same reasons. That difficulty, however, does not prevent sociolinguists from using the term: the concept has proved to be invaluable in sociolinguistic work in spite of a certain ‘fuzziness’ as to its precise characteristics. It remains so even if it is taken that a speech community is no more than some kind of social group whose speech characteristics are of interest and can be described in a coherent manner.

The term “speech community” is widely used by sociolinguists to refer to a community based on language but the term “linguistic community” is used with the same meaning. Exactly how to define *speech community* is debated in the literature. Definitions of speech community tend to involve varying degrees of emphasis on the following:

- Shared community membership
- Shared linguistic communication

Early definitions have tended to see speech communities as bounded and localized groups of people who live together and come to share the same linguistic norms because they belong to the same local community. It has also been assumed that within a community a homogeneous set of norms should exist. These assumptions have been challenged by later scholarship that has demonstrated that individuals generally participate in various speech communities simultaneously and at different times in their lives. Each speech community has different norms that they tend to share only partially. Communities may be de-localized and unbounded rather than local, and they often comprise different sub-communities with differing speech norms. With the recognition of the fact that speakers actively use language to construct and manipulate social identities by signalling membership in particular speech communities, the idea of the bounded speech community with homogeneous speech norms has become largely abandoned for a model based on the speech community as a fluid community of practice.

A **speech community** is a group of people who share a set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language through living and interacting together,

and speech communities may therefore emerge among all groups that interact frequently and share certain norms and ideologies. Such groups can be villages, countries, political or professional communities, communities with shared interests, hobbies, or lifestyles, or even just groups of friends. Speech communities may share both particular sets of vocabulary and grammatical conventions, as well as speech styles and genres, and also norms for how and when to speak in particular ways.

Here is a short overview of the evolution of sociolinguists' approaches to defining the term. For purely theoretical purposes, some linguists have hypothesized the existence of an 'ideal' speech community. This is actually what Chomsky proposes, imagining his '*completely homogeneous speech community*' [Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press]. However, such an approach can be of little if any value: it is a theoretical construct employed for a narrow purpose. Speech communities, whatever they are, exist in a 'real' world. Consequently, sociolinguists have been trying to find some alternative view of speech community, one helpful to investigations of language in society rather than necessitated by abstract linguistic theorizing.

Lyons [Lyons, J. (ed.) (1970). *New Horizons in Linguistics*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.] offers a definition of what he calls a 'real' speech community: '*all the people who use a given language (or dialect)*.' However, that really shifts the issue to making the definition of a language (or of a dialect) also the definition of a speech community. Clearly it is possible to delimit speech communities in this sense only to the extent that it is possible to delimit languages and dialects without referring to the community that speaks them. But then again it is really quite easy to demonstrate that a speech community is not coterminous with a language: while the English language is spoken in many places throughout the world, it is also spoken in a wide variety of ways, in speech communities that are almost entirely isolated from one another, e.g., in South Africa, in New Zealand, and among expatriates in China. Alternatively, a recognizably single speech community can employ more than one language: Switzerland, Canada, Papua New Guinea, many African states, and New York City.

So scientists began to realise that if speech communities are defined solely by their linguistic characteristics, they must acknowledge the inherent circularity of any such definition in that language itself is a communal possession. Using linguistic characteristics alone to determine what is or is not a speech community has proved to be quite impossible because people do not necessarily feel any such direct relationship between linguistic characteristics A, B, C, and so on, and speech community X. Although speakers do use linguistic characteristics to achieve group identity with, and group differentiation from, other speakers, but they use other characteristics as well: social, cultural, political and ethnic, to name a few.

It has been comprehended that the search must be for criteria other than, or at least in addition to, linguistic criteria if a useful understanding of 'speech community' is to be gained. For very specific sociolinguistic purposes it has been attempted to draw quite narrow and extremely precise bounds around "a speech community". It has also been required that only a single language be spoken (and a very restrictive definition of language has been employed in doing so), and that the speakers in the

community share some kind of common feeling about linguistic behavior in the community, that is, observe certain linguistic norms. This appeal to norms forms an essential part of Labov's definition of speech community [Labov, W. (1972b). *Sociolinguistic Patterns* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.]: "*The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage*".

This definition shifts the emphasis away from an exclusive use of linguistic criteria to a search for the various characteristics which make individuals feel that they are members of the same community. Milroy [Milroy, L. (1987a). *Language and Social Networks*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell] has indicated some consequences of such a view: "*Thus, all New York speakers from the highest to lowest status are said to constitute a single speech community because, for example, they agree in viewing presence of postvocalic [r] as prestigious. They also agree on the social value of a large number of other linguistic elements. Southern British English speakers cannot be said to belong to the same speech community as New Yorkers, since they do not attach the same social meanings to, for example, (r): on the contrary, the highest prestige accent in Southern England (RP) is non-rhotic. Yet, the Southern British speech community may be said to be united by a common evaluation of the variable (h); h-dropping is stigmatized in Southern England . . . but is irrelevant in New York City or, for that matter, in Glasgow or Belfast*".

In this sense, 'speech community' is a very abstract concept, one likely to create not a few problems, because the particular norms that a community uses may or may not be exclusively linguistic in nature, and even the linguistic norms themselves may vary considerably among small sub-groups.

The single-language, or single-variety, criterion is also a very dubious one. Gumperz [Gumperz, J. J. (1971). *Language in Social Groups*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press] points out that 'there are no a priori grounds which force us to define speech communities so that all members speak the same language.' Many societies have existed and still exist in which bilingualism and multilingualism are normal. For example, early in the year 2000 London was judged to be the most 'international' of all cities in the world based on the number of different languages spoken there – over 300. It is such considerations as these which lead Gumperz to use the term linguistic community rather than speech community. He proceeds to define that term as follows: "*a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication. Linguistic communities may consist of small groups bound together by face-to-face contact or may cover large regions, depending on the level of abstraction we wish to achieve*".

In this definition, then, communities are defined partially through their relationships with other communities. Internally, a community must have a certain social cohesiveness; externally, its members must find themselves cut off from other communities in certain ways. The factors that bring about cohesion and differentiation will vary considerably from occasion to occasion.

Gumperz [ibid.] offers another definition of the speech community: “*any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage. Most groups of any permanence, be they small bands bounded by face-to-face contact, modern nations divisible into smaller subregions, or even occupational associations or neighborhood gangs, may be treated as speech communities, provided they show linguistic peculiarities that warrant special study*”.

Not only must members of the speech community share a set of grammatical rules, but there must also be regular relationships between language use and social structure; i.e., there must be norms which may vary by sub-group and social setting.

Gumperz adds: “*Wherever the relationships between language choice and rules of social appropriateness can be formalized, they allow us to group relevant linguistic forms into distinct dialects, styles, and occupational or other special parlances. The sociolinguistic study of speech communities deals with the linguistic similarities and differences among these speech varieties*”. Furthermore, “*the speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system because they are related to a shared set of social norms*”. Such norms, however, may overlap what we must regard as clear language boundaries. For example, in Eastern Europe many speakers of Czech, Austrian German, and Hungarian share rules about the proper forms of greetings, suitable topics for conversation, and how to pursue these, but no common language. They are united in a Sprachbund, ‘speech area,’ not quite a ‘speech community,’ but still a community defined in some way by speech. As we can see, then, trying to define the concept of ‘speech community’ requires to come to grips with definitions of other concepts, principally “group”, “language” (or “variety”), and “norm”.

Thus, the concept of “speech community” is a difficult one to grasp in its entirety, for it depends on how one defines ‘groups’ in society. There is a clear distinction between participating in a speech community and being a fully-fledged member of that community. “Group” is a relative concept and ‘speech community’ must also be relative. You are a member of one speech community by virtue of the fact that on a particular occasion you identify with X rather than Y when apparently X and Y contrast in a single dimension. This approach would suggest that there is an English speech community (because there are French and German ones), a Texas speech community (because there are London and Bostonian ones), a Harvard speech community (because there are Oxford and Berkeley ones), a Chicano speech community (because there are Spanish and English ones), and so on.

An individual therefore belongs to various speech communities at the same time, but on any particular occasion will identify with only one of them, the particular identification depending on what is especially important or contrastive in the circumstances. For any specific speech community, the concept “*reflects what people do and know when they interact with one another. It assumes that when people come together through discursive practices, they behave as though they operate within a shared set of norms, local knowledge, beliefs, and values. It means that they are aware of these things and capable of knowing when they are being adhered to and when the values of the community are being ignored . . . it is fundamental in*

understanding identity and representation of ideology” [Morgan, M. M. (2001). Community. In Duranti (2001)].

Discussion points and tasks:

- Why is the term “speech community” deemed invaluable in Sociolinguistics?
- What **terms notions** are viewed as inseparable from “speech community”? Why?
- What were the main stages in the evolution of sociolinguists’ approaches to defining the term? Note down the factors of consideration

Question 2 Diglossia vs Bilingualism

Diglossia is the coexistence of two varieties of the same language throughout a speech community. Often, one form is the literary or prestige dialect, and the other is a common dialect spoken by most of the population. In addition to the community's everyday or vernacular language variety (labelled "L" or "low" variety), a second, highly codified variety (labelled "H" or "high") is used in certain situations such as literature, formal education, or other specific settings, but not used for ordinary conversation

The high variety may be an older stage of the same language (e.g. Latin in the early Middle Ages), an unrelated language, or a distinct yet closely related present day dialect (e.g. Standard German with Low German (e.g., Plattdeutsch dialects), or Chinese with Mandarin as the official, literary standard and colloquial topolects/dialects used in everyday communication).

Such a situation exists in many speech communities throughout the world—*e.g.*, in Greece, where Katharevusa, heavily influenced by Classical Greek, is the prestige dialect and Demotic is the popular spoken language; in the Arab world, where classical Arabic (as used in the Qur’ān) exists alongside the colloquial Arabic of Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and other countries.

Sociolinguists may also use the term “diglossia” to denote bilingualism, the speaking of two or more languages by the members of the same community, as, for example, in New York City, where many members of the Hispanic community speak both Spanish and English, switching from one to the other according to the social situation or the needs of the moment.

A key defining characteristic of diglossia is that the two varieties are kept quite apart in their functions. One is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set. For example, the H varieties may be used for delivering sermons and formal lectures, for giving political speeches, broadcasting the news on radio and television, and for writing poetry, fine literature, and editorials in newspapers. In contrast, the L varieties may be used in giving instructions to workers in low prestige occupations or to household servants, in conversation with familiars, in ‘soap operas’ and popular programs on the radio, in captions on political cartoons in newspapers, and in ‘folk literature.’ On occasion, a person may lecture in an H variety but answer questions about its contents or explain parts of it in an L variety so as to ensure understanding. For about three centuries after the Norman Conquest of 1066, English and Norman French coexisted in England in a diglossic situation with

Norman French the H variety and English the L. However, gradually the L variety assumed more and more functions associated with the H so that by Chaucer's time it had become possible to use the L variety for a major literary work.

The H variety is the prestigious, powerful variety; the L variety lacks prestige and power. In fact, there may be so little prestige attached to the L variety that people may even deny that they know it although they may be observed to use it far more frequently than the H variety. Associated with this prestige valuation for the H variety, there is likely to be a strong feeling that the prestige is deserved because the H variety is more beautiful, logical, and expressive than the L variety. That is why it is deemed appropriate for literary use, for religious purposes, and so on. There may also be considerable and widespread resistance to translating certain books into the L variety, e.g., the Qur'an into one or other colloquial varieties of Arabic or the Bible into Haitian Creole or Demotic Greek. (Even today many speakers of English resist the Bible in any form other than the King James version.) This last feeling concerning the natural superiority of the H variety is likely to be reinforced by the fact that a considerable body of literature will be found to exist in that variety and almost none in the other. That literature may also be regarded as reflecting essential values about the culture and, when parts of it are classical literature, deemed worthy of recalling by allusion and quotations on occasions suitable for the employment of H. Speakers of Arabic in particular gain prestige from being able to allude to classical sources. The folk literature associated with the L variety will have none of the same prestige; it may interest folklorists and it may be transmuted into an H variety by writers skilled in H, but it is unlikely to be the stuff of which literary histories and traditions are made in its 'raw' form.

The L variety often shows a tendency to borrow learned words from the H variety, particularly when speakers try to use the L variety in more formal ways. The result is a certain admixture of H vocabulary into the L. On other occasions, though, there may be distinctly different pairs of words, i.e., doublets, in the H and L varieties to refer to very common objects and concepts. Since the domains of use of the two varieties do not intersect, there will be an L word for use in L situations and an H word for use in H situations with no possibility of transferring the one to the other.

Bilingualism is defined as the use of at least two languages either by an individual or by a group of speakers. Bilingualism is the norm in the most of the countries of the world. Ambilingualism is a term in bilingualism which is defined as the capability and aptitude to function equally well in two or more languages across a wide range of domains.

There is no single agreed-upon definition of individual bilingualism. Rather, bilingualism is best regarded as occurring on a continuum. At one end of the continuum is the monolingual speaker; at the other, the individual who has acquired both languages in naturalistic contexts in childhood and who is best described as speaking Language A and Language B with equal and native-like fluency. Such ambi- or equilingualism is considered theoretically ideal.

Along the continuum are those individuals who illustrate greater or lesser degrees of bilingualism, involving the bilinguals who speak both languages fluently and proficiently but are more dominant in one than the other and the adult second

language learners with varying degrees of proficiency and mastery of the second language (L2). Attempts have already been made to classify bilinguals by the degree of fluency and competence in the languages spoken, by age, the social status of languages or manner of their acquisition (the early/late and simultaneous/successive, folk/elite, acquired/learned distinctions respectively), and by hypothesized language representation or by hypothesized processing mechanisms (compound/coordinate/subordinate distinctions and the additive/subtractive).

Early bilingualism is defined as the acquisition of more than one language in the pre-adolescent phase of life. **Late bilingualism** has been defined as the acquisition of one language before and the other language after the age of 8 years. Early and late bilinguals are distinguished on the basis of their attainment of linguistic competence. Early bilinguals are mainly regarded as attaining native-like linguistic competence in both languages. Early bilingualism manifests bilingualism as a native language. In contrast to the early bilinguals, most late bilinguals are regarded as non-native speakers of the L2, who have not attained the complete competence of L2, as evidenced by structural grammatical inadequacies and inability to detect linguistic ambiguity. Early bilingualism can also be classified into two types: simultaneous early bilingualism and successive early bilingualism. **Simultaneous early bilingualism** occurs in situations when a child learns two languages at the same time, from birth. This often produces a strong bilingualism. **Successive early bilingualism** occurs in situations when a child who has already partially acquired a L1 (first language) and then learns a L2 (second language) early in childhood; an example can be when a child moves to another place where the dominant language is not his native language. This usually results in the production of a strong bilingualism, but the child needs time to learn the L2.

Depending on the social status of language, bilinguals can be classified into **'folk' and 'elite' bilinguals**, where folk bilinguals are often language minority community whose own language does not have a high status in the predominant language society in which they dwell. In contrast to folk bilinguals, elite bilinguals are those who speak a dominant language in a given society and also those who can speak another language which provides them additional value and benefit within the society.

Compound, Coordinate, and Subordinate Bilinguals

According to Weinreich [Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in contact: Findings and problems*. The Hague: Mouton], compound, coordinate, and subordinate distinctions deal with the properties of how two or more linguistic codes are organized and stored by individuals. Compound bilinguals store two sets of linguistic codes (e.g. "A Dog" and "der Hund") in one meaning unit; in other words, there is one system of meaning for words, which is used for both L1 and L2, while on the contrary, in coordinate bilinguals' mental space each linguistic code is stored and organized separately in two meaning units and the bilinguals have two systems of meanings for words; i.e. one system of meaning is for words that the individuals know in the L1 and the other is for words they know in L2. The following figure (1) clarifies the point.

Furthermore, in subordinate bilinguals, linguistic codes of bilinguals' second language (L2) are assumed to be understood and interpreted through their first language (L1). Specifically, they are considered to possess two sets of linguistic codes, however, only one meaning unit, which is accessible merely through their L1(see figure 2).

Figure 1 **Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism**

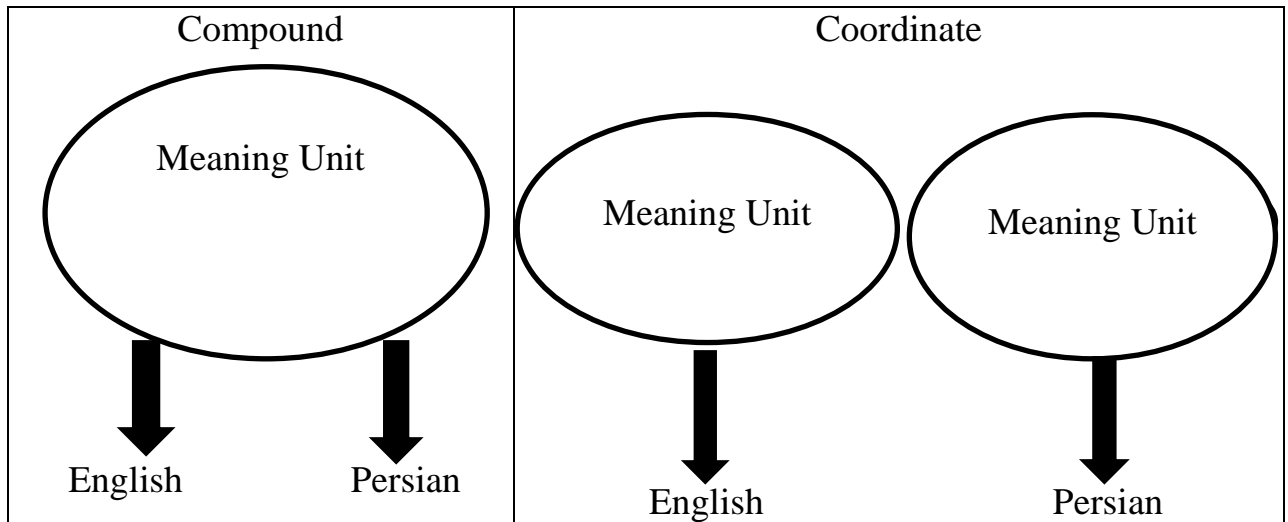
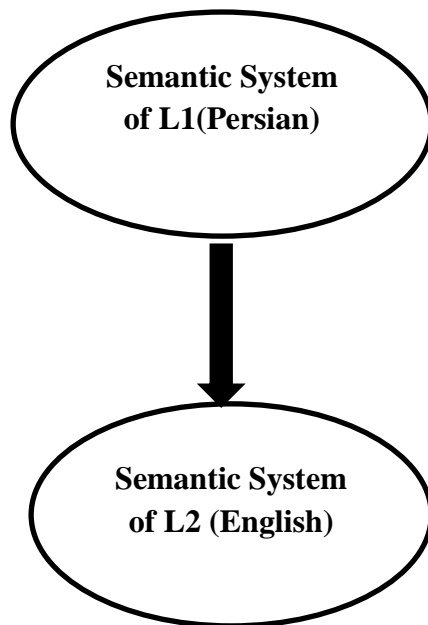


Figure 2 **Subordinate Bilingualism**



Depending on how one's L2 influences the retention of one's L1, bilinguals can be classified into *additive bilinguals* and *subtractive bilinguals* [Lambert, W. E. (1967). A Social Psychology of Bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23: 91–109. In Pride and Holmes].

Bilinguals who can improve their L2 without losing their L1 proficiency are called additive bilinguals, on the contrary, those whose L2 is acquired or learned at the cost of losing their L1 can be called as subtractive bilinguals.

For being additive bilinguals, both of the languages learned by individuals should be valued in the society in which they live. In other words, when learning a L2 does not interfere with the L1 learning, both languages develop, which is considered as an additive bilingualism. While subtractive bilingualism occurs when learning a L2 interferes the L1 learning and consequently the L1 is replaced by L2. In other words, subtractive bilingualism occurs when an individual learns the L2 at the expense of L1. In this case the competence and mastery of L1 diminishes, while the proficiency and mastery of the L2 (usually the dominant language) augments.

Discussion points and tasks:

- What are the pre-conditions for the existence of diglossia in society?
- Note the key contributors to the delimitation of H-variety from L-variety
- In what ways was the relationship between Classical Latin and the vernacular Romance languages, particularly the languages presently known as French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, a diglossia one for a number of centuries?
- What criteria are usually taken as a basis of classification of the types of individual bilingualism?

Question 3 Pidgins and Creoles

Among the many languages of the world are a few often assigned to a somewhat marginal position: the various lingua francas, pidgins, and creoles. All have existed since time immemorial, but, in comparison with what linguists know about many ‘fully fledged’ languages, they know comparatively little about them. There is a paucity of historical records; the history of serious study of such languages goes back only a few decades; and, because of the circumstances of their use, they have often been regarded as being of little intrinsic value or interest. Until recently, pidgins and creoles have generally been viewed as uninteresting linguistic phenomena, being notable mainly for linguistic features they have been said to ‘lack,’ e.g., articles, the copula, and grammatical inflections, rather than those they possess, and those who speak them have often been treated with disdain, even contempt.

Fortunately, in recent years such attitudes have changed and, as serious attention has been given to pidgins and creoles, linguists have discovered many interesting characteristics about them, characteristics that appear to bear on fundamental issues to do with all languages, ‘fully fledged’ and ‘marginal’ alike. Moreover, pidgins and creoles are invaluable to those who use them. Not only are they essential to everyday living but they are also frequently important markers of identity.

People who speak different languages who are forced into contact with each other must find some way of communicating, a *lingua franca*. UNESCO defined a *lingua franca* as ‘a language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them.’ A variety of other terms can be found which describe much the same phenomenon: a *trade language* (e.g., Hausa in West Africa or Swahili in East Africa); a *contact language* (e.g., Greek koiné in the Ancient World); an *international language* (e.g., English throughout

much of our contemporary world); and an *auxiliary language* (e.g., Esperanto or Basic English). They usually develop as a consequence of population migration (forced or voluntary) or for purposes of trade.

A **pidgin** or **pidgin language**, is a simplified version of a language that develops as a means of communication between two or more groups that do not have a language in common. It is most commonly employed in situations such as trade, or where both groups speak languages different from the language of the country in which they reside (but where there is no common language between the groups). Fundamentally, a pidgin is a simplified means of linguistic communication, as it is constructed impromptu, or by convention, between individuals or groups of people. A pidgin is not the native language of any speech community, but is instead learned as a second language. A pidgin may be built from words, sounds, or body language from multiple other languages and cultures. They allow people who have no common language to communicate with each other. Pidgins usually have low prestige with respect to other languages.

The requirements of a pidgin are:

1. The language is specially constructed by its users to suit the needs of its users. So if it is for trading in cattle, there will be few words for discussing anything else, like the weather, or vegetables, or styles of painting.
2. It should be as simple and easy to learn as possible.
3. The vocabulary is usually based on the vocabulary of the dominant group—wherever people are speaking the pidgin.
4. It is a compromise language between the language of one group and the other in some way, whether it's grammar from one, vocabulary from the other, or a mix of both of these.

Since a pidgin language is a fundamentally simpler form of communication, the grammar and phonology are usually as simple as possible, and usually consist of:

- Uncomplicated clausal structure (e.g., no embedded clauses, etc.)
- Reduction or elimination of syllable codas
- Reduction of consonant clusters or breaking them with epenthesis (an inserted vowel)
- Basic vowels, such as [a, e, i, o, u]
- No tones, such as those found in West African and Asian languages
- Use of separate words to indicate tense, usually preceding the verb
- Use of reduplication to represent plurals, superlatives, and other parts of speech that represent the concept being increased
- A lack of morphophonemic variation

The initial development of a pidgin usually requires:

- prolonged, regular contact between the different language communities
- a need to communicate between them
- an absence of (or absence of widespread proficiency in) a widespread, accessible interlanguage

Runglish

One example of this is “Runglish” If we take it as a term for describing a Russian-English pidgin language, it was popularized in 2000, when the language aboard the International Space Station was described as "Runglish". Runglish is in fact also spoken in a number of English-Russian communities, most notably the Russian-speaking Jewish community of Brighton Beach in Brooklyn, New York.

A **creole language**, or simply a **creole**, is a stable natural language that has developed from a pidgin, i.e. a simplified version of a language. Creoles differ from pidgins because creoles have been nativized by children as their primary language, with the result that they have features of natural languages that are normally missing from pidgins, which are not anyone's first language. The precise number of creoles is not known, particularly as these are poorly attested, but about one hundred creole languages have arisen since 1500, predominantly based on European languages, due to the Age of Discovery and the Atlantic slave trade, though there are creoles based on other languages, including Arabic, Chinese, and Malay. The creole with the largest number of speakers is Haitian Creole, with about ten million native speakers. The lexicon of a creole language is largely supplied by the parent languages, particularly that of the most dominant group in the social context of the creole's construction, though there are often clear phonetic and semantic shifts. On the other hand, the grammar often has original features that may differ substantially from those of the parent languages.

When a generation of children learn a pidgin as their first language, the latter becomes a creole, a process that regularizes speaker-dependent variation in grammar. Creoles can then replace the existing mix of languages to become the native language of a community (such as the Chavacano language in the Philippines, Krio in Sierra Leone, and Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea). However, not all pidgins become creole languages; a pidgin may die out before this phase would occur (e.g. the Mediterranean Lingua Franca). Other scholars, such as Salikoko Mufwene, argue that pidgins and creoles arise independently under different circumstances, and that a pidgin need not always precede a creole nor a creole evolve from a pidgin. While pidgins emerged among trade colonies among "users who preserved their native vernaculars for their day-to-day interactions, creoles developed in settlement colonies in which speakers of a European language, often indentured servants whose language would be far from the standard in the first place, interacted extensively with non-European slaves, absorbing certain words and features from the slaves' non-European native languages, resulting in a heavily basilectalized version of the original language. These servants and slaves would come to use the creole as an everyday vernacular, rather than merely in situations in which contact with a speaker of the superstrate (a language of a dominant group in a community) was necessary.

Here is a list of some better-known Creole languages:

- Antillean Creole, French-based creole spoken in the French West Indies
- Barbadian English or Barbadian Creole, English-based, spoken in Barbados
- Belizean Kriol language, English-based creole spoken in Belize

- Bislama, an English-based creole, spoken in Vanuatu
- Cape Verdean Creole, spoken on the islands of Cape Verde
- Guinea-Bissau Creole, spoken in Guinea-Bissau
- Gullah language, spoken in the coastal region of the US states of North and South Carolina, Georgia and northeast Florida
- Haitian Creole, French-based, an official language of Haiti
- Hawaiian Creole or Pidgin, a mixture of Native Hawaiian and American English similar to Tok Pisin
- Jamaican Creole, English-based, spoken in Jamaica
- Krio Dayak language, spoken by Krio Dayak people in West Kalimantan, Indonesia
- Krio language, English-based creole spoken throughout the West African nation of Sierra Leone
- Liberian Kreyol language, spoken in Liberia
- Louisiana Creole French, spoken in Louisiana
- Mauritian Creole, French-based, spoken in Mauritius
- Nagamese Creole, based on Assamese, used in Nagaland, India
- Negerhollands, a Dutch-based creole, once spoken in the U.S. Virgin Islands
- Papiamentu, spoken in the ABC islands in the southern Caribbean
- Sango language, Ngbandi-based creole language spoken in the Central African Republic
- Seychellois Creole, French-based, spoken in the Seychelles
- Tok Pisin, an official language of Papua New Guinea
- Torres Strait Creole or Brokan, spoken in far north-east Australia, Torres Strait, and south-west Papua
- Unserdeutsch, a German-based creole language spoken primarily in Papua New Guinea

Discussion points and tasks:

- What conditions normally contribute to the necessity of inventing a pidgin?
- Explain the difference between a pidgin and a creole.
- Pick out a Creole language and trace out the history of its genesis

PART 2 *Read the suggested article and be ready to discuss it along the lines of the questions that follow it*

Wardhaugh, Ronald. (2006) *An introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 5th edn. Malden, MA: USABlackwellPublishing. Part 1 (4): **Bilingualism and Multilingualism**

Monolingualism, that is, the ability to use only one language, is such a widely accepted norm in so many parts of the Western world that it is often assumed to be a world-wide phenomenon, to the extent that bilingual and multilingual individuals may appear to be ‘unusual.’ Indeed, we often have mixed feelings when we discover that someone we meet is fluent in several languages: perhaps a mixture of admiration and envy but also, occasionally, a feeling of superiority in that many such people are

not 'native' to the culture in which we function. Such people are likely to be immigrants, visitors, or children of 'mixed' marriages and in that respect 'marked' in some way, and such marking is not always regarded favorably.

However, in many parts of the world an ability to speak more than one language is not at all remarkable. In fact, a monolingual individual would be regarded as a misfit, lacking an important skill in society, the skill of being able to interact freely with the speakers of other languages with whom regular contact is made in the ordinary business of living. In many parts of the world it is just a normal requirement of daily living that people speak several languages: perhaps one or more at home, another in the village, still another for purposes of trade, and yet another for contact with the outside world of wider social or political organization. These various languages are usually acquired naturally and unselfconsciously, and the shifts from one to another are made without hesitation.

People who are bilingual or multilingual do not necessarily have exactly the same abilities in the languages (or varieties); in fact, that kind of parity may be exceptional. The differences in competence in the various languages might range from command of a few lexical items, formulaic expressions such as greetings, and rudimentary conversational skills all the way to excellent command of the grammar and vocabulary and specialized register and styles.' Context determines language choice. In a society in which more than one language (or variety) is used you must find out who uses what, when, and for what purpose if you are to be socially competent. Your language choices are part of the social identity you claim for yourself.

An interesting example of multilingualism exists among the Tukano of the northwest Amazon, on the border between Colombia and Brazil. The Tukano are a multilingual people because men must marry outside their language group; that is, no man may have a wife who speaks his language, for that kind of marriage relationship is not permitted and would be viewed as a kind of incest. Men choose the women they marry from various neighboring tribes who speak other languages. Furthermore, on marriage, women move into the men's households or longhouses. Consequently, in any village several languages are used: the language of the men; the various languages spoken by women who originate from different neighboring tribes; and a widespread regional 'trade' language. Children are born into this multilingual environment: the child's father speaks one language, the child's mother another, and other women with whom the child has daily contact perhaps still others. However, everyone in the community is interested in language learning so most people can speak most of the languages. Multilingualism is taken for granted, and moving from one language to another in the course of a single conversation is very common. In fact, multilingualism is so usual that the Tukano are hardly conscious that they do speak different languages as they shift easily from one to another. They cannot readily tell an outsider how many languages they speak, and must be suitably prompted to enumerate which languages they speak and to describe how well they speak each one. Multilingualism is a norm in this community. It results from the pattern of marriage and the living arrangements consequent to marriage.

Communities are multilingual and no effort is made to suppress the variety of languages that are spoken. It is actually seen as a source of strength, for it enables the speakers of the various linguistic communities to maintain contact with one another and provides a source for suitable marriage partners for those who seek them. A man cannot marry one of his 'sisters,' i.e., women whose mother tongue is the same as his. People are not 'strangers' to one another by reason of the fact that they cannot communicate when away from home. When men from one village visit another village, they are likely to find speakers of their native language. There will almost certainly be some women from the 'home' village who have married into the village being visited, possibly even a sister. The children of these women, too, will be fluent in their mothers' tongue. Many others also will have learned some of it because it is considered proper to learn to use the languages of those who live with you.

Somewhat similar attitudes toward multilingualism have been reported from other parts of the world. For example, among the Siane of New Guinea it is quite normal for people to know a number of languages. They choose the most appropriate one for the particular circumstances in which they find themselves. Moreover, they prize language learning, so that, when someone who speaks a language they do not know enters a community, people in the community will try to learn as much as they can about the language and to find occasions to use their learning. An interest was taken in pidgin English when a group of laborers returned from service on the coast; almost immediately a school was established so that the rest of the village males could learn the pidgin.

We have no reason to assume that such situations as these are abnormal in any way. In many parts of the world people speak a number of languages and individuals may not be aware of how many different languages they speak. They speak them because they need to do so in order to live their lives: their knowledge is instrumental and pragmatic. In such situations language learning comes naturally and is quite unforced. Bilingualism or multilingualism is not at all remarkable. To be a proper Tukano or Siane you must be multilingual and a skilled user of the languages you know; that is an essential part of your Tukano or Siane identity.

A different kind of bilingual situation exists in Paraguay. Because of its long isolation from Spain and the paucity of its Spanish-speaking population, an American Indian language, Guaraní, has flourished in Paraguay to the extent that today it is the mother tongue of about 90 percent of the population and a second language of several additional percent. Guaraní is recognized as a national language. On the other hand, Spanish, which is the sole language of less than 7 percent of the population, is the official language of government and the medium of education, although in recent years some use has been made of Guaraní in primary education. In the 1951 census just over half the population were bilingual in Guaraní and Spanish. These figures indicate that the lesser known language in Paraguay is Spanish. The capital city, Asunción, is almost entirely bilingual, but the further one goes into the countryside away from cities and towns the more monolingually Guaraní-speaking the population becomes. Spanish and Guaraní exist in a relationship that Fishman calls 'extended diglossic' in which Spanish is the H variety and Guaraní the L variety. Spanish is the language used on formal occasions; it is always used in government business, in

conversation with strangers who are well dressed, with foreigners, and in most business transactions. People use Guaraní, however, with friends, servants, and strangers who are poorly dressed, in the confessional, when they tell jokes or make love, and on most casual occasions.

Spanish is the preferred language of the cities, but Guaraní is preferred in the countryside, and the lower classes almost always use it for just about every purpose in rural areas. Parents may attempt to help their children improve their knowledge of Spanish by using Spanish in their presence, for, after all, Spanish is the language of educational opportunity and is socially preferred. But between themselves and with their children absent they will almost certainly switch to Guaraní. In the upper classes males may well use Guaraní with one another as a sign of friendship; upper-class females prefer Spanish in such circumstances. Outside Paraguay, Paraguayans may deliberately choose to converse in Guaraní to show their solidarity, particularly when among other South American Spanish-speaking people. Males may drink in Guaraní but use more and more Spanish as they feel the influence of alcohol, for Spanish is the language of power. Spanish may also be the language they choose to use when addressing superiors, and there may be some conflict in choosing between Spanish and Guaraní in addressing parents or grandparents. In such situations solidarity tends to win over power and Guaraní is often the choice. Courtship may begin in Spanish but, if it goes anywhere, it will proceed in Guaraní. Men tell jokes and talk about women and sports in Guaraní, but they discuss business affairs in Spanish.

We can see, therefore, that the choice between Spanish and Guaraní depends on a variety of factors: location (city or country), formality, gender, status, intimacy, seriousness, and type of activity. The choice of one code rather than the other is obviously related to situation. Paraguay identity requires you to be attuned to the uses of Spanish and Guaraní, to be aware that they ‘mean’ different things, and that it is not only what you say that is important but which language you choose to say it in. In Papua New Guinea there are many languages and an increasingly used lingua franca, Tok Pisin. Many people are plurilingual. The Yimas of Papua New Guinea use their own language in traditional pursuits and Tok Pisin for topics from the encroaching outside world. Domestic matters and local food provision, largely the province of females, call for Yimas just as do mortuary feasts, the province of males. But matters to do with government, trade, and travel require Tok Pisin. Language choice among the Yimas is dependent on occasion: Yimas to perform traditional practices and Tok Pisin to establish identity within a wider community.

What I have tried to stress in this section is that bilingualism and multilingualism are normal in many parts of the world and that people in those parts would view any other situation as strange and limiting. There is a long history in certain Western societies of people actually ‘looking down’ on those who are bilingual. We give prestige to only a certain few classical languages (e.g., Greek and Latin) or modern languages of high culture (e.g., English, French, Italian, and German). You generally get little credit for speaking Swahili and, until recently at least, not much more for speaking Russian, Japanese, Arabic, or Chinese. Bilingualism is actually sometimes regarded as a problem in that many bilingual

individuals tend to occupy rather low positions in society and knowledge of another language becomes associated with ‘inferiority.’

Bilingualism is sometimes seen as a personal and social problem, not something that has strong positive connotations. One unfortunate consequence is that some Western societies go to great lengths to downgrade, even eradicate, the languages that immigrants bring with them while at the same time trying to teach foreign languages in schools. What is more, they have had much more success in doing the former than the latter. I will return to this issue in chapter 15, specifically in connection with certain recent developments in the United States.

A bilingual, or multilingual, situation can produce still other effects on one or more of the languages involved. As we have just seen, it can lead to loss, e.g., language loss among immigrants. But sometimes it leads to diffusion; that is, certain features spread from one language to the other (or others) as a result of the contact situation, particularly certain kinds of syntactic features. This phenomenon has been observed in such areas as the Balkans, the south of India, and Sri Lanka. In Kupwar, a small village of about 3,000 inhabitants in Maharashtra, India, four languages are spoken: Marathi and Urdu (both of which are Indo-European) and Kannada (a non-Indo-European language). A few people also speak Telugu (also a non-Indo-European language). The languages are distributed mainly by caste. The highest caste, the Jains, speak Kannada and the lowest caste, the untouchables, speak Marathi. People in different castes must speak to one another and to the Teluguspeaking rope-makers. The Urdu-speaking Muslims must also be fitted in. Bilingualism or even trilingualism is normal, particularly among the men, but it is Marathi which dominates inter-group communication. One linguistic consequence, however, is that there has been some convergence of the languages that are spoken in the village so far as syntax is concerned, but vocabulary differences have been maintained. It is vocabulary rather than syntax which now serves to distinguish the groups, and the variety of multilingualism that has resulted is a special local variety which has developed in response to local needs.

Discussion

1. Note down the examples of multilingualism provided by Wardhaugh including its driving forces behind each situation
2. How does the choice of a code take place in every of the cited situations?
3. What kind of a bilingual situation exists in Paraguay?
4. What is the underlying idea Wardhaugh is imbuing his readers with?
5. Some communities regard bilingualism as a serious threat; it has even been referred to as a ‘Trojan horse,’ initially attractive but ultimately fatal. Why might this be so? (Consider the experience of migration and also the sorry state of many minority languages in the world.)

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UNIT 4

Speech As Social Interaction

PART 1 Questions to be tackled:

1. The Social Nature of Speech. The Theory of Speech Acts
2. Speech as Skilled Work. The Theory of Erving Goffman (Politeness Strategies)
3. Norms Governing Speech

Key words and phrases: social interaction, social constraints on speech, speech acts, power-face, solidarity-face

Question 1 The Social Nature of Speech. The Theory of Speech Acts

Speech includes a wide range of activities: conversations, quarrels, jokes, committee meetings, interviews, teasing, chit-chat, lessons, seductions and a host of others, which in their integrity may be labelled as face-to-face interaction, taking place on particular occasions for particular purposes in the form of uttered shorter or longer strings of linguistic items.

The balance between the social and the individual in speech has been discussed by many linguists. Ferdinand de Saussure claimed that was totally individual, in that it depended only on the will of the speaker. Was he right saying that?

Speech is crucial in a number of social activities, including socialization (the process of turning a human being into a fully competent member of society) and it is hardly necessary to stress the general importance of speech in social life. Speech allows us to communicate with each other at a high level of sophistication and since communication is a social activity it can be said that speech is also social. Although this is true, it is not directly relevant to de Saussure's claim about speech being individual, since he was referring to the knowledge involved in speech rather than the uses to which that activity is put, holding that speech involved no social constraints, in contrast with language, which was entirely constrained. de Saussure took it wrong assuming it was enough to know which sound-sequences corresponded which meanings to speak a language properly. People have to learn social constraints on speech over and above those which are part of a language, especially since they differ from society to society. Sociolinguists study these social conventions and constraints for speaking in different societies to better understand how people interact with one another.

Language and social constraints on speech merge, moreover, the latter apply not only to speech but to social behavior in general. The accepted term for aspects of behavior through which people influence and react to each other is "social interaction" and speech is only one aspect of such behavior, closely meshed with other aspects.

Speech functions as a mode of action in social interaction. It may act as a control on people's physical activity (e.g. "To you...up a little higher...up a bit more...okay, to the left...no no no...to the right...almost there...okay, let's set it down" – an excerpt of interaction of two people moving a really big desk from one room to another) in contrast to its function in a lecture where it is intended to influence the thoughts rather than the actions of the listeners. Speech may be used to establish or reinforce social relations, thus performing the phatic function – as a tool for people to recognise each other's presence. It may be utilized to obtain information, to express emotions, for its own sake and so on. In short, the role of speech in social interaction is not reduced to solely communicating propositions which the hearer does not already know.

One approach to the functional classification of speech is worth mentioning, however, as it has been extremely influential. This is an approach based on speech acts. It has been developed in the main philosophers and linguists following the British philosopher J.L Austin who argued that the study of meaning should not concentrate on bald statements of fact, taken out of their context.

Austin in his book "How to do things with words" was the first to really describe what a speech act is and does. In it he attacks the view that the chief business of sentences is to state facts, and thus to be true or false based on the truth or falsity of those facts. In contrast to this common view, he claims that true or false sentences form only a small part of the range of utterances. After introducing several kinds of sentences which he assumes are indeed not truth-evaluable, he turns in particular to one of these kinds of sentences, which he deems *performative utterances*. Two features are typical for such utterances:

- to utter one of these sentences is not just to "say" something, but rather to perform a certain kind of action;
- these sentences are not true or false; rather, when something goes wrong in connection with the utterance, the utterance is, as he puts it, "unhappy".

The action, which performative sentences 'perform' when they are uttered, belongs to what Austin later calls a speech act. If you say "*I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth,*" and the circumstances are appropriate in certain ways, then you will have done something special, namely, you will have performed the act of naming the ship. Other examples include: "*I take this man as my lawfully wedded husband,*" used in the course of a marriage ceremony, or "*I bequeath this watch to my brother,*" as occurring in a will. In all three cases the sentence is not being used to describe or state what one is 'doing', but being used to actually 'do' it.

A speech act changes in some way the conditions that exist in the world. It does something, and it is not something that in itself is either true or false. Truth and falsity may be claims made about its having been done, but they cannot be made about the actual doing. Austin pointed out that the 'circumstances' mentioned above can be prescribed. He mentions certain *felicity conditions* that performatives must meet to be successful. First, a conventional procedure must exist for doing whatever is to be done, and that procedure must specify who must say and do what and in what circumstances. Second, all participants must properly execute this procedure and carry it through to completion. Finally, the necessary thoughts, feelings, and

intentions must be present in all parties. In general, the spoken part of the total act, the actual **speech act**, will take the grammatical form of having a first person subject and a verb in the present tense; it may or may not also include the word *hereby*. Examples are ‘I (hereby) name,’ ‘We decree,’ and ‘I swear.’ This kind of utterance is explicitly performative when it is employed in a conventional framework, such as naming ships, making royal proclamations, and taking an oath in court.

There are also less explicit performatives. Declarations like ‘I promise,’ ‘I apologize,’ or ‘I warn you’ have many of the same characteristics as the previously mentioned utterances but lack any associated conventional procedure; for anyone can promise, apologize, and warn, and there is no way of specifying the circumstances quite so narrowly as in naming ships, proclaiming, or swearing an oath. It is also on occasion possible to use other grammatical forms than the combination of first person and present tense. ‘Thin ice,’ ‘Savage dog,’ ‘Slippery when wet’ are all warnings, so to that degree they are performatives. Unlike constative utterances, that is, utterances which are often used to assert propositions and which may be true or false, they are used either appropriately or inappropriately and, if used appropriately, their very utterance is the doing of the whole or part of an action.

Austin divides performatives into five categories: (1) *verdictives*, typified by the giving of a verdict, estimate, grade, or appraisal (‘We find the accused guilty’); (2) *exercitives*, the exercising of powers, rights, or influences as in appointing, ordering, warning, or advising (‘I pronounce you husband and wife’); (3) *commissives*, typified by promising or undertaking, and committing one to do something by, for example, announcing an intention or espousing a cause (‘I hereby bequeath’); (4) *behabitives*, having to do with such matters as apologizing, congratulating, blessing, cursing, or challenging (‘I apologize’); and (5) *expositives*, a term used to refer to how one makes utterances fit into an argument or exposition (‘I argue,’ ‘I reply,’ or ‘I assume’).

The words in a speech act are called the **utterance**. The actions are called the **performance**. Almost any speech act is really the performance of several acts at once, distinguished by the speaker’s intentions.

1. According to Searle (1969), we perform different kinds of acts when we speak. The utterances we use are *locutions*. Most locutions express some intent that a speaker has. They are *illocutionary acts* and have an *illocutionary force*. A speaker can also use different locutions to achieve the same illocutionary force or use one locution for many different purposes. For instance, one form ‘Y’want a piece of candy?’ can perform many functions as a speech act, including question, request, and offer [Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell]. In contrast, different forms can perform a single function since it is quite possible to ask someone to close the door with different words: ‘It’s cold in here,’ ‘The door’s open,’ and ‘Could someone see to the door?’ Illocutions also often cause listeners to do things. To that extent they are *perlocutions*. If a speaker says ‘I bet you a dollar he’ll win’ and the hearer says ‘On,’ the illocutionary act of offering a bet has led to the perlocutionary accepting it. The *perlocutionary force* of such words is to get the hearer to bet, and the speaker has succeeded.

2. Searle (1999) says that illocutionary acts must be performed ‘intentionally.’ In order to communicate something in a language that will be understood by another speaker of that language as an utterance it must (1) be correctly uttered with its traditional meaning and (2) meet a truth condition, i.e., if it is ‘It is raining’ it must indeed be raining, and the hearer should recognize the truth of (1) and (2): ‘*if the hearer knows the language, recognizes my intention to produce a sentence of the language, and recognizes that I am not merely uttering that sentence but that I also mean what I say, then I will have succeeded in communicating to the hearer that it is raining*’ [Searle, J. (1999). *Mind, Language and Society: Doing Philosophy in the Real World*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson].

Searle also recasts Austin’s five categories of performative (here repeated in parentheses) by what he calls their point or purpose: assertives (expositives), which commit the hearer to the truth of a proposition; directives (verdictives), which get the hearer to believe in such a way as to make his or her behavior match the propositional content of the directive; commissives (commissives), which commit the speaker to undertake a course of action represented in the propositional content; expressives (behabitives), which express the sincerity conditions of the speech act; and declaratives (exercitives), which bring about a change in the world by representing it as having been changed.

In general speech acts are acts of communication. To communicate is to express a certain attitude and the type of speech act being performed corresponds to the type of attitude being expressed. For example, a statement expresses a belief, a request expresses desire, and an apology expresses regret. A speech act succeeds if the audience identifies, in accordance with the speaker’s intentions, the attitude, meaning, and action being expressed. It fails if someone does not understand the whole attitude, meaning, and action of the sentence.

The theory of speech acts aims to do justice to the fact that even though words (phrases, sentences) encode information, people do more things with words than convey information, and that when people do convey information, they often convey more than their words encode.

Discussion points and tasks:

- Where does the key difference between sentences and performative utterances lie?
- What classifications of speech acts have been worked out by the successive generation of scholars? Do research into the question
- Was de Saussure right to see speech as purely individual?

Question 2 Speech as Skilled Work. The Theory of Erving Goffman (Politeness Strategies)

Speech is not an automatic reflex or a spontaneous expression of emotion, it is skilled work. It is work, since it requires effort, and its degree of success depends on the effort made. It is skilled since it requires the “know-how” type of knowledge, which is applied according to how much practice one has had (and according to other factors such as intelligence). These two characteristics being put together, speech

may be predicted to be more successful at some times than at others, and some people may be better at it than others. Sometimes people get “tongue-tied” or “drop a brick”, and some people are more prone than others to being stuck for “the right thing to say”.

If speech is skilled work, the same is true of other aspects of social interaction in face-to-face communication or focussed interaction: the behaviour of people engaged in focussed interaction is an organised, skilled performance, analogous to skills such as car driving. Just as some people are better drivers than others, so some people are better at social interaction than others.

However, there are two major forewarnings. Firstly, success in speech varies considerably according to the type of speech-act required. Some people are good at intellectual debate and poor at phatic communion, and vice versa. Secondly, it is not obvious how success should be measured, except against the intentions of the speaker. For instance, if a chatterbox is with a person who usually stays silent while others do the talking, each may consider themselves more successful than the other, according to how they combine the need to fill “awkward” gaps with the need to avoid triviality. The same two forewarnings apply equally to other aspects of social interaction.

The particular kinds of skill needed for successful speech include all the general skills needed for social interaction plus all the specifically linguistic skills concerned with the use of linguistic items. They vary from very specific skills, dealing with particular linguistic items (e.g. when to say *sir*) or with particular situations (for example, how to conduct a business transaction on an expensive transatlantic telephone call), to much more general skills, such as how to avoid ambiguity. These skills are arranged hierarchically, with the most specific ones at the bottom and the most general at the top, and in dealing with a particular situation the speaker will look for a specific skill in preference to a more general one, since the latter will always involve more cognitive effort and may be less successful. For instance, in asking for a ticket on a bus, it is easier and safer to use what you know about buying bus-tickets, or buying transport tickets in general, than to use a more general rule for requesting anything from anybody (for example, by saying *Excuse me, would you mind selling me a ticket to ...*). One of the reasons why some people perform particularly well in some situations is that they have learned very specific skills for use in those situations.

Speech is socially classified in terms of types of speech-act, and these speech-act types are learned as part of our socialisation. For example, we learn how to order a meal in a restaurant by watching other people doing it, in much the same way that we learn vocabulary and grammatical constructions. The clearest evidence for this learning is that rules and skills vary from society to society.

Speech is an acquired skill and work which takes energy, both physical and mental, and can leave us feeling tired. Sometimes we are too tired to engage in it, which raises an important question: why are we willing to do it? And why are we willing to accept the restrictions placed on us by our society's social rules? The question of motivation is one of the basic questions of social psychology and sociology, so there is no simple answer, but an influential theory is based on the term

face, which is used in much the same way as in the expressions to lose face and to save face, meaning something like “self-respect” or “dignity”.

The theory was developed by Erving Goffman, an American sociologist (1969), who called the work needed to maintain face-work. The basic idea of the theory is that people unavoidably social lives, since they depend on each other, but as far as possible they try to do so without losing our own face. However, face is a very fragile thing which other people can very easily damage, so they lead social lives according to the Golden Rule (Do to others as you would like them to do to you!) by looking after other people's faces in the hope that they will be treated likewise. Much of what is usually called “politeness” or “etiquette” in social gatherings consists of disregarding aspects of behaviour that might otherwise lead to a “loss of face”. Episodes in an individual's past, or personal characteristics that might produce embarrassment if mentioned, are not commented on or referred to. Tact is a sort of protective device which each party involved employs in the expectation that, in return, their own weaknesses will not be deliberately displayed for general view. Face is something that other people give to us, which is why we have to be so careful to give it to them.

For sociolinguists the most relevant discussion of face is by Brown and Levinson, who distinguish two kinds of face – positive and negative, but these terms can be misleading because both kinds of face are valuable; instead, Hudson calls them solidarity-face and power-face respectively, to show the close link to the important concepts of *solidarity* and *power*. Both kinds could be described as respect, but this word has a different sense in each case.

Solidarity-face is respect as in “*I respect you for ...*”, i.e. the appreciation and approval that others show for the kind of person we are, for our behaviour, for our values and so on. If something threatens our solidarity-face we feel embarrassment or shame. Power-face is respect as in “*I respect your right to...*”, which is a “negative” agreement not to interfere. This is the basis for most formal politeness, such as standing back to let someone else pass. When our power-face is threatened we feel offended. Each kind of face is the basis for a different kind of politeness (a term which now has a rather more general sense than the ordinary one which contrasts it with rudeness). Solidarity-politeness shows respect for the person, whereas power-politeness respects their rights.

It is interesting to see how much of language is geared to looking after the two kinds of politeness, and we shall consider some of these ways in more detail below. For solidarity-politeness we have a wide range of ways of showing intimacy and affection – words used for addressing the other person (for example, *mate*, *love*, *darling*, not to mention greetings like *Hi!*) and others used to show solidarity-politeness towards the person referred to (for example, William or even Bill as opposed to Mr Brown). For showing power-politeness there are different “address” words (for example, *sir*, *please*), and all the euphemisms that protect the other person from being offended (for example, *spend a penny*, *pass away*).

The theory of face is part of a larger theory of social interaction, in which speech is only one component. This theory starts by distinguishing unfocussed and focussed interaction, according to whether or not the people concerned consider

themselves to be “together” in more than a purely physical sense. Most interactions in modern cities are unfocussed, with strangers passing in the street or sitting next to each other on buses. The main consideration in these cases is to preserve each other's power-face. One obvious example is that we try to keep out of each other's way, but another is that we avoid eye-contact. Unfocussed interaction is a recent creation of modern social patterns for which our genes have presumably given us little preparation.

In contrast, focussed interaction has been the basis for social groups since the earliest times. It is focussed interaction that provides most of our face even in modern societies, so it also provides most of the serious threats to face. This is where solidarity-face becomes so important because we care about what our friends and family think of us; and power-face can be threatened in many ways (not least by parents imposing restrictions on children). One reason why we avoid eye-contact in unfocussed interaction is probably that it is important as a way of negotiating our way through focussed interactions. Humans have a rich “vocabulary” for non-verbal communication – smiles, frowns, winks, nods, gestures and body-movements – most of which are shared not only by all human societies but also by some primates. It seems likely, therefore, that some of the skills needed for face-work are innate, as is our general need to maintain face.

We need to save our own face by saving the face of everyone we talk to, so we need to manage our behaviour, both verbal and non-verbal, very carefully. This does not mean that speech will be the same the world over, even if we ignore differences of vocabulary and grammar. Each society recognizes its own norms for saving face, so our face-work consists in recognising these norms and applying them effectively.

Discussion points and tasks:

- Why do some people dealing with a particular situation perform particularly well?
- What does the term “face” imply in the theory put forward by Erving Goffman?
- Elaborate on the main politeness strategies based on the solidarity-face and power-face notions

Question 3 Norms Governing Speech

Skilled speaking requires a number of factors, including knowledge of the relevant rules governing speech. These are often termed the speech norms. The rules vary from one society to another and they can be very different. We call these speech norms, because they define the normal behavior for social interaction, and thus speech interaction in a given society.

1. Norms governing the subject matter of a talk: taboos and euphemisms

Topics that people do not discuss are called taboos. They exist in every culture, but they can be very different depending on the culture.

A **taboo** is something that people in a given society or culture do not do or talk about because it is very offensive or shocking. There are a number of subjects people do not

talk about at certain times or with certain people, for example in the USA citizens are careful about who they talk to about politics, religion and sex. Similarly, people in this culture never talk about how much money they are making, and it is considered impolite to ask someone about their income.

A **euphemism** is a generally innocuous word or expression used in place of one that may be found offensive or suggest something unpleasant. Some euphemisms are intended to amuse; while others use bland, inoffensive terms for things the user wishes to downplay. Euphemisms are used to refer to taboo topics (such as disability, sex, excretion, and death) in a polite way, or to mask profanity.

Examples of euphemisms may include: *Passed away* instead of died; *correctional facility* instead of jail; *departed* instead of died; *differently-abled* instead of handicapped or disabled; Ethnic cleansing instead of genocide; *negative patient outcome* instead of dead; *letting someone go* instead of firing someone; *put to sleep* instead of euthanize; *pregnancy termination* instead of abortion; *on the streets* instead of homeless

2. Norms governing non-verbal communication: body language

The second social norm governing speech is non-verbal communication. Diversity in norms is matched in the area of non-verbal communication or what is sometimes called body language. Different facial / bodily gestures can have different meanings in different societies, or be non-existent. For example, a **smile**, in the U.S. is normal. People smile to be polite, so smiling at a stranger is not strange at all. In some other cultures smiling at strangers is considered abnormal. In any given culture **raising eyebrows** can mean a greeting, an invitation, a warning, skepticism, disdain, doubt, interest, intrigue, or disgust. In America, it can mean interest, skepticism, and invitation, depending on how it is done and its context. **Eye contact** between strangers can signal readiness for establishing sincere relations between them. Prolonged direct eye-contact is usually avoided in Eastern cultures as it is treated as a sign of sexual desire if both sexes are involved or as a token of aggressiveness if unfamiliar males face each other.

Another non-verbal norm governing speech is the **physical space** between people in a conversation. Your status in society or your social closeness or solidarity to another person is also reflected in the physical distance between speakers. It is safe to say that in most cases the physical distance between speakers is proportional to social distance, so that people who feel “close” to each other socially, generally stand physically nearer to each other in a conversation than people who are not close, or if there is a difference in their power relationships. What varies often from culture to culture is the distance that is appropriate for a particular degree of solidarity. For instance Arabs generally set the distance much lower than Americans. In the USA distance between people, even people who are close, is much greater (about an arm’s length of space even for a close friend).

Conversational structure

Non-verbal communication also helps interlocutors structure their interactions in terms of “entering” a social interaction with someone they know or have just met for the first time: whether it is shaking hands or hugging or even giving a kiss or just

nodding, but there is almost always some form of non-verbal communication that begins social interaction. The same is true when people end or “exit” their social interaction. Shaking hands may be appropriate again or just nodding, or kissing someone goodbye. As far as non-verbal communication during a conversation as concerned, it is most noticeable when speakers change turns.

Turn-taking

Turn-taking is the process of interlocutors giving floor for the other / another to begin speaking during a conversation. When we exchange turns we often signal our stopping in the conversation for the other person to begin with a non-verbal cue. One way is through eye-movement. If we want to let the other person speak we look into another person’s eyes to show our interest in listening or, sitting in a chair, we may scoot forward a little to let the person we are speaking to know that we are ready to listen. In formal situations, such as a classroom, people raise their hand to let the teacher / instructor know they want to speak. Another way for one to signal they are about to say something is to clear their throat. There are a number of such non-verbal cues which are culturally-specific.

Finally, there are non-verbal cues concerning speakers’ stance towards the content of a conversation. To signal interest and more often agreement or disagreement speakers typically nod or shake their heads. This can be different in different cultures though, for instance in Bulgaria people nod their head and click their tongue when they disagree. In Arab culture too, to disagree with someone people move their head back slowly, raise eyebrows and also click the tongue.

Finally, there is a variety of non-verbal signals or gestures in every culture to suggest a host of different things – anger, happiness, complacency, disgust, indifference and so on – all of which are varied from culture to culture.

3. Norms governing the sheer quantity of speech produced

The amount of speaking a person can do varies from very little to very much. For example, in Southern India, as a result of the absence of industry and agriculture there is neither cooperation nor competition among a tribal people called the Piluya. So children are led to simply busy themselves with their own concerns in reasonable spatial proximity. By the time a man is forty there, he practically stops speaking altogether having no reason to do so whatever. People there just don’t talk much and seldom seem to find anything much to talk about as a consequence of a particular kind of socialization pattern. We may contrast this society with one in Roti, a small island in Eastern Indonesia where the dominant pleasure of life is talk and formal taking of sides in endless dispute as well as rivalling one another in eloquent and balanced phrases on ceremonial occasions. Lack of talk there is an indication of distress. Much the same is true of typical Jewish east-coast Americans.

As can be easily predicted, there may be problems when people from societies with different norms meet.

4. Norms governing the number of people who talk at once

Another social norm governing speech is the number of people who can talk at once. In the USA, it is usually one person at a time, each person must wait for their turn to enter the conversation. If there are too many people trying to speak at once, the conversation will almost certainly end, and on bad terms. This is in contrast with

Antiguan society where anyone can enter the conversation any time and everyone speaks at the same time.

5. Norms governing the number of interruptions in a conversation

In most Western societies it is rude to interrupt someone who is talking. If you do it more than a few times, they will certainly be offended and will likely quit talking to you. Again, in Antiguan society, it is quite different. Interruptions are the norm and do not require an explanation or apology.

In conclusion it's worth mentioning society controls our speech in two ways. Firstly, by providing a set of norms which we learn to follow more or less skillfully, but which vary from society to society, though some may be universal. And secondly, by providing the motivation for sticking to these rules for effective survival in the surrounding reality.

PART 2 Read the suggested article from Wikipedia, the free Encyclopedia, and be ready to discuss it along the lines of the questions that follow it

Performative utterance

The notion of performative utterances was introduced by J. L. Austin. Although he had already used the term in his 1946 paper "Other minds", today's usage goes back to his later, remarkably different exposition of the notion in the 1955 William James lecture series, subsequently published as *How to Do Things with Words*. The starting point of the lectures is Austin's doubt against a widespread philosophical prejudice, namely, the implicit presumption that utterances always "describe" or "constate" something and are thus always true or false. After mentioning several examples of sentences which are not so used, and not truth-evaluable (among them non-sensical sentences, interrogatives, directives and "ethical" propositions), he introduces "performative" sentences as another instance.

In order to define performatives, Austin refers to those sentences which conform to the old prejudice in that they are used to describe or constate something, and which thus are true or false; and he calls such sentences "constatives". In contrast to them, Austin defines "performatives" as follows:

- (1) Performative utterances are not true or false, that is, not truth-evaluable; instead when something is wrong with them then they are "happy" or "unhappy".
- (2) The uttering of a performative is, or is part of, the doing of a certain kind of action (Austin later deals with them under the name illocutionary acts), the performance of which, again, would not normally be described as just "saying" or "describing" something.

For example, when Peter says "I promise to do the dishes" in an appropriate context then he thereby does not just say something, and in particular he does not just describe what he is doing; rather, in making the utterance he performs the promise; since promising is an illocutionary act, the utterance is thus a performative utterance. If Peter utters the sentence without the intention to keep the promise, or if eventually he does not keep it, then although something is not in order with the utterance, the

problem is not that the sentence is false: it is rather "unhappy", or "infelicitous", as Austin also says. In the absence of any such flaw, on the other hand, the utterance is to be assessed as "happy" or "felicitous", rather than as "true".

The initial examples of performative sentences Austin gives are these:

- 'I do (sc. take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife)' -- as uttered in the course of the marriage ceremony.
- 'I name this ship the "Queen Elizabeth"'
- 'I give and bequeath my watch to my brother' -- as occurring in a will
- 'I bet you sixpence it will rain tomorrow'

As Austin later notices himself, these examples belong (more or less strikingly) to what Austin calls, explicit performatives; to utter an "explicit" performative sentence is to make explicit what act one is performing. However, there are also "implicit", "primitive", or "inexplicit" performatives. When, for instance, I say "Go!" in order to command you to leave the room then my utterance is part of the performance of a command; and the sentence, according to Austin, is neither true nor false; hence the sentence is a performative; -- still, it is not an explicit performative, for it does not make explicit that the act the speaker is performing is a command.

Distinguishing performatives from other utterances

Austin found great difficulty in drawing a completely clear distinction between "performatives" and "constatives"; among other things he came to the conclusion that to state something is to perform an illocutionary act, which renders all constatives as performatives; for reasons like these, he eventually suggested abandoning the dichotomy, replacing it by a trichotomy speech acts, namely, the so-called "locutionary", "illocutionary" and "perlocutionary acts".

There is a most thorough and accurate study of how "performatives" might be defined following Austin by Jan S. Andersson, "How to define 'Performative'". (However, unfortunately it has been almost completely ignored by the scholarship of the Anglo-American tradition -- perhaps because it is both very densely written and accurately worked out, and thus not easy to read.) Furthermore, during the 1970s there was much dispute about questions such as whether performatives are truth-evaluable or not, whether there are non-explicit performatives at all, whether performatives can be reduced to truth-evaluable sentences (and vice versa), and several others; however, nowadays many of these issues appear to have lost some of their attraction.

Incidentally, some components of Austin's remarks about promising were anticipated by David Hume in his discussion of promising in *A Treatise of Human Nature*, and even earlier by Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan*.

Are performatives truth-evaluable?

According to Austin's original account, it is an essential characteristic of performative sentences that they are neither true, nor false, that is, not truth-evaluable. However, in his 1989 article "How Performatives Work" John R. Searle argues that performatives are true/false just like constatives. Searle further claims that performatives are what he calls declarations; this is a technical notion of Searle's account: according to his conception, an utterance is a declaration, if "the successful performance of the speech act is sufficient to bring about the fit between words and world, to make the

propositional content true." Searle believes that this double direction of fit contrasts the simple word-to-world fit of assertives.

Bach and Harnish (1991) agree with Searle that performatives are true/false, but for different reasons. They hold that performatives are truth-evaluable because they are directly statements, but only indirectly promises, apologies etc. While Searle sees performatives as declarations, Bach and Harnish claim that only some performative utterances are declarations, such as, "I pronounce you man and wife." This, however, is perhaps not really an objection to Searle; it might rather be the result of their different conception of what a "declaration" is supposed to be. For in their conception, "declarations" are institutional in character; and, accordingly, the point of their argument is that most performatives are not bound to particular institutional situations; this, however, is something Searle does not intend to deny in the paper under consideration.

But Bach and Harnish attack Searle's account in a more fundamental way. They dispute Searle's explanation of what the question concerning performatives is about. According to Searle the question concerning performatives is that they are sentences that perform an explicit action specified by the verb, just by saying that the action is being performed. Bach and Harnish feel that this is the wrong approach to inquiries into the nature of performatives. They feel that an approach such as the one Searle posits, assumes incorrectly that performatives are conceptually distinct from other utterances. This type of assumption is unfavorable according to Bach and Harnish because it rules out the null hypothesis without foundation. They feel the null hypothesis in this case is that there may not be in fact, any need for a special justification for an utterance's performative effect.

According to Bach and Harnish, ordinary performatives do not need distinctive rationalization, because they are ordinary acts of communication that are successful only if an audience can infer your communicative intention to be expressing a distinct position. They feel that this description of performatives contrasts Searle's view of performatives as declarations, because declarations are only 'incidentally communicative' and are successful only if they fulfill the applicable conventions. Bach and Harnish also reject Searle's view that the performative force of performatives is contained in its literal meaning. They feel that Searle incorrectly confounds performative force with its communicative accomplishment. Bach and Harnish argue that although the communicative success of performatives relies on the fact that they are statements, the performative force of performatives do not.

Sedgwick's account of performatives

When performative utterances are explicit, then they are usually in the first person present tense. Those features are indexical, reflecting features of the immediate context. The particular verbs used in performative utterances tend to be *verba dicendi* – verbs of speaking – or "metapragmatic verbs," verbs that draw attention to a particular relation between the utterance or speech form and context. While some linguists and theorists might describe explicit performative utterances as rare occurrences, Eve Sedgwick argues that there are performative aspects to nearly all words, sentences, and phrases. (Notice, however, Sedgwick does not use Austin's notion in a really accurate manner and thus is -- despite of her use of Austin's term --

most probably speaking about a subject matter different from Austin's.) According to Sedgwick, performative utterances can be 'transformative' performatives, which create an instant change of personal or environmental status, or 'promisory' performatives, which describe the world as it might be in the future. These categories are not exclusive, so an utterance may well have both qualities. Some performative speech may be socially contested. For instance, two gay men saying "I do" in a wedding ceremony may be accepted as a performative act by some, but not by others. As Sedgwick observes, performative utterances can be revoked, either by the person who uttered them ("I take back my promise"), or by some other party not immediately involved, like the state (for example, gay marriage vows).

Words on a list can be either descriptive or performative. 'Butter' on a shopping list implies that "I will buy butter" (a promise to yourself). But 'Butter' printed on your till receipt means "you have purchased butter" (simply a description).

Naming

Naming can also be both performative and descriptive, in certain superstitious circles. Macbeth is a simple name that describes the Shakespeare character and is the title of the play. But uttering the name Macbeth among actors who are performing the play is thought to trigger instant ill fortune in the production. The well-known phrase "Speak of the devil and he will appear" follows similar superstitious logic. It is a relic of magical thinking, along with, and much like, the idea that making utterances over a representative fragment (a lock of a person's hair) will cause something to happen in the wider world (the person will fall in love).

Descriptives and promises

Even descriptive utterances can be construed as being 'promisory' performative. For instance, someone standing on a street corner and describing to you a place you are trying to get to. Their description of the place takes the form of a 'promise' - the words are the place for you, for the moment - but you only know if the 'promise' of the words have been fulfilled when you personally reach the place in question.

Examples

- "I now pronounce you man and wife." (conferred personal status change)
- "I christen you" (conferred personal status change)
- "I accept your apology" (conferred personal status change)
- "I divorce you, I divorce you, I divorce you" (conferred personal status change) (Islamic: see: Talaq-i-Bid'ah or triple Talaq)
- "I do" – wedding (self-actuated personal status change)
- "I swear to do that" (self-actuated personal status change - you are now bound)
- "I promise to be there" (self-actuated personal status change - you are now bound)
- "I apologize" (self-actuated personal status change)
- "This meeting is now adjourned" (conferred environment status change)
- "The court is now in session" (conferred environment status change)
- "This church is hereby de-sanctified" (conferred environment status change)
- "War is declared" (conferred environment status change)
- "I sentence you to death" (conferred, will prove true or false in the future)
- "I promise to be there" (self-actuated, will prove true or false in the future)

- "I swear to do that" (self-actuated, will prove true or false in the future)
- "I apologize" (self-actuated, will change your status if the apology is accepted)

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Discussion

1. What utterances according to Austin constitute a group of constatives?
2. Make a list of problems that have been raised in the scientific dispute during the 1970's following Austin's ideas
3. What Searle's point concerning performatives prompted a heated discussion on the part of Bach and Harnish? Whose side do you take – Searle's or Bach and Harnish's? Why?
4. What is Eve Sedgwick's view of performatives? What classification does she offer?

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UNIT 5

Sexism in the Language System

PART 1 Questions to be tackled:

1. Sexual stereotyping
2. Gender differentiation in lexical choice
3. Male / Female differences in communication

Key words and phrases: gender, sexism, sexist language, gender systems in languages, cross-gender conversations, single-gender conversations

Question 1 Sexual Stereotyping

A major topic in sociolinguistics is the connection, if any, between the structures, vocabularies, and ways of using particular varieties and the social roles of the men and women who speak these varieties. Do the men and women who speak a particular language use it in different ways? If they do, do these differences arise from the structure of that language, which would therefore be one kind of confirmation of the Whorfian hypothesis, or, alternatively, do any differences that exist simply reflect the ways in which the sexes relate to each other in that society, whatever the reason? May it be possible to describe a particular language as ‘sexist,’ or should we reserve such a description for those who use that language? The literature on these issues is now vast; it has been one of the biggest ‘growth’ areas within sociolinguistics in recent years.

First and foremost, two topic-related terms should be distinguished – “sex” and “gender”. The former is to a very large extent biologically determined whereas the latter is a social construct involving the whole gamut of genetic, psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females.

What it means to be a woman or to be a man changes from one generation to the next and varies between different ethnic and religious groups, as well as for members of different social classes. So gender must be learned anew in each generation. Cameron (1998b, pp. 280–1) states that view in a slightly different way: “*Men and women . . . are members of cultures in which a large amount of discourse about gender is constantly circulating. They do not only learn, and then mechanically reproduce, ways of speaking ‘appropriate’ to their own sex; they learn a much broader set of gendered meanings that attach in rather complex ways to different ways of speaking, and they produce their own behavior in the light of these meanings....Performing masculinity or femininity ‘appropriately’ cannot mean giving exactly the same performance regardless of the circumstances. It may involve different strategies in mixed and single-sexed company, in private and public settings, in the various social positions (parent, lover, professional, friend) that someone might regularly occupy in the course of everyday life*”

Gender is also something we cannot avoid; it is part of the way in which societies are ordered around us, with each society doing that ordering differently.

Sociolinguists are keen on finding out the evidence that there are gender differences in language use, on evaluating that the evidence is cogent enough and on discovering, when indeed there is good evidence, what it is good evidence of. Moreover, other concerns are if languages may be sexist or just those who use languages may be such.

By the notion of **sexism** it is meant:

1. attitudes or behavior based on traditional stereotypes of sexual roles;
2. discrimination or devaluation based on a person's sex, as in restricted job opportunities, sexual freedom, freedom of expression, equal rights in society. Such discrimination may be directed both ways, but in most cases it is aimed against women.

Sexist language expresses bias in favor of one sex and thus treats the other sex in a discriminatory manner. In most cases the bias is in favor of men and against women. The existence of sexist language is due to sexism in society. As a social phenomenon, language is closely related to social attitudes. In the past, women were supposed to stay at home, remaining powerless and generally subordinate to men, whereas men were considered as the center both in family relations and society. Even in English-speaking countries, which accommodate the sentiment that “everyone is created equal”, discrimination against women exists and language simply reflects this social fact.

It is a self-evident fact that men and women do not communicate in the same way. But is there really any evidence to support this?

Do men and women speak the same language? Can they ever really communicate? These questions are not new, but since the early 1990s there has been a new surge of interest in them. Countless self-help and popular psychology books have been written portraying men and women as alien beings, and conversation between them as a mass of misunderstandings.

The most successful exponents of this formula, such as Deborah Tannen, author of “*You Just Don't Understand*”, and John Gray, author of “*Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus*”, have topped the bestseller lists on both sides of the Atlantic. Advice on how to bridge the communication gulf between the sexes has grown into a flourishing mass media industry.

Discussion points and tasks:

- Where does the difference between the terms “sex” and “gender” reside?
- What do modern gender studies in Sociolinguistics deal with?
- Which language is labelled as sexist? What are the reasons for its existence?

Question 2 Gender differentiation in lexical choice

In society, men are considered the norm for the human species: their characteristics, thoughts, beliefs and actions are viewed as fully representing those of all humans, male and female. This practice can make women invisible in language or altogether excludes them. It can also lead to their portrayal as deviations from this “male – human” norm. Women's linguistic status is often dependent on or derives

from that of men, which is represented as autonomous. By relegating women to a dependent, subordinate position, sexist language prevents the portrayal of women and men as different but equal human beings. Numerous observers describing women's speech as being different from that of men (see Baron (1986), Arliss (1991, pp. 44–112; pp. 162–207) evince this kind of a bias: men's speech usually provides the norm against which women's speech is judged, that is being described as deviating from that of men. It could just as well be asked how men's speech differs from that of women, but investigators have not usually gone about the task of looking at differences in that way. For example, in discussing language change in Philadelphia, Labov (2001, pp. 281–2) deliberately recasts his statement that "*Women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not*" to read that men "*are less conforming than women with stable linguistic variables, and more conforming when change is in progress within a linguistic system*". He does this so as to avoid appearing to bias his findings.

In the area of morphology and vocabulary, many of the studies have focused on English. In a paper which, although it is largely intuitive and personal in nature, is nevertheless challenging and interesting, Lakoff (1973) claims that women use color words like *mauve*, *beige*, *aquamarine*, *lavender*, and *magenta* but most men do not. She also maintains that adjectives such as *adorable*, *charming*, *divine*, *lovely*, and *sweet* are also commonly used by women but only very rarely by men. Women are also said to have their own vocabulary for emphasizing certain effects on them, words and expressions such as *so good*, *such fun*, *exquisite*, *lovely*, *divine*, *precious*, *adorable*, *darling*, and *fantastic*. Furthermore, the English language makes certain distinctions of a gender-based kind, e.g., *actor–actress*, *waiter–waitress*, and *master–mistress*. Some of these distinctions are reinforced by entrenched patterns of usage and semantic development. For example, *master* and *mistress* have developed quite different ranges of use and meaning, so that whereas Joan can be described as *Fred's mistress*, Fred cannot be described as *Joan's master* (in the sense of Joan's lover as is the case with the word "*mistress*").

Other pairs of words which reflect similar differentiation are *boy–girl*, *man–woman*, *gentleman–lady*, *bachelor–spinster*, and even *widower–widow*. In the last case, whereas you can say 'She's Fred's widow,' you cannot say 'He's Sally's widower.' Lakoff cites numerous examples and clearly establishes her point that 'equivalent' words referring to men and women do have quite different associations in English. A particularly telling example is the difference between '*He's a professional*' and '*She's a professional*'. Other investigators have documented the same phenomenon in other languages, for example in French uses of *garçon* and *fille*. One of the consequences of such work is that there is now a greater awareness in some parts of the community that subtle, and sometimes not so subtle distinctions are made in the vocabulary choice used to describe men and women.

Consequently, it can be grasped why there is a frequent insistence that neutral words be used as much as possible. If language tends to reflect social structure and social structure is changing, so that judgeships, surgical appointments, nursing positions et cetera are just as likely to be held by women as men (or by men as

women), such changes might be expected to follow inevitably. This kind of work does two things: it draws our attention to existing inequities, and it encourages us to make the necessary changes by establishing new categorizations (e.g., *Ms*), and suggesting modifications for old terms (e.g., changing *policeman* to *police officer* and *chairman* to *chairperson*).

However, it remains fairly doubtful that changing *waitress* to either *waiter* or *waitperson* indicates a real shift in sexist attitudes. Reviewing the evidence, Romaine (1999, pp. 312–13) concludes that ‘*attitudes toward gender equality did not match language usage. Those who had adopted more gender-inclusive language did not necessarily have a more liberal view of gender inequities in language.*’

One particular bit of sexism in languages that has aroused much comment is the gender systems that so many of languages have: the *he–she–it* ‘natural’ gender system of English or the *le–la* or *der–die–das* ‘grammatical’ gender systems of French and German respectively. The possible connections between gender systems (masculine, feminine, neuter) and gender differences (male, female, neither) are various. A scientist Romaine (1999) claims (p. 66) that “*ideological factors in the form of cultural beliefs about women...enter into gender assignment in [grammatical] systems that are supposedly purely formal and arbitrary*”. In English such connections sometimes create problems for us in finding the right pronoun: compare the natural ‘*Everybody should hand in their papers in five minutes*’ to the apparently biased ‘*No person in his right mind would do that.*’ Again, *he–she* distinctions can often be avoided (sometimes clumsily) so it probably does not follow that languages with gender distinctions must be sexist. It is the people who use languages who are or who are not sexist; Chinese, Japanese, Persian, and Turkish do not make the kinds of gender distinctions English makes through its system of pronouns, but it would be difficult to maintain that males who speak these languages are less sexist than males who speak English.

Discussion points and tasks:

- What kind of a bias is generally evident in the numerous research describing women’s speech as being different from that of men?
- What do associations with ‘equivalent’ words referring to men and women in English suggest? What does the awareness of such implications result in as far as lexical choice is concerned?
- Can the replacement of a sexist vocabulary with neutral one lead to the changes in attitudes? How?

Question 3 Male / Female differences in communication

In conversations involving both men and women many researchers agree that men speak more than women do. One also found that when men talked to men, the content categories of such talk focused on competition and teasing, sports, aggression, and doing things. On the other hand, when women talked to women, the equivalent categories were the self, feelings, affiliation with others, home, and

family. Women are also reported to use more polite forms and more compliments than men. In doing so, they are said to be seeking to develop solidarity with others in order to maintain social relationships. On the other hand, men are likely to use talk to get things done.

However, these are tendencies only. Men also try to bond and women also try to move others to action. Mills (2003) contests the view that women are more polite than men. She says that 'politeness' is not a property of utterances; it is rather "*a set of practices or strategies which communities of practice develop, affirm, and contest*" (ibid., p. 9). Politeness requirements vary by situation and there is no overall imperative to be polite to others; "*we can be impolite too and other views of politeness are incorrect*" (ibid., p. 276). While there may be a stereotypical, white, middle-class (and largely female) idea of what politeness is, it is not widely shared (although it is extremely influential in the literature on politeness). "*For some women, this stereotype may be important, but for others it may be something which they actively resist and reject*" (ibid., p. 214). Politeness "*is clearly a resource which interactants use to structure their relations with others, and they are able to be self-reflexive about their own and others' use of politeness and impoliteness*" (ibid., pp. 245–6). When the two genders interacted, men tended to take the initiative in conversation, but there seemed to be a desire to achieve some kind of accommodation so far as topics were concerned: the men spoke less aggressively and competitively and the women reduced their amount of talk about home and family.

A thorough review of the literature on the subject by James and Drakich (1993) showed inconsistency in the findings when fifty-six studies of talk either within or between genders were examined. What was important in determining who talked was "*the context and the structure of the social interaction within which gender differences are observed*" (ibid., p. 281). Another interesting claim is that in cross-gender conversations men frequently interrupt women but women much less frequently interrupt men. James and Clarke (1993) looked at fifty-four studies that addressed the claim that men are much more likely than women "*to use interruption as a means of dominating and controlling interactions*" (ibid., p. 268). They report that the majority of studies have found no significant differences between genders in this respect and both men and women interrupt other men and women. However, according to James and Clarke, "*A small amount of evidence exists that females may use interruptions of the cooperative and rapport-building type to a greater extent than do males, at least in some circumstances*" (ibid., p. 268).

Still another claim is that there is evidence that in cross-gender conversation women ask more questions than men, encourage others to speak, use more back-channeling signals like *mhmm* to encourage others to continue speaking, use more instances of *you* and *we*, and do not protest as much as men when they are interrupted. On the other hand, men interrupt more, challenge, dispute, and ignore more, try to control what topics are discussed, and are inclined to make categorical statements. Such behaviors are not characteristic of women in conversations that involve both men and women. In other words, in their interactional patterns in conversation, men and women seem often to exhibit the power relationship that exists in society, with men dominant and women subservient.

If different behaviors are sometimes found in cross-gender communication, what do we find within same-gender groups? Coates (1996) discusses conversation among women friends. She analyzed over nineteen hours of recorded conversation among women interacting socially in small groups. Coates admits that she is no longer a ‘dispassionate investigator’ of language. She is a middle-class woman and feminist, and an ethnographer who puts women at the center of her work. She says that her work shows that among the groups she looked at ‘friendships with women are a constant in women’s lives.’ In such conversations women tell and exchange stories, constantly hedge what they say, use questions to invite others to talk, i.e., for conversational maintenance, and often repeat what others say. Such talk is collaborative and establishes a feeling of solidarity among those who use it.

In their study of the casual conversations of approximately thirty-five minutes each of eight same-sex pairs of friends, four male and four female, Freed and Greenwood (1996) found no differences in the use of “*you know*” and questions: ‘*Women and men of the same speech community, speaking in same-sex pairs in the same conversational context, with equal access to the conversational floor, do not differ either in the frequency of the use of “you know” or in the number of questions uttered*’ (p. 3). Women and men also use *you know* and questions for the same purposes. It is the linguistic task or the speaking situation that determines the style of speaking not the gender of the speaker. They add that “*just as the communicative style of women has been overly stereotyped as cooperative, so too the verbal style of men has been overgeneralized as competitive and lacking in cooperativeness*”

When gender differences in language behavior are observed scholars are confronted with the task of trying to explain them. One explanation is that languages can be sexist. Three other claims are of interest, though.

The first claim is that men and women are biologically different and that this difference has serious consequences for gender. Women are somehow predisposed psychologically to be involved with one another and to be mutually supportive and non-competitive. On the other hand, men are innately predisposed to independence and to vertical rather than horizontal relationships. There appears to be little or no evidence for this claim; it seems rather to be a clear case of stereotyping, which offers no more than a facile solution to a difficult problem.

The second claim is that social organization is best perceived as some kind of hierarchical set of power relationships. Moreover, such organization by power may appear to be entirely normal, justified both genetically and evolutionarily, and therefore natural and possibly even preordained. Language behavior reflects male dominance. Men use what power they have to dominate each other and, of course, women, and, if women are to succeed in such a system, they must learn to dominate others too, women included. Men constantly try to take control, to specify topics, to interrupt, and so on. They do it with each other and they do it with women, who, feeling powerless, let them get away with it, preferring instead to seek support from other women. Consequently, since women are relatively powerless they opt for more prestigious language forms to protect themselves in dealing with the more powerful. At the same time the use of such forms serves to mark them off from equally powerless males of the same social class. Women may also have weaker social

networks than men but they show a greater sensitivity to language forms, especially standard ones. Women may have to behave more like men if this unequal relationship is to be changed. In fact power relations best explain what happens when men and women interact linguistically. Male dominance is often treated as though it is pan-contextual. But all men are not in a position to dominate all women.' Furthermore, anthropologists have pointed out that women are never without power and effectively control some societies. Dominance clearly fails as a universal explanation of gendered language differences.

The third claim, which does not actually deny the second claim, is that men and women are social beings who have learned to act in certain ways. Language behavior is largely learned behavior. Men learn to be men and women learn to be women, linguistically speaking. Society subjects them to different life experiences. This is often referred to as the *difference* (sometimes also *deficit*) view as opposed to the *dominance* view just mentioned. It is proposed that, in North America at least, men and women come from different sociolinguistic sub-cultures. They have learned to do different things with language, particularly in conversation, and when the two genders try to communicate with each other, the result may be miscommunication. The *mhmm* a woman uses quite frequently means only 'I'm listening,' whereas the *mhmm* a man uses, but much less frequently, tends to mean 'I agree.' Consequently, men often believe that women always agree with them and then conclude that it's impossible to tell what a woman really thinks, whereas women get upset with men who never seem to be listening. Women and men observe different rules in conversing and in cross-gender talk the rules often conflict. The genders have different views of what questioning is all about, women viewing questions as part of conversational maintenance and men primarily as requests for information; different conventions for linking; different views of what is or is not 'aggressive' linguistic behavior, with women regarding any sign of aggression as personally directed, negative, and disruptive, and men as just one way of organizing a conversation; different views of topic flow and topic shift; and different attitudes toward problem-sharing and advice-giving, with women tending to discuss, share, and seek reassurance, and men tending to look for solutions, give advice, and even lecture to their audiences.

Discussion points and tasks:

- What conclusions might one come to on having made an overview of studies focused on gender differences in communication?
- What are the three claims that scholars put forth while trying to explain gender differences in language behavior? Which claim seems most viable? Why?

PART 2 Read the suggested article and be ready to discuss it along the lines of the questions that follow it

Talking New York: It's Not Just the Accent That Makes Us Different (Men-Women Differences in Speech)

Tannen, Deborah. "New York Style. It's Not What You Say, It's the Way That You Say It," from the PBS special on sociolinguistics, MacNeil/Lehrer productions (2005). <http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/americanvarieties/newyorkcity/>

Well-known author and sociolinguist Deborah Tannen shows what happens to couples when he's from New York and she isn't. All too often, linguistic roles are reversed and she's the one who complains that her partner just won't shut up! It's just the tip of the linguistic iceberg. (The research cited in this essay was first published in 1990)

Allison broke up with Manny at the end of a long car ride back from the Adirondacks to Manhattan. He had driven her crazy by talking the entire trip. After giving his assessment of all the people they had met, lecturing about the local flora and fauna, and listing options for their next vacation, he provided a running commentary on what he saw out the window and read road signs out loud. Hadn't Manny heard of the strong, silent type? To Allison, his monologue underscored how different they were.

This apportionment of talk and silence was the reverse of the pattern I've discovered in most places in America. Generally, it's women who complain that the men in their lives don't talk to them, and men who gripe that the women they live with talk too much and insist on conversation when they want to read the newspaper or watch television. Why are Allison and Manny so different? You guessed it: He's a New Yorker and she's from Minnesota.

Native New Yorkers (I know, because I'm one) sometimes feel like a unique species. In this way, we are: Gender differences in conversational style are exaggerated or reversed if one partner is from New York and the other is not. If the woman is from New York and the man isn't, the widespread tendency for the woman to talk at home while the man clams up increases. If he is from New York and she isn't—as with Allison and Manny—the opposite can happen.

Since the publication of my new book, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*, most of the people who have written to me, or called in to talk shows I'm on, have told me that their relationships fit the pattern I describe: The woman comes home and tells all to a man who has nothing to say. But every now and then I get a call – as I did on *Donahue* recently – from a woman who complains that her husband talks constantly and doesn't let her get a word in edgewise, or a man who complains that his wife never talks. A male television-talk-show host asked me, "Why do women leave the room and refuse to discuss a problem when you're trying to talk it out?" – just the question countless women ask me about men. In these exceptional cases, it almost always turns out that the man is from New York, and the woman isn't.

We look to a primary relationship as a haven in a hostile world; we expect our partner to be our best friend. But if our primary relationship is with a person of the other gender, we're likely to have different assumptions about what it means to be best friends. Women assume that the essence of friendship is talk: a free-wheeling exchange of thoughts and feelings, daily experiences and impressions. In contrast,

many men feel it means doing things together, or simply being together; talk isn't required. In fact, they feel that one of the benefits of being close is not having to talk, since talk is something you have to do to prove yourself in the outside world. But New Yorkers – both men and women – are often big talkers, at home as well as outside. What's more, conversational style differences between New Yorkers and others make it hard for a non-New Yorker to get into a New York conversation.

Here's how it works: Allison herself was partly responsible for Manny's verbal onslaught. He believes that talk is a sign of goodwill in a friendly situation and silence is evidence of a lack of rapport. So it was her silence that made him resort to scenery and road signs to fill the conversational space. But Manny wasn't blameless. Each indication that he intended to keep talking reinforced Allison's determination not to talk in order to demonstrate the behavior she considered appropriate: companionable silence.

As it happens, conversational-style differences that cause grief in a long-term relationship are often what attract New Yorkers and non-New Yorkers to each other in the first place. It was his talkativeness that drew Allison to Manny. She thought of it as openness, a willingness to do his share of relating. And Manny was drawn to Allison precisely because of her tendency to listen rather than talk, which he saw as calm reserve, as being "centered." But the conversational-style differences that bring New Yorkers and non-New Yorkers together can eventually drive them apart.

Another bone of contention is contentiousness. Men are, by and large, more comfortable with opposition and argument than women, who are inclined to support and agree with each other. Many women resent it if their partners disagree with them in public or correct them on points of fact. If a woman tells another woman about a problem with her boss, her friend is likely to join her in criticizing the boss. But if a woman comes home and tells her male partner the same story, he may explain the boss's point of view. She thinks he's being disloyal; he thinks he's being helpful. Indeed, men often take oppositional stances when they feel friendly, by arguing about sports and politics, for example, or just razzing and teasing each other.

In New York, however, friendly contentiousness is common among women as well as men. A New Englander who arrived in New York and took a cab from the train station was immediately offended by a cabdriver who gruffly took him to task for slamming the cab door. But a New Yorker told me she loves nothing better than to fly into La Guardia and have a porter chide her for having heavy suitcases or to go to a delicatessen and have a waiter tell her she ordered the wrong thing. Since New Yorkers assume a no-holds-barred directness with intimates, we regard offhand brusqueness (as distinguished from downright nastiness) from strangers or acquaintances as a sign of friendliness: They are treating us like family.

This can result in a tendency to disagree and question, rather than agree and support, in conversation with friends. And contentiousness can get New York women into trouble, because women are expected to be agreeable. For example, women often enact a routine I call "trouble talk": One woman tells a trouble, and the other offers a matching one. A woman from Massachusetts complained that a woman friend from New York was always putting her down. It turned out that when she mentioned a problem, her friend often said, "That's not a problem for me." This violates the rules

of troubles talk, which require that if you can't say, "I'm the same way," you should at least say, "I know how you feel." Refusing to admit to being the same seems to imply thinking you're better.

Another way that many New York women differ from women at large has to do with directness. Most women don't give orders in the form of direct demands; instead, they suggest and hint. This works fine if everyone understands the system. Jane asks, "Shall we go to the movies tonight?" and Susan answers, "I'm tired, but if you want, we can go." Jane then lets Susan off the hook: "If you're tired, we'll go another time." Susan gets her way without demanding it, and Jane feels she chose not to go. But a man might take Susan's statement literally: You said you'd go, so let's put on our coats.

New Yorkers of both genders assume directness is appropriate when two people are close. So women and men may reverse roles if the woman is from New York and the man's family is from a culture that prefers indirectness, such as Greek or Japanese. This is what happened when a Greek man accused his New York-bred wife of selfishness because she never did what he wanted. He would send out hints about his preferences, which she'd miss because she assumed that married people tell each other directly what's on their minds. For instance, whenever they were in a department store, he would suggest they visit the furniture department. He was certain she knew he wanted to buy new furniture, yet she refused to do so; though she had wondered why he was so interested in furniture, she was genuinely surprised to learn he wanted to buy some, since he hadn't said so. This man also picked up signals his wife hadn't sent out. For example, when she asked if he wanted to go to a party, he assumed she wanted to go – otherwise, why would she ask? He agreed to go for her sake and was angry and incredulous when she later said she'd gone because *he'd* wanted to.

There's also a discrepancy between New York women and their non-New York sisters in terms of raising topics. When I studied conversations between Louisiana children and their best friends, which had been videotaped by psychologist Bruce Dorval of Long Island University, I found that the girls' centered on one girl's problems; the conversations between boys jumped from topic to topic. There was one pair of boys who did discuss problems, but each talked about his own problem and dismissed the other's. Yet the boys didn't seem to mind. For them, dismissing the other's problem was a way of implying, "You shouldn't feel bad because your problems aren't so bad." When it comes to switching subjects, New York women resemble these Louisiana boys more than the girls. New Yorkers trust others to get back to a topic if they have more to say about it. So New York women may be seen as self-centered by non-New Yorkers. This is just what women say of men who start following their own agenda rather than exploring and pursuing the topics raised by them.

What's the logic behind these New York conversational strategies? The style can be understood as "high involvement." You show you're a good person by demonstrating enthusiastic participation in the conversation. You offer talk as a gift. You convert minor commonplace experiences into long, dramatic stories full of acted-out dialogue and exaggerated facial expressions. You talk along when you

listen, offering little (or big) expressions of interest or disbelief or even mini-stories showing your understanding through shared experience. You toss out new topics to forestall any lulls. All this conversational exuberance is intensified by loud volume and fast pacing, to reinforce the enthusiasm and participation. The risk of offending by not talking is deemed greater than the risk of offending by talking too much.

High-involvement seems intrusive to those who have “high-considerateness” styles

Unbeknownst to well-intentioned New Yorkers, high-involvement strategies seem intrusive to those who have what I call “high-considerateness” styles. They’re showing they are good people not by demonstrating eager involvement, but by not imposing. With volume held in check, they leave nice long pauses to make sure other speakers are finished before they start to talk. They are circumspect in dealing out talk, often waiting to be asked to speak, to make sure that others want to hear what they have to say. They state the points of their stories rather than acting them out, and the points are less likely to be personal. This leaves New Yorkers wondering whether the story has a point at all. Non-New Yorkers also make a lot less noise when they listen, causing New Yorkers to wonder if they’ve fallen asleep. They make sure a topic is exhausted before introducing a new one—a strategy that can exhaust a New Yorker who thinks the topic has been talked to death—and they would rather risk offense by saying too little than too much.

These differences wreak havoc in close relationships when only one partner is from New York. The New York-bred partner ends up doing all the talking and accuses the other of not holding up his or her end of the conversation. The non-New York partner ends up seething: “You only want to hear yourself talk; you’re not interested in me.” Both attribute their dissatisfaction not to differences in conversational style, but to the other’s personality flaws and bad intentions.

So much for talk in close relationships. What of the time spent talking “in public” – in social situations with people we know less well, and at work? Most women use language to create connection and intimacy, so they are more comfortable talking in private, with people they feel close to. Men use language to negotiate status in a group. It goes back to the way boys and girls learn to use language growing up. In a study of working-class black children in Philadelphia, anthropologist Marjorie Harness Goodwin has found that boys tend to play outside, in hierarchical groups. High-status boys give orders, and low-status boys get pushed around, so boys learn to negotiate status by displaying their abilities and accomplishments. But girls’ groups operate on more egalitarian principles; Goodwin observed girls ostracizing one girl who dressed better than her friends and another who did “too” well in school. So girls tend to avoid boasting or appearing better than others.

These gender differences put women at a disadvantage in public situations. At a meeting, say, men are more likely than women to jump in, hold forth, and state their opinions as fact. The high-involvement style of New York men reinforces this advantage by making them even more comfortable speaking up and speaking out, though if they go too far, they may be considered abrasive by non-New Yorkers. High-involvement style also gives New York-bred women an advantage in this regard, but the advantage is not as clear-cut.

Whereas the New York man is considered assertive, the New York woman is seen as aggressive. The tendency to speak up at meetings, to be comfortable with argument and conflict, to put oneself forward and make one's accomplishment known may make New York women more forceful in positions of authority. But all women are judged by the same expectations. Whereas New York style reinforces a man's masculinity as well as his authority, it may reinforce a woman's authority but compromise her femininity in the eyes of non-New Yorkers. She may be respected and taken seriously, but she may also be disliked. Whereas the New York man is considered assertive, the New York woman is seen as aggressive. Whereas he is a take-charge person, she is called – as Geraldine Ferraro was by Barbara Bush – the word that “rhymes with rich.”

The obvious question is “Why are New Yorkers different?” Many people suggest that because there are so many of us in so little space, we have to get closer and move faster. But it is just as logical to say that because there are so many of us, we have to be extra considerate of one another. Tokyo is quite crowded, but Japanese style is as high-considerate as you can get: maximally indirect and talk-averse. Whereas many New Yorkers will exchange fleeting remarks with just about anyone within hearing distance, an American living in Japan was hurt when his neighbor walked within inches of his open front door without showing any sign of having noticed him. The American was told that this was the Japanese way of not imposing in an overcrowded setting. So crowding in itself doesn't account for New York style. Instead, I believe that our way of talking results from the conversational styles of cultures that settled in large numbers in New York: East European and Mediterranean. More recently arrived immigrants, such as Hispanics, Africans, and West Indians, fit right in. Class plays a role, too. The fast-paced, stand-close style of ethnic New Yorkers seems as alien to patrician New Yorkers as it does to Americans from other parts of the country.

Because of these cultural influences, moreover, not all New Yorkers have the same conversational style. For example, an Irish New Yorker may talk as quickly and exuberantly as a Jewish one but about less personal topics. Even two New York Jews may differ. One woman grumbled that her husband doesn't believe she can tell a story by herself. When they have guests, and she begins to talk, he takes over. I explained that he probably isn't trying to tell the story *for* her but *with* her. He expects them to toss the narrative ball back and forth, speaking on the same team. By participating in her story, he's showing his interest and his caring, not trying to take over. The reason he ends up telling her story is that she withdraws, leaving him to carry the ball. To understand why this happened, I asked about their backgrounds. “We have the same background,” she said. “We're both from New York, and we're both Jewish.” But I wasn't licked. “Is he East European Jewish, and are you German Jewish?” Her mouth fell open: “Yes.” New York Jews of German background often show the northern European influence of high considerateness, whereas East European Jews share high-involvement style with other East Europeans.

So what's a person to do? When your partner is driving you mad, before accusing him or her of a flawed character or evil motives – or maybe right afterward—stop and ask yourself if the culprit might be different conversational

styles. If only one of you is a native New Yorker, chances are especially great that the answer will be yes. With the burden of blame lifted, you can start to make small adjustments. Take heart: Allison and Manny got back together and lived happily ever after. (Well, as happily as any of us.) And on long car rides, they're both busy trying to quiet their children, who overwhelm Allison's silence *and* Manny's talk with their noisy arguments.

Discussion

1. What are the typical assumptions of men and women about being best friends?
2. In what way are men and women different in treating opposition and argument? How do New Yorkers ruin this stereotype according to the author?
3. What discrepancies exist between New York women and their non-New York sisters in terms of their speech habits?
4. Note the other peculiarities that the author suggests about New Yorkers, both male and female.
5. How is the way a New Yorker talks different or similar to your culture's way of speaking?

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UNIT 6

Language Planning and Policy

PART 1 Questions to be tackled:

- a. Language planning and language ideology.
- b. Language Planning in Ukraine

Key words and phrases: corpus planning, status planning, language acquisition planning, language ideologies, language policy

Question 1 Language planning and language ideology

Language planning is a deliberate effort to influence the function, structure, or acquisition of languages or language variety within a speech community. The goals of language planning differ depending on the nation or organization, but generally include making planning decisions and possibly changes for the benefit of communication. Planning or improving effective communication can also lead to other social changes such as language shift or assimilation, thereby providing another motivation to plan the structure, function and acquisition of languages.

Decisions around language policy and planning are made around the globe every day, both formally by governments and informally by scholars and community leaders. These decisions influence the right to use and maintain languages, affect language status, and determine which languages are nurtured. Language policy and planning decisions have a major impact on language vitality and, ultimately, on the rights of the individual.

Decisions about language policies, requirements, and practices have important consequences in all social contexts. “Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes” (Cooper, 1989, p. 45). It may be undertaken with formal, official governmental sanction or reflected in unofficial and informal practices. Language planning is frequently undertaken for the expressed purpose of solving communication problems. Nevertheless, ill conceived, poorly informed policies can result in negative impacts on those affected by them.

Traditionally, there are two dimensions of language planning: “**Corpus planning** deals with norm selection and codification, as in the writing of grammars and the standardization of spelling; **status planning** deals with initial choice of language, including attitudes toward alternative languages and the political implications of various choices” (Bright, 1992, p. 311). A third major type planning that is particularly important for education is known as **language acquisition planning** (Cooper, 1989). Choosing which languages will be used as mediums for instruction is particularly important in acquisition planning as one must not only learn the language but use it to learn.

On numerous occasions, UNESCO has been invited by its Member States to monitor national and regional policies on language protection and language planning for building multilingual societies and design appropriate language tools for capacity building, content development, and awareness raising among various stakeholders. Language policy is seen as a powerful political instrument for the promotion of the co-existence of multilingualism.

International normative instruments such as conventions, treaties or recommendations can be reinforced at the national level if comprehensive language policies are developed, concrete measures are introduced, resources are allocated, and effective tools are used by all stakeholders concerned.

In order to promote and assist in the design of language policies, UNESCO organized an expert meeting “*Towards UNESCO Guidelines on Language Policies: A Tool for Language Assessment and Planning*” from 30 May to 1 June 2011 at its Headquarters in Paris, France. Three UNESCO programme sectors (Education, Culture, and Communication and Information) brought together external experts working in the fields of linguistics, anthropology, education, media and the Internet. The major objective of the meeting was to develop a tool that would enable UNESCO’s Member States to assess the language situation in a local or national context and, based on that assessment, develop and implement more comprehensive language policies and measures.

As a starting point, UNESCO proposed that the experts revise the UNESCO “Language Vitality and Endangerment” methodological guidelines (LVE) that were developed in 2003 by an ad hoc expert group. This document is a tool intended for those involved in designing language maintenance and/or revitalization measures, surveying the status of languages and linguistic diversity and developing language policies. It puts forward nine language vitality factors for the determination of the degree of vitality/endangerment of a language, and for developing measures for language maintenance and / or revitalization. These factors are as follows:

1. Intergenerational language transmission
2. Absolute number of speakers
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population
4. Shifts in domains of language use
5. Response to new domains and media
6. Availability of materials for language education and literacy
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use
8. Community members’ attitudes toward their own language
9. Amount and quality of documentation

Factors 1, 4 and 5 require additional attention and revision. These are centered on intergenerational transmission, and on the ever-increasing relevance of information and communication technologies (ICTs), including the Internet as well as the media (particularly Public Service Broadcasting).

Four overarching **language ideologies** motivate decision making in language planning. The first, linguistic assimilation, is the belief that every member of a society, irrespective of his native language, should learn and use the dominant

language of the society in which he lives. A quintessential example is the English-only movement in the United States. Linguistic assimilation stands in direct contrast to the second ideology, linguistic pluralism - the recognition and support of multiple languages within one society. Examples include the coexistence of French, German, Italian, and Romansh in Switzerland and the shared status of English, Malay, Tamil, and Chinese in Singapore. The coexistence of many languages may not necessarily arise from a conscious language ideology, but rather from the efficiency in communication of a common language. The third ideology, vernacularization, denotes the restoration and development of an indigenous language along with its adoption by the state as an official language. Examples include Hebrew in the state of Israel and Quechua in Peru. The final ideology, internationalization, is the adoption of a non-indigenous language of wider communication as an official language or in a particular domain, such as the use of English in Singapore, India, the Philippines, and Papua New Guinea.

Language planning goals

Eleven Language Planning Goals have been recognized (Nahir 2003):

1. Language Purification – prescription of usage in order to preserve the “linguistic purity” of language, protect language from foreign influences, and guard against language deviation from within
2. Language Revival – the attempt to turn a language with few or no surviving native speakers back into a normal means of communication
3. Language Reform – deliberate change in specific aspects of language, like orthography, spelling, or grammar, in order to facilitate use
4. Language Standardization – the attempt to garner prestige for a regional language or dialect, transforming it into one that is accepted as the major language, or standard language, of a region
5. Language Spread – the attempt to increase the number of speakers of one language at the expense of another
6. Lexical Modernization – word creation or adaptation
7. Terminology Unification – development of unified terminologies, primarily in technical domains
8. Stylistic Simplification – simplification of language usage in lexicon, grammar, and style
9. Interlingual Communication – facilitation of linguistic communication between members of distinct speech communities
10. Language Maintenance – preservation of the use of a group’s native language as a first or second language where pressures threaten or cause a decline in the status of the language
11. Auxiliary-Code Standardization – standardization of marginal, auxiliary aspects of language such as signs for the deaf, place names, or rules of transliteration and transcription

In effect, language policy is where linguistics meets politics. Linguistic legislation serves as a medium through which power is negotiated between different speech communities within a given society. Where varieties are endangered,

language policy often takes the form of specific ideologies that underlie language planning strategies. As such, its goals may be specific and practical in nature, such as orthographic reform, or more emblematic, such as measures for the promotion and protection of vulnerable languages. However, language policy issues are imbued with a powerful symbolism that is often linked to questions of identity, with the suppression or failure to recognize and support a given endangered variety representing a refusal to grant a ‘voice’ to the corresponding ethnocultural community.

Discussion points and tasks:

- What are the reasons for UNESCO monitoring national and regional policies on language protection and language planning?
- What does a “comprehensive language policy” imply? Elaborate on the issue
- What are the main language ideologies? Which one is being upheld by the authorities in Ukraine? Substantiate your answer with factual information (existing laws, decrees, policy pursued by the governmental bodies etc)
- On having studied intently the list of a whole host of possible language planning goals identify those which are currently having bearing on the Ukrainian language policy. Specify how exactly each of those valid in Ukraine is being implemented.

Question 2 Language Planning in Ukraine

A brief overview of language policy in Ukraine in the 20th century is able to shed some light on the problems of self-identity and self-image of Ukrainians as well as the nexus of historical, economic, political and cultural facets of general development of Ukraine.

UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE (1917-1932) – Ukrainianization and tolerance

Following the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Russian Empire was broken up. In different parts of the former empire, several nations, including Ukrainians, developed a renewed sense of national identity. In the chaotic post-revolutionary years, Ukraine went through several short-lived independent and quasi-independent states, and the Ukrainian language, for the first time in modern history, gained usage in most government affairs. Initially, this trend continued under the Bolshevik government of the Soviet Union.

The widening use of Ukrainian further developed in the first years of Bolshevik rule into a policy called **Korenization**. The government pursued a policy of Ukrainianization (*Ukrayinizatsiya*, actively promoting the Ukrainian language), both in the government and among party personnel, and an impressive education program which raised the literacy of the Ukrainian speaking rural areas. Newly-generated academic efforts from the period of independence were taken over by the Bolshevik government. The party and government was mostly Russian-speaking but were encouraged to learn the Ukrainian language. Simultaneously, the newly-literate ethnic Ukrainians migrated to the cities, which became rapidly largely Ukrainian speaking –

in both population and in education. A string of local Ukrainian-language publications were started and departments of Ukrainian studies were opened in colleges.

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE (1932-1953)

Soviet policy towards the Ukrainian language changed abruptly in late 1932 and early 1933, when Stalin established his firm control over the party and, therefore, the Soviet state. In December, 1932, the regional party cells received a telegram signed by Molotov and Stalin with an order to immediately reverse the korenization policies. The telegram condemned Ukrainianization as ill-considered and harmful and demanded to "immediately halt Ukrainianization in districts, switch all Ukrainianized newspapers, books and publications into Russian and prepare by autumn of 1933 for the switching of schools and instruction into Russian". The Stalinist era also marked the beginning of the Soviet policy of encouraging Russian as the language of (inter-ethnic) Soviet communication. Although Ukrainian continued to be used (in print, education, radio and later television programs), it lost its primary place in advanced learning and republic-wide media. Ukrainian was considered to be of secondary importance, and an excessive attachment to it was considered a sign of nationalism and so "politically incorrect". After the death of Stalin (1953), a general policy of relaxing the language policies of the past was implemented (1958 to 1963).

UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE (1958-1970)

The Khrushchev era which followed saw a policy of relatively lenient concessions to development of the Ukrainian language on the local and republican level, though it did not go nearly as far as the Soviet policy of Ukrainianization in the 1920s. Yet, the 1958 school reform that allowed parents to choose the language of primary instruction for their children, meant that non-Russian languages would slowly give way to Russian in light of the pressures of survival and advancement—speaking Russian meant more opportunities.

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE 1970's-1980's

Parents were usually free to choose the language of study of their children (except in few areas where attending the Ukrainian school might have required a long daily commute) and they often chose Russian, which reinforced the resulting use of Russian only. In this sense, some analysts argue that it was not the "oppression" or "persecution", but rather the *lack of protection* against the expansion of Russian language that contributed to the relative decline of Ukrainian in 1970s and 1980s. According to this view, it was inevitable that successful careers required a good command of Russian, while knowledge of Ukrainian was not NECESSARY, so it was common for Ukrainian parents to send their children to Russian-language schools, even though Ukrainian-language schools were usually available. While in the Russian-language schools within the republic, Ukrainian was supposed to be learned as a second language at comparable level, the instruction of other subjects was in Russian and, as a results, students upon graduation had a more superior command in Russian than in Ukrainian.

GORBACHEV AND PEROSTROIKA 1980's-1991

The start of the Gorbachev reforms was slower to liberalize in Ukraine than Russia itself. Although Ukrainian still remained the native language for the majority

in the nation on the eve of Ukrainian independence, a significant share of ethnic Ukrainians used more Russian than Ukrainian. The Russian language was the dominant language, not just of government, but of the media, commerce, and modernity itself. This was substantially less the case for western Ukraine. This region became the center of a hearty, if only partial renaissance of the Ukrainian language during independence in the modern era.

Originally, all signs and voice announcements in the metro were in Ukrainian, but the language was changed to Russian in the early 1980s. In the perestroika liberalization of the late 1980s, the signs were changed to bilingual. This was accompanied by bilingual voice announcements in the trains. In the early 1990s, both signs and voice announcements were changed again from bilingual to Ukrainian-only during the Ukrainianization campaign that followed Ukraine's independence.

INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT

Since 1991, independent Ukraine has made Ukrainian the only official state language and implemented government policies to broaden the use of Ukrainian. The educational system in Ukraine has been transformed over the first decade of independence from a system that is partly Ukrainian to one that is overwhelmingly so. The government has also mandated a progressively increased role for Ukrainian in the media and commerce. Russian language still dominates the print media in most of Ukraine and private radio and TV broadcasting in the eastern, southern, and to a lesser degree central regions. The state-controlled broadcast media became exclusively Ukrainian. There are few obstacles to the usage of Russian in commerce and it is still occasionally used in the government affairs.

Census data and official status

In the 2001 census, 67.5% of the country population named Ukrainian as their native language (a 2.8% increase from 1989), while 29.6% named Russian (a 3.2% decrease). It should be noted, though, that for many Ukrainians (of various ethnic descent), the term *native language* may not necessarily associate with the language they use more frequently. The overwhelming majority of ethnic Ukrainians consider the Ukrainian language *native*, including those who often speak Russian and Surzhyk (a blend of Russian vocabulary with Ukrainian grammar and pronunciation). For example, according to the official 2001 census data ^[5] approximately 75% of Kiev's population responded "Ukrainian" to the *native language (ridna mova)* census question, and roughly 25% responded "Russian". On the other hand, when the question "What language do you use in everyday life?" was asked in the sociological survey, the Kievans' answers were distributed as follows ^[6]: "mostly Russian": 52%, "both Russian and Ukrainian in equal measure": 32%, "mostly Ukrainian": 14%, "exclusively Ukrainian": 4.3%. Ethnic minorities, such as Romanians, Tatars and Jews usually use Russian as their language of communication. Emotional relationship towards Ukrainian is partly changing in Southern and Eastern areas, too.

Ukrainian is the official language of Ukraine. The language is also one of three official languages of the breakaway Moldovan republic of Transnistria. Ukrainian is also co-official, alongside Romanian, in ten communes in Suceava County, Romania (as well as Bistra in Maramureş County). In these localities, Ukrainians, who are an officially-recognised ethnic minority in Romania, make up more than 20% of the

population. Thus, according to Romania's minority rights law, education, signage and access to public administration and the justice system are provided in Ukrainian, alongside Romanian.

Discussion points and tasks:

- What stage in the history of the language policy in Ukraine has been most facilitating the Ukrainian language support?
- What are the key factors contributing to the limitation of the Ukrainian language spread on the whole territory of the country and in the majority of social domains?
- Can policy really alter linguistic behaviour, or does it merely ratify changes already underway within the speech community?
- Should linguists play a role in shaping language policy and, if so, what should that role be?
- When policy decisions are at odds with the will of the speech community, which will triumph? Why?

PART 2 *Read the suggested article and work out a detailed plan of it in order to discuss it along the lines of the author's reasoning*

National Identity in Ukrainian Nationalist Language Ideology

by *Niklas Bernsand, Lund (Sweden)*

This article discusses how language forms are connected with conceptualisations of national identity in contemporary Ukrainian nationalist language ideology. It especially focuses on surzhyk – a pejorative collective label for non-standard language varieties that dissolve the language boundary between the Ukrainian and Russian standard languages. Although most attention in Ukrainian debates on language and national identity is directed towards the complex relations between the two standard languages, surzhyk is considered an important problem, not the least among those for whom it is a major threat to the survival of the Ukrainian language.

The language situation in contemporary Ukraine

In contemporary Ukraine the language situation is characterised by shifting regional systems of asymmetric language relations, where Ukrainian and Russian as well as the mixed language varieties that result from their interaction form the main components. The situation is further complicated by a discrepancy between ethnicity and declared mother tongue; in the last Soviet census (1989) 72.9% of the population considered themselves ethnic Ukrainians, while 64% stated Ukrainian as their mother tongue. According to surveys conducted annually (1992–2000) by the Kyiv Institute of Sociology (NAN) this last figure has since then remained virtually the same. The same surveys confirm the existence of an even wider gap between declared mother tongue and actual language use, since not more than 39% of the respondents claim to use only Ukrainian with their family. The number of persons claiming to use only

Russian in the same context has during the 1990s risen to 36% and widely exceeds the number of ethnic Russians (22.1% in 1989). The remaining 25% of the respondents claimed to use both Ukrainian and Russian in their family depending on the situation, a figure which interestingly enough has diminished from 32% in 1992.

If there are some data available on code-switching between Ukrainian and Russian, code-mixing (surzhyk) between the two eastern Slavonic languages is a statistically more elusive phenomenon. Due to the non-occurrence of surzhyk in censuses and the virtual non-occurrence of it in sociological surveys it is impossible to provide reliable information on the number of users. Every answer will, as states the writer and culturologist Maksym Strikha depend on the definition of surzhyk, on how much a speaker has to mix his speech to make it count as surzhyk. According to Strikha, the number of people who more or less constantly use surzhyk, trying to shift to standard Russian or Ukrainian is not less than 20 percent of the population. In a survey conducted in 1997 in an urban Kyiv school, 7–8 percent of the ethnic Ukrainian pupils claimed using surzhyk in contacts with their parents and grandparents. The fact that surzhyk in the survey not was given as a formal alternative but was added spontaneously by some respondents gives reasons to assume that the actual number might be higher. The lack of congruence between ethnicity, declared mother tongue and actual language use has made some researchers propose a three-fold division of the Ukrainian population: Ukrainophone Ukrainians (40%), Russophone Ukrainians (33–34%) and Russophone Russians (20–21%). Although this division is more sociologically relevant than one relying solely on ethnicity, it is important to note that it, especially in the case of the Russophone Ukrainians, defines categories of analysis rather than conscious, coherently acting social groups.

As regards language relations on the regional level, the main dividing line is traditionally drawn between a mainly Ukrainian speaking western Ukraine and the predominantly Russian speaking eastern and southern parts of the country. Although this to some extent is a fair description it should not be accepted without some qualifications. In eastern and southern Ukraine during the 19th and 20th centuries uneven status relations made urbanising local peasants change to Russian in an effort to adjust to city life. The predominance of Russian, which has been strengthened by migration from central Russia, is not, however, complete. In the oblasts of Charkiv, Sumy, Dnipropetrovs'k and Zaporizhzhia code-switching between Ukrainian and Russian is more common in informal domains than is the use of only one language, and there is still a not insignificant number of people in this area who claims to speak only Ukrainian. In large areas of western Ukraine, where historically more favourable conditions existed for the spread of Ukrainian national consciousness, Ukrainian clearly predominates, even if Russian is quite widespread in urban centres.

Language ideologies in contemporary Ukraine

This article does not, though, primarily deal with the language situation, but rather with interpretations of it in Ukrainian nationalist language ideology. A language ideology is a model for how social or cultural differences are to be linguistically expressed. It codifies language norms and contains notions on which social functions a language variety should have (Schieffelin/Woolard/ Kroskrity). It

further defines who is to have access to economic, social and cultural goods. Notions on language and on social belonging linked to language can thereby work as mechanisms of exclusion and social boundary markers. Since a language ideology always contains notions on the extra-linguistic qualities of the speech community it is directed towards, definitions of who belongs and who does not involve processes of language- based border-making. Language forms and speakers are thus placed inside, outside or sometimes in between the speech communities.

In Ukrainian nationalist language ideology the speech community is defined in national terms, and language- based boundary-making is taking place in the cognitive framework of ethnonationalism. What differentiates the nationalist language ideology from other Ukrainophone strands of thought on language and national identity is the sheer emphasis on Nation and Language as values in themselves, values that is often discussed quite independently from the individual members of the nation and speakers of the language.

Where the linguistic anthropologist Lada Bilaniuk in her ground-breaking analyses of language ideologies and non- standard languages in Post-Soviet Ukraine focuses on folk attitudes and interaction between ideology and social practice this article provides an elite level textual study of one of the main Ukrainian language ideologies. Although the quotes in the paper from mainly, but not exclusively, professional linguists may differ in terms of context and style, their content is coherent enough to enable me to treat them as a part of the same, nationalist, language ideology. Some of the quotes can be said to be part of the referential ideology storage of Ukrainian nationalist thought.

It is important to stress that the basic tenets of Ukrainian nationalist language ideology are represented in other similar European language ideologies as well. Many of its more distinct features can to a large extent be seen as reactions to the political and sociolinguistic contexts of statelessness, competing national identity projects and subtractive bilingualism.

The nationalist language ideology competes with other language ideologies in discussions on language and national identity in Ukraine. On the Ukrainophone side of the main dividing line in the discussions during the 1990s the nationalist language ideologists have lost some ground to the post-colonialists, a more disparate group of Western-oriented intellectuals. Making references to Fanon and other thinkers in the international post-colonial discourse, the Ukrainian post-colonialists discuss the ethnolinguistic situation in Ukraine in a context of colonialism. They seek to promote the Ukrainian language not as a value in itself, which is often the case in the nationalist language ideology, but in order to enhance the social emancipation of Ukrainian-speakers. Their language ideology defends as tenaciously as do the nationalists a language and a culture they consider threatened, but does this from a perspective of the speakers as social beings, not only as carriers of the language. The social position of Ukrainian-speakers in eastern and southern Ukraine is compared with the situation of Blacks in the American South. One leading post-colonialist, the poet and journalist Mykola Ryabchuk proposes the introduction in Ukraine of the American concepts of positive discrimination and affirmative action in order to raise the social status of Ukrainian-speakers in these parts of the country. Apart from the

post-colonialists, there are other Ukrainophone strands of thought that do not so heavily as do the nationalists rely on language as the main marker of Ukrainian national identity.

There are a number of competing notions on language and identity matters among Russophone language ideologists in Ukraine as well. They argue, sometimes on liberal, more often on ethnolinguistic grounds, in favour of raising the formal status of Russian and against perceived policies of Ukrainisation. An analysis of the Russophone language ideologies is, however, beyond the scope of this article, as is an analysis of language policy in contemporary Ukraine.

The nationalist views on the link of language to the nation do, I would argue, reflect an influential position among language ideologists in Ukraine. The Ukrainian nation has been conceptualized mainly through its language since the 19th century, and romantic notions on the essentiality of nations and languages and on their correlation is often accepted on a common-sense basis. Although Ukrainian nationalism may well be, as argues Andrew Wilson, a minority faith, the nationalists form one of the most distinct ideological camps in Ukraine.

The functions of language in Ukrainian nationalist language ideology

Native language (*ridna mova*) is a central concept in formulations of Ukrainian nationalist ideology. The individual Ukrainian is seen to be united with his nation through the native Ukrainian language. The native language is often conceived of as a natural, almost biological phenomenon that is transmitted from the mother and provides the child with the collected experiences of his nation: "With the milk of his mother/.../ the child imbibes native sounds and words that lead it to the sphere of a national world view, a national feeling for and understanding of the world."

This common notion on the native language follows from a primordial, essentialist concept of the nation, prominent in many language-based nationalisms. The link between language and nation was expressed in 1918 by one of the founding fathers of Ukrainian nationalist language ideology, the linguist and orthodox metropolitan professor Ivan Ohiyenko: "*Language is not simply a symbol of understanding, because it is formed in a certain culture, in a certain tradition. In this way the language is the most distinct expression of our psychology, the first guard of our psychological selves/.../ And as long as the language lives, the people will live on as a nationality.*"

This statement has since independence often been quoted in Ukrainian publications on language, and the organic qualities it gives to language and nation reflect a recurring theme in general nationalist language ideology. A similar thought is expressed by a Ukrainian linguist in the 1990s: "*Language is the spiritual habitat of the nation. Without it the nation dissolves into empty space, disappears. Its heart stops, its historical memory stiffens, its reason grows numb.*"

Another theme, universally prominent in nationalist language ideology is the dividing of the world into nations, each with a native language, reflecting the *Weltanschauung* of the nation, a world-view which is linked to the territory and formed by the experiences of the ancestors.

The linguist Marharyta Zhuykova expresses it this way: "*The character of the language (what Wilhelm von Humboldt called its inner form) is not accidental –*

every nation carries in the language the most central traits of its world view, which has been shaped under specific geographical conditions as a result of an inimitable historical development.”

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