Sociolinguistics (ENG510)

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Lesson 01

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 001: What Is Sociolinguistics?

The term sociolinguistics can be defined as the study of language in relation to society. It is the descriptive study of the effect of any and all aspects of society including cultural norms, expectations and context, on the way language is used, and society's effect on language. It differs from sociology of language which focuses on the effect of language on society. Historically, it is closely related to linguistic anthropology, and the distinction between the two fields has been questioned. 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. Furthermore, it focuses on various aspects such as how creation and adherence to these rules is used to categorize individuals in social or socioeconomic classes.

William Labov is often regarded as the founder of the study of sociolinguistics. He is especially famous for introducing the quantitative study of language variation and change, making the sociology of language into a scientific discipline. Sociolinguistics has become a recognised part of most of the courses on 'linguistics' or 'language' offered at university level.

Sociolinguistics is indeed one of the main growth points in the study of language from the perspectives of both teaching and research. There are major English-language journals devoted to research publications which include:

- Language in Society
- Language Variation and Change
- International Journal of the Sociology of Language

Most of the growth in sociolinguistics has taken place since the late 1960s. This is not meant to imply that the study of language in relation to society is an invention of the 1960s. What is new is the widespread interest in sociolinguistics which reveals that it can throw much light both on the nature of language and the nature of society. Like other subjects, Sociolinguistics is partly empirical and partly theoretical. It is partly a matter of going out and amassing bodies of fact, and partly of sitting back and thinking.

As far as ‘Armchair approach' in sociolinguistics is concerned, it is based on the facts collected in a systematic way as part of a research or simply based on one's own experience. It allows the beginnings of an analytical framework to be worked out, such as language (a body of knowledge or rules), speech (actual utterances), speaker, addressee, topic and so on. ‘Armchair approach' can be termed as dangerous for two reasons if, it is applied to personal experience alone. Firslty, the most of us are not consciously aware of the vast range of variations in speech which we hear and react to in our everyday lives. Secondly, personal experience is a very limited base from which to generalize about language in society,

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since it does not take account of all the other societies where things are arranged very differently. However, the reason why interest in sociolinguistics has grown so rapidly over the last decades is not because of the achievements in armchair theorizing but due to the empirical discoveries made in the course of systematic research projects.

Applications of Sociolinguistics:

A sociolinguist might determine through the study of social attitudes that particular vernacular would not be considered appropriate language use in a business or professional setting. Sociolinguists might also study grammar, phonetics, vocabulary, and other aspects of a sociolect, much as dialectologists would study the same for a regional dialect.

Topic – 002: Some Definitions of Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics can be defined in a variety of ways depending upon the context in which it is defined, and also the purpose that a definition serves. Here are a few definitions of Sociolinguistics for example, one from Oxford Living Dictionaries that states: "The study of language in relation to social factors, including differences of regional, class, and occupational dialect, gender differences, and bilingualism." Another definition is, "Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society- a branch of both linguistics and sociology" (Nordquist, 2017). Yet, another perspective on Sociolinguistics is where Cambridge English Dictionary (online) defines it as "the study of how language is used by different groups in society". Likewise, Merriam Webster Dictionary defines it as: "When a study of language in which the linguistic factors are related to the factors beyond the language, such as language use that is done by its speakers in a certain speech community, it refers to sociolinguistics". According to Fishman (1972), "socially, the language use involves who speaks, what language, to whom, when and where". Sociolinguistics is defined by different linguists differently. For example, according to Holmes (2001), sociolinguistics is the study that is concerned with the relationship between language and the context in which it is used. In other words, it studies the relationship between language and society. It explains that people speak differently in different social contexts. It discusses the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. All of the topics provide a lot of information about how a language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community, and the way people signal aspects of their social identity through their language.

On the other hand, Eastman (1975) states, 'the study that is concerned with the interaction of language and setting is called Sociolinguistics'. Wardhaugh (1986) in this regard states "The study that is concerned with investigating the relationship between language and society with the goal of a better understanding of the structure of a language and of how languages function in communication" is called sociolinguistics. It is expected that the nature and goals of sociolinguistics are clear from these definitions.

Topic – 003: Sociolinguistics and Linguistics

Linguistics differs from sociolinguistics in taking account only of the structure of language, to the exclusion of the social contexts in which it is learned and used. The task of linguists is to work out 'the rules of language X', after which sociolinguists may enter the scene and study any points at which these rules make contact with a society. This view is typical of the whole 'structural' school of linguists which

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has dominated twentieth-century linguistics including transformational and generative linguistics (the variety developed since 1957 by Noam Chomsky). There are two particularly good reasons for accepting this view:

1. We cannot take the notion `language X' for granted, since this in itself is a social notion so far as it is defined in terms of a group of people who speak X.
2. Speech has a social function.

The significance of a social function is that it serves as a means of communication and a way of identifying social groups. Further, we can say that the significance of the social function is clear from the following perspectives:

- Human aspect of sociolinguistics
- Spontaneous speech
- Varieties within language
- Dialects
- Differences of choices and reasons

Topic – 004: Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language

Sociolinguistics is 'the study of language in relation to society': it means that sociolinguistics is part of the study of language and society. The value of sociolinguistics is the light which it throws on the nature of language in general, or on the characteristics of some particular language. To understand sociolinguistics, we need to understand what the sociology of a language is, and what is the difference between sociolinguistics and sociology?

Sociology of Language:

Sociology of language is the study of the relations between language and society. The difference between the two is quite clear**.** Sociolinguistics focuses on the effect of society on language. Sociology of language focuses on the effect of language on society. As far as the sociology of language is concerned, it would seek to understand the way that social dynamics are affected by individuals. According to Su-Chiao Chen, language is considered to be a social value within this field, which researches social groups for phenomena like multilingualism and lingual conflict. It deals with who is 'authorized' to use what language, with whom and under what conditions. It also deals with how an individual or group identity is established by the language that is available for people to use.

Topic – 005: Sociolinguistics and Other Disciplines

Two basic perspectives on the study of language are the following:

1. Anatomy of Language (Structure)
2. Physiology of Language (Functioning)

Sociolinguistics is the descriptive study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations and context, on the way language is used, and society's effect on language. It shares the general goal with a lot of other disciplines. In its broad goal of describing language and its

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relationship to society, social behavior, and culture, it overlaps with numerous other disciplines, such as Sociology, Philosophy, Linguistic Anthropology, Psychology, Dialectology, etc. WithinlLinguistics, it overlaps with Historical linguistics, Geographical linguistics, Descriptive linguistics, Comparative and Contrastive linguistics, Psycholinguistics, and Ethnolinguistics. Sociology of language studies society in relation to language, whereas sociolinguistics studies language in relation to society.

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Lesson 02

SOCIOLINGUISTIC PHENOMENA

Topic- 006: Sociolinguistic Phenomena and an Imaginary World

It may be helpful to start by trying to imagine a society and a language about which there is very little to say. Little world is completely imaginary, and sociolinguists would agree that it is highly unlikely that any such world either does or even could exist, given what we know about both language and society. In our imaginary world there is a society which is clearly defined by some natural boundary and impassable in either direction. The purpose of postulating this boundary is to guarantee:

- No members of other communities join and mix their own language.
- Members of this community never leave it and take their language to another, thereby complicating the perfect coincidence between language and community.

Everybody in this community has exactly the same language, and they know the same constructions which means they know the same words with same pronunciation, and with same range of meanings for every single word in the language. Problem with this is that very young members of the society, just learning to talk, must necessarily be different from everybody else. When it comes to the solution we need to consider that child language is the domain of a branch of psychology not of sociology. Psychology can provide general principles of language acquisition which will allow us to predict every respect in which the language of children in society deviates from the language of the adults.

Complete absence of any differences between members will have a consequence that language change is ruled out. Since, such change normally involves a difference between the oldest and youngest generations, so that when the former all die only the forms used by the latter survive. Since, change seems to affect every language studied so far , this makes the language of our imaginary community unique. The only way to allow for change in a totally homogeneous community is to assume that every change affects every member of the community absolutely and simultaneously. One day, nobody has the new form, the next day, everybody has it. Another, characteristic of the community we are considering is that circumstances have no influence on what people say, either with respect to its content or its form. There are no 'formal' and 'informal' situations, requiring:

- different kinds of vocabulary (such as receive versus get)
- or different pronunciations for words (like not versus -n 't)

Nor are there any 'discussions' and `arguments', or 'requests' and 'demands', each requiring not only particular forms but also particular meanings. Nor are there any differences between the beginnings, middles and ends of conversations, such as would require greetings and farewells. Indeed, if we discount any influence of the social context, it is doubtful if speech is possible at all, spoken messages are generally geared specifically to the needs of the audience. Finally, we must assume that there is no connection between the culture of the postulated community and the meanings which its language

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especially, its vocabulary allows it to express. The language must; therefore, contain no words such as cricket or priest, whose meanings could be stated only with reference to a partial description of the culture. To assume other-wise would be to allow rich and interesting statements about language in relation to society, since culture is one of the most important characteristics of a society. Exactly, what kinds of concepts the members of this community would be able to express is not clear. Possibly they would only be able to assert logical truths such as 'If p and q…, then p' since any other kinds of word are likely to involve some reference to the community's culture, they won't exist. In this sense our blue-print of language is quite unpromising. All the restrictions imposed on it were necessary in order to guarantee that there should be nothing to say about its language in relation to society, beyond the simple statement 'such-and-such community speaks language X'.

Topic – 007: Sociolinguistic Phenomena and a Real but Exotic World

When we think of sociolinguistics in relation to the real world, in fact, there is a great deal to be said about language in relation to society. To use an example choosing a sample area as a real but exotic world would be a good idea. So here it is the very exotic world of the north-west Amazon, described by (Sorensen, 1971: Jackson, 1974) Geographically, the area in question is half in Brazil and half in Colombia, coinciding more or less with the area in which a language called Tukano can be relied on as a lingua franca i.e. a trade language widely spoken as a non-native language. Most of the people are indigenous Indians, divided into over twenty tribes, which are in turn grouped into five `phratries' (groups of related tribes). There are two crucial facts:

1. Each tribe speaks a different language sufficiently different to be mutually incomprehensible and, in some cases, genetically unrelated.
2. The five phratries (and thus all twenty-odd tribes) are exogamous (i.e. a man must not marry a woman from the same phratry or tribe).

Main linguistic consequence is of the social life here is that a man's wife must speak a different language from him. Now add a third fact: Marriage is patrilocal (the husband and wife live where the husband was brought up). And, finally there is a fourth aspect: There is a rule that the wife should live where the husband was brought up, and also use his language in speaking to their children (a custom called `patrilingual marriage').

Linguistic consequence of all this is that a child's mother does not teach her own language to the child, but rather a language which she speaks only as a foreigner as though everyone in Britain learned their English from a foreign au-pair girl. One can thus hardly call the children's first language their 'mother-tongue' except by a stretch of the imagination. The reports of this community do not mention any widespread disruption in language learning or general 'deterioration' of the languages concerned. This shows 'a language can be transmitted efficiently and accurately even under adverse circumstances'. When we think of what is there to say about language in relation to such a society, there are certain points that can be asserted. First, there is the question of relating languages as wholes to speakers, assuming for simplicity that it is possible to talk usefully about 'languages as wholes'. For any given language X, it will first be necessary to define who are its native speakers, but since this means referring to some tribe, and tribes are primarily defined with reference to language, there is clearly a problem. The solution is either to

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list all the long-houses belonging to the tribe concerned, or to specify the geographical area (or areas) where the tribe lives. (Most tribes do in fact have their own territory, which does not overlap with that of other tribes.). What needs to be borne in mind is that about a quarter of the native speakers of language X will be made up of the married women who are dispersed among the other tribes. Similarly about a quarter of the people living in the area designated as 'language X territory' will be non-native speakers of X, being wives from other tribes.

Indeed, any given long house is likely to contain native speakers of a variety of languages, on the assumption that brothers need not be attracted to girls of the same 'other' tribe. In addition to the native speakers of language X, there will be people who speak it as non-natives, with every degree of fluency from almost native speaker to minimal. Anyone wishing to write a grammar for language X will need to say precisely for whom the grammar is claimed to be true of all these speakers. Secondly, there is the question of discourse:

- How is speech used in social interaction?
- Are they expected to use the language of the long-house which they are visiting?

Apparently it is not so because the choice of language is based solely on the convenience of the people concerned except for the rule requiring wives to use their husbands' language when speaking to their children. If visitors do not know the long-house language, but someone there knows their language, they will use the visitors' language when speaking to them. When we think of what about language itself as a subject of conversation. Here too practical needs are put first, namely the need to know as many languages as possible in order to be able to travel and (for young people) to find a partner. So, everyone can be expected to speak at least:

(i) their father's language;
(ii) their mother's language (which she will certainly have taught her children with a view to their seeking partners among her tribe);
(iii) the lingua franca, Tukano (which may also be the father's or mother's language).

Some surprises in discourse in this regard are the following:

There is a rule that if you are listening to someone whom you respect, at least for the first few minutes, you should repeat after them, word-for-word, everything they say. For instance, it would be surprising if any of the languages concerned lacked a word for long-house' or `tribe', and we might reasonably expect a word for `phratry'. The main source of this complexity is the rule of 'linguistic exogamy', which might not be expected to be very widespread in the world. However, the other source is the amount of individual bilingualism (or, more accurately, multilingualism), which makes it hard to decide who is a speaker of a given language and who is not.

Topic – 008: Sociolinguistic Phenomena and a Real and Familiar World

The question is how both of these concepts relate to each other. This relationship cannot be understood in isolation. Rather, in order to understand the relationship between the sociolinguistic phenomena and the real and familiar world we need to think about certain questions and answers to these

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questions will shed light on the nature of the relationship of the two. So, it would be a good idea for each student to think about the following questions or dimensions as the answers to these will help in understanding the sociolinguistic phenomena in relation to the real and familiar world:

- Consider the world in which you grew up.
- Imagine you are reasonably fluent in Tukano, and you are sitting in a long-house in the north-west amazon, telling the residents about your language, and they telling about their language?What do they say when they first meet a stranger?
- What is the meaning of the word `phratry'?
- What are the meals eaten at different times of the day called?
- Are there any special ways of talking to young children?
- How do you count?
- Who else speaks the language?
- Where do the speakers live?
- Do they speak any other languages?
- Is there any way of showing that you are quoting what somebody else has told you?
- How do you show that the thing you are referring to is already known to the person you are talking to?
- Are there different ways of pronouncing any of the words according to where you come from?

Politically, in answering each of these questions, something not only has been said about the language but also about one aspect or another of the society that uses it and such questions could be multiplied by the inquisitive long-house residents until a complete description of the strangers' language has been provided. The point of this exercise is to make you readers aware of how much there is to say about language in relation to society.

Topic – 009: Sociolinguistic Phenomena and We

Sociolinguistics is the descriptive study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, context, on the way language is used, and society's effect on language. Sociolinguistics has long been involved in uncovering how language and society interact with and influence each other in a complex and rich dynamics. These are sociolinguistic phenomena or constructs like register, code switching, code mixing, dialect, variety, repertoire, diglossia, accent, style, argot etc.

When we think of all these phenomena none of these is a purely linguistic phenomenon. This means it cannot appear if language is confined to itself without being put into use in society. So, each of these would be a socio-linguistic phenomenon. So, if we decide to study these emergent phenomena they cannot be examined by analyzing either society or language separately. In fact, these are unexpected outcomes of the complex interactive dynamics of society and language. All these sociolinguistic phenomena are organically and functionally related to each other, so one phenomenon cannot be found in isolation.

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It means they are found always together in real time not only in terms of their existence, but also in terms of their function. So, we, the users are at the centre of these phenomena. These constructs mix up with one another, grow up and hence co-exist in an integrated setting. However, degree of the integration varies from society to society. This kind of mixture can be placed on a continuum on one side at which exists the most mixed case and on the other, the least mixed. For example, in French speaking nations (outside of Québec), there is a strong tendency to borrow English words related to business, communications and show-business. Terms such as business, newsletter, homepage are used as-is, even though perfectly adequate French words already exist. This type of anglicism is somewhat diglossic, as it used to confer the speaker a veneer of modernity and know-how.

Topic – 010: Sociolinguistic Phenomena and the Changing World

To understand the sociolinguistic phenomenon in relation to the changing world we need to focus on two concepts: sociolinguistic phenomena and its nature; and the dynamics of today's world that is changing rapidly. We also need to focus on the concept of sociolinguistics of globalization and its challenges. When we look at the unique features of the changing world around us we find two important and interesting features of today's world: super diversity and multilingualism. So, we need to rethink linguistic communication in the ever changing globalization context. There are certain significant aspects of linguistic hegemony, for example:

- Some hegemonic languages such as English has spread worldwide.
- More interconnected world
- Increasing population
- Increasing population mobility
- Changing world scenario and heterogeneity of language practices
- Speed of change in life and consequently in language practices

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Lesson 03

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND VARIETIES OF LANGUAGE

Topic- 011: The Question of Varieties of Language in Sociolinguistics

At the outset we need to define what does the term ‘varieties’ mean? If one thinks of 'language' as a phenomenon including all the languages of the world, the term variety of language can be used to refer to different manifestations of it e.g. music = 'varieties of music'. So, the question arises what makes one variety of language different from another. The simplest answer can be: “the linguistic items”. We may define a variety of language as a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution. Still the question of varieties of language needs further clarity. It is still confusing for certain reasons. For example look at the following list:

- English
- French
- London English
- The English of football commentaries
- The languages used by the members of a long-house in the north-west Amazon,
- The language used by a particular person

The very general notion of 'variety' includes examples of what would normally be called languages, dialects and registers. There are certain advantages of using the term variety or varieties. It is a general term that can be used to cover all these concepts. Furthermore, it allows us to ask what basis is for the distinctions among them for instance, why do we call some varieties different languages and others different dialects of the same language? This leaves us only with the general term 'variety' for referring to things which in non-technical terms we call 'languages', 'dialects' or 'styles'. It is consistent with the definition to treat all the languages of some multilingual speaker, or community, as a single variety, since all the linguistic items concerned have a similar social distribution they are used by the same speaker/ community. That is, a variety may be much larger than a lay 'language', including a number of different languages.

Conversely, according to the definition a variety may contain just a handful of items, or even in the extreme case a single item, if it is defined in terms of the range of speakers or circumstances with which it is associated. For instance, one might define a variety consisting of those items used solely by some particular family or village. Thus a variety can be much smaller than a 'language', or even than a 'dialect'. Flexibility of the term 'variety' allows for the following:

To ask what basis there is for postulating the kinds of 'package' of linguistic items to which we conventionally give labels like 'language’, 'dialect' or 'register'. Is it because the items form themselves into natural bundles, bound together by a tight set of interlocking structural relations of some kind, as has always been suggested by the 'structuralist' tradition of the twentieth century? The answer is again

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negative. The bundles into which linguistic items can be grouped are quite loosely tied, and it is easy for items to move between them, to the extent that bundles may in fact be muddled up. There are no restrictions on the relations among varieties — they may overlap and one variety may include another. The defining characteristic of each variety is the relevant relation to society in other words, by whom, and when, the items concerned are used. It is an empirical question to what extent the traditional notions of `language', `dialect' and `register' are matched by varieties defined in this way.

Topic – 012: What Are Linguistic Items?

Lexical items are listed in a lexicon, but the sounds and constructions are defined ('generated') by general rules or principles. An example is: the lexical items cat, dog and horse are simply listed along with their meanings and their various other characteristics (word-class, pronunciation, etc. — just as in any dictionary).but there is no list which contains the pattern for 'word-final /r/' (as in car and daughter in accents of English where /r/ is pronounced) or the construction 'bare relative clause'. This contrast between lexical and other kinds of items immediately raises theoretical problems such as if they are treated so differently in the grammar, why should they be similar socio-linguistically and how do the social facts combine with the linguistic ones? It is reasonably easy to include social facts about lexical items along with the linguistic facts..

Topic – 013: The Terms - Variety and Lect

In sociolinguistics, language variety is a general term for any distinctive form of a language or linguistic expression. Linguists commonly use language variety or simply variety as a cover term for any of the overlapping subcategories of a language, including dialect, idiolect, register, and social dialect. Variety is a ‘specific set of linguistic items’ or ‘human speech patterns’ presumably sounds, words, grammatical features etc. which we can connect with some external factors apparently, a geographical area or a social group (Hudson, 1996: Wardaugh, 2006). Examples are London English, African English, and Canadian English.

In sociolinguistics, a variety is also called a lect. It is a specific form of a language or language cluster. This may include languages, dialects, registers, styles or other forms of language, as well as a standard variety. Linguists speak of both standard and non-standard varieties. The term variety is advantageous in the sense that it helps to avoid the use of the term language, which has its own issues such as the divisions or differences as a ‘standard language’, and the term ‘dialect’ used for non-standard varieties being thought of as less prestigious or "correct" than the standard language.

"Lect" avoids the problem in ambiguous cases of deciding whether two varieties are distinct languages or dialects of a single language. Variation at the level of the lexicon such as slang and argot, is often considered in relation to particular styles or levels of formality (also called registers), but such uses are sometimes discussed as varieties as wel

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Topic – 014: Types and Significance of Varieties of Language

According to the Oxford Companion to the English Language (1992), there are two broad types of language variety:

1. User-related varieties, associated with particular people and often places
2. Use-related varieties, associated with function, such as legal English (the language of courts, contracts, etc.) and literary English (the typical usage of literary texts, conversations, etc.)

Varieties may relate to a place or community (as with Indian English and two of its sub-varieties such as Anglo-Indian English, and Gujarati English). Varieties may relate to uses (such as with legal English and advertising English), and to combinations of the two (as with British legal English and American advertising English). Languages vary from one place to another, from one social group to another, and from one situation to another. This may include languages, dialects, registers, styles or other forms of language, as well as a standard variety. Linguists speak of both standard and non-standard varieties.

Topic – 015: Attitude Towards Language Varieties

At the outset we need to consider the question: What does language attitude mean? And as an answer to this question we may say that language attitudes are the feelings people have about their own language variety or the languages or language varieties of the others. Examples include for instance: Women talk too much; In the Appalachians they speak like Shakespeare; Black children are verbally deprived. They speak really bad English down south and in New York City etc.

In fact when it comes to language attitude we may say that every language variety carries some social meanings which can bring varied attitudinal reactions, or for that matter even social advantages or disadvantages to the users of that particular variety. People have an attitude towards a language generally based on their attitude towards the people/ users of that language. Stereotypes are very important in attitudinal responses. People have a positive or negative attitude towards: pronunciation, words, grammar, folk belief and various aspects of language. There are various implications of language attitudes such as:

- Language attitudes usually entail attitudes to the speakers of the particular language or dialect.
- There is an evidence that language attitudes influence sound change.
- Language attitudes may influence how teachers deal with pupils.
- Attitudes about language may affect second language learning.
- Language attitudes may affect whether or not varieties are mutually intelligible.

To understand the concept it is a good idea to think about your own language attitude. So, here are a couple of questions to think about:

- What are your attitudes towards some varieties of English?
- What are your attitudes towards some local dialects

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Lesson 04

SPEECH COMMUNITIES

Topic- 016: What Are Speech Communities?

Language is both an individual possession and a social possession. This leads us to the idea of a speech community. In the social context, we would expect; therefore, that certain individuals would behave linguistically like other individuals. We need to think about what it means, and what its implications are. In fact, it means that they might be said to speak the same language or the same dialect or the same variety, i.e., to employ the same code, and in that respect to be members of the same speech community.

The term speech community is derived from the German Sprachgemeinschaft. Another definition of the term speech community is, "A speech community is a group of people who share a set of linguistic norms and expectations with regard to how their language should be used". However, there are certain ambiguities related to the term; and 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

Since sociolinguistics is the study of language use within or among groups of speakers, the term 'group' gathers significance. However, what are groups? This is a difficult concept. So, instead of defining a group we may look at it in terms of its characteristics. Following are the characteristics of a group:

- A group must have at least two members but there is really no upper limit.
- People can group together for one or more reasons: social, religious, political, cultural, familial, vocational, avocational etc.
- A group may be more than its members for individuals may come and go.
- They may also belong to other groups and may or may not even meet face-to-face.
- The organization of the group may be tight or loose.

Lyons (1970) 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. So, 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 (p. 326).

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Topic – 017: Some Definitions of Speech Communities

Bloomfield (1933) defines a speech community as 'a group of people who interact by means of speech'. According to Gumperz (1971), a speech community is "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" (p. 42).

According to Labov (1972), it 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 behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant with respect to particular levels of usage. (p.120–1).

The essential criterion thus is some significant dimension of experience has to be shared, and for the 'speech community' that the shared dimension be related to ways in which members of the group use, value or interpret language (Troike, 2003). According to Patrick (2002), the kind of group that sociolinguists have generally attempted to study is called the speech community. Lyons (1970) offers a definition of what he calls a 'real' speech community as 'all the people who use a given language (or dialect).' So, from all these definitions, it is easy to demonstrate that a speech community is not coterminous with a language.

Now the issue is that the English language is spoken in many places throughout the world. So, should it be considered as one language or one variety because it is also spoken in a wide variety of ways i.e. in speech communities that are almost entirely isolated from one another? For example, it is spoken in South Africa, New Zealand, and among expatriates in China. We must ask ourselves in what sense this modern lingua franca produces a speech community that might be of interest to us, i.e., ask what else is shared than the very language itself. Alternatively, a recognizably single speech community can employ more than one language such as Switzerland, Canada, Papua New Guinea, many African states, and New York City. Furthermore, if speech communities are defined solely by their linguistic characteristics, we 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 so far to be quite impossible. Why?, because people do not necessarily feel any such direct relationship between linguistic characteristics A, B, C, and so on, and speech community X. Surely 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 etc.

Topic – 018: Intersecting Communities

We need to think about the fact that people do use expressions such as New York speech, South African speech which indicates that they have some idea of how a 'typical' person from each place speaks, that is, of what it is like to be a member of a particular speech community.

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Urbanization is a great eroder of linguistic frontiers. The result is the creation of thousands of bilingual and to a certain extent bidialectal speakers on a scale and of a diversity unprecedented in our history. Which dialect of English they learn depends mainly on their social class position in this country. It is a common practice to talk of the 'target language' of a second-language learner. In London it will be a moving target, though undoubtedly most by virtue of their social position will have as their chief model London working-class speech. London is a community in some senses but not in others; however, with its 300 languages or more it is in no sense a single speech community. It is just too big and fragmented. On the other hand, if we say it must be a composite of small speech communities, we may not be any better off. Are these smaller communities geographical, social, ethnic, religious, or occupational in orientation? That is, how do any linguistic factors, we might isolate, relate to such social factors?

Are the communities static or fluid? This is a difficult question to answer. Another set of questions that arises is that if they are static, how they maintain themselves. If they are fluid, what inferences must we draw concerning any concept we might have of 'speech community'? Are their boundaries strong and clear or are they weak and permeable? London is no different from most large cities anywhere in the world, a world which is increasingly a world of large cities, heterogeneously populated. Coupland (2007) says 'cities challenge the view that one discrete social style e.g., a dialect is associated with one place, which was the basic assumption in the analysis of rural dialects.' So, it is difficult to relate the concept of 'speech community' directly to language or languages spoken, or for that matter even to groups and norms. An interesting example is of Tukano. One has to take as a marriage partner, someone who speaks an entirely different language; whereas the female has to join the male's household. So, here multilingualism is endemic and normal. Each residential community has its unique multilingual mix. No language equates in distribution to a specific residential community. Many other parts of the world would have some of the same multilingual characteristics; e.g., the Balkans, large areas of the Indian subcontinent, and Papua New Guinea.

Let us instead think of groups. Consequently, a person may belong at any one time to many different groups depending on the particular ends in view. At home, a person may live in a bilingual setting and switch easily back and forth between two languages. Let this be a female person – may shop in one of the languages, but work in the other. Her accent in one of the languages which indicates her identity as an immigrant. Her accent in the other language shows that she is a native of region Y in country Z. She has extensive technical training in second language. Bolinger states, 'Individuals may belong to several speech communities (which may be discrete or overlapping), just as they may participate in a variety of social settings.

The Idea of Community of Practice:

Eckert and Ginet (1998) define it as 'an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagements in some common endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations in short, practices emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavor. A community of practice is at the same time its members and what its members are doing to make them a community. The examples are a group of workers in a factory, an extended family, an adolescent gang, a women's fitness group, a classromm etc.

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So, the focus is on communities of practice, not individuals as some disconnected entities in social space or as a location in a network, or as a member of a particular group. It is such communities of practice that shape individuals, provide them with their identities, and often circumscribe what they can do. Groups and communities themselves are also ever changing, their boundaries are often porous, and internal relationships shift. They must constantly reinvent and recreate themselves. Today's middle class, youth, New Yorkers, immigrants etc. are not yesterday's nor will they be tomorrow's. The group chosen to identify with will also change according to situation: at one moment religion may be important; at another, regional origin; and at still another, perhaps a profession.

Topic – 019: Rejecting the Idea of Speech Communities

For purely theoretical purposes, some linguists have hypothesized the existence of an 'ideal' speech community. This is actually what Chomsky (1965) proposes as 'completely homogeneous speech-community'. However, such a speech community is a theoretical construct employed for a narrow purpose. Mostly our speech communities, whatever they are, exist in a 'real' world. Consequently, we need an alternative view of speech community i.e. to study language in society rather than necessitated by abstract linguistic theorizing. Using linguistic characteristics alone to determine what is or is not a speech community has proved so far to be quite impossible. Why? Because people do not necessarily feel any such direct relationship between linguistic characteristics A, B, C, and so on, and speech community X. What we can be sure of is that speakers do use linguistic characteristics to achieve group identity with, and group differentiation from, other speakers, but they use other characteristics.The examples are: social, cultural, political and ethnic. Social categories of age, sex, ethnicity, social class, and situation can be clearly marked on the basis of speech, and that such categorization is fundamental to social organization. Perhaps the concept of 'speech community' is less useful than it might be. The question is should we return to the concept of 'group' as any set of individuals united for a common end? Should we stick to the concept of 'speech communities' or 'groups' or 'communities of practice'? Each choice has its own consequences.

Topic – 020: Networks and Repertoires

Another way of viewing how an individual relates to other individuals in society is to ask what networks he or she participates in. What does it mean? It means how and on what occasions does a specific individual A interact now with B, then with C, and then again with D?
Let us see how does it operate!

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Ref: Ronald Wardhaugh (2010) An introduction to Sociolinguistics, P. 130

How extensive is A's relationship with B in the sense of how many other individuals interact with both A and B in whatever activity brings them together? If, in a situation in which A, B, C, D, and E are linked in a network, are they all equally linked as in (1) in the illustration; strongly linked but with the link through A predominant, as in (2); weakly linked, with the link to A providing all the connections, as in (3); or, as in (4), is the link from A to E achieved through C.

What Is Linguistic Repertoire?

An individual also has a speech repertoire; that is, he or she controls a number of varieties of a language or of two or more languages. Quite often, many individuals will have virtually identical repertoires. So, 'a speech repertoire is the range of linguistic varieties which the speaker has at his disposal and which he may appropriately use as a member of his speech community.'The concept of repertoire is more useful when applied to individuals rather than to groups. We can use it to describe the communicative competence of individual speakers because each person has a distinctive speech repertoire.

Platt and Platt (1975) propose a distinction between speech repertoire and verbal repertoire. According to them the term speech repertoire is used for the repertoire of linguistic varieties utilized by a speech community which its speakers, as members of the community may appropriately use. On the other hand, verbal repertoire refers to the linguistic varieties which are at a particular speaker's disposal.

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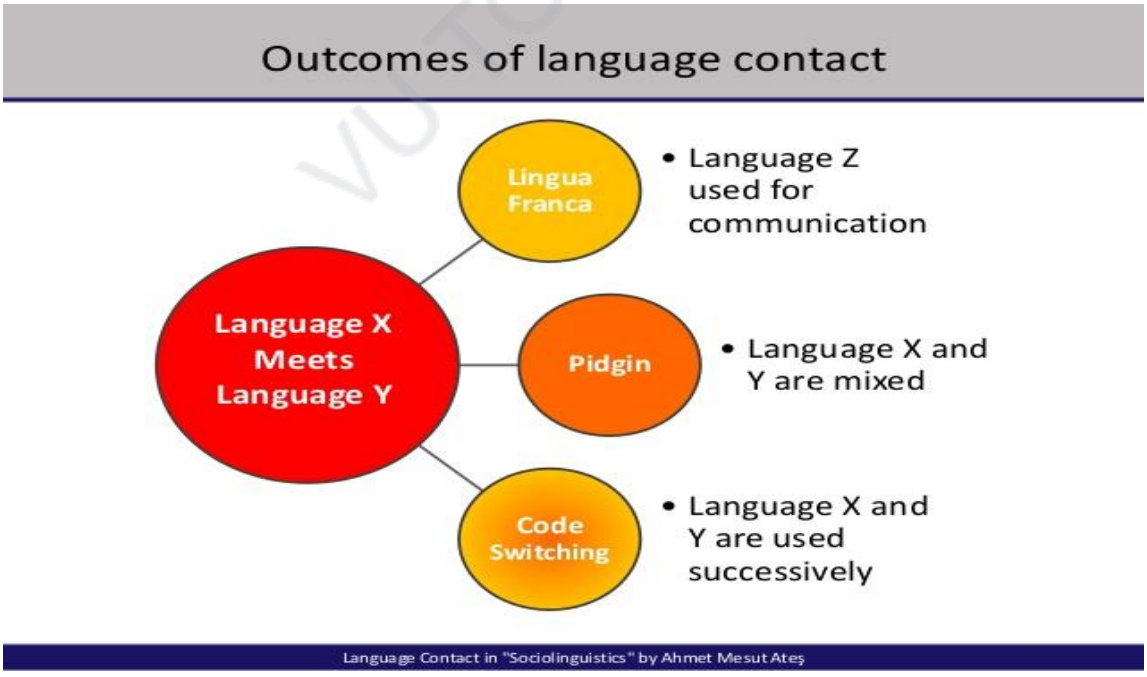
Lesson 05

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND VARIATION- I

Topic- 021: Sociolinguistic Constraints on Language Contact

We need to consider certain concepts: What is language contact? How does it happen? What are the consequences? As a general observation and experience we know that different groups of speakers using different languages come into contact. Language contact occurs when speakers of two or more languages or varieties interact and influence each other. The study of language contact is called contact linguistics. Sometimes unrelated languages that are typical of creole language formation come in contact. We also look at a variable spreading due to contact between different varieties of English. A new variant is introduced into a relatively stable and elaborate system.

The question that arises is whether variation is free or structured. Before the 1960s, the general feeling in Western linguistics was that some of the variation observed in language was "free" and "unconstrained". There are some constraints on the outcomes of language contact other than the principle of localisation. A constraint relates to the aspect of space. Another constraint is concerned with speaker's attitudes. Another constraint is of social factors. Yet another is social rigidity in which an innovation is being introduced. So, language contact occurs in a variety of phenomena, including language convergence, borrowing and relexification. The most common products are pidgins, creoles, code-switching, and mixed languages. So, language contact is not as free as it seems to be.



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Topic – 022: Wave Model of Language Contact and Change

The theory that wave model is based on is that language change emanates from a single starting point and is gradually incorporated into the speech of the nearest neighbours. Since the late nineteenth century, the consensus was that linguistic innovations spread like the ripples emanating from a stone dropped into a still pond. With reference to language change and contact, in historical linguistics, the wave model presents the idea that a new language feature (innovation) or a new combination of language features spreads from a central region of origin in continuously weakening concentric circles. It is similar to the waves created when a stone is thrown into a body of water.

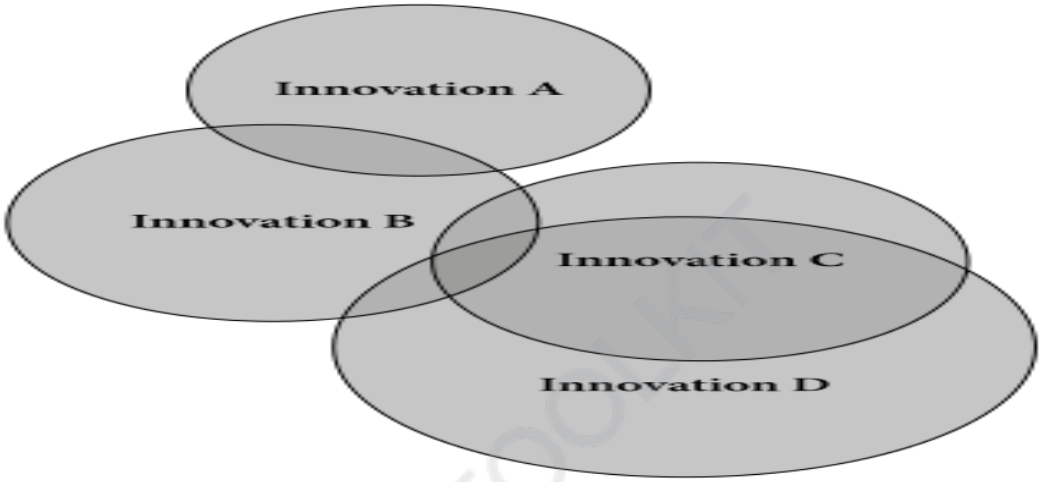


Diagram based on the Wave model originally presented by Johannes Schmidt. In this Euler diagram, the circles are to be regarded as diachronic; that is, they increase in diameter over time, like the concentric waves on a water surface struck by a stone.

The idea was that changes start in one environment and then affect successive environments – one wave after another. So it was believed that changes went to completion first in the environments that favoured them most strongly from where they started first (the first wave). The metaphor of a wave is not a bad one for describing the spread of an innovation over time. When looking at the temporal spread of an innovation we can usually infer roughly when it starts, and it then moves slowly and directly through time.

But it is not so clear that changes spread in the same way over physical space, and this is where other models become more useful. At its most ambitious, it is a wholesale replacement for the tree model of languages. During the 20th century, the wave model has had little acceptance as a model for language change overall, except for certain cases, such as the study of dialect continua. Now its popularity is due to the shortcomings of the Tree model.

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Topic – 023: Spatial Diffusion by Gravity

Model of the diffusion of innovations was introduced by Peter Trudgill to sociolinguistics. Social innovations (including linguistic innovations) have been observed to 'hop' between large population centres in a (spatially) discontinuous manner. At its simplest, the gravity model predicts that the larger the city/town, the sooner an innovation is likely to show up there,i.e., the 'gravitational force' is provided by the weight of numbers of people.

The gravity model was originally used to describe the diffusion of non-linguistic innovations. Sociologists and economists had observed that innovations, such as the adoption of new brands of cars or the use of new types of seed among farmers, often moved irregularly across physical space. They found that they jumped from cities with the largest populations gradually moved to smaller cities and towns, and finally took hold in the smaller towns or villages. This meant that even if a small town was close to the starting point of an innovation, the people living there might be relatively late in adopting it. So the 'gravity' that the model refers to is the pull or attraction exerted by the sheer number of people in a given locale. You can get a rough idea of the gravity effects of major population bases if we consider the spread of a technological innovation. Take an example of the spread of Hummer vehicles in Pennsylvania. One way to chart their spread is to look for listings of Hummer dealerships in the phone book. The first dealerships opened in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the two largest cities in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia is in the far east of the state and Pittsburgh is in the far west of the state. The next opened just outside of Harrisburg, a smaller, more central city, but it is also the state capital. Only after dealerships had opened in these three cities did they begin to appear in smaller towns nearer the starting point of the innovation – Trevose (near Philadelphia), Monroeville (near Pittsburgh) and Emmaus (north of Philadelphia). This is exactly the kind of pattern we would predict from the gravity model, with the innovation appearing first in the main urban centres and then spreading to smaller towns outside the cities. The gravity model was originally used to describe the diffusion of non-linguistic innovations. Sociologists and economists had observed that innovations, such as the adoption of new brands of cars or the use of new types of seed among farmers, often moved irregularly across physical space. They found that they jumped from cities with the largest populations, gradually moved to smaller cities and towns, and finally took hold in the smaller towns or villages.

As a rule, sociolinguists would like the principles accounting for language variation and change to be as general as possible. It's particularly heartening if principles which apply in other areas of the social sciences apply to some extent in the domain of language use. Peter Trudgill was the sociolinguist who first saw the potential for applying the gravity model to the study of sound changes. Trudgill examined the spread of innovative phonological variants in Swedish and the spread of uvular 'r' in Europe. He argued that these variables were better explained in terms of population gravity than by wave model.

Topic – 024: Access to the Codes

The British sociolinguist Robert Le Page is famous for his studies of variation in creole speaking communities in the Caribbean and Britain. Le Page was intrigued by the number of different styles or registers that were often in play in these communities. Sometimes individuals seemed to have quite

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extensive linguistic repertoires, and they seemed to draw on different parts of their repertoire to respond creatively to differences in who the person was talking to or where they happened to be. He suggested that a lot of variation should be seen as acts of identity. In characterising variation as a series of acts, he became one of the first sociolinguists to argue that thinking individuals, with social and personal goals and aspirations, should be at the centre of our models of structured heterogeneity.

By focusing on a speaker's desire to sometimes identify more with one social group and sometimes more with another, Le Page injected a sense of rational choice into the discussion of speakers' variability. However, Le Page wanted his framework to be just as good at accounting for speakers who show comparatively little variation as it is at accounting for speakers who exhibit a lot of variation. He pointed out that access to a variety is very important. If you aren't in contact with speakers of a particular variety, it will be very difficult to acquire their style of speaking. We all know that this is true for languages. One can try to learn Tongan, even if one never has access to Tongan speakers with whom one can use the language, but that's the hard way to learn a language. Le Page argued that this is just as true for the acquisition of mastery of different styles or varieties that are current in a speech community.

He also suggested that even with access to the code, some things are more likely to be acquired because they are simply easier to acquire. We have noted on a number of occasions that new vocabulary is easy to acquire (consider the spread of vocabulary that started out in hip-hop throughout the English-speaking world, and even into other European languages). But phonology may be harder to acquire even if the speaker has access to reliable models. Even some phonological variables may transfer across individuals and groups more readily than others.

Cecilia Cutler undertook a study of a number of white adolescents in New York City who strongly identified with hip-hop culture and used what Cutler calls Hip Hop Speech Style (HHSS), which is derived from African American Vernacular English (AAVE). She found that all the white hip-hoppers she looked at had restructured their linguistic system so that the diphthong /ai/ was realised as a monophthong, [a:], a variant widely perceived as characteristic of AAVE. Most of her subjects had also adopted the low pitch associated with HHSS/AAVE, and most of them had managed to eliminate final and preconsonantal (r) from their speech. But other phonological and prosodic features seemed to be harder to acquire. Few of them had managed to acquire the early rising pitch contour associated with HHSS/AAVE, and only a few had adopted glottal replacement of medial /t/ (e.g., 'getting' as /ɛʔin/) (Cutler 2002). Her subjects all love hip-hop, listen to it a lot, and in some cases create it themselves in their own groups. But it appears that this kind of input alone is not sufficient to acquire every aspect of the English that their hip-hop role models use natively.

In particular, syntactic variables and some phonological rules don't seem to be able to be acquired with limited access to the code. Other research in this vein has often found that exposure to a code in childhood through extensive social networks can be particularly important. That is, access to the code has to be when you are relatively young earlier than the teenagers Cutler looked at. Also, that access has to be through really meaningful social networks. Various attempts to introduce bilingual education programmes have shown that it isn't apparently enough to have access to a code at school. Successful uptake or acquisition of a variety is most likely when a child has access to it through the kinds of social networks associated with the playground or at home.

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Topic – 025: Rigidity of the Social Matrix

Even larger aspects of the social and cultural context may act as a constraint on whether features transfer from speaker to speaker. Some time ago, Gumperz and Wilson (1971) documented the rather unusual linguistic situation in Kupwar, India. In Kupwar, three languages – Hindi, Marathi and Kannada have been spoken for centuries. Remarkably, given how often people in Kupwar might have to switch between the languages in day-today life, the languages have remained distinct codes. That is, it is still always clear when someone is speaking Marathi, when they are speaking Hindi and when they are speaking Kannada. People in Kupwar haven't borrowed lexical items back and forth between the languages, even though (as we have repeatedly noted) vocabulary is usually easily transferred. And yet, the Hindi, Marathi and Kannada of Kupwar look appreciably different from the standard varieties of each of the languages. This is because there have been some subtle changes to the syntax of the three languages which appear, over the centuries, to have brought them closer in line with each other. You can see this for example in the way that the sentence 'This is your house.' is expressed in all three of the main languages spoken in Kupwar:

Standard Kannada idu nim mənə
Kupwar Kannada id nimd məni eti
Kupwar Marathi he tumc-ə _hər hay
Kupwar Urdu ye tumhar-ə _hər həy
this-one your house is
'This is your house.'

The data here shows that the words for 'house' and 'your' remain very different in Kannada (a Dravidian language), and Marathi and Urdu (Indo-European languages). But the Kupwar variety of Kannada also differs from standard Kannada in fundamental ways. Standard Kannada does not have an overt copula verb 'be' in existential sentences, but the Kannada spoken in Kupwar has created one, eti. The result of this is to make it look closer to Hindi and Marathi, which do have a copula, hay/həy.
Gumperz and Wilson note that each of the languages spoken in Kupwar is strongly associated with different social castes. A caste system assigns people to different places within the social order at birth, and their caste membership remains with them throughout their life. A person's caste determines to a large extent what an individual can and can't do. However, Gumperz and Wilson tell us that there is enough contact between the castes in Kupwar that people often learn the other languages associated with higher or lower castes. This means there are opportunities for linguistic features to transfer from one group to another.

However, there seems to be a limit on the extent of this contact-induced convergence in Kupwar, and the community maintains clear, superficial distinctions between the languages. This can be partly explained by intergroup factors. There are strong historical and social reasons for maintaining distinctions between the castes in Kupwar. Kannada, Hindi and Marathi are historically linked to specific castes, and the caste system provides a strong motivation for keeping the languages divergent in terms of vocabulary, even if there is structural convergence. In other words, the social, historical and cultural context particular

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to Kupwar acts as a constraint on the ability of certain very salient linguistic features to transfer from one group of speakers to another.

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Lesson 06

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND VARIATION- II

Topic- 026: Variables and Variants

Some friends were sitting outside one evening in Bequia (an island in St Vincent and the Grenadines) where they were about to watch a video and have a drink. One person lifted his glass and said 'Cheers!', to which their neighbour replied 'Chairs and tables'. This is a play on the way cheer. Cheer and chair are often pronounced the same way on Bequia. The variable (i.e. the feature that varies) is the vowel – in this case a centring diphthong – and the different variants at play in the community at large are realisations of the diphthong with a closer starting point [tʃɪəz] that sounds like Standard English cheers or a more open starting point [tʃeəz] that sounds more like Standard English chairs.

When you are studying variation, whether it is from a quantitative or qualitative perspective, it is important to define as precisely as possible what the object of your investigation is. The general or abstract feature that you are investigating is what is called the variable. The actual instantiations of the variable in speech are known as the variants. We can identify a variable in two ways. One convention is to write a variable in parentheses, i.e., (ear). A second convention is to refer to vowel variables by using the system of key words in Wells (1982).

Regular vs. Probabilistic Alternations Between Variants

The relationship between the abstract concept of a variable and the actual variants that realise it is very similar to the relationship between the abstract notion of a phoneme and the actual phonetic realisations of that phoneme. The sound represented orthographically as /p/ in English has very different realisations, depending on where it occurs in a word. When it occurs by itself at the start of a word, as in pinch, it is pronounced with quite clear aspiration i.e., an extra burst of air that is very clear if the speaker is standing too close to a microphone. This variation is quite predictable and depends entirely on the immediate linguistic context in which the /p/ occurs.

Identifying Variables and Variants

How do you express the concept die or dead? How many different ways can you think of expressing the idea that someone has died? What determines your use of these different ways of phrasing the same idea?Now try and think of at least one word (or set of words) that you sometimes pronounce in different ways (like the example of 'cheers/ chairs' in Bequian).

Topic – 027: Types of Variables and Variants

The sound represented orthographically as /p/ in English has very different realisations, depending on where it occurs in a word. When it occurs by itself at the start of a word, as in pinch, it is pronounced with quite clear aspiration. But when it occurs at the end of a word, as in rap, or when it

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follows an /s/ at the start of a word, as in speak, it is pronounced without the aspiration. This variation is quite predictable and depends entirely on the immediate linguistic context in which the /p/ occurs.

Phonologists distinguish what they call the phoneme, which is represented as /p/, from the phonetic variants, one of which is aspirated and one of which is not aspirated together these are called the allophones of /p/. There the phonetic realisations of /p/ can be distinguished in print by using the conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), i.e., [ph] for the aspirated variant and [p] for the unaspirated one. Because syllable position determines which variant of /p/ is used, we can say that the realisations of the phoneme are constrained by where it occurs in a syllable. However, there is an important difference between the alternation between [ph] and [p] in English and the alternation between [tʃiəz] and [tʃeəz] in Bequian.

The constraints on /p/ are completely regular and predictable so you always know which variant will surface when. However, there is an important difference between the alternation between [ph] and [p] in English and the alternation between [tʃiəz] and [tʃeəz] in Bequian. The constraints on /p/ are completely regular and predictable. With the NEAR class of words in Bequian, the situation is less precise. The same person will sometimes use one variant and sometimes the other variant. The same speaker may even alternate in different sentences. For instance, a woman on Bequia who is calling to her grandson, the exchange may go like this:

Jed! Come here! [heə]
(silence from Jed)
Jed!! Come here!! [hiər]

When the first time she said here she pronounced it with the open variant, and the second time she pronounced it with the closer variant.

What Is Free Variation?

Since the 1960s sociolinguists have amassed considerable evidence showing that speaker variability can be constrained by non-linguistic factors (things external to the linguistic system) as well as by linguistic factors. The effects of social factors are seldom categorical; that is, all speakers generally alternate at some time.

No social or contextual constraint determines where you will hear one form rather than another 100 per cent of the time. However, they will tell you how likely you are to hear different forms in different contexts and with different speakers. The difference is probabilistic. Sociolinguists argue that even though sociolinguistic analyses don't enable us to predict with 100 per cent certainty which variant will surface, where, and when, sociolinguistic studies reveal an additional layer of systematic structure that justifies the limited indeterminacy that remains.

In sum, a sociolinguistic variable can be defined as a linguistic variable that is constrained by social or non-linguistic factors, and the concept of a variable constrained by non-linguistic factors emerges straightforwardly from the traditions of dialectology.

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Topic – 028: Synchronic Variation

Synchronic linguistics is the study of a language at a given point in time. A synchronic approach (from Greek συν- "together" and χρόνος "time") considers a language at a moment in time without taking its history into account. Synchronic linguistics is contrasted with diachronic linguistics (or historical linguistics), the study of a language over a period of time.

One can approach all different aspects of language, such as grammar, syntax, semantics, phonology etc., from two different points of view. Synchronic variation in sociolinguistics focuses on the following:

- Explores the functioning of language at a single time point
- Without reference to earlier or later stages
- Explores varieties of dialects and their various features

"A synchronic study of language is a comparison of languages or dialects that are used within some defined spatial region and during the same period of time. As far as the scope of a synchronic study is concerned, a study in synchronic variation may focus on grammatical phenomena such as word order, negation, and features of clause-linking. Synchronic variation examines communities of speakers. It explores attitudes towards spatially co-existing varieties. There can be a cross-linguistic and typological comparison. This can involve a close investigation of specific grammatical phenomena in various languages/dialects, with a view to identifying the precise details of where they differ or are the same may.

Now if you from a synchronic perspective about varieties of English and worldwide spread of English, the synchronic study of English may involve spelling differences, pronunciation differences, syntactic varieties, and above all vocabulary choices.

Topic – 029: Diachronic Variation

Diachronic linguistics is one of the two main temporal dimensions of language study identified by a Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. Diachronic variation deals with language change over time. Principal concerns of diachronic linguistics include: to describe and account for observed changes in particular languages.

The term diachronic consists of ‘dia’ that means ‘throughout’; and ‘chron’ that means ‘time’. Diachronic linguistics is the study of language through different periods in history. It maps the shifts and fractures and mutations of languages over the centuries. In gross outline, it is similar to evolutionary biology, which maps the shifts and transformations of rocks. For example, tracing the development of English from the Old English period to the twentieth century is a diachronic study.

The question arises what is the significance of diachronic linguistics and why it is important. The simple answer is that there are patterns which simply cannot be discerned without looking at a language at

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multiple points in time. So, diachronic linguistics provides insights into different kinds of language change that takes place at all linguistic levels: phonetic, phonemic, morphological, syntactic, semantic etc.

1. Phonetic:

- Old English had the sound u-umlaut, while that sound is no longer present in modern English(ME)

2. Phonemic:

- In Old English /v/ is regarded as an allophone of /f/, while in ME /v/ is a phoneme itself.

3. Syntactic:

- Old and Middle English had V2 word order.
- An example from Middle English is where nu 'now' is in the first position, and the verb loke 'look' is in the second position.
- Nu loke euerich man toward himsuelen.
- Now look every man to himself.
- Modern English, and example from Modern English is: Now it's for every man to look to himself.' (Roberts, 2007,p.59)

4. Semantic:

- In diachronic 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.

Some Examples:

In Old English, "girl" referred to young men and women both.

Awful— originally meant "inspiring wonder (or fear)". Used originally as a shortening for "full of awe", in contemporary usage the word usually has a negative meaning.

Silly (Old English sēlig 'happy, fortuitous') had by the 15th century the sense of 'deserving of pity' and then developed to 'ignorant, feeble-minded' and later 'foolish'.

Cultural diachronic study of English may involve, spelling differences, pronunciation differences ,diachronic varieties and vocabulary choices.

Study of Diachronic Varieties and Scope:

Follwing is the scope of studying diachronic varieties:

- To reconstruct the pre-history of languages and determine their relatedness and grouping them into language families
- To develop general theories about how and why language changes
- To describe the history of communities
- To study the history of words, i.e. Etymology

Topic – 030: Possibility of Predicting Language Change and Variation

Empirical research on language is limited to the analysis of linguistic usage in the present and in the past. The unavailability of future linguistic performance makes it impossible to draw conclusions regarding developments which lie ahead in time. The common view is that it is not possible to make sensible predictions about future linguistic developments.

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Croft (2000) assumes that language change is at least partly random. Labov (1994) characterizes language change as "irrational, violent, and unpredictable". Yet even if there should be laws of language change that apply regularly and even if we knew them, we could not be certain that their premisses are still going to be fulfilled in the future (Keller, 1994, p.75).

Since similar words may undergo the same change at different times (case of can and may, which turned into modals at different speed) we need to conclude that even if we knew the starting date and direction of a change, we could not know in advance how long it would take (Bauer, 1994). Furthermore, it is difficult to determine whether ongoing variation in frequency distributions is the beginning of a full-fledged linguistic change or simply "an insignificant, temporary 'blip'" (Graddol, 1997).

Another problem is the fact that even trends that seem to develop steadily may change for reasons that are inconceivable at the moment of making a prediction. In the very first place, there are a number of elaborate discussions of how and why languages change. For an overview of central approaches addressing the topic on a general level (Schneider, 1997).

Labov (1994) has written extensively on the internal, social, cognitive and cultural principles which drive linguistic change. As for the generally applying principles, one which is widely accepted in the study of linguistic change is the so-called "Uniformitarian Axiom". It states that "[n]othing (no event, sequence of events, a constellation of properties, general law) that cannot for some good reason be the case in the present was ever true in the past" (Lass, 1980). For predictions, the uniformitarian principle is simply extrapolated to the future, which means that any general principles that hold true now are expected to apply to future linguistic stages.

If linguistic change worked according to lay-people's perspective, who usually assume "that what is happening now will simply continue" (Graddol, 1997,p. 18), this could be graphed as a linear pattern. However, a common observation is that this is not how linguistic innovations spread. Instead, linguistic change is more aptly represented graphically as an exponential S-shaped growth curve which has, for instance, been observed in the historical separation of modal verbs from ordinary verbs or in the development of the use of the progressive (Aitchison, 1991).

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Lesson 07

SOME CONCEPTS RELATED TO LANGUAGE VARIETIES

Topic- 031: Difference Between a Language and a Dialect

It is a part of our culture to make a distinction between 'languages' and 'dialects'. In fact, we make two separate, distinctions using these terms, and we may draw conclusions from this fact about our culturally inherited view of language. We may contrast our culture in this respect with others where no distinction is made. For example, Haugen (1966) states that this was the case in England until the term dialect was borrowed in the Renaissance, as a learned word from Greek.

In fact distinction between `language' and 'dialect' is an influence of Greek culture. There were a number of clearly distinct written varieties in use in Classical Greece, each associated with a different area and used for a different kind of literature. Thus the meanings of the Greek terms which were translated as 'language' and 'dialect' were in fact quite different from the meanings these words have in English now. Their equivalents in French are perhaps more similar, since the French word ‘dialecte’ refers only to regional varieties which are written and have a literature in contrast with regional varieties which are not written are called ‘patois’.

There is nothing absolute about the distinction which English happens to make between 'languages' and 'dialects‘. What then is the difference, for English speakers, between a language and a dialect? There are two separate ways of distinguishing them, and this ambiguity is a source of great confusion. Haugen (1966), argues that the reason for the ambiguity, and the resulting confusion, is precisely the fact that 'dialect' was borrowed from Greek, where the same ambiguity existed.Sometimes, there is a difference of size, because a language is larger than a dialect,a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect. In this sense we may refer to English as a language, containing the sum total of all the terms in all its dialects, with 'Standard English' as one dialect among many others.e.g.Yorkshire English, Indian English, etc. Hence the greater `size' of the language English. The other contrast between 'language' and 'dialect' is a question of prestige, a language having prestige which a dialect lacks.

Whether some variety is called a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has for most of the people. For example, people in Britain habitually refer to languages which are unwritten (or which they think are unwritten) as dialects, or 'mere dialects', irrespective of whether it is a proper language to which they are related.

Topic – 032: Some Examples of Dialects

A dialect is the language used by the people of a specific area, class, district, or any other group of people. The term ‘dialect’ is a very powerful and common way of characterization, which elaborates the geographic and social background of any character. George Bernard Shaw’s Pygmalion is a very easy way to explain the idea. In this play a Cockney girl is adopted by a well-to-do gentleman. This play is

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difficult to read because of Cockney otherwise it will not be effective. Another example is of Huckleberry Finn (By Mark Twain). Look at the language of two characters here:

> Jim: "We's safe, Huck, we's safe! Jump up and crack yo' heels. Dat's de good ole Cairo at las', I jis knows it."
> Huck: "I'll take the canoe and go see, Jim. It mightn't be, you know."

Here, Twain uses exaggerated dialect to distinguish between the characters. Another example that we can share in this regard is of 'To Kill a Mockingbird' (By Harper Lee). The characters that are less educated and less sophisticated are usually shown to be speaking with a much stronger dialect. We may even need translation to understand what they say. Look at the following text:

> Walter: "Reckon I have. Almost died first year I come to school and et them pecans — folks say he pizened 'em and put 'em over on the school side of the fence."
> **Translation:**
>
> I suppose I have. The first year I came to school and ate those pecans, I almost died. Some people accuse him [Mr. Radley] of poisoning them, and keeping them over on the school side of the fence.

Another example from 'To Kill a Mockingbird' is given here:

> Lula: "I wants to know why you bringing' white chillun to nigger church."
> **Translation:**
>
> I want to know why you are bringing white children to a church for Negroes.

Here is an examples of a dialect:

> A Northern American might say, "hello."
> A Southern American might say, "howdy."

American English Dialects:

Different dialects exist in American English, and in all areas of spoken English. There are dialects for each region, in fact. Some of the more pronounced American regional dialects are the Northeastern (East Coast) and Southern dialects. Someone from the East Coast might say, "What's poppin'?" A Southern American would understand this, but would probably never say it. Someone from the South might say," How'r y'll?" A Northeastern American would understand this, but probably never speak it.

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Topic – 033: Standard Languages

It is fair to say that the only kind of variety which would count as a 'proper language' is a standard language. Standard languages are interesting in as they have a rather special relation to society. A relationship which is quite abnormal when seen against the context of the tens (or hundreds?) of thousands of years during which language has been used.

Standard languages are the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society. This intervention i.e. the process of standardization produces a standard language out of dialects or non-standard varieties. The notion `standard language' is somewhat imprecise, but a typical standard language will pass through the following processes:

1. Selection
2. Codification
3. Elaboration of function
4. Acceptance

1. Selection:

When a particular variety is selected as the one to be developed into a standard language, it may be an existing variety. Such as the one used in an important political/commercial centre and it could be an amalgam of various varieties. The choice is a matter of great social and political importance. The chosen variety necessarily gains prestige and so do the speakers. However, in some cases the chosen variety has been one with no native speakers at all. For instance, Classical Hebrew in Israel and the two modern standards for Norwegian (Haugen, 1994).

2. Codification:

Some agency such as an academy does the process of codification. The production of written dictionaries and grammar books plays an important role to 'fix' the variety , it makes everyone to agrees on what is correct. Once codification is done , it becomes necessary for many ambitious citizens to learn the correct forms and not to use in writing any 'incorrect' forms that may exist in their native variety.

3. Elaboration of Function:

It must be possible to use the selected variety in all the functions associated with central governmental institutes. For example, in parliament and law courts, in bureaucratic, educational and scientific documents of all kinds and, of course, in various forms of literature. This may require extra linguistic items to be added to the variety, especially technical words. It is also necessary to develop new conventions for using existing forms, how to formulate examination Qs, how to write formal letters etc.

4. Acceptance:

The variety has to be accepted by the relevant population as the variety of the community – usually in fact as the national language. Once this has happened, the standard language serves as:

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- a symbol of independence

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- a marker of its difference from other states

These factors are quite widely accepted by sociolinguists. However, there is ample scope for debate and disagreement about the desirability of certain aspects of standardization. For instance, it is not essential either that standardization should involve matters of pronunciation as well as of writing (Macaulay, 1973) or that the standard language should be presented as the only 'correct' variety (a point argued by many linguists and sociolinguists). It is ironical that academic linguistics is likely to arise only in a society with a standard language, such as Britain, the United States or France.

Topic – 034: The Delimitation of Languages

If the speakers of two varieties can understand each other, then the varieties concerned are instances of the same language; otherwise they are not. This is a widely used criterion, but there are serious problems in its application (Simpson,1994). Even popular usage does not correspond consistently to this criterion. Varieties which we call different languages may be mutually intelligible. For example, the Scandinavian languages, excluding Finnish and Lapp and other varieties which we call instances of the same language may not, for example, be the so-called 'dialects' of Chinese.

Popular usage tends to reflect the other definition of language, based on prestige, so that if two varieties are both standard languages, or are subordinate to different standards, they must be different languages, or they must be the same language if they are both sub-ordinate to the same standard. This explains the difference between our ideas on the varieties of Scandinavia and of China: each Scandinavian country has a separate standard language. Mutual intelligibility is a matter of degree ranging from total intelligibility down to total unintelligibility.

Varieties may be arranged in a DIALECT CONTINUUM, a chain of adjacent varieties in which each pair of adjacent varieties are mutually intelligible, but pairs taken from opposite ends of the chain are not. For example*:* One such continuum is said to stretch from Amsterdam through Germany to Vienna, and another from Calais to the south of Italy. Mutual intelligibility is not really a relation between varieties, it's between people, since it is they, who understand one another not the varieties. In conclusion, mutual intelligibility does not work as a criterion for delimiting languages in the 'size' sense. There is no other criterion which is worth considering as an alternative. So, we must conclude (as Matthews, 1979, p. 47) that there is no real distinction to be drawn between 'language' and 'dialect' (except with reference to prestige, where it would be better to use the term 'standard (language)', rather than just 'language).

Topic – 035: The Family Tree Model

A convenient way of representing the relationships among varieties is in terms of the family tree model, which was developed in the 19th century as an aid in the historical study of languages. This model allows one to show how closely a number of varieties are related to one another and how far each has diverged from the others as a result of historical changes. For example: English, German, Welsh, French and Hindi as varieties to be related.

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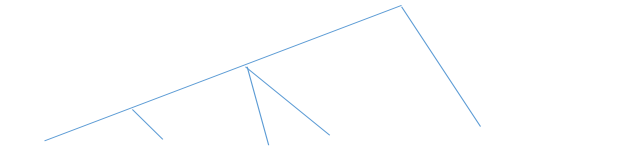


Figure 2.1

By building a tree structure on top of these varieties, we can show that English is related most closely to German and less closely to Welsh and French.

Here, Chinese has been added to show that it is not related at all to the other languages. If one includes two varieties in the same tree there is an assumption that they are both 'descended', through historical changes, from a common `ancestor' variety, which could be named on the diagram. Thus we could add the name `Proto-Indo-European' to the node at the top of the tree, showing that all the varieties named at the bottom (except Chinese) are descended from this one variety. Similarly, we could label the node dominating English and German 'Proto-Germanic', to give a name to the variety from which they are both descended.

The value of this model for historical linguistics is that it clarifies the historical relations among the varieties concerned. And, it gives a clear idea of the relative chronology of the historical changes by which these varieties have diverged. From the present point of view, the advantage is that a family tree shows a hierarchical relation among varieties which makes no distinction between 'languages' and 'dialects'. Indeed, it is common in historical linguistics to refer to the varieties which are descended from Latin as 'dialects' of Latin (or 'the Romance dialects'). Although they include such obvious 'languages' (in the prestige sense) as Standard French. If we had wished to add Yorkshire English and Cockney to our list of varieties, we would simply have added them below English, without giving them a different status from the others.

Apart from the attraction which we have just noted, however, the family tree model has little to recommend it to the sociolinguist, since it represents a gross simplification of the relations between varieties. In particular, it makes no allowances for one variety influencing another, which can lead in extreme cases to convergence - a single variety being descended from two separate varieties.

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Lesson 08

LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS – I

Topic- 036: Regional Dialects

If we consider the most straightforward variety differences based on geography, it should be possible, if the family tree model is right, to identify what are called REGIONAL DIALECTS within any larger variety such as English. Since the 19th century, dialectologists in Europe and the United States have been studying the geographical distribution of linguistic items, such as pairs of synonymous words for example, pail versus bucket, or different pronunciations of the same word, such as farm with or without the /r/. Their results are plotted on a map, showing which items were found in which villages since dialect geography tends to concentrate on rural areas to avoid the complexities of towns.

The dialect geographer may then draw a line between distinctions, can add further subdivisions within a variety, but they cannot subdivide two varieties at the same time because a tree diagram can show sub classification, but not cross-classification. The area where one item was found and areas where others were found, showing a boundary for each area called an isogloss (from Greek iso- 'same' and gloss- `tongue').

The family tree model allows a very important prediction to be made regarding isoglosses, namely that they should not intersect. Distinctions can add further subdivisions within a variety, but they cannot subdivide two varieties at the same time because a tree diagram can show sub classification, but not cross-classification.

Topic – 037: Social Dialects

Dialect differences are not only geographical. There are two main sources of extra complexity. Firstly, geographical mobility, people move from one place to another, taking their dialects with them. Thus simply plotting speakers on a map may produce a more or less untidy pattern according to how mobile the population is. Secondly, geography is only one of the relevant factors, others being social class, sex and age. Dialectologists, therefore, speak of social dialects, or sociolects, to refer to non-regional differences.

Because of other factors, a speaker may be more similar in language to people from the same social group in a different area than to people from a different social group in the same area. Hierarchical social structure such as we find in Britain, where social class takes precedence over geography as a determinant of speech, there is far more geographical variation among people in the lower social classes than there is amongst those at the `top' of the social heap. This has gone so far that people who have passed through the public school system typically have no regional traits at all in their language. This is a peculiarity of Britain, however, and is not found in other countries such as the United States or Germany, where `top people' show their region of origin at least through their pronunciation.

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This allows us to distinguish between the standard dialect and non-standard dialects, while making separate statements about pronunciation in terms of accents (Wells, 1982). Thus. in Britain we may say that many people use a regional accent but standard dialect, and a selected few use an RP accent with the same standard dialect. Great confusion results if the standard dialect, which is a matter of vocabulary, syntax and morphology, is referred to as 'RP'.

Topic – 038: Idiolects

An idiolect is the speech habits peculiar to a particular person. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: An idiolect is a language, the linguistic (i. e. syntactic, phonological, referential, etc.) properties of which can be exhaustively specified in terms of the intrinsic properties of some single individual, the person whose idiolect it is. The force of "intrinsic" is to exclude essential reference to features of the person's wider environment, and in particular to their linguistic community.

The unique usage encompasses vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation. Idiolect as the variety of language unique to an individual differs from a dialect that is a common set of linguistic characteristics shared among some group of people.

Criticism on the Idea of Idiolect:

- Idiolects in this sense do not exist.
- The notion is useless.
- It is incoherent.

There are many more subtle factors, like living in multiple locations at different ages, the more-or-less unique family terms, the topic-specific jargon of the schools and workplaces, and any other languages you speak. For example, a doctor who watches a lot of sci-fi will have a slightly different vocabulary than a lawyer who reads a lot of historical fiction. In fact no two people live the same life, and no two have the same set of linguistic influences. For instance, when it comes to the same turquoise-y teal object two people will draw a mental line on the continuous color spectrum in slightly different places. The question arises, who is right? In fact, both are right according to their own idiolects.

Topic – 039: Dialects and Identity

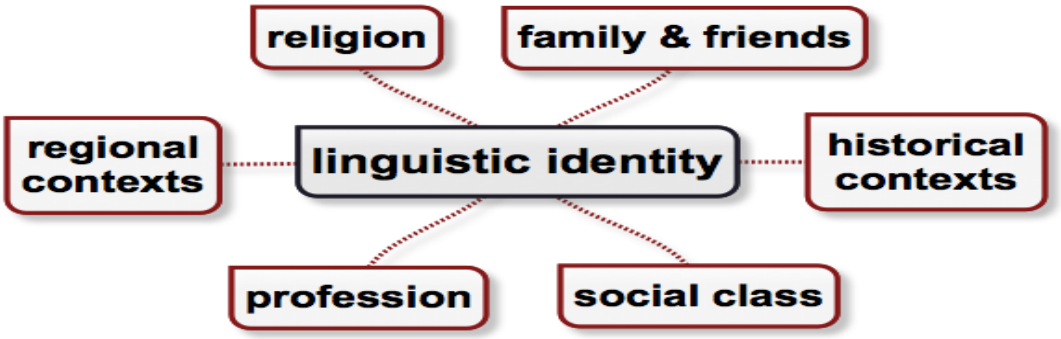
We each have a sense of who we are and equally, of who we want to be. We choose, from situation to situation, and even from second to second, how to express ourselves. So, it is a continuous process. Usually it is unintentional, triggered by a place, subject of conversation, company etc. But these choices are not random, they are guided by our sense of belonging, and are shaped by our identity. This leads to certain questions:

- What is identity?
- What is linguistic identity?
- What do dialects have to do with identity?

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See the following diagram:



Factors that may influence one's linguistic identity
Source: https://www.philpoteducation.com/mod/book/view.php?id=4

For example, a Yorkshire-man telling someone to "wait while five o'clock", using "while" for standard "until". He declares his own local credentials and puts the other at their ease unless, that is, the other is an outsider, in which case they are either accidentally baffled or intentionally excluded. This matter of inclusion or exclusion - movement towards someone or erection of a barrier against them - is at the heart of our maintaining differences in speech.

Topic – 040: Study of Dialects in Sociolinguistics

Dialectology (from Greek διάλεκτος, dialektos, "talk, dialect"; and -λογία, -logia) is the scientific study of linguistic dialect, a sub-field of sociolinguistics. It studies variations in language based primarily on geographic distribution and their associated features. Dialects are linguistic varieties which may differ in pronunciation, vocabulary, spelling and grammar.

The question arises whether there are different dialects of English. We can divide major native dialects of English into three general categories:

- the British Isles dialects
- of North America
- of Australasia

Study of Dialects: Principles

There are certain principles regarding study of dialects:

First Premise:

Linguistics is a descriptive rather than a prescriptive discipline.

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Second Premise:

Every naturally used language variety is systematic with regular rules and restrictions at the lexical, phonological and grammatical level. Linguists use the term ‘dialect’ as a neutral term to refer to the systematic usage of a group of speakers--those in a particular region or social class. No negative connotations such as of "nonstandard" or "substandard" speech.

Thrid Premise:

Primary attention to speech rather than writing.

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Lesson 09

LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS – II

Topic- 041: Language and Dialect in Papua New Guinea

The greatest concentration of diversity is found in Melanesia (an area comprising the south-west Pacific island nations of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and Fiji). Here up to 1,500 languages are spoken, with as many as half found in Papua New Guinea alone. Most of the languages in Papua New Guinea are spoken by small groups; probably 40 per cent have fewer than 500 speakers. There is a great diversity of language types.

New Britain is one of the largest islands in the Bismarck Archipelago off the northeastern coast of the island of New Guinea, which lies just 100 miles north of the tip of Queensland, Australia. Politically, the islands are part of Papua New Guinea (independent since 1975). And the island of New Britain is divided into two provinces, East and West New Britain. In the part of North-West, New Britain is to be discussed. Here people live in small villages along the coast and in the interior. All the people here are multilingual; and it is common for people to speak four or five languages.

Ten examples given below illustrate how people in different villages would request someone to give them betelnut to chew. Betelnut is the small green nut of the betel palm. It is typically chewed with lime pepper and it turns the mouth a bright reddish-orange. Later, it is spat out.

1. *ezim o-men da-kin*
2. *eliep max nga-ngas*
3. *bile me nge-nges*
4. *bile me nga-nges*
5. *bile me nga-nges*
6. *vua i-nama nga-songo*
7. *vua i-nama nga-songo*
8. *bua i-nam nga-songo*
9. *vua i-mai nga-songo*
10. *eilep i-me a-naas*

Linguists generally recognize two major language families in Papua New Guinea comprising between 700 and 800 languages, Austronesian and non-Austronesian (or Papuan). However, in Papua New Guinea there is no one-to-one mapping between village names, groups, and language names. Sometimes, up to four local names apply to what a district officer decided to call ‘one’ village, and some names are common to three or four sites. In addition, many groups have no special names for their languages. The Sare people of the Sepik, for example, call their language Sare, but this means simply ‘to speak or talk’.

Explanations for the Existence of Extreme Linguistic Fragmentation of New Guinea:

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First, 40,000 years of human habitation affords sufficient time-depth for natural processes of change and diversification to produce a multitude of languages. Secondly, the rugged nature of the terrain poses physical barriers to human social interaction. Thirdly, cultural attitudes play an important role in fostering and maintaining diversity. Diversity is cultivated in Melanesia as a badge of identification. Overall, a complicated situation where it is even difficult to draw lines between languages and dialects.

Topic – 042: Language and Dialect in Europe

Examples from Europe can be taken to illustrate the arbitrariness of linguistic criteria, and the importance of social factors in deciding what counts as a language or dialect. Some classic cases are the West Romance and Germanic dialect continua. The West Romance dialect continuum stretches through rural communities from the Atlantic coast of France through Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Mutual intelligibility exists between adjacent villages, although speakers of the standard varieties of French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese find one another mutually unintelligible to varying degrees. Degree of mutual intelligibility is greatly affected by the extent of social and other contact between the groups concerned as well as their attitudes to one another and does not necessarily have much to do with lexicostatistical relationships.

In Scandinavia, for instance, if a traveler knows Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian, it is possible to communicate across language boundaries. Certainly, linguistically the languages are very close, in fact close enough from a linguistic point of view to be considered dialects of one language. Indeed, structurally they form a nice parallel to the linguistic situation in parts of north-west New Britain because their grammar is very similar and most of the distinctive differences lie in vocabulary, and pronunciation.

The modern languages are derived historically from a common Nordic ancestor and their increasing fragmentation reflects political history. It is largely for political reasons that they are regarded as separate languages. By 1700 Swedish and Danish standards were firmly established, but Norway was still under Danish rule. When these languages were standardized, differences between them were consciously exaggerated. For instance, before 1906 all three languages wrote the word meaning ‘what’ unphonetically as ‘hvad’. Now only Danish does so. Swedish spells it as ‘vad’ and Norwegian as ‘hva’. Thus, orthographic differences now disguise what is a similar pronunciation and make the languages look more different in their written form than they are when spoken.

Topic – 043: Language and Dialects in Africa

In order to understand the situation of languages and dialects in Africa we shall delve into the situations of a sample African country of Cameroon. The Republic of Cameroon is a West African nation on the Gulf of Guinea, with an area of 465,495 square kilometers and a population of approximately 15.4 million (in 2000). The interior consists of a high savanna plateau, with the land descending to a lower, densely wooded plateau and then to swamps and plains along the coast. The area corresponding to the Republic of Cameroon was colonized by Germany in 1884.

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After WWI, the League of Nations gave the French a mandate over 80% of the area, and the British 20% adjacent to Nigeria. Whereas, after WWII, under a UN trusteeship, it was still ruled by the same colonial powers. Because of this history, Cameroon has two official languages – French in the former French part and English in the former British part. It is the only country in Africa = both English and French = official languages.

Imagine**,** you live in a small town called Speechville. Your mother tongue is Norwegian, and this language is spoken by your family and your closest neighbors. If you walk five minutes down the street, the language you hear around you is Finnish, and after another five minutes everybody speaks Russian. When you want to communicate with any of these Finns and Russians, you address them in the local lingua franca, which is English. Imagine that neither Norwegian, Finnish, nor Russian are used as written languages. All street signs in your town are written in Japanese, which is the official language of your country. When you were in school, the only language you were taught was Japanese. You had a teacher who recently moved to your town from the southern part of the country, and who has two languages: German, which was his mother tongue, and Japanese, the official language. When you started in school, you could only speak your mother tongue, Norwegian, and the local lingua franca, English, which you used when talking to you Finnish-speaking playmates down the street. But the teacher addressed you and the other sixty-two children in the classroom in Japanese from the very first day. This was hypothetical. But, if you substitute it with a real situation.

A real situation substitute as below:

- Nizaa for Norwegian
- Hausa for Finnish
- Chamba for Russian,
- Fula for English,
- French for Japanese

This makes a real situation. It is a description of a real situation found in many villages in the northern part of the African country of Cameroon, for example in Galim.

Topic –044: Language and Dialects in Pakistan

Pakistan is an amalgamation of heterogeneous groups with widely different linguistic characteristics. A large number of languages are spoken, for instance, official languages: Urdu and English. Urdu is the official language, though it is not the first language of the majority of the population. Apart from Urdu and English, which is limited to a small proportion of the population no language is commonly understood.

The national language Urdu has a number of handicaps. The regional languages - Punjabi, Baluchi, Sindhi and Pashto, though rich in literature- rely heavily on oral tradition and moreover, lack a unitary system of speech form (Mansoor, 1993). Apart from Urdu and English, which is limited to a small proportion of the population no language is commonly understood. The national language Urdu is not indigenous and suffers from a number of handicaps. To complicate the situation even more, all speakers

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within a language community do not use a single form. Thus, within languages, there exist styles and dialects with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility.

In Pakistani context, these linguistic differences are a divisive force; and have a great sociolinguistic significance. However, the same or closely similar written text is a source of unity in this diversity. The tension between Urdu and local languages on one level, and Urdu and English on the other level has given rise to a hierarchy. No less than 24 languages and a considerably great number of dialects, that is not less than 70, are spoken in this region (Mansoor, 1993).

According to Rafique (1993-94), these languages heavily lean upon Persian and Arabic. Balochi, due to the area's geographical affinity to Iran, is more akin to the Persian than any other language. Speakers of Punjabi make up 56.1 % of the population. 48 % speak it as a first language. The 'soft' boundaries of Punjabi and Urdu, and the element of mutual intelligibility between the two languages have been instrumental in the spread of Urdu, Sindhi, Baluchi, Pashto and other regional languages. To Saigol (1993), Sindhis makeup 26.6%, Baluchis 5.1% and Pathans 13.1%of the population, corresponding to the four provinces of the country.

Sindhi is spoken in rural Sindh whereas Urdu in urban Sindh, and Gujrati in influential minorities. In N.W.F.P. Pashto is the language of majority of the population, though one district Hazara uses Hindko. Baluchistan has multiple languages: it has Baluchi, Pashto, Brohi and a sprinkling of Sraiki and Punjabi.

Topic – 045: Language in Society

Language and social interaction have a reciprocal relationship. Language shapes social interactions and social interactions shape language. Anthropological linguistics looks at: Language in specific culture and how it is affected. Sociolinguistics is the study of the connection between language and society and the way people use language in different social situations. When we say language is a social-cultural-geographical phenomenon, what does it mean? We also need to think about how does society affect language? It is in society that man acquires and uses language. Kinds of problems in this relationship include communities which develop a standard language, and the reactions of minority adds to this (as in Belgium, India, Pakistan or Wales); people have to be educated to linguistic level where they can cope with the demands of a variety of social situations. Communication exists between nations or groups using a different language. Problems are caused by linguistic change in response to social factors. The problems are caused or solved by bilingualism or multilingualism. Scope of sociolinguistics includes the interaction of language and various sociologically definable variables such as social class, specific social situation, status and roles of speakers etc.

Language can vary, not only from one individual to the next, but also from one sub-section of speech-community (family, village, town, region) to another. People of different age, sex, social classes, occupations, or cultural groups in the same community will show variations in their speech. Thus, language varies in geographical and social space.

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Factors Causing Language Variation:

Following are the factors which cause language variation:

- Nature of participants, their relationship (socio-economic, sexual, occupational, etc.)
- Number of participants (face-to-face or one addressing a large audience, etc.)
- Role of participants (teacher/student /priest/ father/son/ husband/ wife, etc.)
- Function of speech event (persuasion, request for information ritual, verbal, etc.)
- Nature of medium (speech, writing, scripted speech, speech reinforced by gesture, etc.)
- Genre of discourse (scientific, experiment, sport, art, religion, etc.)
- Physical setting (noisy / quiet / public / private / family / formal/familiar/ unfamiliar, etc.)

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Lesson 10

SOME THEORETICAL WORK IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 046: Regional Dialectology

What is regional dialectology? It is the identification and mapping of boundaries among different varieties on the basis of clusters of similar and different features in particular regions, towns or villages.How? Certain methods that are used by dialectologists who are interested in documenting the way speakers use language differently and why language varies depending on what village, town or region speakers come from. The nineteenth century was a particularly good time in the history of the study of regional variation in language. Very large projects were initiated in Europe, some even continued in the 20th century. Altas Linguistique de la France or 'Alf' was begun by Jules Gillieron. For data collection, as a fieldworker, Edmond Edmont, bicycled all around France. He interviewed older speakers and asked them what the local word was for a number of vocabulary items and then carefully noted the local pronunciation of different words. Edmont was trained to use a consistent system for transcribing regional pronunciations, and at every point in his fieldwork. He administered the same questionnaire. This standardisation of methods was an important aspect. The results of dialect surveys are plotted on maps, thus providing an atlas which, instead of showing topographical features like mountains and plains, shows how speakers' pronunciation of words changes.

A number of detailed atlas projects were undertaken across Europe at about the same time – for example, in Switzerland, Germany, Italy and Spain. However, regional dialectology is by no means a historical exercise. For example, there are ongoing projects involving the comparison of structures across Germanic languages.

There are certain problems with the methods such as firstly**,** they depend almost entirely on speakers' reports on what they think they say. Secondly, people may not be very accurate in reporting what they actually do say.

Topic – 047: The Work of Labov

William Labov (1927) has been a prominent voice in American linguistics since the early 1960s. He pioneered an approach to investigating the relationship between language and society. He developed a field known as "variationist sociolinguistics". A central doctrine of this field is that variation is inherent to linguistic structure. The way a language is spoken (and written) differs across individuals as well as across situations encountered by the same individual.

Labov asserted that such differences are not only normal but also necessary to a language's functioning. This view challenges much of the traditionally dominant thinking and practice in linguistic theory, from Ferdinand de Saussure to Noam Chomsky. Mainstream theorists do not deny the existence of variation, rather they tend to downplay its relevance and treat it as a superficial phenomenon obscuring a fundamental uniformity that characterizes language. Labov's research demonstrates that linguistic

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variation is pervasive and highly structured. It reveals regular patterns of co-occurrence between language forms, such as the pronunciation of a particular vowel, and social categories, such as socioeconomic classes. His approach is distinguished from others within sociolinguistics by its reliance on quantitative methods.

He also examined semantic features e.g., quantifiers like 'each' and 'all' and grammatical features e.g., contraction and deletion of the copula, though the study of phonological variation has predominated in his work. Most of his research examines English, and he has been influential in the field of American dialectology. The methods he used to collect data for his study of the varieties of English spoken in New York City, published as The Social Stratification of English in New York City (1966) have been influential in social dialectology. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, his studies of the linguistic features of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) were also influential.

Labov's other works include the following:

- The Study of Nonstandard English (1969)
- Language in the Inner City: Studies in Black English Vernacular (1972)
- Sociolinguistic Patterns (1972)
- Principles of Linguistic Change (vol.I Internal Factors, 1994)
- VOL.II Social Factors, (2001)
- VOL.III Cognitive and Cultural factors, (2010)
- With Sharon Ash and Charles Boberg, The Atlas of North American English (2006)

Topic – 048: Martha's Vineyard

The first social dialect study was conducted in the summer of 1961 on Martha's Vineyard, an island off the coast of Massachusetts in the north-eastern United States. Martha's Vineyard was then already something of a summer playground for people who live most of the year on the mainland US – in the 1960s, the number of residents during the summer increased nearly seven times over the winter population. This has only increased in the years since; in the year 2000, the year-round population on the Vineyard was 14,000, but during the summer the population of the island ballooned to 100,000. Moreover, there is a big discrepancy between the circumstances of the summer-only people and the year-rounders. The cost of housing on the Vineyard is fabulously expensive, driven up by the intense demand of summer residents, yet the island has the second-lowest per capita income in the entire state of Massachusetts. Many year-rounders on the Vineyard struggle quite hard to get by and increasingly have to do so by providing services for the summer visitors.

In 1961, William Labov was one of those summer visitors. A student of Uriel Weinreich's at Columbia University, Labov was well acquainted with Weinreich's work on language and dialect contact and he was therefore well placed to extend this work in new directions. Weinreich's work built on the descriptive tradition of the European regional dialectologists; however, he was interested not just in variation as a linguistic phenomenon. He was also interested in the relationship between different linguistic variants and the local social order.

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This approach, which Labov has always considered to simply be sound linguistics, has come to be known as sociolinguistics. Although the island lies not far off shore from the mainland United States, the pronunciation of certain key variables on Martha's Vineyard differs markedly from the neighbouring parts of the mainland, and it appears that it has done so for some time. The specific variable that Labov became aware of was the realisation of the diphthong in words like ice and time.

In Wells's (1982) standard lexical sets are called the PRICE words. Of course, in1966 Labov didn't have access to Wells's sets. Instead he introduced a new convention: he used parentheses to represent the sociolinguistic variable; that is, he talks about the (ay) variable which is realised by different phonetic variants. On the Vineyard, the PRICE words were very often pronounced with a more raised, centralised onset (i.e., [əi]), which is not typical of the island's mainland neighbours. The centralised variant is recorded as characteristic of the Vineyard in the 1951 Linguistic Atlas of New England. However, Labov noticed that not all the year-round residents of the Vineyard used the centralised pronunciation. Some of them used a lower, fronted onset, more like the mainland norm (i.e., [ai]). The same variability occurred in words with the back-gliding diphthong such as south and loud; that is, the MOUTH set or what Labov called the (aw) variable. Even more importantly, he noticed that speakers who used the centralised variants didn't always do so. Sometimes a speaker would use a centralised variant and then in the next sentence use something more like the mainland variant. In other words, not only was there variation between individual speakers (interspeaker variation) on the Vineyard, there was also variation within individual speakers (intraspeaker variation).

The extent of this variation piqued Labov's interest. Was the variation a very subtle pattern of regional differentiation? Or was there more to it? He set out to find out by gathering data on these two variables from as many people as he could find. Ideally, Labov hoped to capture the way people talked when they were talking with one another at home or with their friends. He realised that as an outsider to the Vineyard, and, moreover, as an outsider with a mike and tape-recorder, it wasn't going to be easy to get the kind of speech he was after. He decided first to record people engaged in fairly formal, language-oriented tasks like reading lists of words out loud. However, once this was completed he would shift to a more informal frame of conversation in which he asked them about their life on the Vineyard. This method for collecting data represented a significant departure from the brief question-and-answer format of regional dialect surveys, and it has subsequently formed the basis for numerous other studies.

Labov conducted these sociolinguistic interviews in a number of different parts of the island. In some places, the inhabitants were mainly of Anglo-British descent, in some they were mainly of Portuguese descent, and in some they were mainly of Native American descent. He also sampled speakers from different walks of life. Some of the people he talked to worked on farms, some worked in the fishing industry, and some worked in service occupations. Some were older, some were in their thirties and some were younger. In the end, he interviewed 69 people, more than 1 per cent of the year-round population on the island. Although some ages or groups of speakers were better represented than others in the final sample, the survey provided a much better cross-section of the Martha's Vineyard community than regional dialect surveys had in the past. What Labov saw in his interviews fundamentally challenged the notion of free variation.

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Example questions from Labov's interviews:

- "When we speak of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, what does right mean? … Is it in writing?"
- "If a man is successful at a job he doesn't like, would you still say he was a successful man?"

These kinds of questions subconsciously urge the participants to use words which contained the desired vowels, such as life, might, right, etc. What did he find out? He found out that pronunciation of certain vowel sounds were subtly changing from the standard American pronunciations. Also that locals had a tendency to pronounce these diphthongs with a more central point. One of the findings was: Fishermen centralise /au/ and /ai/ more than any other occupational group. When it comes to what was the reason it was found that this was done subconsciously, to establish and identify themselves as Vineyarders, an independent social group rejecting the norms of mainland America was bought over by the summer holiday makers.

So, the finding was: Up-Islanders used the centralized diphthongs more than people living in the area of Down-Island. And, as far as the reason was concerned it was that Down island (East) was much more densely populated and favoured by summer visitors, whilst Up island (West) had many more original inhabitants and was much more rural. There seems to be enough evidence to state that generations, occupations, or social groups might be a big factor in language use as a sociolinguistic consideration.

Topic – 049: Developments in the Study of Language Variation

Biber (1995) provides framework of multi-feature/ multi-dimensional (MF/MD) analysis. They explored register and genre variation from three different perspectives:

- Synchronic (e.g. Biber, 1985, 1987, 1988)
- Diachronic (e.g. Biber & Finegan, 1989)
- Contrastive (e.g. Biber, 1995)

Biber's MF/MD analysis framework has been well received as it establishes a link between form and function. The multi-dimensional approach to register variation was originally developed for comparative analyses of spoken and written registers in English. Methodologically, the approach uses computer-based text corpora, computational tools to identify linguistic features in texts, and multivariate statistical techniques to analyze the co-occurrence relations among linguistic features. General characteristics of the approach:

- It is corpus-based, depending on analysis of a large collection of naturally-occurring texts.
- It uses automated computational techniques to analyze linguistic features in texts.
- This characteristic enables distributional analysis of many linguistic features across many texts and text varieties.
- It uses interactive computational techniques to check the analysis of ambiguous linguistic features, ensuring accuracy in the final feature counts.

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- The research goal of the approach is the linguistic analysis of texts, registers, and text types, rather than analysis of individual linguistic constructions.
- The approach is explicitly multi-dimensional. That is, it is assumed that multiple parameters of variation will be operative in any discourse domain.
- The approach is quantitative. Analyses are based on frequency counts of linguistic features, describing the relative distributions of features across texts.
- The approach synthesizes quantitative and functional methodological techniques. That is, the quantitative statistical analyses are interpreted in functional terms.

Topic –050: Further Insights into the Study of Language Variation

Hyland (1999) compares the features of the specific genres of meta-discourse in introductory course books and research articles. As far as the selection basis is concerned it is a corpus of extracts from 21 university textbooks for different disciplines and a similar corpus of research articles. Three academic disciplines were included: microbiology, marketing and applied linguistics. Data consisted of almost 124 000 words.

The textbooks were selected from reading lists for introductory undergraduate courses and all extracts were among those recommended by teachers as containing 'core' reading matter. A parallel corpus of 21 research articles was compiled for comparison from the current issues of prestigious journals recommended by expert informants. Overall, the quantitative analysis revealed the importance of meta-discourse in these textbooks with an average of 405 examples per text; about one every 15 words.

Another study was of Kachru (2003) in which he used a small corpus to explore the uses of definite reference across four regional varieties of English. Further regional varieties of English he used were:

- Indian
- Nigerian
- Singaporean
- American

The study indicates that the use of definite descriptions is likely to differ in 'Englishes' used in different parts of the world. The corpus collected for the study consisted of a number of letters to the editor from several newspapers in India, Nigeria, Singapore and the USA. The letters were published between March 5 and April 6, 2000. Rationale for choice of data source was that newspapers correspond to a more casual style of writing and within newspapers the letters to the editor represented the least edited and most typical of individual style.

Lesson 11

REGISTER AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS-I

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Topic- 051: What Is a Register?

The term ‘register’ is widely used in sociolinguistics. It is used to refer to 'varieties according to use', in contrast with dialects, defined as 'varieties according to user' (Cheshire,1992: Downes,1994: Biber,1988). The distinction is needed because the same person may use very different linguistic items to express more or less the same meaning on different occasions. The concept of 'dialect' cannot reasonably be extended to include such variation. Another way of defining register is: “A variety of a language used for a particular purpose or in a particular social setting”.

Examples:

- When speaking in a formal setting using features of prescribed grammar than in an informal setting
- Such as pronouncing words ending in -ing "walking" as "walkin"
- Choosing more formal words (father vs. dad, and child vs. kid)
- Refraining from using nonstandard words (ain't).
- We can interpret register differences in terms of the model of acts of identity in much the same way as for dialect differences.

Each time we speak or write we not only locate ourselves in relation to the rest of society, but we also relate our act of communication itself to a complex classificatory scheme of communicative behaviour. This scheme takes the form of a multi-dimensional matrix, just like the map of our society which we each build in our mind. Halliday (1978, p. 33) distinguishes three general types of dimension: field, mode and tenor.

Field is the purpose and subject-matter of the communication
Mode refers to the means by which communication takes place — notably, by speech or writing.
Tenor depends on the relations between participants.

Field refers to 'why' and 'about what' a communication takes place; mode is about 'how'; tenor is about `to whom' (i.e. how the speaker views the person addressed). For example: the relations between speaker and 'addressee' involve such dimensions:

1. 'power', refers to addressee is subordinate, equal or superior to the speaker,
2. 'solidarity' distinguishes relatively intimate relations from distant

In short in sociolinguistics, the term register refers to specific lexical and grammatical choices as made by speakers depending on the situational context, the participants of a conversation and the function of the language in the discourse (Halliday 1989,p.44).

Topic – 052: Some Examples of Register

In order to understand the term ‘register’, it would be a good idea to use some example.. If we think about letter writing, different people would start a letter in different ways such as:

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'I am writing to inform you that . . .'
'I just wanted to let you know that . . .'

Now, such examples could be multiplied endlessly, and suggest that the amount of variation due to register differences may be quite comparable with that due to differences in dialect.
Another Example:

The dimension of formality is totally independent of the dimension of technicality, so four combinations of formality with technicality can be illustrated by the following perfectly normal sentences:

1. formal, technical — We obtained some sodium chloride.
2. formal, non-technical — We obtained some salt.
3. informal, technical — We got some sodium chloride.
4. informal, non-technical — We got some salt.

(Ref. Register Classification in the Oxford Thesaurus of English, 2006)

Informal: It is used in contexts such as conversations or letters between friends.
Vulgar Slang: It is the informal language that may cause offence.
Formal: It is normally used only in writing such as official documents.
Technical: It is normally used in technical and specialist language, though not necessarily restricted to any specific field.
Literary: It is found mainly in literature written in an 'elevated' style.
Dated: It is no longer used by the majority of English speakers.Historical: still used today, but only to refer to some practice or article that is no longer part of the modern world.
Humorous: It is used with the intention of sounding funny or playful.
Archaic: A very old-fashioned language, it is not in ordinary use at all today.
Rare: That is not in common use.

We also need to think about certain other relationships such as registers and professions, register is functional variation, contrasted to a dialect that is a social variation.

Topic –053: How a Register is Different from a Dialect

At the risk of slight oversimplification, we may say that your dialect shows who (or what) you are and your register shows what you are doing. Dialect is a social form of speaking belonging to a group. On the other hand, a register is used to describe changing how a person speaks based on the situation. Register differences are complex. In fact both are overlapping with other terms.

Criticism: The use of the term register was criticized in the 1970s by David Crystal. He viewed it as being indiscriminately applied to every possible variety of language. Since there is no restriction on the range of application for the term 'register', an infinite number of registers can be identified. "This term has been applied to varieties of language almost in an indiscriminate manner, as if it could be usefully applied

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to situationally distinctive pieces of language of any kind. It is inconsistent, unrealistic, and confusing to obscure these differences by grouping everything under the same heading […].” (Crystal,1976, p. 61). As examples we need to think about the dialects in Pakistan; as well as the examples of register from local context.

Topic – 54: What Is Jargon?

The special words or expressions used by a profession or group that are difficult for others to understand. The type of language that is used in a particular context and is not be well understood outside that context. The context is usually a particular occupation (that is, a certain trade, profession, or academic field), but any in-group or social group to which a person psychologically identifies as being a member, can have jargon. The main trait that distinguishes jargon from the rest of a language is special vocabulary including some words specific to it, and often different senses or meanings of words that out-groups would tend to take in another sense and misunderstand. Jargon is thus "the technical terminology or characteristic idiom of a special activity or group". Most jargon is technical terminology, involving terms of art or industry terms, with particular meaning within a specific industry. A main driving force in the creation of technical jargon is precision and efficiency of communication when a discussion ranges from general themes to specific, finely differentiated details without circumlocution.

A side-effect of this is a higher threshold for comprehensibility, which is usually accepted as a trade-off but is sometimes even used as a means of social exclusion (reinforcing ingroup-outgroup barriers) or social aspiration (when intended as a way of showing off). Many examples of jargon exist because of its use among specialists and subcultures alike.

Legal Jargon:			
a posteriori	from later	An argument derived from subsequent event.	/ˌeɪ ˌpɒstiːrioʊraɪ/
a priori	from earlier	An argument derived from previous event.	/ˌeɪ praɪoʊraɪ/
a quo	from which	Regarding a court below in an appeal, either a court of first instance or an appellate court, known as the court *a quo.*	/ˌeɪ ˈkwoʊ/

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ab extra	from outside	Concerning a case, a person may have received some funding from a 3rd party. This funding may have been considered *ab extra*.	/ˌæb-ɛkstrə/

Computing Jargon

1. CD-ROM (Compact Disc Read Only Memory) - a pre-pressed compact disc which contains data or music playback.
2. Chip (or integrated circuit) – a miniaturised electronic circuit
3. Control store the memory that stores the microcode of a CPU.
4. Core the portion of a CPU which actually performs arithmetic and logical operations.
5. Core memory in modern usage, a synonym for main memory, dating back from the pre-semiconductor-chip times when the dominant main memory technology was magnetic core memory.
6. CPU Central processing unit - the portion of a computer system that executes the instructions of a computer program.
7. Conventional PCI Conventional Peripheral Component Interconnect - a computer bus for attaching hardware devices in a computer.

Corporate Jargon

Known as corporate speak, corporate lingo, business speak, business jargon, management speak, workplace jargon, or commercialese, is the jargon often used in large corporations, bureaucracies, and similar workplaces. The use of corporate jargon, also known as "corporatese", is criticised for its lack of clarity as well as for its tedium, making meaning and intention opaque and understanding difficult.

Topic – 055: Difference in a Register and Jargon

Special words or expressions used by a profession or group that are difficult for others to understand. Type of language that is used in a particular context and may not be well understood outside that context. It is particular occupation, trade, profession, academic field. The main trait that distinguishes jargon from the rest of a language is special vocabulary—including some words specific to it, and often different senses or meanings of words, that out-groups would tend to take in another sense and misunderstand. Jargon is thus "the technical terminology or characteristic idiom of a special activity or group". Most jargon is technical terminology, involving terms of art or industry terms with particular meaning within a specific industry.

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Need for jargon is because of the need for precision and for efficiency of communication. Consequently it is highly technical. And, many examples of jargon exist because of its use among specialists**.** Register is a variety according to use, a variety of a language used for a particular purpose or in a particular social setting.

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Lesson 12

REGISTER AND SOCIOLINGUSTICS-II

Topic- 056: What Is Accent?

Accent is a distinctive way of pronouncing a language, especially one associated with a particular country, area, or social class for example, 'a strong American accent'. Another definition is: a distinct emphasis given to a syllable or word in speech by stress or pitch.

In sociolinguistics, an accent (/ˈæksɪnt/ or /-ɛnt/) is a manner of pronunciation peculiar to a particular individual, location, or nation. An accent may be identified with the locality in which its speakers reside (a regional or geographical accent), the socio-economic status of its speakers. It may be identified with their ethnicity, their caste or social class (a social accent), or influence from their first language (a foreign accent). Accents typically differ in quality of the voice, pronunciation and distinction of vowels and consonants, stress, and prosody.

Although grammar, semantics, vocabulary, and other language characteristics often vary concurrently with accent, the word "accent" may refer specifically to the differences in pronunciation, whereas the word "dialect" encompasses the broader set of linguistic differences. It is difficult to measure or predict how long it takes an accent to formulate. Accents in the US, Canada and Australia, for example, developed from the combinations of different accents and languages in various societies and their effect on the various pronunciations of British settlers. Predicting the age at which the non-native language was learned.

The Critical Period Theory

According to the critical period theory if learning takes place after the critical period (usually considered around puberty) for acquiring native-like pronunciation, an individual is unlikely to acquire a native-like accent. There are social factors that play a role in this regard. When a group defines a standard pronunciation, speakers who deviate from it are often said to "speak with an accent". People from the United States would "speak with an accent" from the point of view of an Australian, and vice versa.

Prestige

Prestige is attached to certain accents. Some accents are perceived to carry more prestige in a society than other accents. Reason is their association with the elite. An example from the UK is of 'Received Pronunciation'.

Topic – 057: Accents vs. Dialect

Before we compare and contrast accent with dialect, we need to be clear on each separately.

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Accent: Accent is a distinctive way of pronouncing a language, especially one associated with a particular country, area, or social class. An accent consists of a way of pronouncing a variety.

Dialect: A dialect varies from other dialects of the same language simultaneously on at least three levels of organization: pronunciation, grammar or syntax and vocabulary.

Educated speakers of American English and British English can be regarded as using dialects of the same language because differences of these three kinds exist between them. In practice, however, speakers of the two varieties share a common grammar and differ from each other more in terms of vocabulary and pronunciation.

Table 1.1 Some differences between American and British English

	American	British
Pronunciation: *ate*	/eit/ (rhymes with *mate*)	/ɛt/ (rhymes with *Met*)
Grammar/syntax	Jane had *gotten* used to it.	Jane had *got* used to it. (Past participle of *get*)
Vocabulary	Sam took the *elevator* rather than the stairs.	Sam took the *lift* rather than the stairs.

People have strong views on accents. They think it is always others who have accents and never themselves! Strictly speaking, however, it is impossible to speak any variety without some accent. Evaluational studies of accents have found that in Britain people rate the speech of urban areas (Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow) much less favorably than accents of rural areas such as Devon and Cornwall. These differences in judgment reflect views about the nature of urban v. rural life rather than anything inherent in the accents themselves. In Britain the prestige of one variety RP is so high that people often imagine themselves to use RP forms when they don't. It is used by those educated at public schools and is not tied to any particular locality. RP is sometimes considered the equivalent of a Standard English pronunciation, particularly in England. It is sometimes also referred to as:

- BBC English
- Oxford English
- The King's English

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It is the accent taught to foreigners who are learning British rather than American English. When we think of varieties of dialects we need to think about local and international examples. Also we need to think about accent as an aspect of a dialect.

Topic – 058: What Is Style?

The social factors in relation to language variation are not only determined by the factor who is the 'user' of language but there are sources of language variation correlated to the 'situation of use'. For example, degree of formality or informality of speech depends on the occasion or situation.

Style refers to ways of speaking - how speakers use the resource of language variation to make meaning in social encounters. Style therefore refers to the wide range of strategic actions and performances that speakers engage in, to construct themselves and their social lives. To Yule (1985), "there is a gradation of style of speech, from the very informal to the very informal" (p.244). One greets 'How do you do?' instead of "how are you?' according to the situation and relation to the addressee in that social context. Yule (1985) has cited similar examples from French (tu and vous for you), German (du and sie) and Spanish (tu and usted).

In sociolinguistics, a style is a set of linguistic variants with specific social meanings. In this context, social meanings can include group membership, personal attributes, or beliefs. Linguistic variation is at the heart of the concept of linguistic style—without variation there is no basis for distinguishing social meanings. Variation can occur in following ways: syntactically, lexically, and phonologically.

Note that a style is not a fixed attribute of a speaker. Rather, a speaker may use different styles depending on context. Additionally, speakers often incorporate elements of multiple styles into their speech, either consciously or subconsciously, thereby creating a new style. Alternatively Labov has pointed out five principles which are as follows:

1. **There are no single style speakers.**
   Style-shifting occurs in all speakers to a different degree; interlocutors regularly change their linguistic forms according to context.
2. **Styles can be ranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech.**
   Style-shifting correlates strongly with the amount of attention paid to speech.

3. **The vernacular, in which the minimum attention is paid to speech, provides the most systematic data for linguistic analysis**
   Vernacular is the original base mode of speech, learned at a very young age, on which more complex styles build later in life.
4. **Any systematic observation of a speaker defines a formal context where more than the minimum attention is paid to speech.**
   Even formal face-to-face interviews severely limit a speaker's use of their vernacular style.

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5. **"Face-to-face interviews are the only means of obtaining the volume and quality of recorded speech that is needed for quantitative analysis."**
   Quantitative analysis requires data that must be obtained in a very formal way.

Modern approaches to style, however, are as follows:

1. **Indexical order**

According to Penny Eckert's theory, any linguistic variable has its own indexical field spanning any number of potential meanings. The meanings actually associated with the variables are determined by social context and the style in which the variable is being used. These indexical fields are fluid and change depending on usage in different contexts.

2. **Ideology**

In Judith Irvine's conception of style she emphasizes the fact that a style is defined only within a social framework. A variant and the social meanings it indexes are not inherently linked, rather, the social meanings exist as ideologically mediated interpretations made by members of the social framework.

3. **Stance-taking**

Style is best viewed as consisting of smaller, more variable units known as stances. A stance is essentially a form of contextualization. It indicates the position of an interlocutor with respect to a particular utterance, conversation or other interlocutors.

4. **Style-shifting**

The style a speaker uses is dependent on how much attention the speaker is paying to their own speech, which in turn is dependent on the formality of the situation. Additionally, each speaker has one most natural style, which is defined as the style the speaker uses when paying the least attention (i.e. in the most casual situations). Criticism on it is that it is difficult to quantify the attention paid to speech.

5. **Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)**

It explains style-shifting in terms of two processes: Convergence, divergence .Style is the best viewed as consisting of smaller, more variable units known as stances.

Topic – 059: Register vs. Style

In addition to regional and social dialects, two other varieties often discussed by sociolinguists are register and style. As far as the term 'register' is concerned, it is used for a style specific to a particular situation or field. To Spolsky (1998, p.34) a register is a language variety that is used “in a specific

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situation" and "particular roles". Examples may include: weather forecast, legal proceedings at a court, wedding ceremony, cooking class etc.

According to Yule (1985), "variation according to use in specific situations" is called register. The concept of register is typically concerned with variation in language conditioned by uses rather than users. It involves consideration of the situation or context of use, the purpose, subject matter, and content of the message, and the relationship between participants.
Examples:

Two lawyers discussing a legal matter use the register of law

Language of police detectives reviewing a case reflects a register particular to their profession and the topic under discussion.

Our Lord in heaven, grant us the strength to do Thy will = register of religion.

Describing flowers 'a bunch of fragrance' may be suitable in poetic register; and if it occurs in a poem it will not be surprising or out of place, whereas, if a botanist uses it in a scientific report it will be unsuitable rather odd. Vocabulary differences - either a special vocabulary or special meanings for ordinary words –are most important in distinguishing different registers.

The so-called 'mother-in-law' language found in most of the Aboriginal languages of Australia is another example of register variation. The mother-in law register consists of a special way of speaking which men must use when addressing their mothers-in-law and certain other female relatives regarded as taboo. It has the same grammar and sounds as everyday speech, but a totally different vocabulary. Style is a notion related to register.. It can be from formal to informal depending on social context, relationship of the participants, social class, sex, age, physical environment, and topic.
Stylistic differences can also be reflected in vocabulary. For example:

The teacher distributed the new books.
Versus
The teacher gave out the new books'.

Topic – 060: Speech Communities and Communicative Competence

Society impinges on language in various ways. In fact, the very existence of languages critically depends on the availability of a social group who claims a variety as their own and maintains its distinctiveness from the varieties spoken by its neighbors. Such a group can be called a 'speech community' and the conventions they share about their speech variety can be called 'communicative competence'.

The notions of 'speech community' and 'communicative competence' are fundamental to understanding the ways in which social groups organize their linguistic repertoires. A speech community is not necessarily coextensive with a language community. A speech community is a group of people who

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do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language. The boundaries between speech communities are essentially social rather than linguistic.

Terms such as 'language' and 'dialect' are, from a linguistic point of view, non-technical notions. There is no objective way as such to determine when to call dialects, when languages. Any attempt to count distinct languages will be an artefact of classificatory procedures rather than a reflection of communicative practices.

In Papua New Guinea people pay very great attention to small linguistic differences in differentiating themselves from their neighbors. People in one village or clan insist they speak a different language from the next village. Successful conversation for many English speakers involves filling any gaps with talk.

This is not true in all English-speaking communities. In Belfast, for instance, a neighbor may visit another and sit in her kitchen silently for an hour or more. Likewise, in some Aboriginal communities, people may sit silently for hours, with an occasional comment. Though most Aboriginal people in Australia have shifted from their ancestral languages to English, they carry over in English they speak, rules of communicative competence inherited from Aboriginal languages. The mistake other English speakers make in such situations is to feel they have to make remarks to keep the conversation going.

Talking about the weather is a stereotype often associated with speakers of British rather than American English. There are obvious reasons why the weather proves to be such a common topic in Britain. One is certainly the changeability and often unpleasant nature of the climate. Importantly is weather is a safe, impersonal topic that can be discussed between two strangers who want to be friendly but not too friendly.

A common British stereotype about Americans is that they show too much familiarity with strangers and ask personal questions which are perceived as unwelcome intrusions. Americans say they are simply showing interest. Speakers of American English also offer each other more compliments than do English speakers in South Africa.

Interestingly, Americans also accept more of the compliments they are given. Children in many communities are taught simply to accept a compliment. Example: Generally speaking, response to the compliment: 'That's a nice sweater' is 'Thank you'. However, studies of compliments show that two out of three responses to compliments are not of this type. More often, speakers are likely to avoid outright agreement and acceptance of the compliment. They do so by saying: "It's really quite old." Or "My mother made it for me." Or "I bought it for wearing around the house." They even question the compliment: "Do you really think so?" Or return it as: "So's yours". 'Communicative competence' refers to a speaker's underlying knowledge of the rules of grammar (including phonology, grammar, lexicon, and semantics) and rules for their use in socially appropriate circumstances.

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Lesson 13

SOCIOLINGUISTIC CODES AND BILINGUALISM

Topic- 061: Code

It is possible to refer to a language or a variety of a language as a 'code'. The term is useful because it is neutral. Terms like dialect, vernacular, language, style, standard language, pidgin, and creole are inclined to arouse emotions. In contrast, the 'neutral' term code, taken from information theory, can be used to refer to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication.What is interesting is the factors that govern the choice of a particular code on a particular occasion.

Questions to ponder:

- Why do people choose to use one code rather than another?
- What brings about shifts from one code to another?
- Why do they occasionally prefer to use a code formed from two other codes by switching back and forth between the two or even mixing them?

Such questions assume that there are indeed few single-code speakers. People choose an appropriate code when they speak. When you open your mouth, you must choose a particular language, dialect, style, register, or variety that is, a particular code. We can and will shift, as the need arises, from one code to another. Within each code there will also be the possibility of choices.

Topic – 062: Bilingualism

Emeneau (1980) voiced the popular notion of his days that bilingual is a person who has "native like control of two languages". Based on various perspectives of the notions of proficiency and functions, a considerably vast variety of the definitions of bilingualism have been attempted by different people at different times. According to Romaine (1995), most of the definitions are dichotomous such as ideal and partial bilingualism, coordinate and compound bilingualism; and on the continuum of bilingualism refer to varying degrees of bilingualism'Incipient. Bilingualism' that is generally termed as 'passive' or 'receptive' bilingualism is the very initial degrees of bilingualism. In it a person may not be able to produce complete or otherwise meaningful utterances in the other language but can understand as they are produced by others (Diebold, 1964).

Emeneau claims that the term can be applied to a broad range of situations. It can be applied to the situations where a bilingual has a native like control over second language, but at the same time it can be applied to the situations in which the individual has minimal knowledge of the second language. Another dichotomy that exists in this regard is that of individual vs. societal bilingualism.

At the individual level, a person can be bilingual irrespective of any social, political or cultural influence. Yule (1996) illustrates that a person's bilingualism may be the result of the fact that his/her father and mother speak two different languages. In this kind of case, though there might not be any

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realization of the distinction between two languages; however, later on generally one language becomes the dominant one and the other subordinate.

As far as societal bilingualism is concerned, it is not only restricted to regional varieties, or two or more dialects of a language rather existence of two or more languages in the social sphere of life. The scope of bilingualism is quite wide; it cannot be restricted to linguistics only and it cannot be brought under the single discipline of the study of language.

Topic – 063: Bilinguality vs. Bilingualism

Bilinguality vs. bilingualism can be termed as individual vs. collective phenomena. Romaine's differentiation of both is as bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication. This access is multidimensional as it varies along a number of psychological and sociological dimensions. Relevant dimensions that need to be kept in mind include:

1. Relative competence
2. Cognitive organisation
3. Age of acquisition
4. Exogeneity
5. Social cultural status
6. Cultural identity

The Measurement of Bilinguality

It must take into consideration the definition of bilinguality that is, it should assess a psychological state and therefore account for its specificity. According to another differentiation bilinguality is 'psycho-measurement', whereas bilingualism is the logical state of the individual who has access to more than one linguistic code. There are reasons to believe that the bilingual is more than the sum of two monolinguals and that his behaviour displays some unique characteristics.

Topic – 064: Bi/Multilingualism and Sociolinguistics

Multilingualism is the use of more than one language by a single individual or community. In the popular imagination and in linguistic theory, multilingualism is often assumed to be an anomalous, exceptional practice. Monolingualism, on the other hand has been taken as the natural human condition. Yet, both historically and currently, most of the world's communities and a majority of speakers are multilingual to a greater or lesser extent.

The biblical story of Babel suggests a much older distrust of multilingualism in the Western tradition. A single, universal language was seen as the gift of paradise, while linguistic diversity and hence the need for multilingualism were presented as divine punishment for human arrogance. In the contemporary world, increasing flows of migrants, tighter economic ties across the globe and the formation of multinational units such as the European Union undermine the nation state and its legitimating ideologies. There is increasing recognition of the high incidence and practical advantages of multilingualism.

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A Tour of Multilingual Practices: Beyond Eurocentrism

Native South America is a good place to start for studying the relations between language, territory and culture/ethnicity. In the Vaupés area of the north-west Amazon, between Colombia and Brazil, the indigenous population lives in longhouses that shelter 4- 8 nuclear families and are located several hours' distance from each other over rough rainforest terrain. According to anthropologist Jean Jackson (1974), in the 1970s the native population of 10,000 was divided into over twenty mutually exclusive groups, each with a distinct name and a distinct language that was not mutually intelligible.

A similar role is played by multilingualism at our next stop, Aboriginal Australia. But assumptions about the relation between language and territory are different. It is not uncommon for one person to speak four or five languages in north Queensland, even in areas where languages differ greatly in vocabulary and grammar. Routine multilingualism has long been bolstered by the practice of obtaining spouses from faraway places.

Even within current nation states, and current nation-state language ideology, there are diverse cultural conceptions about the relation between language and a speaker's identity. Example can be given of the village of Kupwar, in Maharashtra province, near the Mysore border in India is an example. Here Marathi is the main language of government, trade and schooling. But in Kupwar, with a population of 3,000 (in the 1960s), there are four languages:

1. Landowners and craftsmen are Kannada-speaking.
2. Muslim minority speaks Urdu.
3. Landless labourers are Marathi-speakers.
4. Rope makers speak Telugu.

All local men are bi- or multilingual but many women are not. Linguists identify the 4 languages of the village as originating from 2 distinct language families (Dravidian, Indo-Aryan) and their standard forms are mutually unintelligible. But they have coexisted in here for some 400 years.

Topic – 65: Measuring Bilingualism

There are certain issues related to the measurement of bilingualism. Bilingualism is a complex phenomenon and equally complex is the issue of the measurement of bilingualism. The definition of a bilingual varies from a person's ability to use a few words of L2 to a person's proficiency in the use of two or more languages. Kachru (1969) has also discussed different types of bilingualism, and he refers to the continuum of bilingualism using three measuring points: a zero point, a central and an upper point (p.284). Zero point refers to competence in very restricted domains such as counting. Richards (1974) gives the example of African market women who have a very limited knowledge of English that they use to attract the customers towards the items they are selling.

In the Philippines context the level of 'halo-halo' (mix-mix) speech is another example. Also in Saudi Arabia, during hajj when people from all over the world gather the local shopkeepers use their limited English to communicate. On the central point Kachru (1969) places the law courts, administration,

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civil servants and teachers. The upper level is of those who can use English effectively for social control such as government officials. To Fishman (1972), “If the frequency of an event can be cited as an indication of its "normalcy” then societal bilingualism is obviously a normal phenomenon”. “It is present in almost all countries and is dominant in a goodly number. It is also evidenced by the spread of lingua franca such as English into non- English mother tongue countries trough out the world.”

-

Skills			**Levels**	
Phonological /Grammatical	Lexical	Semantic	Stylistic	Graphic
AB	AB	AB	AB	AB

Mackey’s model accommodates a wide range of differences in a bilingual’s skills, or level / degree of bilingualism. Romaine (1995,p.12) asserts that any description of bilingualism must address four aspects:

1. Degree
2. Function,
3. Alternation,
4. Interference

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Lesson 14

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND USE OF CODES

Topic- 066: Code Switching and Sociolinguistics

We already know that code means a dialect or language that a person chooses to use on any occasion. Code means a system used for communication between two or more parties. This implies one speaker can have more codes. People may switch from one code to another or to mix codes even within sometimes very short utterances and thereby create a new code in a process known as code-switching.

Code-switching is a linguistic strategy of bilingual or multilingual speakers that is used to make switches between two or more languages depending on audience, setting and purpose. It can be called the "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems" (Gumperz, 1982, p.59) According to Yua (1997), within a single communicative exchange the use of more than one language is called code-switching. According to Titone (1991), "Code-switching may take a variety of forms: a set of utterances in one language is followed by a set of utterances in the other, one single utterance in one language is followed by one single utterance in the other".

As an example we can talk about a multilingual country, Singapore, where the ability to shift from one language to another is considered to be quite normal. There are four official languages: English, the Mandarin variety of Chinese, Tamil, and Malay, which is also national language. However, majority are the speakers of Hokkien, another variety of Chinese. National policy promotes English as a trade language, Mandarin as the international 'Chinese' language, Malay as the language of the region, and Tamil as the language of one of the important ethnic groups in the republic. What this means for a 'typical' Chinese child growing up in Singapore is:

- He or she is likely to speak Hokkien with parents
- Informal Singapore English with siblings
- Conversation with friends will be in Hokkien.
- The languages of education will be the local standard variety of English (Standard Singapore English) and Mandarin.
- Any religious practices will be conducted in Standard Singapore English if the family is Christian, but in Hokkien if Buddhist or Taoist.
- The language of government employment will be Standard Singapore English but some Mandarin will be used from time to time.
- Shopping will be carried out in Hokkien, Singlish, and the 'bazaar' variety of Malay used throughout the region.
- Thus, the linguistic situation in Singapore offers those who live there a wide choice.

Main types of code switching are as follows:

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- Intra-sentential Switching: This takes place within the boundaries of a sentence or a clause. This is limited to the mixing of words or phrases of one language into the other.
- Inter-sentential Switching: This takes place at the boundary of sentences or clauses. So, te speaker switches from one language to the other as he or he moves from one sentence/ clause to the other.
- Tag Switching: This kind of switching involves the use of a tag or a tag question from language B while speaking in language A.

According to Wardhaugh (1992), there are two types of switching:

1. Situational = when the languages used change according to the situations the speakers find themselves in
2. Metaphorical= a change of topic requires a change of code

Topic – 067: Code Mixing and Sociolinguistics

Referring to the different characteristics and features of code-mixing, various linguists have defined it in different ways. For instance Odlin (1989) asserts, "Language mixing is the merging of characteristics of two or more languages in any verbal communication." In contrast to this loosely constructed definition, Hammink (2000) defines intrasentential switching (code-mixing) as switching that takes place at the clause, phrase level, or at word level if no morphological adaptation occurs. Wardhaugh (1992) characterizes that code mixing occurs when during conversation, speakers use both languages together to the extent that they shift from one language to the other in the course of a single utterance. Code-mixing is one of the major kinds of language choice that is subtler than code-switching. In code-mixed sentences, pieces of one language are used while a speaker is basically using another language. According to Fasold, these pieces of the other language are often words, however they can be phrases or clauses. Code mixing is a frequent phenomenon in most parts of the world, particularly in South Asian countries.

For instance Hong Kong is an oft-quoted example where code-mixing is frequent. Though both Chinese and English are official languages in Hong Kong, spoken English does not appear in daily communication in general, and there is peer pressure against using English (except code-mixing) for oral communication among Hong Kong people. Code-mixing done in Cantonese is of insertional nature. Secondly, if there are no alternate expressions in informal Cantonese, code-mixed English sometimes serves "gap-filling function" For example "佢有 offer 啦" means "He got a job offer", when two fresh-graduates are talking about job seeking, as there is no informal Cantonese for "job offer". Thirdly, English is mixed to avoid unpleasant words. For example: 1. 去 toilet/ washroom (avoid "廁所")[3] . All these three characteristics can be observed in Urdu/ English code-

English nouns are frequently inserted in Urdu. Same happens in the case of other languages. Here are some examples from Welsh-English data:

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- t'isio mynd â'r carrier bags?
- D'you want to take the carrier bags?
- mae'n hope less
- It's hopeless
- dw i'n suppportio Cymru
- I support Wales
- Mae o'n reit camouflaged yndydi?
- He's quite camouflaged, isn't he?

Wardhaugh (1992, p.107-8) too has cited several examples from Pfaff (1979) of code mixing among Spanish –English bilinguals.

1. *No van a* bring it up in the meeting.
   They are not going to bring it up in the meeting.
2. *Todos los Mexicanos* were riled up.
   All the Mexicans were riled up.
3. dw i'n suppportio Cymru
   I support Wales
4. Mae o'n reit camouflaged yndydi?
   He's quite camouflaged, isn't he?

Topic – 068: Tag Switching

Tag switching means the insertion of a tag of one language into an utterance that is otherwise in the other language. For example:

- *main yeh kubhi nuhin kurun ga,* no way
- 'I'll never do this, no way'.
- I mean *mujhay lagta hai woh jhut bol ruha tha*
- 'I mean I think he was telling a lie'.

"Since tags are subject to minimal syntactic restrictions, they may be inserted at a number of points in a monolingual utterance without violating syntactic rules" (Romaine, 1995 p. 122). As far as the mixing of Urdu and English in Pakistan is concerned, it is significant that despite frequent mixing of both the languages tag mixing is comparatively less frequent.

Topic – 069: Why Code Switching and Mixing?

Why do people switch from one language to the other? There can be various reasons but mainly they switch in response to some kind of triggering. May be due to a new addressee or a new topic or a domain that demands one language rather than another or the internal needs of the speaker himself.

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Code-switching can arise from individual choice or can be used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers who must deal with more than one language in their common pursuits. According to Gal (1988), code-switching is a conversational strategy that is used for following purposes:

- To establish, cross or destroy group boundaries
- To create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations

Code- Mixing

Why do people mix one language in the other?
Nature or choice of the mixed elements varies due to certain factors such as:

- Motivation
- Discourse functions
- Social standing of the group
- Speaker
- Setting

Apart from these social reasons there can be pure linguistic reasons such as the nature of languages in contact, the semantic, lexical and syntactical constrains of each language involved. According to Trudgill (2000), "speakers switch to manipulate or influence or define the situation as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention" (p.105). Linguistic choices in code mixing are not only determined by the immediate context needs but also by the broader context of culture. Sometimes the users of a code feel that certain lexical items, or combinations (of the code do not adequately convey what they want to convey in a specific situation, so, they substitute. Code-mixing is a role- dependent and situation dependent device. It is used when the user feels that items from another code will enable him to participate in a situation in a better way by establishing a communicative intimacy.

Another motivational force behind mixing is the prestige factor. Prestige is attached to a language; and people insert the words of that language in their base language. Also, in order to develop intimacy and communication friendliness with the other participant/s a speaker/participant may code-mix. It is used as a tool for creating linguistic solidarity. It functions as a bridge that builds solidarity. A switch or a mix can also be made to convey a specific attitude to the listener. It can be equated with the change in degrees of formality in speech in monolingual speakers.

Topic – 070: Hybridization

Language hybridization, as the very word 'hybrid' indicates, refers to the process of the fusion of two languages. In fact language hybridization is a product of code-mixing. Maschler (1998) defines code-mixing or a mixed code as using two languages so that "a third, new code emerges, in which elements from the two languages are incorporated into a structurally definable pattern". In other words, when two codes are mixed, they constitute a third code that has structural characteristics special to that new code. Bakhtin (1981) asserts, "an utterance that belongs, by its grammatical and compositional markers to a single speaker, but that actually contains two utterances, two speech manners, two styles, two 'languages,' two semantic and axiological belief systems" is language hybridization. This 'lect' according to him

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comprises utterances in both languages or utterances that are mixed as well as the utterances that are in a single language. So, this 'lect' is the language of this speech community.

Thirumalai (2004) claims, "In the process of hybridization, the boundaries of two languages blur but the individual who uses the hybridized form consciously as a routine matter, and the participants in the speech event, take it as a natural single unit". This haziness of boundaries is not considered abnormal or strange. A very important aspect of this fusion of boundaries is that with a conscious effort some users of the hybridized variety may keep separate the languages involved, but it is not possible for all the users and it may prove to be difficult. A new hybridized code can emerge as a result of consistent code-mixing. These processes of language alternation and hybridization generate some other related processes such as language desertion.

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Lesson 15

SOCIAL CORRELATES AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 071: Social Class as a Social Correlate

Social class is a central concept in sociolinguistic research, one of the small number of social variables by which speech communities are stratified. Trudgill(1974) asserts, "most members of our society have some kind of idea, intuitive or otherwise, of what social class is," and both specialists and laypeople agree. Social class is often defined in an ad hoc way which is very ironic because it is a very important variable in sociolinguistic studies. Despite the lack of a consensus of definition of social class, it is a significant term in Sociolinguistics.

Social class is a measure of status which is often based on occupation, income and wealth, but also can be measured in terms of aspirations and mobility. There are certain theoretical considerations in this regard in modern times that are sparked by the dramatic reorganization of society and have resulted from the industrial revolution during the 2nd half of the eighteenth century. The notion of social class has certain intellectual basis in theories of social and political economies dating from the nineteenth century. Theories of social class are associated with figures like Karl Marx and Max Weber. The term sociology was coined in 1838 by Auguste Comte, a French philosopher and social reformer.

Nearly a century and a half later Wright (1979) quoted Stinchcombe as saying that "Sociology has only one independent variable, class". Karl Marx (1818, p.83) developed the first and one of the most influential theories of social class. Marx drew a fundamental distinction between those who produce capital or resources and those who control the production of capital which others produce. In the former are the working class (Marx's proletariat, derived from a word meaning 'worker') and the latter, the middle class (Marx's capitalists).

Max Weber (1864–1920) is the second "classical" theorist of social class. While Marx promulgated socialism, Weber supported industrial capitalism. He was opposed to socialism. He agreed with Marx that ownership or non-ownership of property is fundamental in determining a class, but he added the dimensions of power and prestige as interacting factors creating hierarchies.

Two central components of social class are:

1. The objective, economic measures of property ownership and the power and control it confers on its possessor
2. The subjective measures of prestige, reputation, and status

The most simplistic social classification is based on occupational categories, with non-manual ("white collar") occupations being rated higher than manual ("blue collar") occupations.

Treatments of Social Class: There are various examples such as: the New York City department store survey. The study by Labov (1972) was unique in that three strata defined by prestige were established.

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Subjects were randomly recruited from within each stratum. Stratification was defined by the prestige of the three New York City stores that were studied, Saks Fifth, Avenue, Macy's, and Klein's. Prestige of stores was determined on the basis of these independent factors:

- location of the store
- amount of advertising
- relative cost of goods
- form of prices quoted in advertising copy
- relative emphasis on prices

Another example is of Philadelphia: The neighborhood study. Five neighborhoods were selected to represent the range of community types within urban area. One block in each neighborhood was selected as an entry point to the community. The categories are as follows:

Education

5 Professional school
4 College graduate
3 Some college
2 High school graduate
1 Some high school
0 Grammar school

Occupation

6 Professional, owner-director of large firm
5 White collar – proprietor, manager
4 White collar – merchant, foreman, sales
3 Blue collar – skilled
2 Blue collar – unskilled
1 Unemployed

Measuring social class is possible in different ways. It may include factors as people's accommodation, the occupation, role as the primary breadwinner in their family etc.

Topic – 072: Gender as a Social Correlate

During the last twenty years there has been an explosion of interest in relationship between gender and language use. The interest has increased so much that now it is hard to believe that early sociolinguistic work ignored gender as a social variable. Their androcentrism sprang from a sense that men and people were the same thing. A 'Male-as-norm' approach was taken; and women tended to be invisible in sociolinguistic research. This changed in the 1970s with the publication of an article – later a book – Language and Woman's Place (1975) by Robin Lakoff, a female sociolinguist based at the University of California, Berkeley.

Lakoff drew attention to a wide range of gender differences in language use and argued that these differences were directly related to the relative social power of male speakers and relative

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powerless-ness of female speakers. Lakoff's work now seems dated. In particular her emphasis on the powerlessness of female speakers is out of tune with modern attitudes. But the book remains an important landmark in sociolinguistics.

Today, there is a shift in the concept. Sociolinguists now distinguish between sex – a biological term – and gender, the term used to describe socially constructed categories based on sex. The first British sociolinguist to make an impact with this quantitative sociolinguistic approach was Peter Trudgill. His work on his native city, Norwich showed whatever their social class, men in Norwich tended to choose pronunciations which were closer to the local vernacular and less close to Standard English. He argued on the basis of these findings that non-standard speech must have covert prestige, in competition with the overt prestige of Standard English. Sociolinguists in the 1980s turned their attention to broader aspects of talk such as the conversational strategies characteristic of male and female speakers. Following are some strategies that were investigated:

- Minimal responses (e.g. yeah, mhm),
- Hedges (e.g. I mean, you know, maybe)
- Tag questions (e.g. isn't it?,
- Commands
- Directives
- Swearing
- Taboo language
- Compliments
- Turn-taking patterns

Today, some stereotype notions are challenged. For example, the generally prevalent notion that women as chatterboxes is challenged by research in different contexts.

Differing approaches to language and gender:

- Deficit approach
- Dominance approach
- Difference approach
- Social constructionist approach

Recent developments in the area include that gender is now conceptualized as something that is 'done'. It is now believed to be never too static; and is produced actively; and is in interaction with others every day of our lives. In the past, researchers aimed to show how gender correlated with the use of particular linguistic features. Now, the aim is to show how speakers use the linguistic resources available to them to accomplish gender. Every time we speak, we have to bring off being a woman or being a man.

Topic – 073: Age as a Social Correlate

Of all global categories employed in investigations of language variation, age is perhaps the least examined and the least understood in sociolinguistic terms. Unlike gender, ethnicity or social class, age is

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often approached uncritically and treated as a biological fact with which to categorize speakers, and against which other facets of our identity are played out. Age is a fundamental dimension of our social and personal identities. Legislatively speaking, it is our age that will influence what we should and should not do. Our age determines if we can vote, drive, marry and go to school or work.

It can influence what types of clothes we wear, places we go, and ways we speak. Our age is clearly more than a number – it marks our position in and our movement through the trajectory of life, which is seen in relation to societal norms of behaviour, obligation and responsibility. A close estimate at someone's age from their voice quality and their linguistic behavior is quite possible. It suggests that we are responsive to cues from phonetic/ phonological features, grammatical structures and lexical items, and we use such cues to locate speakers in the span of ages.

Life span is commonly divided into four stages:

- infancy/childhood,
- adolescence
- adulthood
- old age

The acquisition of language and of communicative competence during infancy and childhood is a vast area of enquiry. The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence is less well understood and is a fairly recent field of study. Studies show that age can affect acquisition of certain patterns of variation. Payne's (1980) work in King of Prussia, Philadelphia, revealed: children moving into the area before the age of 8 or 9 were able to acquire certain local vowel shifts. In terms of language development in children, Labov (1972) suggests that acquisition of the local dialect takes place from the ages of 4 to 13, when speech patterns are dominated by the pre-adolescent group.

Adolescence is perhaps the most researched life stage. According to Eckert (1998), adolescents lead the entire age spectrum in sound change and in the general use of vernacular variables, and this lead is attributed to adolescents' engagement in constructing identities in opposition to or at least independently of – their elders. Adulthood covers the gulf between adolescence and old age, and it is perhaps the least explored life stage. The movement through adulthood, which can be shaped by stages in career development and parenthood, is largely unexamined. As far as old age is concerned, in terms of language, old age is often approached from a clinical perspective: studies on the effects of loss of hearing or Aphasia etc. Little sociolinguistic work has been undertaken on old age as a life stage. The speaker's age-related place in society is complex, and the linguistic life course that he or she moves through is experienced both as an individual speaker and as part of an age cohort.

Issue is that unlike some facets of our identity, our age is never static. It is constantly moving onward. Furthermore, the socio-psychological process of ageing is not fixed. The possibly because of the dynamic, elusive, ever-changing nature of age and the ageing process, the complex relationship between movement through life and changing linguistic behaviour is not well understood in sociolinguistics.

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Topic – 074: Ethnic Varieties as Social Correlates

It may appear that the association of language with ethnic group affiliation is one of the more obvious relationships between language and culture. Practically all of the approximately 6,000 languages of the world, for example, are strongly associated with an ethno-cultural group of some type.

But, this initial transparency is betrayed by the fact that language is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for ethnic group membership (Fishman, 1999). Like sociocultural borders, linguistic boundaries are negotiated constructs typically defined more on the basis of socio-political and ideological considerations than on the basis of structural linguistic parameters. Even the dichotomy between 'language' and 'dialect' is based more on cultural and political issues= than on mutual intelligibility or structural linguistic properties.

Example: Sino-Tibetan language varieties such as Cantonese and Mandarin = dialects of Chinese = though not mutually intelligible. But Norwegian and Swedish are different languages though speakers understand each other. In the former case, there is an overarching cultural unity that transcends linguistic typology whereas, in the latter case, there is a national political border that reifies minimal structural diversity in linguistic varieties. There are various examples of sociopolitical struggles about language such as Afrikaans in South Africa, French and English in Canada, African American English (so-called 'Ebonics') in the United States etc. All these are not about language only, but about ideology, identity, and sociopolitical power.

Ethnic Group Affiliation

It is often difficult to separate ethnicity from other social factors such as historical background, region, social class, and other sociocultural variables.

Examples:

1. The variety labelled Irish English may have a strong association with cultural background, region, and politics in the British Isles
2. African American English in the United States is strongly linked to demographic racial categories, social status, and region.
3. Invariably, ethnicity interacts with a wide array of other social, historical, and socio-psychological factors and is embedded within an intricate set of sociocultural relationships, processes, and identities.

The definition of an ethnic group is very difficult but it can be recognized through following parameters:

1. Origins that precede or are external to the state
2. Group membership that is involuntary
3. Ancestral tradition rooted in a shared sense of peoplehood
4. Distinctive value orientations and behavioural patterns
5. Influence of the group on the lives of its members
6. Group membership influenced by how members define themselves and are defined by others.

(National Council of Social Studies, Task Force on Ethnic Studies 1976).

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Also, ethnicity is defined by social practice rather than personal attributes. According to Fought (2002), it is 'not about what one is but about what one does' that is the primary basis for establishing ethnicity.

Topic – 075: Speech Communities, Social Networks and Communities of Practice

A good starting point for considering what constitutes a speech community is to clarify what a speech community is not. Speech communities do not exist simply because individuals share the same language or dialect. Although this idea was put forward as an early definition of a speech community (Lyons 1970) it is a view that is easily refuted. As Wardhaugh (2005, p.120) points out, whilst English is spoken in various places throughout the world (South Africa, Canada, New Zealand, etc.), English-speakers in these countries cannot be said to constitute a speech community as they speak in a variety of different ways and are isolated from one another. Wardhaugh also makes the crucial point that if speech communities are defined solely upon the basis of linguistic criteria, then such a definition is guilty of circularity. In order to come to a justifiable sociolinguistic definition of a speech community, categories other than just language need to be considered. One of the earliest definitions of a speech community in modern-day sociolinguistics was Labov's (1972b), based on the findings of his Lower East Side New York study (Labov, 1966). His significant and oft-cited classification moves the focus away from the problems associated with a purely linguistic definition:

> 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 behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.
>
> Labov (1972b, p.120–1)

In order for a speech community to exist, Labov makes clear, speakers do not have to agree about the language they use or speak in the same way, but they do have to be in agreement about evaluative norms. He discovered that whilst selected linguistic variables were being pronounced differently by members of the different social class groupings, when examining different speech styles speakers from all social class groups style-shifted in the same way, using more variants that were non-standard when speaking in the most informal style, and vice versa. Therefore, whilst speakers were using language in different ways, there was evidence of shared evaluations, with speakers from all the differing social classes evaluating the standard language forms in the same way, using the most prestigious forms with greater frequency in the most formal and therefore the most self-conscious situations.

Whilst Labov's definition has been highly influential, it has also been subjected to a good deal of criticism. Britain and Matsumoto (2005, p.07) point out that Labov's work has been criticized for excluding non-natives of New York from his sample, which can crucially 'mask the very origins of some linguistic changes that are under way in the community'. Furthermore, they observe that Labov's framework presumes a consensus model of society, whereby those lower-class speakers simply share the values of the upper middle classes. The Milroys are commonly associated with the alternative conflict model which posits that there are distinct divisions existing between unequal social groups in society, maintained by language ideologies, which result in conflict. Such conflict is hidden by the promotion of a

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consensus view of shared linguistic norms. Patrick (2001) disagrees with the Milroys' critique of the consensus model, arguing that Labov actually stressed the pressure of standard norms and did not intend to prescribe uniformity. However, he does acknowledge that Labov never raises the issue of speakers' resistance to standard language norms. Despite the criticisms that have been cited at Labov's work, there is no doubt that his definition was seminal, and thus still deserves detailed acknowledgement and consideration.

As well as being a key concept in larger-scale quantitative sociolinguistic studies such as Labov's, the speech community concept has also been used within qualitative, ethnographic sociolinguistic studies, influenced by the work of Hymes (1972, 1974). Saville-Troike (2003) highlights the centrality of the concept of the speech community to researchers working within the sociolinguistic subdiscipline of the ethnography of communication. She argues that research in this paradigm investigates how 'communication is patterned and organised within a speech community' (2003, p.14) with the findings then being applied to wider social and cultural issues. She defines a 'community'and then a 'speech community' in the following manner:

> The essential criterion for 'community' is that some significant dimension of experience has to be shared, and for the 'speech community' that the shared dimension be related to ways in which members of the group use, value or interpret language.
>
> (Saville-Troike, 2003, p.15)

Echoes of Labov's ideas can clearly be seen here, with the emphasis upon a shared sense of evaluative experience, though this definition goes further than Labov's in terms of highlighting shared language use. She goes on to coin what she terms an informal typology of 'hard-shelled' and 'soft-shelled' speech communities (2003, p.16). Hard-shelled communities have strong boundaries which allow only minimal interaction between outsiders and members of the speech community, thus serving to preserve the norms of language and culture. In contrast, soft-shelled communities have much weaker boundaries and are thus less likely to preserve existing language and cultural norms.

Another important issue that Saville-Troike raises is that of speech community membership. Patrick (2001) points out that she is the first to pose the question of simultaneous membership of different speech communities, as well as acknowledging that speech communities may very well overlap with one another (Saville- Troike, 1982). In order to come up with a comprehensive model of a speech community, Patrick (2001, p.591) argues, 'intermediate structures' of speech communities need to be conceptualized. Considering how speech communities overlap is a means of doing this, as is another related concept, termed 'nesting'. Santa Ana and Parodi (1998) develop nesting, in conjunction with adapting and reworking Labov's model. They characterize four 'nested fields' (p.23), used to signify points where groups of speakers are embedded with one another. They use phonological linguistic criteria to specify the differing nested levels of their model which 'reflects certain social strata and other structural features of society' (p.34). Their speech community typology is based upon the mutual evaluation of variables as being 'stigmatized', 'regional' or 'standard' in Mexican Spanish dialect, and from this they distinguish the four nests: 'locale', 'vicinity', 'district' and 'national' (p.35). They argue that their typology can be of use not just in the Mexican Spanish setting but also in a wide range of sociolinguistic settings.

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It is a promising model that has much research potential. The examination of nested models concludes the first part of the chapter. I will now move on to consider social networks and communities of practice, bringing out points of comparison and contrast with the speech communities model.

Social Networks

The social networks model offers a far less abstract framework than that of the speech community. It focuses on the social ties that specific speakers have with each other, and examines how these ties affect speakers' linguistic usage. A key component of the social network model is measuring its *strength*, calculated by classifying whether networks are 'dense' or 'loose', as well as whether they are 'uniplex' or 'multiplex' (Milroy, 2001, p. 550). A network is dense if members that you interact with each other otherwise, it is loose. If members know each other in more than one way, for example, they work together and are members of the same family, and then the links are multiplex as opposed to uniplex. Dense and multiplex social networks tend to support localized linguistic norms, and they function as a method of norm reinforcement, whereby linguistic and other social norms are maintained by members of the network. In contrast, in loose and uniplex social networks, language change will be more likely to occur, owing to the lack of norm reinforcement. Milroy and Gordon (2003) argue that migration, war, industrialization and urbanization have caused disruption of close-knit, localized networks.

The social network model is most commonly associated with the Milroys'work in Belfast (Milroy and Milroy, 1978; Milroy, 1987). Instead of using the method of social stratification, the Milroys focused solely on working-class speakers. They gave each speaker a network strength score designed to measure the density and multiplexity of a network, focusing on social factors including kinship ties andwhether individuals socialized with their workmates. Milroy (1980) found that those with the highest network strength scores maintained local vernacular norms the most. In the three different locations she examined (Ballymacarrett, the Hammer and the Clonard), she found that males in Ballymacarrett had the strongest dense and multiplex social networks and used vernacular norms most frequently, a consequence of their close social ties, resulting from good levels of male employment in the shipyard industry. This contrasted with the other two locations where male unemployment was high. Females in the Clonard also had high frequency of vernacular norms owing to employment in the linen industry, contrasting again with high levels of unemployment in the other two locations. The close social networks of the men and women in these different locations can therefore be seen to be acting as norm reinforcement mechanisms.

Communities of Practice

The communities of practice approach were initially developed by educationalists Lave and Wenger (1991). It was brought into sociolinguistic study by Eckert and Ginet (1992) originally for the purposes of language and gender research. Whilst it has been especially dominant in language and gender studies (see Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003), it has also been successfully applied in other areas of sociolinguistic research (see Mendoza Denton 1997; Holmes and Marra 2002). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet define a community of practice as:

> An aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short – practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. (Eckert & Ginet 1992, p.464)

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In contrast with speech communities and social networks, in the communities of practice model there is a distinct focus on examining language as a form of practice. Communities of practice can develop out of formal or informal enterprises, and members can be either 'core' or 'peripheral', depending on their levels of integration. Communities of practice can survive changes in membership, they can be small or large, and they can come into existence and go out of existence. In a later empirical study, Eckert (2000) argues that a community of practice is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the shared practices that its members partake in. The value of the community of practice as a theoretical construct rests on 'the focus it affords on the mutually constitutive nature of the individual, group, activity and meaning' (2000, p.35). In a further development of the original approach, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) point out that the notion of a community of practice can also extend to more global communities, such as academic fields, religions or professions. However, they point out that owing to the 'size' and 'dispersion' of these global communities, 'face-to-face interactions never link all members', and 'their "focal" practices are somewhat diffuse' (1999, p.189). There is therefore a need to concentrate on how meaning is made at a more local level. In order to achieve this, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) believe that researchers should adopt an ethnographic approach to data collection. They accuse largescale quantitative studies (such as Labov's work) of overgeneralizing, resulting in the perpetuation of stereotypes. (p.485)

Wenger (1998) expands upon the community of practice framework by producing a set of useful criteria. He first defines three dimensions of 'practice' that need to be fulfilled in order to make up 'community of practice': 'mutual engagement', a 'joint negotiated enterprise' and a 'shared repertoire' (1998, p.73). He then further details the concept by proposing that the following fourteen points operate as 'indicators that a community of practice has formed':

- Sustained mutual relationships – harmonious or conflictual.
- Shared ways of engaging in doing things together.
- The rapid flow of information and propagation of innovation.
- Absence of introductory preambles, as if conversations and interactions were merely the continuation of an on-going process.
- Very quick set-up of a problem to be discussed.
- Substantial overlap in participants' descriptions of who belongs.
- Knowing what others know, what they can do, and how they can contribute to an enterprise.
- Mutually defining identities.
- The ability to assess the appropriateness of actions or products.
- Louise Mullany
- Specific tools, representations and other artifacts.
- Local lore, shared stories, inside jokes, knowing laughter.
- Jargon and short cuts to communication as well as the ease of producing new ones.
- Certain styles recognized as displaying membership.
- A shared discourse reflecting a certain perspective on the world.

(Wenger 1998, p.125–6)

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The communities of practice approach is very useful for producing small-scale, ethnographic studies, but researchers have been accused of paying too much attention to the complexities of specific situations at the expense of being able to make broader observations concerning more than just a handful of subjects. These arguments can be seen as reflecting age-old debates concerning the pros and cons of quantitative versus qualitative research.

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Lesson 16

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 076: Language and Identity

If we take the position that linguistic communities are not homogeneous and consensual, rather they are heterogeneous and conflicted, we need to understand how power is implicated in relationships between individuals, communities, and nations. This is directly relevant to our understanding of the relationship between language and identity. Bourdieu (1977) notes, the value ascribed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks, and the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from larger networks of social relationships.

Every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space. What is implicated in this negotiation of identity?

- gender
- race
- class
- ethnicity
- sexual orientation
- age

Weedon (1997) states that, it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across a range of sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to or is denied access to powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. Linguistic identities as double-edged swords: They function in a positive and productive way to give people a sense of belonging. They define an "us" in opposition to a "them". As a means of communicating values, beliefs and customs, language has an important social function and fosters feelings of group identity and solidarity.It is the means by which culture and its traditions and shared values may be conveyed and preserved.

Topic – 077: Dialects and Identity

Notions of language and dialect are closely related to the issues of identity. There are social dialects and regional dialects which relate to the idea of identity in various ways. Dyer's (2000, 2002) and Wassink and Dyer's (2004) studies of communities in Corby, UK, Kingston, and Jamaica, utilize language ideology model in two very different dialect contact contexts.

Dyer's (2000) study of Corby investigated changes occurring in the local English dialect due to the immigration of large numbers of Scots to work in a newly built steelworks in the town. (Corby is around100 miles north of London and 300 miles south of Glasgow, Scotland.) A major point of study was

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the social significance or meaning of the identity projected by young Corby people who sounded Scottish but had no Scottish ancestry. It is interesting since Scottish, and more particularly Glaswegian English (from whence many of the Corby migrants hailed) is often viewed as a stigmatized variety (Macaulay, 1977). Wassink and Dyer (2004) further examined how phonological features in Kingston and Corby, considered stigmatized by some speakers because of their association with either a rural Jamaican or a Scottish background, were apparently being used as symbols of local pride by the younger generations.

A variationist analysis of the data from these studies might have concluded that speakers were indexing a Scottish identity in using Scottish variants, or a rural identity in the use of traditionally rural variants in the Jamaican context. However, an analysis of speaker ideologies showed that the salient social categories for speakers had changed over time. The opposition between Scottish and English that was salient for the oldest speakers in the Corby study had apparently been replaced by an opposition between Corby and the neighbouring town of Kettering for the youngest speakers. The perception of identity that sociolinguists have now is more complex than at the outset. But, also undoubtedly it is more satisfying and more explanatory of variation.

Topic – 078: Language, Style Variation and Socio-Psychological Factors

According to Labov, "style is treated as a result of the amount of attention that speakers pay to their speech". Labov conducted a survey of English in New York City (1966). He recorded over a hundred speakers with different styles of speaking from a person within a single interview. Respondents carried out a series of language tasks, each designed to focus increasing amounts of attention on their speech. Labov believed that when speakers were talking to someone else rather than to the interviewer, or when they were particularly involved in the topic, they would be paying least attention to their speech their style was of 'casual' speech.

When answering interview questions, they were paying more attention to how they were speaking; and it was a 'careful' style. When they were reading aloud a short story they still paid more attention to their speech. Reading out a list of isolated words focused even more attention, and reading minimal pairs – words which differ by only one sound, such as batter and better – would draw the maximum amount of attention. Labov found that his interviewees shifted their pronunciation of salient linguistic variables as they moved across these five styles. So the choice between a standard *-ing* pronunciation and a conversational *-in*' (*crying*) changed across the different styles.

Sociolinguists like Coupland and Bell discovered that social psychologists of language were also doing research on language style. Although their linguistic analyses were unsophisticated, the social psychologists' explanations of why speakers shift style were more satisfying than Labov's. A New-Zealand sociolinguist Bell (1984) was the first to present an account of stylistic variation based on 'Audience Design framework' which is today the most widely used approach to language style.

It proposes that the main reason speakers shift their language style is that they are responding to their listeners. This approach grew out of an early study on the language of radio news in New Zealand. At that time (1974) the organization of New Zealand public broadcasting meant that two of the radio stations being studied originated in the same suite of studios in Wellington, with the same newsreaders

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heard on both networks. The 'National Programme' had a higher status audience than did the 'Community Network'.

A quantitative study of newsreaders' pronunciations showed that the newsreaders shifted their style considerably and consistently as they moved back and forth between the two stations (Bell, 1991). Of all the many factors sociolinguists have suggested as possible influences on style (e.g. Hymes, 1974), only differences in the stations' audiences could explain these shifts. And looking beyond this particular study, it seemed clear that the same regularities which were amplified in the media context were also operating in face-to-face communication.

The audience design framework can be summarized Bell (2001) thus:

1. Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people. Style is essentially interactive and social, marking interpersonal and intergroup relations.
2. Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups. The social evaluation of a group is transferred to the linguistic features associated with that group. Styles carry social meanings through their derivation from the language of particular groups.
3. The core of audience design is that speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience. Audience design is generally manifested in a speaker shifting her style to be more like that of the person she is talking to – 'convergence' in terms of accommodation theory.
4. Audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual.
5. Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the 'social' dimension. This axiom claims that quantitative style differences are normally less than differences between social groups.
6. Speakers show a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, and to a lessening degree for other audience members such as auditors and over-hearers.

Topic – 079: Politeness and Sociolinguistics

At the outset we need to consider "What is politeness?". In Linguistics/ Pragmatics politeness is somewhat different from its general concept. Politeness encodes social distance. It tells us who is speaking to whom. It is a social norm and operates on the basis of a set of prescriptive social rules. When we say we can encode social distance through politeness it means that the language choices made by speakers tell us about their social distance from the other interlocuter. Brown and Levinson presented 'Face Theory' which deals with the desire to be liked and not to be imposed. Face threatening acts that are generally called FTAs which are acts which deliberately threaten the face needs of others.

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Topic – 080: Power in Sociolinguistics

Defining Power we may say that it is the ability or capacity to do something or act in a particular way. The term ‘power’ is used in various ways such as "the power of speech”. It can also be defined as “the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behaviour of others or the course of events”. ‘‘Language itself provides us with a way of structuring our experience of ourselves and the world”. And, power can be individual as well as collective. There are various dimensions of power such as:

- Political power
- Economic power
- Cultural power

Issues of power and prestige are closely knitted. Social class, language and power create a triangle that is very interesting for the students of sociolinguistics to create.

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Lesson 17

SOCIO-POLITICAL FACTORS AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 081: Language and Ideology

Ideology is a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy. It is a comprehensive set of normative beliefs, conscious and unconscious ideas, that an individual, group or society has. It is a concept used primarily within the fields of anthropology especially, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and cross-cultural studies to characterize any set of beliefs or feelings about languages as used in their social worlds. Language has a crucial role in the ideological process. Language ideology is the linking element between individuals' knowledge of the world and their social practices, since it mediates individuals' thought and behaviour. According to Hodge, Kress and Jones (1979), ideologies are sets of ideas involved in the ordering of experience, making sense of the world. This order and sense is partial and particular. The systems of ideas which constitute ideologies are expressed through language. Language supplies the models and categories of thought, and in part people's experience of the world is through language (p. 81).

Fairclough (1989) introduces the term Critical Language Study (CLS). It is an attempt to demystify what, through language, may be hidden from people. CLS may help individuals to become aware of the processes of domination through language. The ideological aspect of language does not lie in the linguistic system, which is autonomous, but in the use of language, which is not (Fiorin, 1988). According to Hayakawa (1978): With words "we influence and to an enormous extent control future events. It is for this reason that writers write; preachers preach; employers, parents, and teachers scold; propagandists send out new releases; statesmen give speeches. All of them, for various reasons, are trying to influence our conduct- sometimes for our good, sometimes for their own". (p. 91).

Fairclough (1989) discusses two types of power: coercion and consent. He mentions ideology as the means to obtain consent, since through ideology individuals are led to view reality acritically, alienating themselves from the objective facts. Coercive or direct power may face resistance since the exploitative intention becomes explicit. In the context of the lives of nations issues of language, ideology, and power are interconnected. For example, if we look at our own historical context, language ideology and creation of Pakistan are closely connected.

Topic – 082: The Ideology of Standard Language

The ideology of a standard language is a complex issue. If we look at many widely used languages, such as English, French and Spanish, each possesses a standard variety. This affects how speakers think about their own language and about language in general. Speakers of such widely used languages, unlike speakers of some less well known languages, live in standard language cultures. In such cultures, language attitudes are dominated by powerful ideological positions that are largely based on the supposed existence of this standard form, and these taken together, can be said to constitute the standard language ideology or 'ideology of the standard language'. Speakers are not usually conscious that they are

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conditioned by these ideological positions. Usually, they believe their attitudes to language as common sense and assume that virtually everyone agrees. If we look around we can see that standardization applies to many things such as weights and measures, electrical plugs fittings and factory-made objects. This standardization is desirable for functional reasons. Exact value of each measure should be agreed among users and each relevant object should be exactly the same as others. In fact the process, standardization consists of the imposition of uniformity.

As far as language is concerned, the most important structural property of the standard variety of a language is uniformity or invariance. Ideally, speaking every sound should be pronounced in the same way, and all speakers should use the same grammatical forms and vocabulary items. It also implies that the language should not undergo change. In principle, therefore, when there are two or more variants of some linguistic form, only one of them is admitted into a standard variety.

Example:

- You were and you was
- To standardize = alone it would
- One variant = accepted
- But, which variant?

The choice of one over the other is affected by factors outside the standardization process itself, and these factors, taken together, are what constitute the standard ideology. A standard language is an idealization and the varieties that we call Standard English, Standard French, etc., are not in fact completely invariant or totally immune to change. The ideal of the standard always requires active maintenance, which may slow down the process of language change. Standard varieties are comprehensible much more widely than localized dialects are. Other interrelated and overlapping characteristics include:

- Notion of correctness
- Importance of authority
- Relevance of prestige
- Idea of legitimacy

Topic – 083: Multilingual Societies and Status of Languages

Multilingualism, multilingual practices are interrelated terms. Monolingualism, on the other hand is not a norm. The question arises when more than one languages are used, which one is standard? And why? Standard language and ideology are interconnected issues. Language choices are dominated by powerful ideological positions. Ethnic identities, regional identities, and political perspectives influence language choice. We need to think about the case of Pakistan, and multilingualism and status of different languages in Pakistan.

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Topic – 084: Language and Education

In its broadest sense, the relationship between language and learning begins long before children go to school. At the same time, they are learning how to use it in socially approved ways. They become exposed, through talk, print and the media to the beliefs and values of their community. Children living in a multilingual environment find it more complex. They learn at an early age how to draw on their different languages in various ways, depending on the context and who they are talking to.

Talk and Literacy in the Classroom

Most classroom business takes place in language. Various activities including teaching the curriculum or managing groups of students are mediated through dialogue or turn-taking which can be called Initiation–Response–Feedback (IRF) according to Sinclair and Coulthard 1975. In this way, teachers and students construct a body of shared knowledge about the topic.

The Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1962) saw language as both a cultural tool, which inducts children into the shared knowledge and understandings of their society, and also a psychological tool, which extends their learning and development. The ways in which they take part in classroom talk and literacy activities, are shaped by their sense of gender, social class, or ethnic identity and the ways in which they feel positioned within classroom discourse. Right from the beginning of schooling, students are shifted by teachers towards using more literate forms of language. Psychologists like David Olson have argued that the acquisition of literacy is enormously important for children and for society; it leads to more abstract, explicit, rational, scientific thinking.

Language in and out of School

Many children experience striking differences between language and literacy practices at home and school. In multilingual communities they may be educated through a second or third language. When it comes to monolingual children, the language variety they speak, and the ways in which they use language, do not fit well with expectations in the classroom. For example**,** in the 1960s and 1970s the British sociologist Basil Bernstein (1971, 1977, see also 1996) suggested that the reason why so many working-class children were failing in the British educational system was that they grew up learning what he called a restricted code, in contrast to the elaborated code also acquired by middle-class children. These different codes provided contrasting ways of taking meaning from the world. Bernstein describes how working-class children learn a restricted code in position-oriented families where social control is exercised through the authority of parents and fixed-role relationships. There is an emphasis on solidarity and shared communal meanings, and children learn to use language in relatively implicit ways, with short sentences containing few adjectives and adverbs, linked by repetitive conjunctions like ‘and’ or ‘then’. In contrast, in middle-class, person-oriented families, communication is more open and roles are less fixed. Social control is exercised through explanation and appeals to the child as a person, and children are encouraged to express their own ideas and viewpoints. Children brought up with an elaborated code, Bernstein argued, are used to drawing on a wider range of syntactic and semantic linguistic forms and are able to use language explicitly, organize experience conceptually and articulate decontextualized ideas much more easily than children from working class.

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Topic – 085: Language Policy and Planning

Language is a key element in the construction of human groups. All children are socialized into their respective language groups. Adults teach children the structures and lexis. Thus, they protect and promote language to a certain degree, and forms of language policy and language planning (LPLP) occur in all societies.

Nationalism is based on culturally and linguistically homogeneous people differentiated from neighbours. Nationalism is one type of political setting in which LPLP has been undertaken in a particularly rigorous and systematic way. The role of LPLP in nation building is quite significant. 1970s was a time of intense LPLP activity as the governing classes of newly independent states considered how to manage language matters in the new polities, and Western-trained linguists proposed themselves as researchers and consultants. This led to the classic division of LPLP into: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989).

Status Planning

- Made at the highest levels of a polity
- Enshrined in law
- This is the case when a language is formally adopted as a national language.

Corpus Planning

- Corpus planning is an attempt to change the forms and structures of the language itself.
- This task is often undertaken by national language planning agencies.
- It involves processes of codification and standardization.

Acquisition Planning

- It concerns the implementation of status and corpus policy.
- Educationists organise how it will be acquired.

LPLP in State Nations

- The first state nations appeared as France, Spain, Britain, Sweden, and the Netherlands emerged from feudalism.
- The ruling dynasties overcame the challenge to their power from their aristocracies, and secured stable state boundaries.
- The era of strong central government that followed ensured that the dialect of the capital and court would take precedence over the other dialects and languages on state territory, and would be used by the civil service which administered the country for the monarch.

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Examples May Include the Following:

The Act of Union (1536) in Britain decreed that only those Welsh who had learnt English could hold public office. The Accademia della Crusca in Florence and the Académie française in Paris are two early instances of the state turning to linguists for corpus planning. Where there was no official corpus planning institute, as in Britain, individual scholars, such as Samuel Johnson, undertook the work of elaborating grammars and dictionaries.

LPLP in Nation States

\The philosophy of nationalism spread across Europe, and by the mid-nineteenth century most of the continent had been touched by the ideology. Throughout the nineteenth century and in every part of the continent various movements for national self-determination appeared. From the Greeks in the south-east to the Irish in the north-west, language was central to the case for independence. To be a 'nation', a group felt it had to be both cohesive and distinct. A single 'national' language could demonstrate this. Independence movements used their linguists to develop the distinct language needed for the nation's claim to sovereignty (Smith, 1991).

Globalization and LPLP

Before discussing what post-national LPLP is like, we must first agree that we are moving into post-national times. There is evidence that the sovereign nation state with its impermeable borders, protected domestic market, self-reliance in defence and single public culture and language is evolving if not disappearing. Since World War II much sovereignty has been relinquished as elements of political, economic and judicial control have shifted to institutions, authorities and corporations that operate transnationally and supranationally.

National self-reliance has waned, with the regimes, networks, flows and interactions of globalization. The imagined community of the nation that Anderson (1983) saw as deriving from common cultural practices is diluted as people interact across borders to a far greater degree than ever before. All these aspects of globalization have had linguistic effects. New patterns of association have emerged among elite groups as governance becomes interstate rather than intrastate. This means that actors with competence in different national languages require a means of communication. The circulation of ideas and information through the medium of new technologies encourages transnational civil society and worldwide virtual communities (wherever people can afford the hardware). The solution to the communication needs of a globalizing world is, at least for the moment, greater use of English as a lingua franca.

The spread of English has prompted a variety of LPLP reactions. In the last decades, policy makers in many states have been concerned to limit the incursions of English. In some situations the attempt has been to stop English replacing another language in the lingua franca role. Thus the French government, elite and intellectuals have fought a long rearguard action to preserve French as a language for international forums (Ager, 1996). In other situations, the struggle has been to maintain the national language in all the domains in which it was traditionally used. Thus, for example, the Swedes have acted

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to protect the use of their national language in scientific research and higher education, where English is now often the medium (Oakes, 2001).

LPLP to limit the spread of English as the lingua franca in a particular area or domain seems to have had little effect. Where people have seen it to be to their advantage to learn and use English they have done so. Top-down policy making has not found widespread acceptance among those it hoped to influence. For example, the European Union tried to promote diversity in foreign language learning through programmes such as Lingua, but schools have largely ignored policies for diversity and provided the English classes that parents demanded (Wright, 2004). LPLP scholars are divided on the globalization issue. Some see a common language as a common good (Crystal, 2003; van Parijs, 2004). Others see the spread of English as a new imperialism and as hegemonic and exploitative in the Gramscian sense (Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 2005; Skuttnab-Kangas, 2000). These latter argue that non-native speakers of English learn the language because they feel they cannot afford not to. However, by ensuring their individual advantage these learners guarantee their disadvantage as a collective. Non-native speakers will always be disadvantaged in linguistic settings where native speakers dominate.

The oppositional stance to English can be problematic, since it is made in English and exemplifies how the language gives access to a wide audience or readership being a medium of exclusion and control. Aware of this, a number of scholars have developed the concept of performativity. Canagarajah (1999) points out that language should not be reified; it exists only in its speakers. Those who acquire and use a language make it their own. As speakers 'appropriate' English the language no longer 'belongs' solely to mother-tongue speakers, and British and American norms become just two examples of World Englishes (Kachru, 1986). The new research culture has challenged the modernist and structuralist epistemology that underpinned traditional LPLP research. Instead of examining how governments and elites used language to confirm their power and construct national groups, the relationship is turned on its head and LPLP investigates how language, discourse and culture shape ideology and the organization of the world (Pennycook, 2005). Within the framework of the growing importance of discourse analysis, Pennycook and others have led a move to a micro level of investigation.The approach is to focus on how 'we perform identity with words (rather than reflect identities in language)' (Pennycook, 2005, p.71). Interest in how individuals experience the language ideologies that affect them and how they respond in terms of identity has sparked both specific ethnographic studies (Heller, 1999) and general theory-building work (Joseph, 2004).

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Lesson 18

LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY: EXAMPLES FROM THE WORLD

Topic- 086: The History of Galim

To understand language and ideology issues related to Galim we need to know what Galim is, and where it exists. Cameroon, is a country the size of Sweden, has approximately 280 languages. These languages belong to the three major African language families, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, and Afro-Asiatic. The village of Galim is in the Adamaoua Highlands in northern Cameroon. Galim has approximately 3000 inhabitants. It was founded in the end of the 19th century by the indigenous Nizaa. All of the other groups are immigrants. The sedentary Fulani, the Hausa, and the Kanuri have generally come as merchants. The Chamba have come as shepherds tending the herds of the Fulani merchants. The nomadic Fulani have come as cattle nomads which they still are to a large extent. There are separate Nizaa, Fulani, Hausa, and Chamba quarters in Galim, while the Kanuri live in the Fulani quarters.

Social and Functional Classification

Languages of Galim can be divided into three groups :

Language Group 1:

- Fula

Language Group 2:

- Hausa

Language Group 3:

- Nizaa, Vute, Kanuri, Mbum, and Chamba
- Fula is the main lingua franca, and is spoken by everybody.
- Hausa also has a certain status as a lingua franca and Hausa population speaks Hausa and Fula.
- People belonging to other ethnic groups always know Fula in addition to their first language.
- Often, they also speak one or more other languages.

Population can be divided into three main social groups:

- SG 1= upper social Stratum that consists of merchants with a higher standard of living who mostly intermarry.
- SG 2 = learn languages spoken as the first language of people in their own SG and in SG 1.

- SG 3 = nomadic Fulani who are cattle-herders. They speak Fula, but a slightly different dialect. Their social status is low and they generally live in compounds in the Bush, out-side the village. Members of SG 1 only learn languages spoken as the first language of people in their own social group. SG 3, the nomadic Fulani are not easy to place in this social hierarchy as they do not generally intermarry with other ethnic groups.

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Topic –087: Language in North and South Korea

To understand language in North and South Korea we need to understand certain concept such as Korean is the language of the Korean Peninsula in northeast Asia. Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, or North Korea) has 20 million speakers. Republic of Korea (ROK, or South Korea) has 42 million speakers. It is also spoken by almost 2 million people in China, in the provinces bordering North Korea. It is interesting that there are no language minorities in North or South Korea. Traditionally it has been an essentially monolingual region. In fact it is among the very few monolingual states in the world.
Two standard varieties are found here:

1. The So¨ul (Seoul) dialect in South Korea
2. The P&yo¨ngyang dialect in North Korea

The dialects are distinguished and regulated by each country's national language policy.



The flags of North Korea and South Korea-Forsiden, Language and Variation (Chapter 7) Page 19
https://www.uio.no/studier/emner/hf/ikos/EXFAC03-AAS/h05/larestoff/linguistics/Chapter%207.(H05).pdf

The Korean writing system is called Han&gu¨l. It has twenty-four basic symbols representing the sounds of Korean. Words of Chinese origin are traditionally written with Chinese characters, Hanja, instead of being spelled out in Han&gu¨l. This practice is discouraged in North Korea and is common in South Korean writing. Han'gul is generally written horizontally from left to right, although it has been written in earlier times like Chinese, vertically, from right to left. In the fifteenth century, King Sejong of the Yi Dynasty commissioned the development of a phonetically based script for Korean. Until that time, Korean had been written with Hanja. Literacy was restricted to a small, educated elite. They opposed the new script. Han&gu¨l did not manage to displace the Chinese script among the educated elite until the nationalistic democratization movement at the end of the nineteenth century. This movement led to the printing of the first Han&gu¨l newspaper in 1894. Soon after, books and government documents were also published in Han&gu¨l. The modern effort to establish Han&gu¨l as the writing system of the Korean language was ended in 1910 by Japan, which formally annexed the peninsula as a colony of its empire. Colonial occupation by Japanese resulted in making Japanese the official language. Korean was suppressed by laws. Japanese became language of instruction in schools. In 1940 Korean people were forced to use Japanese surnames. In 1945 when Japanese occupation ended, there was a re-establishment of Korean. After the division of the country in 1945, each nation developed its own language policy. In North Korea, Han&gu¨l was adopted as the sole system for writing Korean; Chinese characters are never used and are replaced with their phonetic equivalent in Han&gu¨l. In South Korea, the abolition of Chinese characters from written Korean has been attempted with government support more than once but

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never maintained beyond a few years. Both countries have introduced campaigns to discontinue use of any words of foreign origin in everyday speech, especially words of Chinese origin. They encourage the use of words of Korean origin.

Topic – 088: Language in Great Britain

English, in various dialects, is the most widely spoken language of the United Kingdom. However, there are a number of regional languages also spoken. The official language of the United Kingdom is English, which is spoken by approximately 59.8 million residents, or 98% of the population, over the age of three. (ONS census: 2015, United Kingdom Census: 2011)

11 indigenous languages are spoken across the British Isles: 5 Celtic, 3 Germanic, and 3 Romance. Many immigrant languages are spoken in the British Isles. More than 300 different languages/ dialects are now spoken in British schools with English-speaking pupils becoming a minority in hundreds of classrooms. Almost a million people in the country do not speak English at all or not very well (2011, Census).

Statistics from the Office for National Statistics show Polish as the second most common language in England and Wales, with more than half a million speakers. If we take the example of London, English is the city's primary language and it remains the mother tongue of the majority of people living here. Most common languages spoken in London include Polish, Bengali, Gujarati, Punjabi, Cantonese and Mandarin.

Topic – 089: Language in the USA

Over 500 languages are spoken by the U.S. population. The most commonly used language is English (specifically, American English), which is the de facto national language of the United States. Since the 1965 Immigration Act, Spanish is the second most common language in the country. The state government of Louisiana offers services and documents in French, as does New Mexico in Spanish. There are many languages indigenous to North America or to U.S. states or holdings in the Pacific region. Hawaiian, although having few native speakers, is an official language along with English of the state of Hawaii. Alaska recognizes English and twenty native languages as official. American Community Survey 2016 of 5+ years shows following statistics:

- English only – 237.8 million
- Spanish– 40.5 million
- Chinese – 3.4 million
- Tagalog – 1.7 million
- Vietnamese – 1.5 million
- Arabic – 1.2 million
- French – 1.2 million
- Korean – 1.1 million
- Russian – 0.91 million
- German – 0.91 million
- Haitian Creole – 0.86 million

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- Hindi – 0.81 million

English is the primary language used for, legislation, regulations, executive orders, treaties, federal court rulings, and all other official pronouncements.

Official Language Status

- Out of 50 states, 30 have established English as the only official language.
- Hawaii recognizes both English and Hawaiian as official.
- Alaska has made some 20 native languages official, along with English.

Topic – 090: Language in Canada

Multiple languages are used in Canada. English is the mother tongue of 56.9%; and French is the mother tongue of 21.3% according to 2011 census. In total, 85.6% of Canadians have working knowledge of English. 30.1% have a working knowledge of French.

Official Language Status

Under the Official Languages Act of 1969, both English and French have official federal status throughout Canada. Canada's linguistic diversity extends beyond the two official languages. In Canada, 4.7 million people (14.2% of the population) reported speaking a language other than English or French most often at home. The relationship between the English and French languages is the central or defining aspect of the Canadian experience.

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Lesson 19

TERMS RELATED TO LANGUAGE CHANGE – I

Topic- 091: Language Change and Maintenance

Time changes all things. There is no reason why language should escape this universal law. What is linguistic change? Let us share three examples which are recipes taken from different periods of English: Middle English, early Modern English and present- day English. Examples one and two come from the British Library's website books for cooks (http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/booksforcooks/booksforcooks.html). The third is from (Mozzarella and grilled chilli salad, from Oliver 2000,p. 56).

Text1: Take Capouns and seeþ hem, þenne take hem up. Take almandes blaunched. grynd hem and alay hem up with the same broth. Cast the mylk in a pot. Waisshe rys and do þerto and lat it seeþ. (Blanc Mang, from The Forme of Cury, c.1390)

Text2: Take a pint and somewhat more of thick Cream, ten Eggs, put the whites of three, beat them very well with two spoonfuls of Rosewater: mingle with your cream three spoonfuls of fi ne flower: mingle it so well that there be no lumps in it, put it altogether, and season it according to your Tast. (Quaking Pudding, from The Queens Closet Opened, 1665).

Text3: While the chillies are steaming, gently rip up your mozzarella into 4 or 5 pieces and randomly place on a large plate. Peel and deseed the chillies and slice lengthways as thinly as you like. It's quite important to scatter them evenly over the mozzarella and very important to wash your hands after doing so before you rub your eyes or anything else! Now rip up some purple and green basil over the top, and sprinkle with sea salt and freshly ground black pepper. Add a little squeeze of lemon juice and a generous lug of olive oil. Nice one.

Similarities in Text1 to Text3:

Since the texts are all from the same genre, we might expect to see some general similarities in the kind of language used. Many of the clauses in the texts have the form of imperatives (for example, Peel and deseed the chillies), since the function of the text is to direct the reader in a certain course of action (namely preparing food).In the second and third text, there is a distinctive use of the second person possessive pronoun (your) in mingle with your cream (text 2) and gently rip up your mozzarella (text 3). In instructional discourse, this seems to be a variant to mark general definiteness rather than specific possession, in that it seems to have the same meaning as the (rather than, say, contrasting with other possessive determiners like his or my).

Differences in Text1 to 3Text:

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Orthographic Change: The letter shape <þ> (known as 'thorn', from the runic alphabet) is no longer used in English, having been replaced by the digraph <th>. So <seeþ> in text 1 is a Middle English spelling of seethe.

Morphological Change: The third person plural object pronoun hem has been replaced by them. These th- pronoun forms are the result of long-term contact in northern England between English and Old Norse in the Middle English period.

Semantic/Syntactic Change: The verb seethe in Middle English could be used transitively (since it can take a direct object): seeþ hem, literally 'seethe them'. But in Modern English, the meaning of the word has changed (from 'boil' to 'be angry'), and this has had consequences for its syntactic behavior. It is now only used intransitively, and usually collocates with the prepositional phrase with rage.

Lexical Change: New words have entered the language (chilli, mozzarella).

Stylistic or Textual Change: The first text consists solely of imperative clauses, functioning as directives, and the impression created for a modern reader is of an impersonal, purely instructive text. The final text, however, has a mixture of clause types: for instance, it includes a declarative clause, beginning it's quite important. The function of the clause is still a directive but its grammatical form is different. Language change is variation over time in a language's phonological, morphological, semantic, syntactic, and other features. How did such changes occur? Sociolinguists have provided a great deal of evidence to suggest that linguistic change –in the structure of a particular variety materialises when the linguistic system is employed by speakers for communicative purposes,in a particular social context.

Language change is the phenomenon by which permanent alterations are made in the features and the use of a language over time. All natural languages change, and language change affects all areas of language use.

Language Maintenance

Language maintenance denotes the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language. It refers to when members of a community attempt to keep the language they have always used. A situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres.

Topic – 092: Language Shift

Language shift, language transfer, language replacement and language assimilation are all used as alternative terms. It is the process whereby a community of speakers of a language shifts to speaking a completely different language, usually over an extended period of time. "Language shift" means the process, or the event, in which a population changes from using one language to another. As such, recognition of it depends on being able to see the prior and subsequent language as distinct. So, the term excludes language change which can be seen as evolution. Language shift may be an object of conscious

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policy; but equally it may be a phenomenon which is unplanned, and often unexplained. Language shift is a dynamic phenomenon of social change, and is therefore a topic of sociolinguistics. Stability is a subjective notion. There are many bilingual situations which do not last for more than three generations. In some cases indigenous languages can be swamped by intrusive ones over a relatively shorter period. This has happened to the Aboriginal languages of Australia and the Celtic languages of the British Isles.

In other places, immigrant languages have disappeared as their speakers have adopted the language of the new environment. An example can be of South Asian languages, like Gujarati and Bengali, in Britain. In such cases of bilingualism without diglossia, the two languages compete for use in the same domains. Speakers are unable to compartmentalize and the shift may be unavoidable. Many attempts to increase the domains of use for a Low variety fail, as in Ireland, where there was no widespread knowledge of the classical written variety, and decreasing use of the spoken language. In Australia the decline of non-English languages has been similarly dramatic. Only 4.2 per cent of the Australian-born population regularly uses a language other than English. Globally, many smaller languages are dying out due to the spread of a few world languages such as English, French, or Chinese.

Another example is the use of German and Hungarian in the Austrian village of Oberwart. Villagers, who were formerly Hungarian monolinguals, have over the past few hundred years become increasingly bilingual. Oberwart is located near the present-day border of Austria and Hungary and has been surrounded by German-speaking villages for at least 400 years. Today, we see a clear shift towards German. Once the process of shift has begun in certain domains and the functions of the languages are reallocated, the prediction is that it will continue until the whole community has shifted to German.

Factors that affect language shift are:

- Religious and educational background
- Settlement patterns
- Ties with the homeland
- Extent of exogamous marriage
- Majority and minority language groups
- Government policies concerning language and education.
- Where large groups of immigrants concentrate in particular geographical areas, they are often better able to preserve their languages

Examples:

Third-generation Chinese Americans who reside in China-towns have shifted less towards English than their age-mates outside China-towns. Often a shift from rural to urban areas triggers a language shift. In Papua New Guinea, where Tok Pisin (an English-based pidgin used as a lingua franca) is the language most used in the towns, many children grow up not speaking their parents' vernacular languages.

The inability of minorities to maintain the home as an intact domain for the use of their language has often been decisive for language shift. There is a high rate of loss in mixed marriages, e.g. in Wales,

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where if Welsh is not the language of the home, the onus for transmission is shifted to the school. Identification with a language and positive attitudes towards it cannot guarantee its maintenance.

In Ireland the necessity of using English has overpowered antipathy towards English and English speakers. Languages undergoing shift often display characteristic types of changes and simplification of grammatical structures. Changes are a result of decreased use in certain contexts, and loss of stylistic options. In some Native American languages of the south-western United States complex syntactic structures have become less frequent because the formal and poetic styles of language are no longer used.

Topic – 093: Language Desertion

Language desertion is the act of deserting, or willful abandonment. Language desertion or code desertion is a term that refers to the phenomenon of abandoning the use of one language in favour of another which may ultimately result in the death of the deserted language.

Language alternation and hybridization generate desertion. Attitude of the speakers towards the mixed variety correlates with the attitude towards the language they desert. There are various linguistic and socio- cultural reasons for this. Sometimes due to the influence of a stronger language in a bi/ multi-lingual society, there is a shift from the weak language towards the strong language, but sometimes the weak language is gradually completely left or disowned by the speakers. This process of language desertion is very much evident in South Asian countries. Due to the spread of English the local and regional languages are gradually losing their identity as they are being abandoned by the speakers.
To get a better position in this hierarchy every language strives hard to extend the range of its total functional roles. The more is the number of the total functional roles the greater is the power of the language.

Example:

In Pakistan the result of this tussle is a gradual desertion of languages: local languages have been deserted in favour of the national language Urdu which in turn faces desertion in favour of English.
Maintenance and desertion can be considered as two opposite extremes on the continuum of language change; and in Pakistan this change is in the process. The Case of Punjabi is another example. The speakers do not consider it important and worthwhile to maintain. They do not see it as economically advantageous and profitable. They just think of it as a part of their cultural heritage. They do not use it for communicative purposes except for the rural setting. During the Last decade, the Arabian Gulf region has been moving towards an increasing use of a 'Pan Gulf vernacular', "…a homogenised form of 'Gulf' speech not identifiable with any particular Gulf community" (Holes, 2011, p.130). Modernity, globalization and the extensive use of English by the new generations have cost the UAE to lose its dialects and head towards what is seen as an easier and more accessible dialect shared by the speakers in the this region.

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Topic – 094: Language Death

If we look at 'Biodiversity' in biology we notice that ecosystems host a wide variety of plants, animals and microbes which rely on each other in complex ways to survive. Many species are now becoming endangered or extinct. If many extinctions happen at the same time then system will be thrown out of balance which is termed as 'biodiversity crisis'. A similar crisis is happening in linguistic diversity and it is called 'linguistic crisis'.

At the moment, linguists believe, around 6,000 languages are spoken. Michael Krauss has predicted that by the end of this century 90 per cent will be extinct (see Hale et al., 1992). The Foundation for Endangered Languages estimates that half the world's languages are moribund and are no longer being passed on to younger generations. According to Crystal (2000, 2003), a language dies every two weeks. For example, in Australia out of the 260 aboriginal languages originally spoken, 100 are already extinct, 100 are nearly extinct and only around twenty are being passed on to children.

Immigrant Communities: For grandparents who speak Finnish in Canada or Hungarian in Argentina it can be heartbreaking to see grandchildren growing up without speaking a word of the ancestral language.

Numbers of Speakers: Can it be a way to decide if a language is endangered? According to Michael Krauss, for a language to survive it needs at least 100,000 speakers (Hale et al., 1992). But it is very complicated. For example only 185 speakers of Karitiana in Brazil, but out of a total community population of 191. It still makes up 96 per cent of the population of their community. Another extreme is of Yiddish that has around 3 million speakers but it is still endangered. Unlike the Karitiana community, most speakers of Yiddish are elderly and very few are children. It is not being passed on to the next generation.

Three Types of Language Death

1. Mostly the term 'dead language' means an ancient language, such as Latin, Ancient Greek or Old English languages. Only some left written records exist behind. Thousands died without a trace, but sometimes they 'died' because they gradually developed into new languages. Latin became the modern Romance language family, including French, Portuguese and Italian. Ancient Greek became Modern Greek. Old English became Modern English. This kind of 'death' is inevitable. A more radical type of language extinction is sudden death which can be caused by various factors such as scattering of an entire community of speakers or due to natural disasters.

Example:

- In 1998 an earthquake off the coast of Papua New Guinea killed and displaced thousands of speakers of Arup, Malol, Sissano and Warupu.
- In other cases, genocide or invasion is the cause of language death.
- After the arrival of Columbus in 1492 the Spanish rounded up the entire Taino population of the Bahamas and sold them into slavery.
- No indigenous Caribbean languages survive today.

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- British settlers in Australia hunted down the aborigines of Tasmania in the nineteenth century; their languages are all now extinct.
- In 1835 Maori warriors from New Zealand sailed eastward to the Chatham Islands and killed the men of the Moriori tribe.
- The Morioris went into decline and the last full-blooded member of the tribe died in 1933, along with their language.

2. Today, the most common cause of language death is not population death, but language shift.This happens when speakers of a language do not pass it on to their children. Instead, they acquire a different language from the parents. Gradually, the language of the entire community 'shifts'. Unlike the extinction of an animal species, the people don't die, only their language does.

3. Fishman (1991) asserts that a typical case of language shift can happen over three generations. If speakers of language X are the grandparents and speakers of Yare the parents who have a passive knowledge of X but are fluent speakers of Y. So, their household is bilingual. Now when it comes to grandchildren, they are full speakers of Y, knowing a few words of X at the most.

Topic – 095: Language Accommodation

Generally, speaking accommodation is the process by which participants in a conversation adjust their accent, diction, or other aspects of language according to the speech style of the other participant. An important question in this regard is what brings a speaker to choose variety X of a language A rather than variety Y, or even language A rather than language B. In this regard a number of answers have been suggested:

- solidarity
- accommodation to listeners
- choice of topic
- perceived social and cultural distance

In other words motivation of the speaker is important though motivation need not be at all conscious. They may not be aware that they have used one particular variety of a language rather than another or switched / mixed. Speakers try to accommodate to the expectations that others have of them when they speak. They may do this consciously and deliberately. Accommodation is one way of explaining how individuals and groups may be seen to relate to each other.

Convergence: It can be shift in behavior to become more like the other. It can be 'up' if you seek the approval of someone of higher status, or 'down' as with politicians who adopt 'folksy' behavior when campaigning.

Divergence: If you desire to be judged less favorably the shift in behavior will be away from the behavior. Examples: 'putting on airs and graces' in order deliberately to dissociate yourself from peers.

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Cost–benefit Aspect to Accommodation

We see convergence when a speaker tries to adopt the accent of a listener or that used within another social group or even in extreme cases gives up a particular accent, dialect, or language. As a group phenomenon this last choice may 'kill' a minority language. Divergence is behind exaggerating differences. The examples are recreolization, Paraguayans using Guaraní rather than Spanish when abroad. Giles and Coupland (p. 60–1) explain speech accommodation as 'a multiplyorganized and contextually complex set of alternatives, regularly available to communicators in face-to-face talk. They believe that it can function to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a conversational partner, reciprocally and dynamically. Le Page (1997, p. 28) extends this definition to put even more emphasis on the speaker's creation of his or her identity. According to him, 'We do not necessarily adapt to the style of the interlocutor, but rather to the image we have of ourselves in relation to our interlocutor.' Johnson-Weiner (1998) uses accommodation theory to explain differences in some language choices. He differentiates language choice between some Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite communities in the northeastern United States and Ontario and other New Order communities.

Difference:

Old order communities adhere strictly to the use of different varieties of German Low Pennsylvania German, High Pennsylvania German, and 'Bible German' and English according to circumstances. They use the varieties of German exclusively within the communities and use English as a contact language with the outside world. Within the New Order communities such as the Beachy Amish and Horning Mennonites there has been a complete shift to English.

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Lesson 20

TERMS RELATED TO LANGUAGE CHANGE– II

Topic- 096: Pidgin

Varieties created for very practical and immediate purposes of communication between people who otherwise would have no common language whatsoever, and learned by one person from another within the communities concerned as the accepted way of communicating with members of the other community.

What Is Trade Language?

Since the reason for wanting to communicate with members of the other communities is often trade, a pidgin may be what is called a trade language, but not all pidgins are restricted to being used as trade languages, nor are all trade languages pidgins. Instead, the ordinary language of some community in the area may be used by all the other communities as a trade language. Example can be given of North-west Amazon area, Tukano is the language of one of the twenty-odd tribes but is also used as a trade language by all the others. Similarly, English and French are widely used as trade language variety specially created for the purpose of communicating with some other group, and not used by any community for communication among themselves.

There are a large number of pidgin languages, spread through all the continents including Europe, where migrant workers in countries like Germany have developed pidgin varieties based on the local national language. Each pidgin is specially constructed to suit the needs of its users. This means that it has to have the terminology and constructions needed in whatever kinds of contact normally arise between the communities; and needs not go beyond these demands. If the contact is restricted to the buying and selling of cattle, then only linguistic items to do with this are needed. There is no way of talking about the quality of vegetables, or the emotions

Another requirement is that it has to be as simple to learn as possible, especially for those who benefit least from learning it. A consequence of this is that the vocabulary is generally based on the vocabulary of the dominant group. For instance, a group of migrant workers from Turkey living in Germany will not benefit much from a pidgin whose vocabulary is based on Turkish, since few Germans would be willing to make the effort to learn it, consequently they take their vocabulary from German. For instance, a group of migrant workers from Turkey living in Germany will not benefit much from a pidgin whose vocabulary is based on Turkish, since few Germans would be willing to make the effort to learn it, consequently they take their vocabulary from German. Similarly, in a colonial situation, representatives of a foreign colonial power need to communicate with the locals for trade or administration, and if it is in the interests of the local population to communicate, then the pidgin which develops will be based on the vocabulary of the colonial power.

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Hence, the very large number of pidgins spread round the globe based on English, French, Portuguese and Dutch. Although the vocabulary of a pidgin may be based mainly on that of one of the communities concerned, the 'dominant' variety; it is still a compromise. Its syntax and phonology may be similar to the latter, making the pidgin easier for the other communities to learn. For furthermore exemplification here is a sentence from Tok Pisin, the English-based pidgin spoken in Papua New Guinea (Todd 1994: 3178, 4622).

- Bai em i no lukim mi. 'He will not see me.'

The English origins of the vocabulary are not immediately obvious in the official spelling, which reflects the words' current pronunciation rather than their origins, so the following notes may be helpful.

- Bai From by and by, an adverb used instead of the auxiliary verb will to indicate future time.
- em From him, meaning `he‘
- I From he, but obligatorily added to a verb whose subject is third person (like the English suffix -s)
- no From no or not, used instead of the verb doesn't.
- luk- From look, but means 'see'.
- -im From him, but added obligatorily whenever the verb has an object, in addition to this object.
- mi From me.

The example shows that there is different syntax from English, but it is rigidly rule-governed and in particular by the rules which require the redundant i before the verb and -im added to it.

Another point to be considered is: Is this a variety of English? Such cases highlight the general problem of deciding where the boundaries of languages lie. Another situation in which pidgins are needed is when people from different language backgrounds are thrown together. Africans taken as slaves to the New World had a pidgin which they generally learned from the slavers, based on the latter's language.

Characteristics of Pidgins

- An X based pidgin is not only a bad X. It is itself a language, with a community of speakers who pass it on from one generation to the next.
- A pidgin is not simply the result of heavy borrowing from one variety into another, since there is no pre-existing variety into which items may be borrowed.
- An `X-based pidgin' is not a variety of X which has borrowed a lot of syntactic constructions and phonological features from other varieties.
- A pidgin, unlike ordinary languages, has no native speakers
- On the other hand, this distinction is not clear-cut since there are situations, such as those of slavery, where a community can come into existence with a pidgin as its only common variety, although all the members of the community learned it as a second language.

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Topic – 097: Creole

A pidgin which has acquired native speakers is called a creole language, or creole, and the process whereby a pidgin turns into a creole is called `creolisation'.
Examples: It is easy to see how pidgins acquire native speakers, by being spoken by couples who have children and rear them together. This happened on a large scale among the African slaves taken to the New World, and is happening on a somewhat smaller scale in urban communities in places like Papua New Guinea.

Creolization occurs only when a pidgin for some reason becomes the variety of language that children must use in situations in which use of a 'full' language is effectively denied them. A creole is the native language of some of its speakers. For example, this must have happened in Haiti when French was effectively denied to the masses and the African languages brought by the slaves fell into disuse. Also many of the guest workers in Germany developed pidginized varieties of German to communicate when necessary with one another, their children did not creolize these varieties but, with varying success, acquired Standard German, since they had to go to school and be educated in German. A full language was available to them so they had no need to creolize Gastarbeiter Deutsch.

The example of Tok Pisin is useful in considering how a pidgin expands and develops into a creole. It was not until the 1960s that the pidgin was nativized, i.e., children began to acquire it as a first language, and, therefore, becoming for them a creole while remaining an extended pidgin for previous generations.

Decreolisation

This happens when a creole is spoken in a country where other people speak the creole's lexical source-language for example, English. Since the latter has so much more prestige than the creole, creole speakers tend to shift towards it, producing a range of intermediate varieties.

Sociolinguists call:

- The creole the BASILECT
- The prestige language the ACROLECT
- With the intermediate varieties lumped together as MESOLECTS

This range of varieties spanning between basilect and acrolect is called a 'POST-CREOLE CONTINUUM'. This term reflects an interesting factual claim about the relationships among the mesolects. Like the acrolect and basilect, each mesolect is a vast collection of items which could constitute the entire language of a group of speakers. The basilect is likely to be as different from the acrolect as Tok Pisin is from English, so it is easy to see that thousands of items must vary and that, linguistically speaking, most of them are quite independent of one another.

Each mesolect represents one combination of basilect and acrolect items, so it is easy to imagine a rather chaotic scene in which different mesolects combine items in completely different ways. The claim that lies behind the term `continuum', however, is that the relations are actually much more orderly, and

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there is at least a strong tendency for mesolects to line up along a single scale from most basilectal to most acrolectal. For example, consider this series of alternatives for 'I came and carried it away', allowed by the post-creole continuum of Nigeria (Todd 1994: 3181):

1. A bin kam, kariam go.
2. A kom, kariam go.
3. A kom, kariam awe.
4. A kern and kari it awe.

If these examples are typical, then there are at least four degrees of 'height' from the lowest basilect (1) to the highest mesolect (4). Each of the linguistic items concerned can be given an index to show the range of heights that it covers:

Bin kam(1) kariam (1-3)
go (1-2) kom (2-3) kari it (4) awe (3-4) kem (4)

Each mesolect represents a consistent selection on this scale, in which all the items are allowed to have the same relative height. If this is so, then no mesolect allows bin kam (t) and also awe (3-4), nor is there one which combines either bin kam or kom as well as kari it.

Topic – 098: Origins and Structures of Pidgins and Creoles

We need to think about Pidgins and Creoles, and their similarities and differences. Creolists have proposed a variety of theories to explain why the structures of pidgins and creoles show more similarities to one another, regardless of their base language. It is in the area of syntax that the boldest claims have been made for the distinctiveness of creoles.

Difference

Creole grammar had African origins, the conclusion was that basilectal was Jamaican Creole could not be regarded simply as a dialect of English. It was instead a new and different language. Many linguists now find the concept of a common ‘creole syntax’ uncontroversial, even though there might be disagreements about exactly which features are included and why such similarities exist.

1. Do pidgins and creoles share so many common characteristics because they had a common historical ancestor?
2. Did they arise independently but develop in parallel ways because they used common linguistic material and were formed in similar socio-historical circumstances?
3. Was syntax diffused in a way similar to some of the words like savvy?
4. Do the common elements perhaps reflect biological and cognitive constraints on what constitutes a minimal human language?

Family Tree Model

Traditional approaches to historical change have relied on the family tree model, which is based on the assumption that over time languages gradually diverge from a common ancestor. This model has

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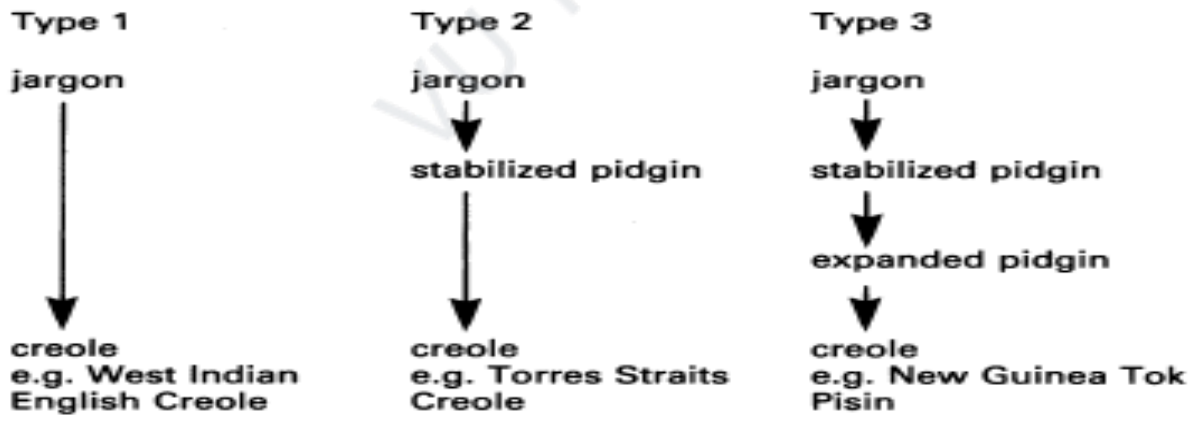
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been widely applied to explain the historical origins of pidgin and creole languages. This model has been referred to as the 'monogenetic hypothesis', i.e. that pidgins and creoles are to be derived from a single common ancestor. Many espoused the view that all the European-based pidgins and creoles were originally descended from a 15th century Portuguese pidgin first used along the African coast and later carried to India and the Far East.

This pidgin may have been a relic of Sabir, the medieval lingua franca believed to have been the language of the Crusaders and a common Mediterranean trading language. However, while a common Portuguese origin would account well for certain lexical similarities such as the case of picanniny and savvy found across the Atlantic and Pacific pidgins and creoles, we can see that diffusion is probably a more likely explanation. In addition, we would have to invoke the notion of 'relexification' to account for the many other differences which exist between the pidgins and creoles with different bases. The monogenetic theory would also have nothing to say about the origins of non-European-based pidgins and creoles. It was the Romance linguist Schuchardt (1842–1927) often called the father of creole studies, who used data from pidgin and creole languages to argue against prevailing nineteenth-century views on the regularity of sound change.

Topic – 099: The Creole Continuum

The boundary between pidgins and creoles cannot be defined in purely linguistic terms. Some languages such as Tok Pisin and West African Pidgin English, spoken widely in West Africa exist in both pidgin and creole forms. The continuum displays different degrees of structural expansion and stability depending on first or second language speakers. Creolization can take place at any point during the pidgin's life cycle; it can be any stage ranging from a jargon to an expanded pidgin.



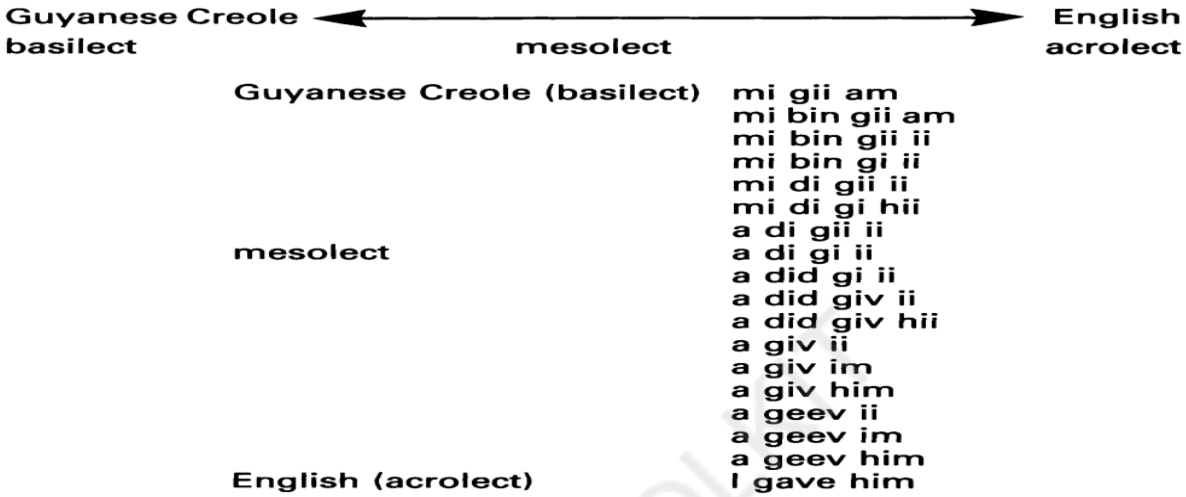
Romaine (2000) Language in Society- An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Oxford University Press

Once creolization has occurred, the evolutive changes that take place thereafter may make it impossible to identify a prior creole or pidgin stage. For example, Black English in the United States is a variety in the late stages of decreolization. Decreolization can be termed as changes which bring a creole closer to its superstrate language. And there is some dissatisfaction with it because some changes may not

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be motivated by influence from the lexifier language. In other words, not all changes are unidirectional. Some may make the creole more different from its superstrate. Some may make it only superficially more similar. Example is the case of had in Hawai‘i Creole English. The terms ‘basilect’, ‘mesolect’, and ‘acrolect’ are used to describe the range of varieties often found after creolization.

Illustrating the Guyanese creole continuum:



Romaine, S. (2000) Language in Society- An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Oxford University Press.

They are arranged along a post-creole continuum which has acrolectal (those varieties closest to the superstrate) at one end and basilectal (those varieties furthest from it) at the other. Mesolectal varieties are intermediate. This can be illustrated with the set of eighteen variants from the Guyanese post-creole continuum shown in the figure. Creolization and decreolization can be coexistent. For example, in Papua New Guinea we can notice Tok Pisin that is in the process of being nativized by the younger generation and at the same time as increased accessibility to English schooling is creating a range of varieties which are neither Tok Pisin nor English. Because creolization can occur at any stage in the development continuum from jargon to expanded pidgin, different kinds and degrees of structural repair may be necessary to make the pidgin fully adequate to meet the demands placed on it for use as a primary language.

Pidgin grammars tend to be shallow, with no syntactic devices for subordination or embedding. Distinctive marking of structures such as relative clauses comes later in the stabilization or expansion phase of the pidgin life cycle, or arises in the process of creolization.

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Topic – 100: Pidgins and Creoles in Social Context

Although pidgins and creoles are often widely used by the majority of the population in the countries where they are spoken, throughout their history most have not had any official status. In the Pacific, for instance, only Tok Pisin and Bislama have received some official recognition. Tok Pisin is a de facto official language in Papua New Guinea spoken by more than half of the population of 4 million. However, English is still the most widely used official medium of education, despite initiatives in the 1990s to introduce education in a number of vernacular languages. There is also another pidgin language, Hiri Motu ('trade Motu'), based on the indigenous language, Motu, which shares the same de facto official status as Tok Pisin.

In practice, this entire means is that Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin may be used in the House of Assembly, the country's main legislative body. In fact, most business is conducted in Tok Pisin, the most widely shared language among the members. Although Bislama is recognized by the constitution of Vanuatu as the national language of the country, paradoxically it is forbidden in the schools. Thus, Vanuatu may be the only country in the world which forbids the use of its national language!

Although Australian Kriol does not have any official status, it has been used in bilingual education programs in parts of Australia. Many linguists in both the Caribbean and Pacific believe in the increase in status and standardization of the pidgins and creoles. The governments concerned ignored it and preferred to continue the colonial legacy of using the metropolitan European language already in place. French-based Haitian Creole is one of the few that are given serious attention by government planners. 1983 constitution declared both Haitian Creole and French to be Haiti's national languages, with French serving as the official language. In 1987 constitution Haitian Creole was made official as well. The low status of pidgin and creole languages is a consequence of them not been regarded as fully-fledged languages, but as corrupt and bastardized versions of some other language. So, it is not surprising that most pidgins and creoles are not written languages and therefore not standardized, and written material has been scant.

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Lesson 21

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Topic- 101: Ethnography of Communication

Hymes is one of the founding sociolinguists like Erving Goffman, John Gumperz and Susan Ervin-Tripp, who grounded their work in the Sapirian tradition, but expanded their concerns with language beyond description. The generational shift from descriptive linguistics into sociolinguistics was contemporaneous with the Chomskyan shift to Transformational-generative Grammar. The sociolinguistics movement expressed continuity with prior generations of scholars, in contrast to the acrimony surrounding transformational grammarians' split with structural linguistics. Hymes was particularly critical of Chomsky's idea of linguistic competence and his failure to account for linguistic variation. According to Hymes (1972), we do more than construct grammatically possible linguistic utterances, and, ungrammatical utterances may be socially appropriate, just as grammatical utterances can be socially inappropriate.

The Ethnography of Communication

Hymes is best known for his founding role in the ethnography of communication. He proposed the term 'ethnography of speaking'. But later he amended it to 'ethnography of communication'. It was a new approach to understanding language in use (Hymes, 1962, 1964). Ethnographies of communication must 'discover and explicate the competence that enables members of a community to conduct and interpret speech' (Hymes, 1972). The exploration and documentation of communicative competence within a speech community is the essence of the ethnography of communication. As a means to this end, Hymes defines the social units and units of analysis for ethnographies of communication.

The social unit proper to sociolinguistics is the 'speech community'.

> By speech community, Hymes does not mean a community defined by common language, but rather by common linguistic norms: 'a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for interpretation (Hymes, 1972).

Hymes argues the following:

The study of language must concern itself with describing and analyzing the ability of the native speakers to use language for communication in real situations (communicative competence) rather than limiting itself to describing the potential ability of the ideal speaker/listener to produce grammatically correct sentences (linguistic competence). He argues that the speakers of a language in particular communities are able to communicate with each other in a manner which is not only correct but also appropriate to the sociocultural context. Hymes further argues that this ability involves a shared knowledge of the linguistic code as well as of the socio-cultural rules, norms and values which guide the

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conduct and interpretation of speech and other channels of communication in a community. According to him the, "ethnography of communication ... is concerned with the questions of what a person knows about appropriate patterns of language use in his or her community and how he or she learns about it" (Farah, 1998, p. 125). So, ethnography of linguistics gave a new perspective to the study of language and thus played a significant role in sociolinguistics.

Topic – 102: Aspects of Linguistic Communication

What is communication? The term comes from the Latin 'comunicare' meaning "to transmit, "Flores de Gortari defines, "Man, society, culture, civilization and progress are concepts that are reciprocally validated in close proximity; but the force that causes these processes to interact from the fundamental fact of existence, just as the flow of blood gives life to physiological man, is communication." According to David K. Berlo: "It is the process by which a transmitter sends a message through a channel to a receiver." In the same way according to Aristotle: "The main purpose of communication is persuasion, that is, the attempt of the speaker to bring others to his point of view." We may consider another definition given by Aranguren: "Communication is the transmission of a message by means of a sender, conduction, and a receiver. Or, the one by André Martinet may be of interest to us who asserts: "It is the utilization of a code for the transmission of a message about a certain experience in semiological units in order to enable human beings to relate to one another."

Factors Impeding Human Communication

1. Not understanding the language
2. Not understanding the context
3. Obfuscation: Intentionally delivering an obscure or confusing message
4. Distraction: It includes the following:
    - Inadequate attention to processing a message
    - Variety of languages
    - Spoken and written communication

Topic – 103: Non-linguistic Communication and Sociolinguistics

We need to understand means of human communication. These means involve movement of the hands, body, and facial muscles. Ways of communicating include but are not limited to: talking, signing, writing, gesturing, using facial expressions, drawing pictures, proximity, wearing perfume, assuming certain postures, and many other ways.

Nonlinguistic communication may be conventional orspontaneous. Conventional nonlinguistic means =G estures incomprehensible to the unlimited, usually stipulated beforehand and sometimes codified into rules of usage.

Spontaneous gestures are divided into four groups:

1. pointing gestures,
2. gestures that convey or reveal emotions
3. emphatic gestures,

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4. rhythmical gestures

Gestures are not universal and are unique to a given language group. For example, sticking out tongue stands for teasing by Europeans, a threat among the Chinese, anger in India and wisdom in Ancient Maya. Nonlinguistic means of communication may accompany ordinary speech.

Difference in Nonverbal Communication and Sign language

American Sign Language is nonverbal in the sense that it is gesturally produced. But it is certainly verbal as it uses words. So, words are lexemes of spoken languages, while signs are lexemes of signed languages. By definition a gesture is a body or limb movement that you use to express a thought or feeling (Websters, 2001). The question arises why is it important to study nonlinguistic communication? The simple answer is that it can reduce frustration. It may improve relationships. Conflicts between linguistic and non-linguistic communication can lead to the consequence where discourse will be skewed.

Types of Nonlinguistic Communication

- Gaze
- Non-sign gestures
- Facial expressions
- Pictures
- Proximity
- Posture
- Objects
- Jewelry
- Clothes
- Symbols

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Topic – 104: Paralinguistic Communication and Sociolinguistics

Paralinguistic communication is the study of voice and how words are said. Paralinguistic signals and cues refer to every element and nuance of your speech. It is the study of vocal and sometimes non-vocal signals beyond the basic verbal message or speech. It also known as vocalics. Paralinguistics sets great store on how something is said, not on what is said. It includes speech characteristics falling outside of the spoken word. It can modify the meaning behind words. It includes:

- accent
- pitch
- volume
- speech rate,
- modulation
- fluency

"The boundaries of paralanguage," says Peter Matthews, "are (unavoidably) imprecise" (Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics, 2007). We speak with our vocal organs, but we converse with our entire bodies. Paralinguistic phenomena occur alongside spoken language, interact with it, and produce together

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with it a total system of communication. So, the cliché that language is what is said, paralanguage is how it is said, can be misleading.

Loudness in Different Cultures

In Saudi Arabian cultures discussions among equals are often loud but they are considered aggressive, objectionable and obnoxious in the United States. Loudness connotes strength and sincerity among Arabs; and there soft tone implies weakness. Personal status also modulates voice tone so lower classes lower their voices. Thus, if a Saudi Arab shows respect to an American he lowers his voice.

Another example is of use of 'pause' in conversations held in various cultures. We can compare Japanese and Pakistani cultures. In the Japanese culture pause are long in conversations, and they show mutual respect and patience; whereas in Pakistani culture pause are very short which show impatience and result in overlapping and interruption by interlocutors involved in a conversation.

Tone:

The more technical discussion of what is loosely described as tone of voice involves the recognition of a whole set of variations in the features of voice dynamics: loudness, tempo, pitch fluctuation, continuity, etc. It is an everyday observation that a speaker will tend to speak more loudly and at an unusually high pitch when excited or angry.

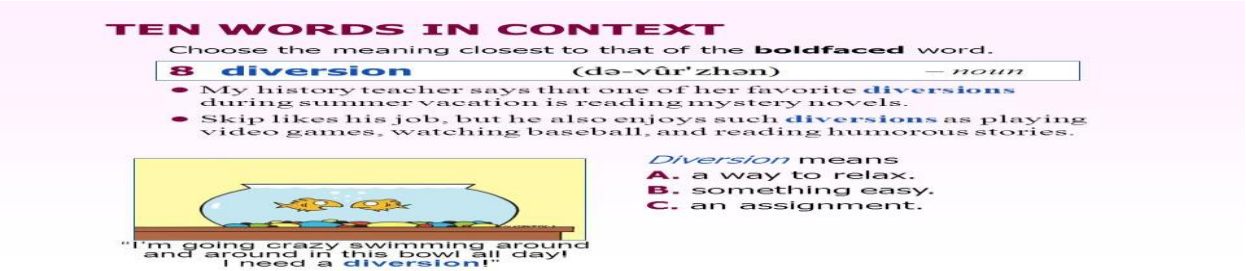
Topic – 105: Utterances and Their Meanings in Context

Context:

The parts of a written or spoken statement that precede or follow a specific word or passage, usually influencing its meaning or effect.

Usage:

1. You have misinterpreted my remark because you took it out of context.
2. The set of circumstances or facts that surround a particular event, situation, etc.
3. In context = considered together with the surrounding words or circumstances.



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Lesson 22

SPEECH AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

Topic- 106: The Ethnography of Speaking

Hymes is a major figure in ethnography of speaking. He expanded concerns about language study beyond description. According to him it is the analysis of communication within the wider context of the social and cultural practices and beliefs of the members of a particular culture or speech community. A church sermon is an example of a complete social event which involves the following:

- Speaker
- Listener
- Message
- Channel
- Register
- Underlined complex set of socially recognized rules
- Breaches if normal conditions of sermon

It provides insights into various aspects such as which communication acts and/or codes are important to different groups; what types of meanings groups apply to different communication events; how group members learn these codes, in order to provide insight into particular communities. This additional insight may be used to enhance communication with group members, make sense of group members' decisions, and distinguish groups from one another.

The ethnography of communication is a term that is meant to be descriptive of the characteristics that an approach towards language from an anthropological standpoint must take. According to Hymes, (1962, 1964):

1. It must "investigate directly the use of language in contexts of situations so as to discern patterns proper to speech activity".
2. It must "take as context a community, investigating its communicative habits as a whole."
3. Rather than divorcing linguistic form from its function, the analysis of a culture's or community's communication, linguistic and otherwise, must occur with respect to the sociocultural context of its use.
4. It is used as a methodological tool.
5. Empirical studies

Example:

Philipsen's study, which examined the ways in which blue-collar men living near Chicago, spoke or did not speak based on communication context and personal identity relationship status. Joel Sherzer's Kuna ways of speaking in Kuna of Panama is a landmark study that focuses on curing ways,

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everyday speaking, and gathering house speech-making. It was the first monograph that explicitly took an ethnography of speaking perspective to the whole range of verbal practices among a group of people.

Topic – 107: Politeness and Social Interaction

Politeness encodes social distance; and a linguistic interaction is a social interaction which involves social distance and closeness. Various factors play role in it. For instance:

External Factors

- Status
- Age
- Power

Internal Factors

- Amount of imposition
- Degree of friendliness
- A need to be polite is common in all cultures
- Politeness in order to show awareness of other's face demands
- When the other is distant, the face need is respect and deference.
- When the other is close the face need is friendliness and solidarity.

Ideas of politeness vary from culture to culture. What is polite in one culture, may be impolite in the other culture. Saying to a woman" You have gained weight" can be a compliment in Africa and Arab cultures as it equates being healthy. In American culture, on the other hand, it is considered to be rude. Certain topics are taboo in certain cultures for example asking questions such as:

- How old are you?
- What is your pay?

Also certain politeness strategies make refusals easy:

1. Shut the door.
2. Please shut the door.
3. Can you please shut the door?
4. If it is not much trouble please shut the door.

Topic – 108: Politeness Strategies in Language

Politeness strategies are used to formulate messages in order to save the hearer's positive face when face-threatening acts are inevitable or desired.

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Robin Lakoff (1973) has summarised politeness in three maxims:

- don't impose;
- give options;
- make your receiver feel good.



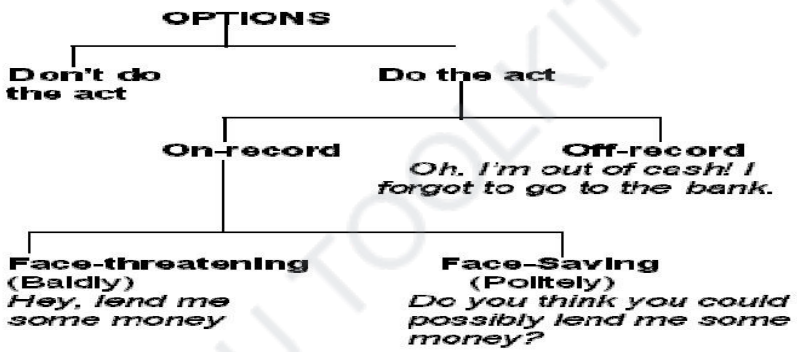






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A Model of Politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1978)



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Brown and Levinson outline four main types of politeness strategies: bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off-record (indirect) as well as simply not using the face-threatening act. Politeness strategies help in effective social interaction.

Politeness strategy	**Bald on-record**
Explanation	Does nothing to reduce the threat to the hearer's face and is therefore used in close relationships or when information needs to be shared quickly.

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Situation of use	• Urgency or desperation
	• When efficiency is necessary
	• Task-oriented
	• Little or no desire to maintain someone's face
	• Doing the face-threatening act is in the interest of the hearer
	• Situations where the threat is minimized implicitly
	  • Welcomes
	  • Offers

Use examples	• Watch out! • Don't forget to clean the blinds! • Your headlights are on! • Come in • Leave it, I'll clean it up later. • Eat!

Politeness strategy	**Positive politeness**
Explanation	To make the hearer feel a sense of closeness and belonging
Situation of use	• Attend to the hearer's interests, needs, wants • Use solidarity in-group identity markers • Be optimistic • Include both speaker (S) and hearer (H) in activity • Offer or promise • Exaggerate interest in H and his interests • Avoid Disagreement • Joke
Use examples	• You look sad. Can I do anything? • Heh, mate, can you lend me a dollar? • I'll just come along, if you don't mind. • If we help each other, I guess, we'll both sink or swim. • If you wash the dishes, I'll vacuum the floor. • That's a nice haircut you got; where did you get it? • Yes, it's rather long; not short certainly.

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Politeness strategy	**Negative politeness**
Explanation	Is used as a way to interact with the hearer in a non-imposing way.
Situation of use	• Be indirect • Use hedges or questions • Be pessimistic • Minimize the imposition • Apologetic • Use plural pronouns
Use examples	• Would you know where Oxford Street is? • Perhaps, he might have taken it, maybe. • Could you please pass the rice? • So I suppose some help is out of the question, then? • It's not too much out of your way, just a couple of blocks. • I hope offense will not be taken. • Visitors sign the ledger. • Spitting will not be tolerated. • We regret to inform you.

Politeness strategy	**Off-record (indirect)**
Explanation	Is used to completely remove the speaker from any potential to impose on the hearer and only alludes to the speaker's idea or specific request.
Situation of use	• Relies on implication

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Use examples	• Wow, it's getting cold in here.

Topic – 109: Sociolinguistic Competence and Performance

Chomsky presented the notion of 'linguistic competence', by which he means a person's specifically linguistic knowledge — roughly, knowledge about words and word combinations. He also presented generative grammar theory; and defined competence as the grammar one knows without being necessarily aware of it (linguistic knowledge); whereas performance as the way people use that linguistic knowledge when communicating (Coupland, et al 1997). In terms of sociolinguistics, competence and performance could be defined as follows: Competence is the knowledge of a language grammar as well as the factors behind it (connotation, levels of formality, style, and register, among others).

In terms of sociolinguistics, performance is the actual use of the sociolinguistic knowledge one possesses when interacting in society (Hudson, 1988). According to him, it is practically futile to address grammar, connotation, level of formality, style, and register in isolation. Each of these fundamentals is an ingredient that contributes to the general picture of a given language. Each contributes to the value system that exists in it, to the degrees of truth it handles, to the systems in which concepts are associated within it. In other words, that is why those essentials, altogether, help define language as an instrument of knowledge. Sociolinguistic competence offers a platform for appreciating language in its social, cultural and linguistic dimensions, its role and significance transcends its definition. Sociolinguistic performance means the ability to use linguistic knowledge and put it to the test in real life. Since language is used in social context these concepts gather huge significance in sociolinguistics.

Topic – 110: Sociolinguistic Competence and Language Choice

Chomsky defined competence as the grammar one knows without being necessarily aware of it linguistic knowledge; whereas performance as the way people use that linguistic knowledge when communicating (Coupland, et al 1997). Sociolinguistic competence is the knowledge of a language grammar as well as the factors behind it (connotation, levels of formality, style, and register, among others). Sociolinguistic performance, on the other hand, is the actual use of the sociolinguistic knowledge one possesses when interacting in society (Hudson, 1988). So, sociolinguistic competence has to be translated into sociolinguistic performance.

Sociolinguistic competence is the knowledge and ability to use language appropriately in any given social context including the awareness of the politeness notions of the target language culture. Knowing the taboos, address forms, register differences, turn taking, knowing when to speak, when to remain silent, as well as the linguistic markers of dialects, accents and so on.

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Lesson 23

LANGUAGE, THOUGHT AND CULTURE

Topic- 111: Sapir Whorf Hypothesis

A hypothesis first advanced by Edward Sapir in 1929 and subsequently developed by Benjamin Whorf. Edward Sapir (1884-1939) was an American anthropologist-linguist. He was a leader in structural linguistics. He was the author of 'Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech'. He was born in Lauenberg, Germany. Also it is important that he was a pupil of Franz Boas, and teacher of Benjamin Whorf. Benjamin Whorf's life span was from 1897to 1941. He graduated from the MIT in Chemical Engineering and began work as a fire prevention engineer. Although he met, and later studied with Edward Sapir, he never took up linguistics as a profession. Whorf's primary area of interest in linguistics was the study of native American languages. He is well known for his work on the Hopi language. He was a captivating speaker; and popularized his linguistic ideas through popular lectures and articles. He presented the hypothesis that the structure of a language determines a native speaker's perception and categorization of experience. There are certain thoughts of an individual in one language that cannot be understood by those who live in another language. The hypothesis states that the way people think is strongly affected by their native languages. However, it was a controversial theory. The principle of linguistic relativity holds that the structure of a language affects its speakers' world view or cognition. It is popularly known as the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, or Whorfianism. It was first discussed by Sapir in 1929, the hypothesis became popular in the 1950s following posthumous publication of Whorf's writings on the subject. However, it was attacked by followers of Noam Chomsky in the following decades.

Two versions of Sapir–Whorf hypothesis:

1. The strong version asserts that the language determines thought, and linguistic categories limit and determine cognitive categories.
2. The weak version believes that the linguistic categories and usage only influence thought and decisions.

The term "Sapir–Whorf hypothesis" is considered a misnomer by linguists for several reasons. In fact, Harry Hoijer, another of Sapir's students, introduced the term "Sapir–Whorf hypothesis", even though the two scholars never formally advanced any such hypothesis. From the late 1980s, a new school of linguistic relativity scholars has examined the effects of differences in linguistic categorization on cognition, finding broad support for non-deterministic versions of the hypothesis in experimental contexts. Some effects of linguistic relativity have been shown in several semantic domains, although they are generally weak. Currently, a balanced view of linguistic relativity is espoused by most linguists holding that language influences certain kinds of cognitive processes in non-trivial ways, but that other processes are better seen as arising from connectionist factors. Today, research is focused on exploring the ways and extent to which language influences thought.

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Topic – 112: Linguistic Relativism and Conservatism

Defining linguistic relativism we can say that the structure of a language affects its speakers' world view or cognition. Grammar conservatism believes in adherence to the rules strictly, and use of correct language. When we look at Chomskyans they make two claims. To them the human languages hide a common universal structure of thought or universal grammar. According to Pinker, to speak a natural language is a question of translating universal "mentalese" into whatever particular language one is brought up speaking. On the other hand, Pinker thinks grammar conservatism, the urge to differentiate between correct and incorrect usage of a language, is mere snobbery.

Obviously if the languages we learn to speak are all outward manifestations of a universal mentalese, then it hardly makes a difference whether we say "aren't "or "ain't" or use object pronouns in subject clause. Since all these expressions are equally ephemeral expressions of a common linguistic bedrock. I wonder, then, if the complementary pairing is equally true. If one remains unconvinced by the arguments for the generative grammar, will one also be less tolerant of deviations from standard usage, more inclined to grammatical snobbery? A milder version believes in at least some degree of linguistic relativism, which means the languages we speak have the capacity to color how we perceive the world. But perhaps there is something to this parallel after all. If Pinker feels free to embrace all usage as equal, it is precisely because, for a universal grammarian, all usage is equal-equally unimportant, that is.

But if no common linguistic bond is found, the urge to cling to local rules and structures begin to make more sense. And this would be the case even if one accepted, that in the long run one's own language is doomed to the same inexorable fate that all languages succumb to: evolution, transformation, or even eventual extinction. So, in a nutshell: yes, different linguistic communities have different standards, and there is no neutral arbiter to distinguish one as superior to another. Yet the same linguistic communities have institutions dedicated to the impossible task of freezing language long enough to establish standards and defend them, futilely, against their inevitable demise. Rather, some torchbearers in any linguistic community, like educators, will inevitably cling to these standards and endeavor to preserve them. As with ethical arguments, then, the assumption that the nonexistence of objective, independent absolutes leads to moral anarchy is false; people are and will remain committed to ethical norms as determined largely by their communities, and these norms can and do change, but only with difficulty. The fact that these norms are not the expression of an underlying universal law does not make them any weaker, though. Like grammar conservatism in the face of linguistic relativism, they are probably all the tenacious because they are on their own.

Topic – 113: Linguistic Imperialism

English is playing a fundamental role in the promotion of global inequalities and structures of dependency. Phillipson (1988, p. 339) refers to it as linguicism, and asserts, “the ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of their language i.e., of their mother tongue.” He calls it linguistic imperialism and states, “an essential constituent of imperialism as a global phenomenon involving structural relations between rich and poor countries in a world characterized by inequality and injustice.” According to Phillipson (1992, p. 52), imperialism is a type of

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relationship whereby "one society or collective in more general terms can dominate another" and which manifests itself in a variety of ways: economically, politically, militarily, culturally and socially. For Galtung, the world can be divided into two domains:

1. the Center (the powerful Western countries)
2. the Periphery (the developing ones)

Language is the medium through which the elite of the Center regulate the Periphery; and plays a crucial function by providing the link between the dominant and the dominated groups; and is representative of the basis upon which the notion of linguistic imperialism is built. Phillipson (1992, p. 47) asserts that the legitimization of English linguistic expansion has been based on two notions:

1. Ethnocentricity
2. Educational policy

'Ethnocentricity' is the "practice of judging other cultures by standards of its own." These two practices are used to impose a distinction between languages+ to promote the notion of the assumed inferiority of secondary languages with respect to the norms determined by the dominant culture.Burns and Coffin et al. 2001, p.78-87) claim that the extent to which English is involved in the political, educational, social and economic life of a country is clearly a result of both the historical legacy of colonialism and of the varying success of countries since independence in warding off the threats of neo-colonialism. In the same way Theo van Leeuwen (in Coulthard et al 1996, p. 55) are of the view, "The English language allows us to make a choice between functionalism and identification, and that the use of this choice in discourse is of critical importance". Graddol (in Burns and Coffin et al. 2001, p.27-8) adds that English has two main functions in the world: it provides a vehicular language for international communication and it forms the basis for constructing cultural identities. The issue of linguistic imperialism as being need based is controversial. The question arises regarding differentiating between 'need' and 'creating a need'. It is claimed that the imposition is based on colonialism.

Topic – 114: Linguistic Rights

Linguistic rights are the human and civil rights concerning the individual and collective right to choose the language or languages for communication in a private or public atmosphere. Linguistic rights were first included as an international human right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Across the globe, there is a perceptible shift in the analysis of the form and use of the English language. Against the notion of the 'linguistic imperialism' of British and American English (Phillipson, 1992) the development of bilingualism and English as an International Language (EIL), which allows the inclusion of varieties of English and recognizes the contribution of non-native speaker teachers, is beginning to form a counter-offensive.

In addition, the growth of English has not continued at the predicted pace. The television news channel CNN has failed to reach a mass market and has had to produce different editions of news programs in different languages because English has not spread as far as the corporation had believed or expected (Morley and Robins, 1995). At the same time, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the linguistic and cultural rights of communities. In 1996, the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights was approved by 220 people from almost 90 states worldwide. In Article 24, it states that all language

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communities have the right to decide to what extent their first language is to be used or studied at all levels of their educational system.

We need to consider:

- The relationship between language and culture
- How far linguistic and cultural rights have permeated into educational systems
- How this may ultimately affect the life chances of individuals
- The 2004 Human Development Report (United Nations Development Programme – UNDP) entitled Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World reminds us that the eradication of poverty and inequality depends on the successful building of inclusive, culturally diverse societies.

The perception of English has changed. In the last two decades of the twentieth century it was regarded by some as the 'killer language' (Pakir, 1991; Mühlhäusler, 1996). And, many supported the view that linguistic imperialism was being exercised (Phillipson, 1992; Saville, 2002; Tollefson, 1995) through organisations such as the British Council and the World Bank. The twentieth century closed with concerns about the future dominance and growth of English as a global language despite competition from Mandarin, Spanish, Hindi and Arabic (Graddol, 1997). Demographic projections show that by 2050 there will be more speakers of English as a second language rather than as a mother tongue (Graddol, 1999) with an increase to 462 million speakers as a second language.

The question is whether native-speaker models of English is necessary? Or non-native speakers of English should be accepted? Linguistic rights include, among others, the right to one's own language in legal, administrative and judicial acts, language education, and media in a language understood and freely chosen by those concerned. We also need to think about how far is it possible today? This question is quite debatable.

Topic – 115: Language Rights at Different Levels and Places

Languages are not isolated systems but interact with other systems beyond linguistics. Such as culture, environment and politics and language planning impacts on all parts of the interlinked system. A good example of language ecology is of Colombia which Katarina Tomaševski, as Special Rapporteur on education for the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (UNHCHR), visited in 2002. In her report (2004) she explains that Ethno-education, a concept provided for under Act No. 115 of the Colombian government of (1994) is aimed at groups or communities 'that have their own native culture, languages, traditions and certain laws' and requires a differentiated approach to education. There was a scheme of an educational forum proposed by local people in Chocó that is the poorest region in Colombia. The scheme was based on the idea to 'draw up an educational curriculum with the involvement of all bearers of the right to education, whether individual or collective'.

Ethno-education is described in the Colombian Constitution as education for ethnic groups which must be in accordance with their aspirations. The problem with the notion of language rights is that global human rights policies rarely cover economic and social rights, and hardly mentioned language rights except when used as a political tool. In fact, it is not the case that all language rights are acknowledged as

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linguistic human- rights which are protected by international law. According to Rannut (1999, p.110): 'International law does not deal with languages directly but as 'markers of identity and dignity of persons belonging to a specific group expressed in various language functional domains'. Although international law recognizes collective rights, all the linguistic rights are attached to individuals. Explicit reference to the collective aspect would give minority language speakers more protection.

There are two main linguistic human rights in education:

1. To learn the standard form of an official language in the country of residence
2. And to learn and use your mother tongue (Skutnabb-kangas and Phillipson 1994, p.71).

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Lesson 24

NON- STANDARD LANGUAGE

Topic- 116: What Is Slang?

Slang may be characterized as a very informal language variety that includes new and sometimes not polite words and meanings. It is often used among particular groups of people, for example, groups of teen-agers or professional groups, and is usually not used in serious speech or writing. You can get an idea of slang from a British perspective by consulting the online Dictionary of Slang at http://www.peevish.co.uk/slang/. The dictionary presents under the letter K:

- Kisser Noun. Mouth. Origins in boxing
- Knocking shop Noun. A brothel
- Kooky Adj. Crazy, eccentric

Some of the expressions contain ordinary words in the language, only with a special meaning attached to it, like kisser and knocking. These words have acquired new meanings in their polysemy networks. In other cases the expressions contain special words that do not have any non-slang meanings, like kooky. We define a variety as a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution. For dialects and sociolects. This set of linguistic items includes features of vocabulary, grammar, as well as phonology; but slangs is the set that includes only a relatively small set of vocabulary items.

Topic – 117: What Are Clichés?

A cliché is a phrase or opinion that is overused and betrays a lack of original thought. We may understand it through the examples of usage such as "That old cliché 'a woman's place is in the home'". Clichés are terms or phrases that, upon their inception, were striking and thought-provoking. However, people began overusing them, making them seem trite. A cliché is an expression which is overused to the extent that it loses its original meaning or novelty. It may also refer to actions and events that are predictable because of some previous events. All examples of cliché were once new and fresh, they won popularity in the public and hence were used extensively to the extent that they now sound boring and have lost their original color. For instance, the phrase "as red as a rose"

We also need to understand what are not clichés. So, constant reuse of expressions does not necessarily create a cliché. Typical expressions that are used almost at all times in formal ceremonies, festivals, courts, etc. are not considered cliché examples; rather they befit such occasions, and are regarded as more appropriate. Here are some examples of expressions that are not clichés:

- "I second the motion" (Board or council meeting)
- "I now pronounce you man and wife" (Wedding Ceremony)
- "Happy Birthday!"

Some common clichés include:

- They all lived happily ever after

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- Read between the lines
- Fall head over heals
- The quiet before the storm
- Between the devil and the deep blue sea

Function of Clichés:

Though it fails to contribute meaning to social interactions and communication, it does function socially, as it manages to stimulate behavior (cognition, emotion, action), while it avoids reflection on meanings."

Topic – 118: Local Proverbs and Idioms in Sociolinguistics

Online Oxford Dictionaries define a proverb as "A short, well-known pithy saying, stating a general truth or piece of advice". Another definition is "A short, memorable, and often highly condensed saying embodying, esp. with bold imagery, some commonplace fact or experience". Proverbs are very closely associated with cultures. The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy (2002) defines it as "short, pithy sayings that reflect the accumulated wisdom, prejudices, and superstitions of the human race".

An Idiom:

Any expression that means something other than its words seem to suggest can be called an idiom. The study of language constantly requires in interpretation of socially determined meaning.
Proverbs and idioms are also determined by a socio-geographical experience. Proverbs, like riddles, jokes or fairy tales, do not fall out of the sky and neither are they products of a mythical soul of the folk. Instead they are always coined by people in context. Oral traditions influence the way members of any given community think, thus, how they perceive and feel about the world around them" (Dominguez, 2010). Oral tradition of proverbs provides insights into how different societies think about women differently or in the same way. Schipper (2010) asserts that the basic themes of proverbs are derived from elementary human experience and activities. For example in proverbs "Women are mostly associated with beauty, and men with intelligence" (Schipper, 2010). The notion that women have no brains is presented in the proverbs of many languages and cultures. Here are some examples in this regard:

- 'More beauty than a peacock, but the intelligence of a block of wood' (Mangolian).
- 'A doll's head and an empty brain' (Polish)'.
- "Women are wacky, women are vain; they'd rather be pretty than have a good brain (English, USA)".
- "Women have only half a brain" (Arabic).
- "aurat naqis- ul- aqal hoti hai" (Urdu).

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Topic – 119: Functions of Non- standard Language

What is a non-standard word? It is a word not conforming in pronunciation, grammatical construction, idiom, or word choice to the usage generally characteristic of educated native speakers of a language.

What is a non-standard language? It is the language that does not have the institutional support or sanction. It has its own vocabulary and an internally consistent grammar and syntax. It may be spoken using one or a variety of accents.

What is non-standard usage? It is the usage that is not conforming in pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, etc., to the usage characteristic of and considered acceptable by most educated native speakers.

Functions:

- Related to communication
- Related to culture
- Related to identity
- Lacking in social prestige
- Regionally or socially limited in use

Topic – 120: Examples of Non- standard Language from English

Nonstandard English refers to use of English, especially regarding grammar, but also including other aspects of language, that is considered by convention to be sub-standard or not "proper". Here are some examples that will help you understand it.

- The verb "to be" is the most complex in English, but some non-standard usages seem to be attempting to regularize it
- We was is used in place of "we were". “We was robbed."
- “If I was you” is used in place of "If I were you".
- “They was waiting for us” is used in place of "they were waiting for us".
- “ain't” is frequently used - even if in a jocular vein - instead of (be) not (and also (have) not)
- “innit” = isn’t it? – It’s cold today, innit?
- “I be” is used in place of "I am" in some regional dialects.
- *“*Gotten” is not used in British English but is very common in American English.

Oxford A-Z of English usage: Snootily claims that "even there it is often regarded as non-standard" while the American Merriam-Webster simply notes its existence.

Morphology
Unmarked adverbs (deletion of final /i/): He’s awful busy these days
Unmarked plurals after numerals: It cost five pound.

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Zero marking for plurals, often with numerals: He's been here five year now
Residues of grammatical gender

Syntax	
1	Non-standard verbal concord: The boys wants to go home.
2	Narrative present with generalised-s: I hops out of the car and finds it.
3	Additional aspectual distinctions such as the habitual: He does be working all night.
4	Resultative perfective with participle after object: He has the book read.
5	A-prefixing for the continuous: They were afixing the car.
6	Negative concord: They don't do nothing for nobody.
7	Range of the continuous form: She's knowing lots of foreigners.
8	Greater range of present tense: I know him since ten years at least.
9	Double modals: He might could come this evening.
10	Use of for with infinitives of purpose: He went out for to get milk.

These are some examples of slang:

- 'mon! = come on!
- cop = policeman
- 'cos = because cuppa = cup of tea
- don't = doesn't – He don't love me.
- dunno = don't know
- gimme = give me – Gimme my bag!
- kinda = kind of
- lemme = let me – Lemme see that book!
- lil' = little – He's gotta nice lil' house in the country.
- lotta = a lot of – He's gotta lotta money!
- ma = mama
- OK = all right.
- ol' = old
- yeah = yes

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Lesson 25

DIGLOSSIA

Topic- 121: What Is Diglossia?

The term was introduced into the English-language literature on sociolinguistics by Charles Ferguson (1959). He used it in order to describe the situation found in places like Greece, the Arabic-speaking world in general, German-speaking Switzerland and the island of Haiti. In all these societies there are two distinct varieties, sufficiently distinct for lay people to call them separate languages, of which one is used only on formal and public occasions while the other is used by everybody under normal, everyday circumstances. The two varieties are normally called 'high' and 'low', or 'standard' and 'vernacular'.

Ferguson's definition of diglossia is as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language there is a very divergent, highly codified superposed variety. Ferguson's definition of diglossia: "The vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation". Ferguson is quite specific regarding the following points:

- High and low varieties should belong to the same language.
- Low variety is learnt as mother tongue.
- High variety is learnt at school.
- Speakers of H variety explicitly know the grammar of H variety.
- Don't know the grammar of L variety. But speak L variety in informal situations.
- Consider it a corrupted form of H variety.

H variety uses:

- Higher Education
- Business
- Newspapers
- Media Broadcasts
- Sermons
- Formal Lectures
- Writing

L variety uses:

- Everyday life
- Home
- Family
- Street
- Marketplace
- Friends

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Topic – 122: Diglossia and the Social Hierarchy

"Diglossia reinforces social distinctions. It is used to assert social position and to keep people in their place. Particularly it keeps those at the lower end of the social hierarchy in their place. Any move to extend the L variety is likely to be perceived to be a direct threat to those who want to maintain traditional relationships and the existing power structure" (Wardhaugh, 2006). Example can be given of Arabic-speaking diglossia community that has social status difference.

Topic – 123: Extended Concept of Diglossia

Joshua Fishman presented a modification of Ferguson's (1959) original concept and rather strict definition of diglossia in (1967). He proposed an expansion of Ferguson's definition of diglossia in two respects.

1. A diglossic speech community is not characterized by the use of two language varieties only. There may be more than two language varieties used within a diglossic community.
2. Diglossia refers to all kinds of language varieties which show functional distribution in a speech community. Diglossia, as a consequence, describes a number of sociolinguistic situations, from stylistic differences within one language or the use of separate dialects to separate languages.

Topic – 124: Examples of Diglossia

The high variety may be an older stage of the same language as in medieval Europe, where Latin remained in formal use even as colloquial speech diverged. The high variety may be an unrelated language, or a distinct yet closely related present day dialect.

- Example: Standard German alongside Low German.

Another example is of Chinese where with Mandarin as the official, literary standard and local varieties of Chinese used in everyday communication. Other examples may include Literary Katharevousa versus spoken Demotic Greek; Literary Tamil versus spoken Tamil; Indonesian, with its Baku and Gaul forms; Literary versus spoken Welsh.

Topic – 125: Diglossia and Language Shift

Diglossia has often been noted as a factor in language shift, especially in speech communities where a minority language is in a diglossic relationship with a majority language. Fishman (1967, p. 36) noted that "Bilingualism without diglossia tends to be transitional both in terms of the linguistic repertoires of speech communities as well as in terms of the speech varieties involved per se". In this regard Fishman (1967, p.36) noted that without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separatism of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s)." In some regions or societies in the world people need and/or use more than one language to communicate for various purposes (Sankoff, 2002).

An example can be of Germany. In Germany the official language is German, but people from different ethnic backgrounds or countries such as Turkey, Poland as well as Russia use their mother

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tongue in their social community. In the case of Turkey the official language is Turkish, and majority of Turkish population use Turkish language in every aspect of their daily life. However, some people living in the south-east of Turkey use Kurdish or Arabic to communicate within their community. Since languages do not take place in vacuum, they are in constant contact and relation and are never stable, and are affected by each other. Thus, some influences occur, and some become stronger while some diminish or even die due to various sociological reasons (Baugh, 2011).

Majority population language puts pressures and affects the minority languages. Thus, change is mostly downwards (Milroy, 2004). For example: English pressures Pennsylvania German of the Amish society. Language change, also called "language shift", refers to a downwards movement. By the same token, Baker (2011) points out: "there is a reduction in the number of speakers of a language, a decreasing saturation of language speakers in the population, a loss in language proficiency, or a decreasing use of that language in different domains.

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Lesson 26

MEDIA AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 126: Language, Media and Society: The Trio

Language, media and society together form a trio in which each affects the other. The question is how far and in what ways. Language is a social activity and today we have blurred social boundaries as the world has turned into a global village. In relation to this trio we also need to take into consideration media and myth in language change. The 'traditional' sociolinguists' response to the potential impact of the television on language is found clearly formulated in the work of Peter Trudgill. Trudgill (1986, 1988) argues that a key process of language change is diffusion, or the spreading of linguistic innovations across geographical regions. Diffusion takes place through linguistic accommodation; speakers may alter their speech in response to those with whom they are talking. Generally this happens face-to-face interaction, however still television fits awkwardly with the model. Trudgill admits that TV may act as a source for new lexis and idioms, or as a model for speaker of a dialect to acquire the core phonology and syntax of the standard variety of a language. According to the traditional view, then, television may be able to influence systemic language change, but indirectly through changes in attitudes towards linguistic varieties. Another view is that it may increase speakers' awareness of innovations. It is less likely to promote their adoption.

For example think of dialect speakers of English. But, it is misleading. All are skeptical, and German sociolinguists, for example, Brandt (1984) claims that the broadcast media affect their audience – including their language but it is difficult to quantify and qualify the influence exerted. Muhr (2003) makes strong claims for exposure to German. German television as a key factor in current lexical, and grammatical, changes underway in Austrian German. Social Media has become very strong in the recent years; and has a strong influence. In fact it provides a two way channel of communication.

Topic – 127: Power of Media and Language Choices

We must not underestimate 'power of media' and 'power of social media'. All we need to think about is how far and in what ways. In general, "media" refers to the tools of mass communication. It consists of television, internet, cinema, newspapers, radio, magazines, direct mail, fax, and the telephone. With the millions of apps, websites and other platforms for people to communicate through media that are all over the internet these days; this is truly the age of social media. Whether it's updating a Facebook status, fitting a joke into 100 characters or uploading a picture of our lunch to Instagram, we are on the internet a lot. Social media is a huge part of our culture; but where is language in it? The answer to this question is simple: "everywhere".

Topic – 128: Print Media and Sociolinguistics

The print media is composed of newspapers, community newsletters, wire services, magazines, and other publications. Print actually is the sensory media experience. Perhaps the most important benefit

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of print media is tangibility. The feel of the paper, having it in their hands means that the content is real, it exists. For newspapers, they become part of their readers' day as they educate and inform with credibility and trust, while consumer and customer magazines create engagement through entertaining content. The role of media in processes of linguistic change is one of the most contested issues in contemporary sociolinguistics. Digging deeper with print media we can notice that recent neurological research has identified differences in ways people process information presented in print and on screen. Readers of print maintain their capacity to read longer articles since the reading situation doesn't offer so many distractions. Readers have full attention for the content.

When it comes to who has access to print media, we realize that it is for masses. The readership is huge. However, there are literacy and connected issues. A positive aspect of print media is that it is cost effectiveness which adds to its popularity. A traditional perspective is that 'the media' and 'language change' are interconnected. Print media has a strong impact on language choices; especially on the genre specific features of language.

Topic – 129: Electronic Media and Sociolinguistics

In fact the media that use electronics or electromechanical audience to access the content is known as electronic media. This is in contrast to static media mainly print media. There are various electronic media types:

1. Television
2. Radio
3. Internet
4. Smart phones
5. Electronic display advertising
6. Audio/video tape

Traditional media on the other hand consists of the following:

- Radio
- Television

Media in all its forms and shapes has a very strong control over ideology. This implies that it plays a prominent role in propaganda as well. However, today beyond the notions of 'influence' and 'effect' we need to think about the binary distinction of 'media' vs. 'community language'.

Topic – 130: Global Media and Sociolinguistics

Significance of media in today's world is unprecedented. One of the consequences of this spread of media is the emergence of 'Media Linguistics'. There is a lot of cutting-edge research from variationist and interactional sociolinguistics; Media linguistics, and language ideology research as well as minority language studies. Media linguistics has evolved in various ways with the emergence of digital media.
"Media linguistics" studies how language is used in the media" (Schmitz, 2015). Its focal point is similar to sociolinguistics that the use of language in actual communicative situations. Specific focus of media linguistics is medium-specific processing of signs and their semiotic materialities.

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Lesson 27

SOCIAL MEDIA AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 131: What Is Social Media?

There are various definitions available. For example, simply it can be defined as “Websites and applications that enable users to create and share content or to participate in social networking”. Gitelman and Pingree (2003) have presented a temporal approach that is based on using the term "media in transition". It is a period of time during which a medium is emergent and thus a sort of contrast to and competitor for the old media. Manovich (2002) has defined new media as cultural objects "which use digital computer technology for distribution and exhibition". Social media are computer mediated technologies that facilitate the creation and built-in social media services currently available.

Challenges of Definition

The concept of social media has certain issues when it comes to defining it because it includes multiple medium. So it would be a good idea to not define it rather to identify it with the help if some features:

1. Social media are interactive Web 2.0 Internet-based applications.
2. User-generated content, such as text posts or comments
3. Digital photos or videos, and data generated through all online interactions, is the lifeblood of social media.
4. Users create service-specific profiles for the website or app that are designed and maintained by the social media organization.

Social media facilitate the development of online social networks by connecting a user's profile with those of other individuals or groups. Users access social media services via web-based technologies on desktop, computers, and laptops, or download services that offer social media functionality to their mobile devices. When engaging with these services, users can create highly interactive platforms through which individuals, communities and organizations can share, co-create, discuss, and modify user-generated content or pre-made content posted online. They introduce substantial and pervasive changes to communication between businesses, organizations, communities and individuals. Social media differs from paper-based media or traditional electronic media such as TV broadcasting in many ways, including quality, reach, frequency, interactivity, usability, immediacy, and permanence.

Social media outlets operate in a dialogic transmission system (many sources to many receivers). This is in contrast to traditional media which operates under a monologic transmission model.
Popular social media websites:

- Instagram,
- Pinterest
- Twitter
- Viber, WeChat
- Weibo, WhatsApp

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- Wikia, Snapchat
- Facebook, YouTube

Topic – 132: Emerging Social Media Trends

Higher engagement of emerging social media rates between brands and customers. Brands are suddenly realizing the impact of social media engagement and creating lasting. According to Instagram, at least 80% of its users already follow a brand on the network.

Customizable Chatbots

- Incoming social messages to your brand need a response.
- An organization receives hundreds or thousands of similar customer service questions
- Solution is chatbots.

In-Platform messaging and Instagram stories

- Instagram stories
- Snapchat
- Instagram stories accrued more than 250 million daily users.
- 173 million daily active Snapchat users

Today, it is through emerging media more augmented-reality and face filters. Face filters have grown in popularity over the years.

Topic – 133: Social Media and Sociolinguistics

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. As the norms of the society keep on changing with the count of time, so does the definition of sociolinguistics which is contemporarily being defined on the lines of new media.

The term new media is used ubiquitously in many different ways. Lievrouw and Livingstone (2002) focus on the message i.e., the communication and its practices, the technology i.e., the medium, and the social context in which it is used. These three aspects of the new media show up repeatedly in the literature along with other more specific technologies and practices such as collaboration, digitization, tele-communication.

We need to think about sociolinguistic perspective of social media; and also about the variables deciding sociolinguistics of new media. The changing definitions of sociolinguistics and new media are linearly related to certain variables that determine the statistics of the digital society. Susan Herring (2004) characterizes her own work as computer-mediated discourse analysis, which she organizes around a series of analytic priorities that continue to direct a lot of research in the field.

These include:

1. Technological variables such as synchronicity, size of message buffer, anonymous messaging, persistence of transcript, channels of communication e.g., text, audio, video, automatic filtering.
2. Situational variables such as participation structure e.g., public/private, number of participants, demographics, setting, purpose, topic, tone, norms of participation, linguistic code.

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3. Linguistic variables typography, spelling, word choice, sentence structure:

- Meaning i.e., of symbols, words, utterances, exchanges
- Interaction e.g., turn taking, topic development, backchannels, repairs
- Social function e.g., identity markers, humor and play, face management, conflict.

In the introduction to his special issue of the Journal of sociolinguistics, for example, Jannis Androutsopoulos (2006) offers some specific suggestions. For example:

1. The need to challenge exaggerated assumptions about the distinctiveness of new media language
2. The need to move beyond early i.e., 1990s computer-mediated communication's simplistic characterization of—and concern for—asynchronous and synchronous technologies
3. The need to shift away from an undue emphasis on the linguistic or orthographic features of new media language and, related to this, the hybrid nature of new media genres.
4. The need also to shift from "medium-related" to more ethnographically grounded "user-related" approaches.

Topic – 134: Social Networks and Language

Social networks can be defined as 'the relationships [individuals] contract with others [reaching] out through social and geographical space linking many individuals' (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 117). Social network theory was introduced to sociolinguistics from sociology. In other fields of the social sciences, social networks have been found to have a big impact on how innovations are spread through society. As an example consider how fashions for sneakers/trainers spread, or how new forms of technology spread using social networks.

Whereas grouping people into social classes involves compartmentalizing them on the basis of factors that may matter to society as a whole e.g., how prestigious their jobs are, social networks group people on the basis of factors that are more idiosyncratic. Social networks are defined by who your friends are, who you live near, who you have dinner or have drinks with, and who you work with. Network analyses also ask how often the members of all these groups are the same, and how often they are completely different. It is very important for sociolinguists to have a sense of what the patterns of associations are between people who are friends or roughly social equals within a community. This is because the diffusion of linguistic change happens relatively fast and very efficiently along what we might call horizontal channels e.g., within one age group and a social cohort. What we might call vertical channels e.g., channels between generations or across big social divides are a comparatively slow and inefficient means of transmitting innovation. So, it is common knowledge that kids talk like their friends, not their parents.

A significant question is "How can you identify a social network"? Well, one way is that the researcher observes who interacts with whom in a community and to note how or why they are interacting with each other. Slowly, patterns of interaction will emerge and these can be said to constitute

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individuals' social networks. This method has the advantage of being objective and, like a census, can provide a comprehensive slice-of-life picture of the way the community was structured. Another way of identifying networks is for the researcher to let the people s/he is observing define their own social networks. "Who are your best friends?" or "Name all the people that you had a conversation with yesterday". Problems with this model are that in this case Tim might name Nick as a best friend but Nick doesn't return the favour.

Types of networks: Dense and loose networks

A dense network is one where the members all know each other. So, for example, if you asked the question 'who did you have a conversation with yesterday?' of five people, and the only people each individual named were the other four people, then you would have a very dense network. However, if you asked that question and you got only minimal overlap in people's replies you would be dealing with very loose networks.

Topic – 135: Social Media in Pakistan

Think about social and linguistic diversity of Pakistan, and think of variety of languages. To understand the topic also takes into account changing social and linguistic dimensions of the Pakistani social context and social media context. Also think the significance of this context in the backdrop of global social media practices. Another significant consideration is of social media practices in Pakistan especially from the perspectives of urbanization and social trends. Social networks are defined by who your friends are, who you live near, who you have dinner or have drinks with, and who you work with.

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Lesson 28

SOCIAL MEDIA AND WRITING PRACTICES

Topic- 136: Social Media and Unusual Spellings

Language, media and society make a trio. In this technological age of computers and social media, spellings are speedily changing. If we say that spellings are going almost extinct it will not be completely wrong. What we need to think is how far and how much we are affected by social media. Every day we use a variety of options available such as:

- Twitter
- Facebook
- Instagram
- Whatsapp
- Websites
- SMS

As an individual think of how much of time do you spend on social media; and what kind of activities you are involved in? This would give you a realization that most of it is in written form. Also think about what kind of writing you come across. With autocorrect, twitter, and text lingo, it appears that people are becoming progressively more unconcerned with their ability to spell. This has a tremendous impact on spelling. We as users need to consider what the practices are. As people type at speed online, there is now a "general attitude" that there is no need to correct mistakes or conform to regular spelling rules. Children brought up with the internet do not question wrongly spelt words. Following questions need our consideration:

- What are the reasons of these spelling changes?
- Would we term them as good or bad practices?
- How far are they becoming socially acceptable?
- How are they sometimes even encouraged?

Example:

Twitter users only have 140 characters to express themselves per tweet. As such, they have created their own shorthand language, full of abbreviations and hashtags. Grammar and spellings are losing their value because technology and social media are making things too convenient for us. For twitter, what matters the most, is that you say what you want in as few words as possible. People bring these habits into their everyday lives; and shorthand English is becoming a social norm. Adults are using shorthand in their emails and students are using it in their writing assignments. As far as the future of spellings is concerned there is a huge question mark. What can be positively stated is that social media and technology are here to stay. Spellings and grammar are important for coherent expression. So, what about future in this context?

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Topic – 137: Social Media and Change in Language

Other than orthographic changes that have already been discussed separately, there are other types of changes occurring due to the impact of social media such as changes at the phonological, syntactic and semantic levels. With social media and technology expanding daily, students and the general public are beginning to embrace shortened "text-speak" as part of an overall trend. We need to consider the following questions:

- Is grammar going extinct?
- Is social media at the center of the grammatical error debacle?

Also we need to look at the relationship of social media 'lingo' and the role of teachers. Grammar may be on a road to extinction in the brave new world of emoticons, texts, tweets, and short Facebook posts. Internet chat-rooms and social networking sites are encouraging children to write syntactically incorrect sentences. From the introduction of new words to new meanings for old words to changes in the way we communicate, social media is making its presence felt. Acronyms, abbreviations, and neologisms have grown up around technologically mediated communication to help us be understood. Here are some examples of acronyms such as:

LOL = laughing out loud
TGIF=Thank God it's Friday
ROFL= Rolling on the Floor with Laughter
RIP= Rest in Peace
BRB= Be Right Back

Also, new meanings for common words such as friend, like, status, wall, page, and profile have emerged. There are many examples such as:

Viral: Anything shared across social networks that get passed along rapidly.
Platform: A system that manages content.
Authenticity: Used to describe "real" people behind blog posts and other social profiles.
Influence: An individual's importance online is now measured by the Klout Score, a measurement of online influence.

We need to think about the social aspects of these practices as well as the practical aspects. Look at the examples:

Trending: A word, phrase or topic that is popular on Twitter at a given moment.
B2B: Business to Business
B2C: Business to Consumer
Hashtag: HubSpot defines a hashtag as a "word or string of characters that starts with a number sign."
Search Engine Optimization (SEO): The process of organizing your website to give it the best chance of appearing near the top of search engine rankings.
Traffic: This refers to the visitors that visit a website.

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Topic – 138: Writing on Social Media and Use of Non-linguistic Features

The term "nonlinguistic" means not using language or in other words sending and receiving messages without using a communication system that has the characteristic features of a language as identified by linguists. Nonverbal communication is usually used to reinforce verbal communication, but can also convey thoughts and feelings on its own. Visual Communication has already been there such as signs, typography, drawing, graphic design, illustration, color. However, now electronic resources add to the variety of available visual communication resources.

There is an old saying that a picture is worth a thousand words, and this is true in the case of non-linguistic communication on social media. In this regard emoticons are quite significant. As far as the origin of the term emoticons is concerned, the word is a portmanteau word of the English words "emotion" and "icon". In web forums, instant messengers and online games, text emoticons are often automatically replaced with small corresponding images, which came to be called "emoticons" as well. An emoticon is a written symbol, often two or three punctuation, numbers and letters. It shows writer's mood or facial expressions; and is also a time-saving shorthand.

There are different types of emoticons. Generally used emoticons include emoticon for a smiley face as **:-)** and for a sad face as **:-(.** This is how they **a**ppeared in the first documented use in digital form. Digital forms of emoticons on the Internet were included in a proposal by Scott Fahlman of Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in a message on 19 September 1982. As SMS and the internet became widespread in the late 1990s, emoticons became increasingly popular and were commonly used on text messages, internet forums and e-mails. Emoticons have a significant role in communication through technology. Some devices and applications have provided stylized pictures that do not use text punctuation. They offer another range of "tone" and feeling through texting that portrays specific emotions through facial gestures while in the midst of text-based cyber communication.

As far as Western style is concerned, they usually have the eyes on the left, followed by nose and the mouth. The two character version **:)** which omits the nose is also very popular. The most basic emoticons are relatively consistent in form, but each of them can be transformed by being rotated making them tiny ambigrams, with or without a hyphen nose. There are also some possible variations to emoticons to get new definitions, like changing a character to express a new feeling, or slightly change the mood of the emoticon. Common Western examples are as follows:

:(equals sad
:((equals very sad
Weeping can be written as **:'(**
A blush can be expressed as **:">**
A wink **;)**
A grin **:D**

Japanese styles ("Kaomojis") are also used. Users from Japan popularized a style of emoticons that can be understood without tilting one's head to the left. This style arose on ASCII NET, an early Japanese online service, in 1986. These emoticons are usually found in a format similar to **(*_*)**. The asterisks indicate the eyes; the central character, commonly an underscore, the mouth; and the parentheses, the outline of the face. Different emotions can be expressed by changing the character

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representing the eyes: for example, **"T"** can be used to express crying or sadness: **(T_T). T_T** may also be used to mean "unimpressed". Looks of stress are like **(x_x),** nervousness as **_-;)** with a **s**emi colon representing an anxiety-induced sweat drop and /// can indicate embarrassment by symbolizing blushing

Characters like hyphens or periods can replace the underscore; the period is often used for a smaller, "cuter" mouth, or to represent a nose, e.g. **(^.^)**. Alternatively, the mouth/nose can be left out entirely, e.g. **(^^).** We also need to think about the sociolinguistic implications of these kind of uses.

Topic – 139: Impact of Social Media on English Language

We need to think about the status of English especially in the global context and its role as a lingua franca. We also need to take into consideration the role and usage of English language as language of technology, the status of English language as language of (Social) Media; and also the question why and how English language is to be influenced by social media?

Dimensions of impact of English language are multiple such as:

Time
Space
Speed
Placement

Levels of impact of English language are also multiple such as:

Grammar
Syntax
Vocabulary
Morphology
Phonology

There is also a considerable significance of appropriating existing vocabulary. One of the most notable ways that social media has influenced the English language, is through the appropriation of existing vocabulary. Words that had existing meanings, have now been given other meanings in an online context.

Wall = ones in your house, or the ones outside in the street

In social media context = homepage of your social media profile, where you can share aspects of your life/work in a public forum. Other words re-purposed for social media:

- Tablet: portable screens
- Troll: an internet user who seeks attention by making outrageous or unreasonable comments.
- Stream(ing)= transmission of data as a steady continuous flow
- Catfish= an internet user who poses as someone other than themselves online.
- "DM", (Direct Message)
- "FOMO" (Fear of Missing Out)

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- "TBT" (Throwback Thursday)

The speed at which new vocabulary is introduced online, used, quickly over-used and then discarded is phenomenal. Examples of 'antique' text speak include OMG, TXT, GR8, M8 and L8R. Now, the development of the English language is accelerating at an unprecedented rate, and dictionary publishers are scrambling to strike the right balance between relevancy and credibility. Social media is at the center of the struggle, increasing the speed at which new words are adopted and creating new words for possible inclusion in the modern English dictionary.

- "straight" is now written as "Str8",
- "first" as "fess";
- "will" as "wee"
- "house" is now "haus"
- "help" is "epp";
- "kind of", what you get is "kinda",
- "money" is simply "moni"
- "the computer sign "@" has effectively replaced the word "at"
- "come" is now "cum"
- the conjunction "and" is represented with an "n"
- "that" is now "dat",

Topic – 140: Social Media and Writing Practices in Pakistan

In order to understand the social media practices of writing in Pakistan we need to look into the socio-cultural context of the country. We also need to consider linguistic choices of people with special reference to the prestige issues related to language, linguistic hierarchy in the society, status of English in the socio –cultural context. Writing practices on social media also have a lot to do with youth and its aspirations.

Use of language on social media in Pakistan includes the following:

- Use of Roman English
- Use of Abbreviations
- Frequent use of Acronyms
- Frequent use of Contractions
- A lot of code switching
- Frequent use of code mixing

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Lesson 29

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Topic- 141: Good and Bad English

One way of thinking about what 'English' is to ask speakers of the language, and evaluate their attitude towards English. Research shows that speakers often don't think about languages in their 'dictionary' senses. Rather they prefer to categorize varieties of English as either 'good' or 'bad' (Preston , 2002). Such language attitudes and folk beliefs are not simply about varieties of language, but also about speakers of those varieties.

Language Ideology: According to BBC radio and television presenter John Humphry (2004): I don't like glottal stops (especially when they are adopted by public school-educated politicians because they think it makes them sound cool) and I don't like people saying 'fink' unless they have a speech impediment. The justification for the writer's dislike of the glottal stop has less to do with the sound itself than with a particular set of speakers who use it for a particular function. I dislike London accent because they are stuck up snobs. Asserts Cheshire and Edwards (1993, p. 42). Whereas Edwards (1982) writes: "people's reactions to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties".

Associated with this notion of good and bad forms of English is the doctrine of correctness; as some speakers will often report that a particular way of saying something is just plain wrong. Such 'errors' have included grammatical features like multiple negation (for example, I ain't never been there), and the use of 'redundant' words for example, added in added bonus. In many cases, the features that are reported as wrong either used to be fairly common in the earlier history of the language but failed to make it into the 'standard language' when it was codified, or are currently undergoing change. This change may be incipient only in a very specific domain, and even in a restricted set of constructions such as:

- The thieves broke into our kitchen but they only took the toaster.
- The thieves broke into our kitchen but they took only the toaster.

Topic – 142: The Native Speaker of English

There are more speakers of English as second or other language than as a 1st or native language (Crystal, 2003). A question to be considered is: What precisely does it mean to be a native speaker of a language?. Common- sense view is that one who is born in a community of other speakers of English, and acquires his language from parents. Others may turn to them for guidance.

The question is what is acceptable or not; and whether a particular grammatical construction is better or worse than another. The 'arbitration' role of the native speaker is problematized when one considers communities. For example: In India non- native speakers use English for such a wide variety of purposes that the views of the native speaker become less and less relevant; and more local norms of

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usage emerge. Being a native speaker gives a sense of community, and with that, a sense of identity. Being a native speaker of English gives you a different identity from the group of individuals who are native speakers of French. An interesting issue in this regard is of bilinguals: For example, individuals from Montreal in Canada who are bilingual speakers of French and English. The question arises whether they are members of both groups simultaneously, or form instead a group of their own? Some speakers align themselves with what they perceive as a particular local variety. Within England, for example, this might be as a 'northerner', or more locally as a 'north- westerner. So, there are issues of identity.

Topic – 143: Standard English

The concept of a standard language is quite critical in sociolinguistics. The creation of a standard variety of any language is very much a sociopolitical one (Milroy & Milroy, 1998). The standard language of a community will fulfil a particular set of functions. For example used in the:

- Broadcast
- Print media
- Education
- Government

By and large, members of a community agree on what counts as Standard English, so there is an agreed set of forms which make up the standard variety. For example: Multiple negations are very common in non- standard speech and writing, it does not feature in written and spoken Standard English. Here is an example: He ain't never done nothing. But, Standard English also varies. For example: criticism on "between you and I", rather than "between you and me", or "it's entirely up to yourself", rather than "it's entirely up to you".

People who use these variants are undoubtedly speakers of Standard English, using some other criteria. So, despite occasional criticism by purists, they form part of the standard variety. The question is how precisely Standard English varies. First we can distinguish between written Standard English and spoken Standard English. Some things are peculiar to just written language. For example, spelling variants, (colour/ color) or just spoken language (example, pronunciation variants, or alternative ways of pronouncing the first syllable of transmission)

English Grammatical variation occurs in both spoken and written Standard English. Examples include:

- I've not written to him vs. I haven't written to him.
- I dreamed of that last night vs. I dreamt of that last night.

Second way in which Standard English varies is that different communities have different Standard Englishes such as Standard American English or Standard British English. Other emerging standards of English that need to be considered are in India, in Singapore and in a number of African countries. Note the paradox of English as a global language that the more English is used as a common, shared, global language, the more fragmented it becomes. The third way in which Standard English varies is in terms of formality. Speakers may use different linguistic forms and patterns to mark a more careful

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style. For example formal, written, Standard English prose tends to have a greater incidence of Latinate vocabulary than informal writing.

Particular grammatical forms include:

- If he were here, we could go.
- If he was here, we could go.
- I insist she be given more time to finish her essay.
- I insist she is given more time to finish her essay.

Reactions to standardization also vary. Standard language is disseminated via the media and the school. In history standardisation has been more successful in spelling than in any other area of language grammar, pronunciation, and so on. Today, through instant messaging over the internet, and text messaging via mobile a new set of spellings has emerged that have been conventionalized to differing degrees.

Topic – 144: English Language Amongst Global Languages

When we think of English Language amongst global languages the first important question is: Does the American empire agenda require the dominance of English globally? In the second half of the twentieth century, French and German declined as major international languages, leaving English in effect unchallenged. When Romani Prodi, President of the EU Commission, was asked (May, 2004) about a unified Europe in which English is the universal language, he replied, 'It will be broken English, but it will be English.' It is in the economic and political interest of the United States to ensure that if the world is moving toward a common language, it be English. Language is power, and a choice of one language invariably serves some interests better than others.

Another question is: Why should the British and French or EU states so energetically promote their languages internationally? English linguistic hegemony means that choice of language is not merely a matter for the individual language user, since we are all constrained by wider structural and ideological forces. There has been a paradigm shift from a concern in several countries with an invasion of loan words. There are studies of the Englishisation of academia in several countries (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999).

A paradox in this regard is evident from the study of Nordic medical doctors reading an article either in English or in a translation into Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian revealed that doctors reading the text took in more when reading in their mother tongue. There is a general perception of English being adopted as the dominant corporate language in large companies throughout continental Europe. Surveys in all the Nordic countries of the increasing use of English in scholarship and technology, in higher education, the business world and media, suggest that there are strong risks of domain loss in local languages (Höglin, 2002). Here are some examples:

- Norway and Finland are also investing substantially in multilingualism.
- Denmark is expecting its higher education institutions to become bilingual in English and Danish.

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Topic – 145: The English Speech Community and Virtual Networks

The main question here is: Can we define the English speech community simply as the people who speak English? This does not seem problematic at first. To understand this let us take the example of a 'farming community' that is a group of people who have farming in common. To define them we are not interested in other features such as interest in rock music or the colour of their eyes. Now to understand a speech community we may draw an analogy of English speech community. So, they all share some sort of common linguistic knowledge. However, the problem is that it is hard to agree on what such 'knowledge of English' might actually be. In fact trying to define what 'English' is on purely linguistic grounds can be problematic.

We use more than one language when we identify a series of individuals as belonging to a particular group: We might make reference to clothing, conduct, and so on. Returning to farming community, do we include people who own farms, and not those who work on the farm but do not own it? If both, we are already invoking things other than simply farming as criteria. Now think of the virtual networks. The question is: What are networks? Also think about social networks, strong and weak networks etc. Now think of the community of speaker of English. This thinking process leads us to the conclusion that the issue at hand is not very simple.

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Lesson 30

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE IN PAKISTAN- I

Topic- 146: National Language of Pakistan

The linguistic situation of Pakistan is a highly complex arena with several regional languages, a national language (Urdu) and English as an international language/ as a foreign/as second language. There is immense regional and linguistic diversity in Pakistan. We have Pakhtuns, Balochis, Punjabis, and Sindhis. Diverse cultural traditions exist and people speak different languages. There are also more than 7 million Muhajirs. From a linguistic standpoint this is an amalgam of heterogeneous groups with widely different linguistic characteristics.

Urdu is the official language. But it is not the first language of the majority. Urdu is written in a modified version of the Persian script, from right to left. It is not indigenous to Pakistan and in its literary form it emphasizes words of Persian and Arabic origin. It enjoys great prestige as a symbol of the Pakistan movement and as the national language of Pakistan. The greatest concentration of speakers of Urdu is in Punjab and Karachi. If within the hierarchy of languages English comes on the top, second position goes to Urdu. Urdu is preferred against all the regional and local languages for use in all the formal situations, though with the passage of time English is taking its place in the formal sphere of life. In spite of its status as the national language, however, only a few percent of Pakistanis speak Urdu as their first language.

Since independence it has the status as a national language, but there has always been a demand for cultural autonomy in other provinces, and resentment against discriminating govt. policies. There is a tension between Urdu and local languages on one level, and Urdu and English on the other level. But, Urdu has always been favoured in all the language policies.

Topic – 147: Provincial and Local Languages in Pakistan

The linguistic situation of Pakistan is very complex. There are various regional languages. We have Pakhtuns, Balochis, Punjabis, and Sindhis plus more than 7 million Muhajirs living in Pakistan. We need to understand the status of Urdu and English as well in the midst of no less than 24 languages and a considerably great number of dialects, that is not less than 70, are spoken (Mansoor, 1993). According to Rafique (1993-94, p. 6): "A number of languages are spoken in Pakistan, all belonging to Aryan age except Brahui which is spoken by a small number of people in the Kalat region. These languages heavily lean upon Persian and Arabic. Balochi, due to the area's geographical affinity to Iran, is more akin to the Persian than any other language". Speakers of Punjabi make up 56.1 % of the population and about 48% of Pakistan's population speaks Punjabi as a first language (Mansoor, 1993).

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Topic – 148: Linguistic Diversity and Sociolinguistic Context of Pakistan

The linguistic situation of Pakistan is very complex. There are various regional languages but Urdu has a unique status. It is the language of majority province and dominant ethnic group so it enjoys supremacy. But, at the same time Punjabis are dominated linguistically and culturally by Urdu and English speaking communities. We also need to take into consideration the accommodating and eclectic nature of Punjabi, the 'soft' boundaries of Punjabi and Urdu, and the element of mutual intelligibility is instrumental in the spread of Urdu. During the recent years children of Punjabis do not have Punjabi as their first language. And, Urdu has taken its place. As far as Sindhi, Baluchi, Pashto are concerned according to Saigol (1993):

- Sindhis makeup 26.6%,
- Baluchis 5.1%
- Pathans 13.1%of the population

The linguistic picture is quite complex as in Sindh, Sindhi is spoken in rural Sindh whereas Urdu in urban Sindh, and Gujrati in influential minorities. In N.W.F.P. Pashto is the language of majority, though one district Hazara uses Hindko. Despite the smallest population Baluchistan has multiple languages: Baluchi, Pashto, Brohi and a sprinkling of Sraiki and Punjabi. Regional and ethnic sentiments in the form of Sindhi and Baluchi nationalism have close links with Sindhi and Baluchi languages as one source of identity. Also, in this regard the issues of identity and ideology and the issues of power play a vital role.

Topic – 149: Issues of Linguistic Unity in Pakistan

Pakistan is multi-cultural and multilingual. To understand these dimensions we need to think of "unity in diversity" and "diversity in unity". Language is a dividing power and simultaneously language is a unifying force. There are various issues and aspects of identity such as:

- Cultural
- Political
- Linguistic
- Ethnic/ Racial

Topic – 150: Language and Power in Pakistani Sociolinguistic Context

When we think of language and power we need to think how they both inter-relate. Language use does not take place in vacuum. In the same way power exertion also does not happen in vacuum. Regarding the Pakistani social context we also need to keep in mind the changing social scenario and political aspect of this social context. In fact language is as a determiner of power. It is a dividing and a unifying force. Ideological power, linguistic power, economic power and power of media all interrelate.

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Lesson 31

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE IN PAKISTAN- II

Topic- 151: Role and Status of English in Pakistan

There are various factors and multiple reasons that contribute towards the role and status of English in Pakistan. The multi- cultural and multi-lingual context of Pakistan is not very simple to understand. To understand the role and status of English in Pakistan following aspects need to be considered:

- Place of English in linguistic hierarchy
- Language power and social context
- Social status ladder
- Historical background of English
- Colonial experience
- Language of the rulers
- Placement of English in the language policy of Pakistan
- Placement of English in the education policy of Pakistan
- English and economic power
- English and power of media

Topic – 152: English vs. Urdu in Pakistan

To understand the relationship of English and Urdu in Pakistan we need to look at the synchronic as well as diachronic factors. From diachronic perspective which involves historical factors we need to think about the history of the sub-continent, and especially its linguistic history which involves the use of multiple languages in a complex socio-political scenario. From synchronic perspective when we look at the current factors they include linguistic hierarchy; issues of language power and social context; and positioning of both on social status ladder. With reference to Urdu ideological issues and concept of Nationalism are involved. On the other hand English is social status determiner. We also need to consider the placement of English and Urdu in the language policy of Pakistan as well as the placement of English and Urdu in the education policy of Pakistan.

Topic – 153: English and Education in Pakistan

To understand the status of English in relation to education in Pakistan, we need to think of the historical background of English in the sub-continent. Even after independence, the language policy issue in higher education in Pakistan has not been adequately addressed by the various education commissions. English has been regarded as an official language, and as a medium of instruction in higher education in Pakistan. However, every policy is seen as an interim arrangement. The long- term language policy as laid down in all the reports of educational policies as well as education commissions and committees has been throughout to introduce Urdu as the official medium of instruction. Urdu was declared the official medium of instruction for schooling (class 1-12) in the public sector soon after the country's independence. The period assigned to the transfer has varied in various reports. For example: Fifteen

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years in the 1950s (Sharif Commission); and five to seven years in the 1970s (University Grants Commission, 1982). The Report of the Education Sector Reforms (2001) and the Task Force on Higher Education (2002) set up by General Musharraf have also not addressed the issue of language policy in higher education.

The question that the present language policy poses is whether Pakistani students involved in higher education receive sufficient linguistic support in Urdu, English, or their mother tongue. This is a complex question. Another question is: Whether to promote its national language (Urdu) for ideological purposes, or English in keeping with the demands of the emerging global market? Learners' language difficulties in the English medium and provision of quality materials in Urdu for higher education have not been given adequate attention so far. One major problem is lack of research in the areas of language planning in education. Only a few sociolinguistic surveys are involving schooling in Pakistan (Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 2002).

In higher education which includes undergraduate and postgraduate studies the participation rate is around 3% only. As far as English Language Teaching (ELT) is concerned, Abbas (1998) asserts that despite the massive inputs into the teaching of English, the national results are abysmally poor. College level pass percentage is extremely poor in English as a compulsory subject. Failure in English examinations is mainly because of flawed pedagogy and material design. We need to consider the question: Is teaching of English necessary for all levels of the population? English is a compulsory language from class VI to BA in all schools, the exception being Sindh and Punjab, where English is compulsory from class 1. And, the irony of the situation is that English is a compulsory subject at the graduate level and Urdu is not.

Topic – 154: English and Social Class Issues in Pakistan

In order to understand the relationship of English and social class issues in Pakistan first we need to understand in the social setup who is who? How do you know this positioning of who is who? What are the determiners of this social class positioning? As an answer we may say that generally speaking economics is the determiner. The question is: Apart from economics how is social status reflected in life style, dressing, social behavior and linguistic behavior? Consequently, it is used to exert power, demonstrate knowledge, and assert position. Use of English in the domains of power includes its use in government, business, higher education and media.

Topic – 155: British and American English Varieties in Pakistan

To understand the use of British and American English varieties in Pakistan, and how the preferences in these practices are made we need to think about certain points which include colonial background of the country, acceptability of British variety as a colonial experience, and the education system that is based on British legacy. As far as the education system is concerned, British variety of language is used as an accepted variety everywhere. When we look into the usage and practices related to textbooks, libraries, and educational materials everything is in the British English. In the same way when it comes to the legal system as a British legacy the legal language, legal documents and records and all the concerned practices are in British variety of English.

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As far as the American English is concerned, introduction of American variety is recent and is via media. Certain factors such as role of electronic media, flow of knowledge, the role of the USA as a custodian of knowledge and information, availability of online information, e-books and e-materials, websites, e-libraries, and overall the emergence of social media , have played a vital role in that. All this has led to an identity shift in the youth of Pakistan. There is a shift in language variety that is from the British English there is a visible shift to the American English.

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Lesson 32

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE IN PAKISTAN- III

Topic- 156: Language Contact in Pakistan

To understand language contact in Pakistan and its related issues we need to first of all understand certain questions: What is language contact? Why language contact occurs? What does it imply? Pakistan has multiple languages and dialects as well as multiple identities. We have an official language, a national language and a huge variety of regional languages. Language/s of an average Pakistani need to be considered from various aspects which include language/s in the school, market and for business, on street, at home and with friends. Also certain other factors such as multilingualism that is a social norm play a vital role. In the context of multilingualism issues of linguistic identity and relevant social issues emerge; and language contact in the social network of multilingual society makes it a very complicated situation. In other words there are various social and cultural push and pull forces that operate on various contact languages. As far as the impact of language contact is concerned, it becomes evident in various forms such as code switching, code mixing, language-shift and language desertion.

Topic – 157: Social Aspects of Language Choice for Children in Pakistan

Growing up as a child in Pakistan has its own implications. We need to think what social and linguistic implications it has and how they are significant. Pakistan has multiple languages and dialects as well as multiple identities. We use multiple languages including official language, national language and regional languages. A Pakistani child's encounter with languages is very complex and complicated. There are various languages that a child comes across such as: languages at home, in the school, on street and of media. There are certain factors such as social class and school choice, peer pressure and language choice, multilingual literacy practices at schools, parents' ethnic identity, family identity, and regional identity that also play a significant role in this regard.

Topic – 158: Economic Aspects of English Language in Pakistan

In order to understand the economic aspects of English language in Pakistan we need to take into consideration the current socio-economic status of Pakistan. Other factors that contribute in this regard include job market and job market needs, education system of Pakistan and its role as a feeding stream for job market. Common clichés in Pakistan about English include the view that it is a key to national progress; and it is a passport to success and upward social mobility. These clichés reflect the perception of many people – both rich and poor – in discussing future life opportunities for their children. The race for individual prosperity and economic development at the national level seems to have overtaken issues of class, identity and fear of cultural invasion from an erstwhile colonial language.

In the present age, economic dimensions of a nation are more dominant in the geopolitical scenario. Economics has come to play an increasingly important role in the popular aspirations of the people of a country in comparison to nationalism or politics. To make endeavors to revolutionize 'the

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socioeconomic indicators of Pakistan' we need to improve the education of English. Crux of argument is that learning English in pursuit of long-term economic gains. The government's viewpoint is in consonance with the current global clamor of promoting education for poverty alleviation.

Topic – 159: Language in the Domains of Politics, Law and Government in Pakistan

English has dominated the political and official landscape in Pakistan as in other developing countries for a long time as the language for development. It is also the language of government, law, and politics. English as a language of government has an everyday usage at higher levels and for official documentation as well as for formal meetings. As far as English as a language of law is concerned, it has a colonial heritage; and the availability of legal documents is mostly in only English language. When it comes to English as language of politics the emblematic status of English due to its historical association with the elite has helped in making it a language associated with prestige. There are various political factors that also play a significant role.

Topic – 160: Language in the Domains of Religion, Market and Business

Domain of Religion

As far as the domain of religion is concerned, in Pakistan Arabic is the main language. However, for everyday less formal usage, Urdu is used. English, as it has emerged as a more common medium of code mixing, it has also found its way into modern religious discourse. In this regard, we need to think about the 'religion and media' relationship, and the contribution of media. Language choices on media have a strong influence on the society.

Domain of Market and Business

In Pakistan, everyday market language is Urdu. However, when it comes to the elite business class and language use we can easily notice that English is used as a medium of communication and interaction. Formal meetings and official processes are carried out in English. Whether we accept it or not, whether we are ready for it or not English is now the global language of business around the world; and this factor has a strong impact on Pakistan as well. More and more multinational companies are mandating English as the common corporate language. Pakistan too needs it for communication and performance of business endeavors across geographically diverse areas.

Political Factors

English is the language of power in comparison with Urdu, the national language, and other regional languages of Pakistan. Every new elected government soon after assuming power announces its policy of teaching English to the masses as a way of achieving its proclaimed democratic ideals of equality of opportunity. Generally speaking it was always a politically motivated decision. Implementation efforts fall short of the supposedly democratic intent of the policy. Official rhetoric of providing 'equal' opportunities for learning of English does not match the objectives of education policy

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in Pakistan. As a concluding remark, we may say that English language in Pakistan has proved to be more of a weapon of linguistic imperialism and less of a tool of empowerment and development.

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Lesson 33

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN PAKISTAN

Topic- 161: Impact of Urbanization on the Sociolinguistic Scene of Pakistan

If we consider Pakistan's current population, one third of it is urban. According to careful estimates, it will rise to nearly 50% by 2025. (NOREF Expert Analysis, Urbanisation in Pakistan: causes and consequences Michael Kugelman, 2013). Pakistan is urbanising at an annual rate of 3% – the fastest pace in South Asia. The United Nations Population Division estimates that, by 2025, nearly half of the country's population will live in cities. There are certain other projections as well which use density based rather than administrative definitions of urbanisation, and they conclude that it is already 50%.

Accroding to Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, (2011), Lahore's population is currently about 7 million, and by 2025 will exceed 10 million. As far as Karachi is concerned, it has a population of 13 million today and will be 19 million. Number of Pakistani cities with populations between .5 million and a million will be 11 – whereas today it is only two. According to Burki, Shahid Javed (2011) "Pakistan is at the threshold of a major demographic transition".

Entry into cities is to escape war, insecurity and natural disasters and also to seek new livelihoods and better basic services. High-growth industries in cities offer hope for Pakistan's floundering economy. But rising urban populations pose great challenges for job markets and service providers. Advanced telecommunications in cities provide great benefits to Pakistani society. But, language issue becomes more complicated. Urbanization, on the one hand, is a catalyst for modernization. On the other hand, it has its own challenges. Telecommunications infrastructure has hastened the growth of Pakistan's influential private media, facilitated the spread of affordable mobile technologies and accelerated Internet hook-ups.

While all of these are becoming hallmarks of Pakistani urban society; linguistic push and pull forces have also increased. Crafting an appropriate linguistic policy for this urban life will require both creativity and judiciousness. Pakistan's urban transition can be eased by funding literacy and vocational training programmes in cities and by regularizing Pakistani private education sector.

In this context, it is evident from the present linguistic set-up of Pakistan that due to urbanization, and increase in literacy more Pakistanis of new generation are speaking Urdu as a first language. However, the other dimension of the matter is that in the present times it is felt that in connection to the spread of English, Urdu may lose its relevance to masses in the face of changed cultural and economic realities.

Topic – 162: Language Change and Shift in Pakistan

Language change can be defined as variation over time in a language's phonological, morphological, semantic, syntactic, and other features. It is studied by historical linguistics and evolutionary linguistics. Language changes takes place across space and social group. Language also

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varies across time. Generation by generation, pronunciations evolve, new words are borrowed or invented. Types of language change include lexical changes which imply the ongoing influx of new words into any language. We need to think about the recent decades and lexical changes in Pakistani socio-linguistic context. As far as English language is concerned for example, throughout its history English has not only borrowed words from other languages but has recombined and recycled them to create new meanings, whilst losing some old words.

Phonetic and phonological changes have taken place over time. William Labov recorded the change in pronunciation in Martha's Vineyard. This showed how this resulted from social tensions and processes. As far as spelling changes are concerned, standardization of spelling originated relatively recently in English. On the other hand, semantic changes are change in the meanings of existing words. Semantic changes in social media linguistic context whereas syntactic change is the evolution of the syntactic structure over time.

Language Shift

Language shift, language transfer, replacement or assimilation, is the process whereby a community of speakers of a language shifts to speaking a completely different language. Usually it happens over an extended period of time. Languages perceived to be of "higher status" stabilize or spread at the expense of other languages that are perceived to be of "lower-status" by their own speakers. For example, shift from Gaulish to Latin that occurred in France during the time of the Roman Empire. Another example is of shift to Urdu in Pakistan particularly from Punjabi.

Topic – 163: Language Desertion in Pakistan

Language desertion or code desertion is a term that refers to the phenomenon of abandoning the use of one language in favour of another which may ultimately result in the death of the deserted language. Sometimes due to the influence of a stronger language in a bi/ multi-lingual society, there is a shift from the weak language towards the strong language, but sometimes the weak language is gradually completely left or disowned by the speakers and is called desertion.

Desertion is very much evident in South Asian countries. Various demographic, social, political factors play a role in this regard. As a result of globalization, today, languages are in unprecedented closer contact, and the processes of code mixing, code switching, language hybridization and language desertion have gathered speed. Attitude of the speakers towards the mixed variety affects their attitude towards the language they desert. Both linguistic, and socio- cultural reasons play a significant role in this respect. In terms of the linguistic roles in Pakistan a hierarchy of languages exists. Different languages play roles at particular social, educational, political and administrative levels. To get a better position in this hierarchy every language strives hard to extend the range of its total functional roles. The more is the number of the total functional roles the greater is the power. The result of this tussle is a gradual desertion of languages: local languages have been deserted in favour of the national language Urdu which in turn faces desertion in favour of English. An example in this regard, is that frequency of the use of Punjabi is decreasing in the new generation. Specially, in cities, children of the new generation use Urdu as their first language while their parents had Punjabi as their first language.

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Topic – 164: Language Use on Pakistani Television and Its Implications

Brief History of Television in Pakistan

On November 26, 1964 the first official television station commenced transmission broadcasts from Lahore. PTV Network launched a full-scale satellite broadcasting service in 1991-1992. Later on in 2002 the then government opened up new ways for the media industry and allowed private TV channels to operate openly. It allowed to telecast their own news and current affairs content. So, Indus Vision was the first ever private satellite channel of Pakistan. Many other channels such as ARY Digital, Geo, Hum, etc. opened. All this brought an influx of English films, seasons/ series, news etc.

Topic – 165: Future Dimensions and Predictions about Language Use in Pakistan

Pakistan today has a changing social as well as a changing linguistic scenario. As far as the youth of Pakistan is concerned, it has a desire for Western identity which operates in a complex social context alongside the national and religious identity. Today also the soft inter- cultural and intra- cultural boundaries are a ground reality of today's Pakistan. The consequences thus include shift and desertion processes of language, issues of language maintenance, and issues of identity. In this respect we also need to consider the future dimensions of media and the consequent implications.

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Lesson 34

CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING IN PAKISTAN

Topic- 166: Code Switching of English and Urdu in Pakistan

Code Switching is the switch or shift from one language to the other which involves longer stretches or units of language at the clause or sentence boundary. Mainly it has three types:

- tag switching
- intra sentential
- inter-sentential

Examples for tag switching: woh bohat achi hai. Isn't she?; She is very nice. Hai na?
Examples for Intra sentential switching: woh bohat intelligent hai; Khana bohat tasty hai.
Examples of Inter-sentential switching: Khana bohat acha hai but I don't feel like eating; woh bohat zaheen hai and I like intelligent people.

Poplack (1980) differentiates between code- switching and code mixing as well. As far as the switching of English and Urdu is concerned, there are some general reasons of switching. Social reasons of switching in Pakistan and their application and implications in Pakistani case need to be addressed from the perspectives of Pakistani cultural context and identity issues as well.

Topic – 167: Code Switching of Other Languages in Pakistan

To understand code switching of languages other than Urdu and English in Pakistan, we need to think about cultural practices and social reasons of switching along with linguistic reasons of switching. Use of language in various social domains and switching has issues of identity at the core.

Topic – 168: Code Mixing of English and Urdu in Pakistan

Code mixing is an important linguistic phenomenon in many countries of the world where more than one language is used. Code mixing is the mixing of words, phrases or smaller units of one language in the structure of the other language. Sometimes mixing is of more than two languages. Frequent mixing leads to making it a regular feature of language usage. There are also issues of interchangeability in the use of terms. According to Poplack, "It occurs within the clause or sentence boundary as a result of the insertion of a part of a word, a word, a combination of words or a phrase". Romaine (1995) asserts, "Certain terms in linguistics such as borrowing, code switching and code mixing seem to overlap".

Code mixing plays a very significant role in language change and language variation. It provides an insight into the socio-cultural phenomena. As far as South Asia is concerned, it is a fertile field for research in code mixing. A wide range of codes exist simultaneously, and their interaction gives way to code mixing. English as a lingua franca in the recent decades has given rise to the process of code mixing of English with the local languages all over the world. There are social as well as linguistic reasons of mixing. Various factors that affect in this regard are:

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- setting
- addressee
- addresser
- social factors such as prestige attached to a particular language
- socio-historical background of a language

Examples from Pakistan that show various types of mixing:

1. Kitna khubsurat scene hai (noun)
2. In dono ko compare kuro (verb)
3. Yeh one-sided report hai (Noun Phrase)
4. Aj mai nay bara tasty kofta curry banaya hai. (Noun Phrase Hybridization)

There are linguistic reasons as well. For example, as far as the noun insertion is concerned, it is evident that many a times the speakers of Urdu opt for English nouns despite the fact that the Urdu equivalents are available. Apart from the prestige that the speakers attach to English, another reason for the choice of English equivalents can be the subtle differences of meaning that the Urdu equivalents cannot convey, or that the speakers think Urdu equivalents cannot convey.

One reason of making insertions of nouns is the fact that nouns are content words. Unlike structural words their insertion does not have a great impact on the syntax of a sentence. Thus, the speaker does not have to make great conscious effort to ensure that the chain of words within the string of a sentence is not disturbed though to some extent 'choices' within the sentence syntax depend on the noun selected from English. For instance, the choice of possessives depends on the choice of noun. For example, in the sentence ***'****daryā maen pāni* ***ki satāh*** *buland ho gai'* possessive ***ki*** is used. But, if the noun ***satāh*** is replaced with an English equivalent **level,** the possessive is changed from ***ki*** to ***kā*** i.e. '*darya maen pani* ***kā level*** *buland ho gia'*. Secondly, while inserting nouns from English, in the use of possessives, sometimes choices are affected due to the reason that Urdu only offers possessives reflective of masculine or feminine gender while English, apart from these also offers neutral possessive **its**. Thus, those nouns that take neutral possessive in English, when they are inserted in Urdu, a possessive reflecting either masculine or feminine gender is attached to them. If the word has its equivalent in Urdu generally the same possessive is used for the English equivalent that the Urdu noun takes. However, sometimes choice is made otherwise. For example, in Urdu ***ūski sālgirāh*** is used while for the English equivalent birthday uski **birthday** and ***ūskā*** **birthday** both are used.

However, as compared to the mixing of other kinds of units the mixing of nouns is comparatively free and easy which has led to the frequent mixing of English nouns in Urdu. Apart from this purely linguistic reason for the frequent mixing of nouns from English, there are socio-cultural reasons as well. Since English is the language of power, its use is far more frequent in all the domains of power. It is also evident from the analysis of the data that in the domains of government, administration, business, law, and education a far larger number of nouns from English language are used, which stands in contrast with the radically reduced number of such instances in programme 9 and 10 that are related to the domain of religion. Thus, it can be concluded that in the process of code mixing of English, Urdu nouns are the

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lexical items that are mixed most frequently and freely as analysis of the data of this research work has reflected. However, single word items are not only inserted as nouns but also as adjectives and adverbs.

Topic – 169: Code Mixing of Other Languages in Pakistan

Code mixing is a global phenomenon. It is found in many countries of the world where more than one language is used. In Pakistan we have: English, Urdu and various regional languages. Apart from mixing of English and Urdu:

- Regional languages and English are mixed.
- Sometimes three languages are mixed.
- Local and regional identities and code mixing
- National Identity
- Identity as educated
- Identity as well-off
- Identity as fashionable

Topic – 170: Language Hybridization in Pakistan

To define 'Hybridization' we need to understand what a hybrid is. As the very word 'hybrid' indicates, it refers to the process of the fusion of two languages. In fact hybridization is a product of code mixing. When two codes are mixed, they constitute a third code that has structural characteristics special to that new code. According to Bakhtin (1981), hybridization is an utterance that in terms of grammar and composition belongs to a single speaker but actually has two utterances containing two speech manners, two styles, and two languages with two different systems. According to Sridhar (1978), Kuchru (1978), and Romaine (1995), 'hybridization' is used in a variety of ways such as to refer to mixing at a very low level that is within the word, phrase or sentence. For example:

aj mai nay bara tasty kofta curry banaya hai.

(Noun Phrase Hybridization)

Language hybridization is a resultant process of frequent code mixing. When two or more languages are frequently mixed resultantly a new hybridized variety of language takes birth. This new variety to some extent shares the qualities of both the languages. But it has its own independent grammar and vocabulary that may not match any of the mixed languages. According to Backus (2000): "The frequent use of intrasentential code switching refers to a "bilingual lect" or what Alvarez-Caccamo mentions as an "alloy" (833)". "The speakers over all use a single mixed 'lect', where the users probably do not think that they are switching between two languages; rather they take it as one single language". Language hybridization can lead to the process of language desertion.

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Lesson 35

SOCIAL ASPECT OF LINGUISTIC PRACTICES ACROSS THE GLOBE

Topic- 171: Greetings and Sociolinguistics

Greetings are an exchange of cheerful expressions or good wishes between two people or a group of people. Greetings can help people in establishing interpersonal relationship. They can be used as an introductory remark to begin of a proper conversation. Greeting is an expression that may occur on the road, at work, shopping, the coffee shop, meetings, home and social functions. As greeting is one of the means of developing interpersonal relationships, it is worth studying from sociolinguistic point of view.

Greetings in Brazil

Bom dia
Good day. (R= same)
Como vai?
How are you?
Tudo bem, e voce?
All is well, and you?
Prazer em conhece-lo
Pleasure to meet you

Greetings in Lebanon

An interesting mix of both the French and Muslim/Arab cultures
Handshake while saying 'Marhaba‘
Close friends exchange three kisses on the cheek, alternating cheeks in the French style

Greetings in Japan

Japanese men and women usually bow,
More cosmopolitan may shake hands
Often, people will bow and shake hands simultaneously.

Topic – 172: Blessings and Curses and Sociolinguistics

Blessings and curses are common in all languages. They are social and culture specific expressions which play an important role in communication. Blessing and cursing are very diverse in nature and serve several functions in social interactions. They reflect the speaker’s emotional attitude to the topic of conversation. Blessings are expressions of gratitude or wishes for others. Generally elders use blessing expressions. On the contrary, cursing is considered as verbal act of threatening through which the speaker wishes evil or misfortune to befall on others. They are used to blame others. Following are some examples of blessings from around the world:

Navajo Wedding Ceremony

Now you have lit a fire and that fire should not go out. The two of you now have a fire that represents love, understanding and a philosophy of life.

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American Indians

Now you will feel no rain, for each of you will be shelter for the other.

Polish Blessing

May your heart be as patient as the earth - your love as warm as harvest gold.

Chinese Wedding Blessing

May you respect each other like honored guests.

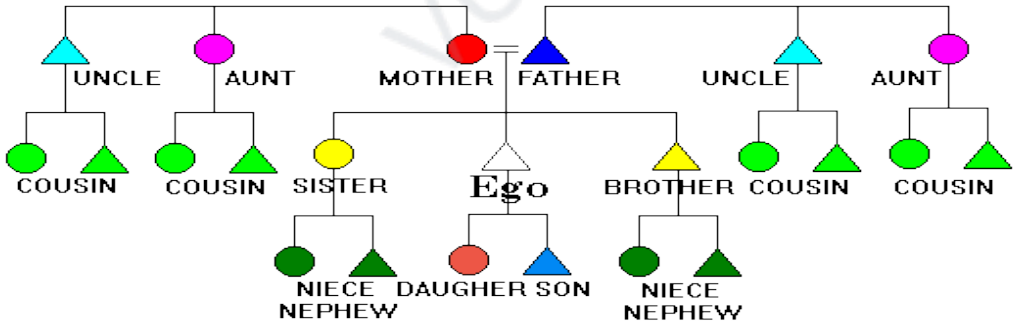
In short blessings and curses provide insights into cultures; and are significant to study.

Topic – 173: Kinship Terms and Sociolinguistics

Kinship terminology is the system used in languages to refer to the persons to whom an individual is related through kinship. Kinship terms are the terms used to name relationships in a particular society. Each society has its own kinship terms, which reflect the culture of that society. The meanings of kinship terms reflect the relationships among kith and kin in each particular society. They invoke social meanings associated with them. Various kinship terms are used in the various social environments. Kinship terms may be differentiated by various features like:

sex (father, mother or son, daughter)
generation (mother and daughter)
collateral kinship distance (uncle and aunt)

The sociolinguistic study of the kinship terms is required to understand the social meanings associated with them. There are two types of descent involved in kinship. Patrilineal are the relations that come from the father's blood line. Matrilineal are the relations that come from the mother's blood line. Kinship refers to the culturally defined relationships between individuals who are commonly thought of as having family ties. All societies use kinship as a basis for forming social groups and for classifying people. In many societies, kinship is the most important social organizing principle along with gender and age.



Historical view

Anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881) was the first survey of kinship terminologies. He argued that kinship terminologies reflect different sets of distinctions. For example, most kinship terminologies distinguish between sexes (the difference between a brother and a sister) and between generations (the difference between a child and a parent). Moreover, he argued, kinship terminologies

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distinguish between relatives by blood and marriage. Morgan identified six basic patterns of kinship terminologies:

1. **Hawaiian kinship**

Only distinguishes between sex and generation. Thus, siblings and cousins are not distinguished the same terms are used for both types of relatives.

2. **Sudanese kinship**

No two types of relatives share the same term. Siblings are distinguished from cousins, and different terms are used for each type of cousin i.e. father's brother's children, father's sister's children, etc.

3. **Eskimo kinship**

In addition to sex and generation, it also distinguishes between lineal relatives those related directly by a line of descent and collateral relatives those related by blood, but not directly in the line of descent.

4. **Iroquois kinship**

In addition to sex and generation, it also distinguishes between siblings of opposite sexes in the parental generation. A genealogical relationship traced through a pair of siblings of the same sex is classed as a blood relationship but one traced though a pair of siblings of the opposite sex can be considered an in-law relationship. In other words, siblings are grouped together with parallel cousins, while separate terms are used for cross-cousins. Also, one calls one's mother's sister "mother" and one's father's brother "father".

5. **Crow kinship**

Like Iroquois, but further distinguishes between one's mother's side and one's father's side.
Number of relatives belonging to one's father's matrilineage are grouped together, ignoring generational differences, so that the same term is used for both one's father's sister and one's father's sister's daughter, etc.

6. **Omaha kinship**

Like Iroquois, with the addition that a number of relatives belonging to one's mother's patrilineage are grouped together, ignoring generational differences, so that the same term is used for both one's mother's brother and one's mother's brother's son.
So, kinship varies culturally. And, has sociolinguistic significance attached to it.

Topic – 174: Diminutive Expressions and Sociolinguistics

The use of diminutives in everyday social interactions is a common phenomenon of people in the modern society. A wide range of diminutives are available. Diminutives are the words or expressions that communicate smallness and connote affection and endearment. The term ‘diminutive’ derives from Latin dēminuere meaning ‘diminish, decrease, lessen, reduce or impair’. This leads to conceptual meanings concerning dimension, e.g. small size, approximation, as well as evaluative or expressive and stylistic connotative meaning. Thus, diminutives denote the diminishing of animate or inanimate objects, events, properties and relations and/or convey affection on the part of the speaker. They can also express admiring or derogative, or humorous meanings. Study of diminutive expressions provides insights into social structure and relationships.

Native English diminutives

-k/-ock/-uck: bollock, bullock, hillock, -
n/-en/-on: chicken, kitten, maiden
ish: reddish, smallish, tallish

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Topic – 175: Sayings and Proverbs Across the Globe

A saying is a short, pithy, commonly known expression which generally offers advice or wisdom. Synonyms of the term 'saying' include proverb, maxim, aphorism, axiom, epigram, and epigraph. A proverb is a short, well-known pithy saying, stating a general truth or piece of advice. Here are a few examples of proverbs:

- If you want to go fast go alone, if you want to go far go together. (African)
- Fall seven times, stand eight. (Japanese)
- Do good and throw it in the sea. (Arab)
- Measure a thousand times and cut once. (Turkish)
- It takes a whole village to raise a child. (African)
- A fault confessed is half redressed. (Zulu)

The sociolinguistic study of the sayings and proverbs terms is required to understand the social meanings associated to them.

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Lesson 36

LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC SCENE OF PAKISTAN- I

Topic- 176: Modes of Address and Sociolinguistic Scene of Pakistan

Address terms is an important feature of social interaction which can provide valuable information about the interlocutors, their relationship and their circumstances. Address terms play a crucial role in communication and maintaining social relationships between members of a society. They need to be studied in every language and culture. According to Yule (2006), address term is a word or phrase for the person in the context. According to Leech (1999), an important formulaic verbal behavior is well recognized in the sociolinguistic literature as they signal transactional, interpersonal and deictic ramifications in human relationships.

Modes and terms of address are important in any society for the purposes of identification and expression of ideas. The use of these terms depends upon the social rank, age, and the gender of the persons involved in any communicative situation" (Girish, 2005). In the past few decades, sociolinguists have shown great interest in studying address terms as they reflect the social relationships between members of a specific speech community. They are not static; and they vary according to the social contexts. Social factors such as class, education, occupation, age, gender, power, solidarity, politeness, race and ethnicity, religion influence the use of address terms. Culture is a major determining factor in the use of terms of address. Members of a speech community utilize various address terms according to their socio-cultural relationship. They can include proper names, nicknames, titles, pronouns, prefixes and other referent terms with semantic significance.

According to Koul and Madhu-Bala (1989), there is a difference between English and South-Asian languages in this regard. There is a multiplicity of ways in which South-Asian languages permit their speakers to mark out different kinds of relationships. In Pakistan certain honorific words and reference terms are used to address people in formal and informal situations. For example:

- Sir/ Madam
- *Muhtram/ muhtarmah*
- *Jnāb*
- *molānā*
- *mūfti*

A highly developed system of naming is used, for example, first names and surnames together with terms associated with professions and kinship. They are used in specific ways to imply particular kinds of social interaction and varying degrees of interrelationships (Aitsiselmi, 2004). Ranks and social positions are also used as a mode of address. For example:

- Doctor *sāhib*, doctor+ name+ *sāhib*,
- Air commodore retired +name + *sāhib* etc.

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Topic – 177: Reduplication and Sociolinguistic Scene of Pakistan

Reduplication is quite common in Urdu and the local languages of Pakistan.
Here are some examples in Urdu:

- *pāni- shāni*
- *chāy- shay*
- *kām- shām*

Examples in Punjabi:

- *gul- shul*
- *kum- shum*
- *Khayāl- shayāl*

There is some ambiguity related to the term. For example, look at the use of the noun phrase *Hi-fi* organization (or high-fi organization). In general 'hi-fi' as used in English is an informal abbreviation of 'high fidelity'. Webster's dictionary does not have the entry 'hi-fi'. But Webber dictionary, (1984, p. 330) presents high fidelity as a noun and adjective= "minimally distorted electronic sound reproduction, as on records or tape". According to Colins Coubuild English Dictionary, "Hi-fi, a high-fi is a set of equipment on which you play records and tapes, and which produces stereo sound of very good quality (n)". In Pakistan people generally do not know hi-fi as an English lexical item. But they know the word 'High' as an English lexical item. Thus probably they use *fi* to reduplicate. According to Kachru (1978), It "is very common in South Asian languages" and in the process of code mixing "it is applied to English items to convey the semantic function of indefinitization" (p.35). Some examples are:

- *petrol-vetrol bhar lia hai*
- *akting -vakting mai kia janu re*
- water *shater*
- girls *shirls*,
- boys *shoys*
- work *shurk*,
- time *shime*

Topic – 178: Repetition of Codes and Sociolinguistic Scene of Pakistan

Societies where speakers have more than one language available, speakers use different conversational strategies to serve specific linguistic functions. Repetitions in the process of code mixing are one of the strategies used by speakers to achieve certain linguistic goals. Functions of repetition include to reemphasize their idea, to ensure that they have conveyed to the listener exactly what they wanted to convey, to facilitate understanding on listener's part, to convey certain socio-cultural connotations attached to the linguistic choice of the repeated item etc. A variety of ways are used by Pakistani speakers to create repetitions in the process of code mixing of Urdu/ English. For example, a word used in one language is immediately repeated for instance: *nisbatan* comparatively, or north *shūmāl*. Sometimes a connector/ conjunction is inserted between the linguistic item and its repetition in the other language: peace *aur aman, aman yā* peace etc. Other examples are:

is war *maen is jung maen*
aur itni powerful *ūnki āwāz honi chāhiay itni tāqatwar ūnki āwāz honi chāhiay'*

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developed *jo taraqiyāftā mūmālik*
meritorious *lāiq buchā*

In these examples within a noun phrase repetition of adjective in L2 is made however the noun is not repeated. For instance look at the examples *sub saey* richest, and *sub saey jo* latest. Her superlative degrees of adjectives are used. And, only the superlative degree marker is repeated instead of the whole word.

Topic – 179: Names and Titles and Sociolinguistic Scene of Pakistan

General practices of code mixing in Pakistan are also reflected in names and tittles. Names or titles of institutions or organizations are either created in English or in a hybridized language. Apart from using names or titles purely from English language, hybridized names and titles are also very common, and are generally considered more trendy and attractive. It is noteworthy that this trend is also reflected in the political sphere in Pakistan.

Some examples of names of political parties:

Awāmi National Party
Muslim League *Qāf*
Muslim League *Nūn*
People's Party *Shayrpāo*

Some examples of names of offices include:

Pakistan National Shipping Corporation
Security Exchange Commission
Pakistan Stock Market
District Development Advisory Committee
Punjab Small Industries Corporation
Pakistan Export Finance Guarantee Agency
SMEDA Guarantee Agency
Small Industries Corporation

Some examples of names of banks are following:

SME Bank
State Bank
Dubai Islamic Bank (other version)

Some examples from the domain of education:

Rector GIK Institute of Engineering and Technology
Chairman Higher Education Commission
Vice Chancellor Sindh University
University Model Act

Taking into account that language has a dynamic relationship with culture, as stated by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Bonvillain, 1993), it can be stated that the process of code mixing would not only have a social meaning but also a cultural one. When we think of identity, kinship and solidarity as foundations of a culture code mixing gathers significance. In Pakistan, the coinage of names or titles of organizations, firms, products etc. in English or a mixed code has social significance. Founders, holders or owners of an organization or firm, or the manufacturers of a product want to attach a certain identity through a

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particular name or title. Since English is associated with being modern and updated its use suggests connotations of being more efficient, and up-to-date. Purely English titles as well as hybridized names and titles are common, and are generally considered more trendy and attractive. Examples from the domain of religion include *Aalim* Online. Here an element of modernization is attached to the program through the selection of the title. As far as the use of Roman alphabet is concerned, names of television programs for instance *shaadi* online, *phir yun* love *hua,* etc. are examples.

Topic – 180: Greetings and Sociolinguistic Scene of Pakistan

Greetings, blessings and interjections play a very significant socio-linguistic role. Common Greetings in Pakistani context include *aslām-o-alikūm, khūsh-āmdid*, Hello and Hi. Common de-greetings in Pakistani context include *khūda-hāfiz, Allah hafiz,* Bye, Goodbye, Take care etc.

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Lesson 37

LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC SCENE OF PAKISTAN- II

Topic- 181: Gender Identity and Language in Pakistan

Sociolinguistics has a broad and sustained interest in the varieties of speech associated with a particular gender. Sociolinguistics is secondly interested in the social norms and conventions that (re)produce gendered language use. Sociolinguistics, thirdly, studies the contextually specific and locally situated ways in which gender is constructed and operationalized. The study of gender and language in sociolinguistics started with Robin Lakoff's 1975 book, Language and Woman's Place. Prominent scholars in this regard include Deborah Tannen, Penelope Eckert, Janet Holmes, Mary Bucholtz, Kira Hall and Deborah Cameron. Robin Lakoff identified a "women's register", that is used to maintain women's (inferior) role in society. She argued that women tend to use linguistic forms that reflect and reinforce a subordinate role. Examples in this regard include minimal responses, 'mm' and 'yeah' etc. Another example is of the use of questions. For instance, for men a question is a genuine request for information and for women it can often be a rhetorical means of engaging the other's conversational contribution or of acquiring attention. There can also be examples of turn-taking. Women's desire for turn-taking gives rise to complex forms of interaction in relation to the more regimented form of turn-taking commonly exhibited by men. Another example can be of 'tag questions'. In Pakistani context women use more tag questions which shows the social positioning of women in our society.

Topic – 182: Proverbs in Pakistan and Sociolinguistic Perspective

Proverbs are short, pithy sayings that reflect the accumulated wisdom, prejudices, and superstitions of the human race (The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy, 2002). It is not the ideas rather a particular phrasing that belongs to the culture and language of a particular nation. Otherwise, they are often common and shared. Proverbs are oral tradition and folk wisdom. They pass down through time with little change in form. Proverbs function as, general advice about how to act, how to live, reflect the cultural values and physical environment from which they arise. For example, island cultures such as Hawaii have proverbs about the sea; Eastern cultures have proverbs about elephants; while American proverbs are about hard work bringing success. Here are some examples of proverbs from Pakistani culture about women that I collected during one of my research works:

Women as unintelligent and talkative
• *nou ki mein dus ki daadi.*
• *(larki ki) zuban ka taanka tut gia.*
• *(larki ki) gazbhar ki zuban.*

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Women as degraded and immoral objects of satisfaction
• *garib ki joro sab ki bhabi*
• *jis ki bandria wohi nachaay*
• *bayhaya ki bala dur, maro juti barsay nor*
• *shakal churaylon ki, mizaj paryon ka*
• *ganji kabutri, mehlon mein dayra*
• *bhul gai chwani bhul gai taat, khanay lagi ghiyon ki roti sonay lagi khat*
• *biwi ki mout aur kohni ki chot braber hoti hai*

So, study of proverbs provides insights into a culture.

Topic – 183: Literature and Sociolinguistics

There can be various definitions of literature.A few are given here:
1: Written works, especially those considered of superior or lasting artistic merit
2: Writings in which expression and form, in connection with ideas of permanent and universal interest, are characteristic or essential features, as poetry, novels, history, biography, and essays.

Every literary text is constructed with language. It is imperative to determine how a particular writer has utilized the potentials of language to negotiate meaning(s) Ebi Yeibo (2011). It is not just a task for writers but also for the readers to determine which kind of language best explicates their aesthetic and moral or psychological and cultural milieu. Literature (via language) reflects:

- Aspirations
- Inspirations
- Values
- Beliefs
- Social system

Study of literature from sociolinguistic perspective provides insights into how people think, what they believe in, and what they appreciate. Sociolinguistic lens can be used to look at a variety of Pakistani literature:

- Urdu literature
- Punjabi literature
- Literature in other regional languages
- Pakistani Literature written in English

So, study of literature and the language used in it provides insights into a culture.

Topic – 184: Sociolinguistics and Oral Literature Across the Globe

Oral literature is a broad term that may include ritual texts, curative chants, epic poems, musical genres, folk tales, songs, myths, spells, legends, proverbs, riddles, tongue-twisters, word games, recitations, historical narratives. A Ugandan scholar, Pio Zirimu, introduced the term ‘orature’ in this regard which is a combination of ‘oral’ and ‘literature’. The term "oral literature" is sometimes used

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interchangeably with "folklore," but it usually has a broader focus. It forms a generally more fundamental component of culture. For many people around the world—where history and traditions are still conveyed more through speech than in writing— the transmission of oral literature from one generation to the next lies at the heart of culture. Very often, local languages act as vehicles for the transmission of unique forms of cultural knowledge. It may be composed in performance; and transmitted orally over generations. For example, many Scottish and Irish ballads that have been brought to Canada; or written down specifically for oral performance.

Oral Literature (via language) reflects folk wisdom, popular beliefs, cultural values and social system. Study of oral literature from sociolinguistic perspective provides insights into how people think, what they believe in, and what they appreciate. In this case, examples may include rich African oral tradition and African proverbs. The significance of performance in oral literature goes beyond a mere matter of definition. Here is an example from African oral literature:

A Dirge:

Amaago, won't you look?
Won't you look at my face?
When you are absent, we ask of you.
You have been away long: your children are waiting for you
(Nketia, 1955 p.184)

It involves:

the emotional situation of a funeral,
beauty of voice,
her sobs,
facial expression,
vocal expressiveness
and movements indicating the sincerity of grief.

Oral traditions are threatened when elders die and when livelihoods are disrupted. Oral literature is also increasingly endangered by globalization. Rapid socio-economic change exerts ever more complex pressures on smaller communities, often challenging traditional knowledge practices.

Topic – 185: Sociolinguistics and Oral Literature in Pakistan

There are various famous forms of oral literature in Pakistan which include folklore, tappa, lori, qisa, geet etc. As far as folklore in Pakistan is concerned, there is a lot of oral literature available in the regional languages of Pakistan. Here are some details:

Sindh folklore

Manifestations of traditional Watayo Faqir tales
Legend of Moriro
Epic tale of Dodo Chanesar
The love story of Sassui and Punhu, is known and sung in every Sindhi settlement.
Stories of Umar Marui and Suhuni Mehar

Balochi folklore

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Stories of Hani and Shah Murad Chakar,
Shahdad and Mahnaz
Lallah and Granaz
Mast and Sammo
War tales are equally stirring.

Pakhtun folklore

Songs sung with Khattak dance
The romantic tale of Adam Khan and Durkhanai features a lute-player (rabab) whose music earns her love.

Punjabi folklore

Heer and Ranjha from Jhang is very famous.
Today it is celebrated in songs, movies and theatre.

In the same way, we have Saraiki and Kashmiri folklore. It is of significance to talk about "tappay" as they are very popular. They are an oral tradition, sung by women on weddings for celebration. Tappay represent folk wisdom, cultural values, traditional rivalries, gender roles, customs and traditions. Another important oral tradition is of "lori". It is a celebration of motherhood, female gender sensibilities and culture.

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Lesson 38

LANGUAGE PLANNING IN PAKISTAN

Topic- 186: Language Policies of Pakistan

In order to understand the language policies of Pakistan we need to take into consideration the colonial heritage, multiple languages and multiple ethnicities and regional identities. We also need to look at the historical backdrop of the creation of Pakistan, Two Nation theory and the national identity and language issue as well as language policy. According to Abbass (1998), "the postcolonial period naturally followed the 'Raj'. In all the sectors of civil administration, the armed forces and in education, the British model was used- and English continued to maintain an elitist status" (p.28). It is also evident in the fields of law, government and administration. So, "judgments and precedents, rules and regulations, standing procedures, and major policy documents of the federal as well as the provincial governments are in English…" (Haque, 1993, p.15). We also need to consider the following factors:

- Hierarchy of languages in Pakistan
- Tension between Urdu and local languages on one level
- Urdu and English on the other level

In its efforts of language-status management, government has tried to evolve certain policies at various times; and English Urdu controversy on the issue of official language is a part. The reality of the establishment of Pakistan may have been replicated in other fields of our national life but it has been least projected in the issues of language. Language policy is a tool to strengthen the state and in our context national language Urdu should symbolize the nation-state. On the other hand in order to modernize the state, English language is used. In this regard, a particular issue is of official language and medium of instruction to be either English or Urdu. Despite all these controversies, Urdu has always been favoured in all the language policies and constitutions of Pakistan. According to Rahman (2002), "the policy of favouring Urdu explicitly has devalued the other indigenous languages of Pakistan while English, has devalued all Pakistani languages" (p.265).

According to the 1973 constitution:

1. The National language of Pakistan is Urdu and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.
2. Subject to clause (1) the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
3. Without prejudice to the status of the National language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language (Article, 251).

Due to urbanization, and increase in literacy more Pakistanis of new generation are speaking Urdu as a first language. In short, the privileging of Urdu by the state has created ethnic opposition to it. However, as people learn languages for pragmatic reasons (Rahman, 2002, p.36), they are giving less importance to

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their heritage languages and are learning Urdu. However, it is felt that in connection to the spread of English, Urdu may lose its relevance to masses in the face of changed cultural and economic realities.

Criticism in this regards includes: The language policies of Pakistan, declared and undeclared, have increased both ethnic and class conflict in the country. Westernized elites, in their own interests, are helping the forces of globalization and threatening cultural and linguistic diversity. In this process they are impoverishing the already poor and creating much resentment against the oppression and injustice of the system. Both globalization and the continuation of colonial language policies by the governments of Pakistan have increased the pressure of English on all other languages. While this has also created an increased awareness of language rights and movements to preserve languages, it has generally resulted in more people learning English.

Topic – 187: Education Policies of Pakistan

In order to understand the topic related issues, we need to consider certain points which include colonial heritage, multilingualism, historical context of the country, British education policies and system, and issues of national identity, as well as language policy and education system in the country. There are varied streams of education in Pakistan which include the following: Madrassas, Urdu Medium (Public/ private), English Medium (Private), Cadet Schools, Matriculation System, O and A Levels, BA (2 years), and BA (Honors 4 years). Different efforts have been made at different time points in this regard. Following is a very basic time map of these efforts:

First Educational Conference 1947

It commenced on the date: 27, Dec. 1, 1947 under the supervision of Quaid-e-Azam. It was presided by Education Minister: Fazal-ur-Rehman. Committees made in it include Primary and Secondary Education Committee, Adult Education Committee, Technical Education Committee, Women's Education Committee, Scientific Research Education Committee, University Education Committee

National Commission on Education (1959)

It was initiated by President Ayub. In it 10 years compulsory education was proposed and religious education was given importance. Also, equal expansion of education was proposed.

Policy 1970

It was a adopted by the cabinet. Emphasis was laid on ideological aspects.

Education Policy 1972

It was presented by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

1979 Policy

The focus was on Islamization.

Later on **1992 policy** and **1998-2010 policy** were also presented. Education Sector Reforms 2005-10 followed this.

Language education policies in Pakistan: A brief historical overview

> This section presents a brief historical overview of the language education policies from 1947 to date. The language education policies of the British in the Indian subcontinent will be referred to only briefly, as these have been well documented by others

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(e.g. Mahboob, 2002 Mahboob, A. 2002. "No English, no future: Language policy in Pakistan". In *Political independence with linguistic servitude: The politics about language in the development world*, Edited by: Obeng, S. and Hartford, B. 15–40. New York: NOVA Science; Rahman, 1996 Rahman, T. 1996. *Language and politics in Pakistan*, Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press. The review though organised chronologically, aims to identify the main trends in language education policies and their consequences in relation to the varied agendas of the ruling elite in Pakistan. The focus will be mainly on the relative use and status of Urdu and English, with regional languages mentioned only if they seem to affect either of these two languages.

One nation, one language (1947–1977)

After independence, like other post-colonial states (see Wright, 2004. Wright, S. 2004. *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalisation*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. A need was felt in Pakistan for a national language to foster national unity. Urdu, the mother tongue of the *Mohajirs*, who had participated in the struggle for independence and migrated from Northern India after the partition to the urban Sindh in West Pakistan, was declared the national language of Pakistan. This hurt the sentiments of the Bengalis and subsequently became one reason for a separatist national movement in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) (Imam, 2005 Imam, S.R. 2005. English as a global language and the question of nation-building education in Bangladesh. *Comparative Education*, 41: 471–486, Web of Science). The ruling elite in West Pakistan were, however, able to function well in English due to prior training under the British rule.

In 1958, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, an army general, took over as the head of state. The military ruler was pro-English due to his background and openly declared his preference for English. Later, the report of the Sharif Commission (Government of Pakistan, 1959 Government of Pakistan. 1959. *Report of the Sharif commission on national education*, Karachi, Pakistan: Ministry of Education recommended that the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools in the public sector should be changed to Urdu, while English should continue to be the medium of education in higher education. Subsequent education policies, however, did not change the status of English. Thus, during this time, the British policy of two streams of

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> education, English- and Urdu-medium, continued with the same aims, that is, to create two classes of people – the ruling elite and the masses. In 1972, the popular government of Bhutto came to power on the basis of an egalitarian socialist agenda. Soon after, all schools were nationalised. The constitution of 1973 declared Urdu as the national language and pledged to further its development; moreover, a time frame of 15 years was set for the replacement of English by Urdu. At the same time, the constitution recognised the linguistic rights of speakers of regional and minority languages by allowing the provincial governments freedom to develop their languages.

Topic – 188: Primary Education in Pakistan and Language Issues

The standard national system of education is mainly inspired from the British system. In order to understand the issues of national identity, language policy and education at primary level we need to think about language policy at primary level, and status of regional and national languages in education system. As of 2009, Pakistan faces a net primary school attendance rate for both sexes of 66 percent: a figure below estimated world average of 90 percent (According to UNESCO Institute for Statistics - Adjusted net enrolment ratio in primary education).

Issues related to primary education in Pakistan include low level of public investment as public expenditure on education has been 2.2 percent of GNP in recent years. There has been more focus of funds on higher education. Another issue is of lower income class and particularly it is related to the issues of private education where there is always a compromise on quality.
Read the following extracts to understand the situation

> The two streams of educations, namely, Urdu- and English-medium, in the Pakistan's education system have been highlighted by Blundell (1989). Blundell, P. 1989. Language barriers. *Education*, 173: 354–355., amongst others, who refers to this phenomenon as “the great divide”.

> The current education system in Pakistan is a legacy of the British colonial powers. The British started two streams of education – English-medium and vernacular-medium – to serve their own political end. Rahman, 1996 Rahman, T. 1996. *Language and politics in Pakistan*, Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press; Ramanathan, 2005 Ramanathan, V. 2005. *The English-vernacular divide: Postcolonial language politics and practice*, Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters. Even after the independence of Pakistan, the highest-status schools catering to the elite class have continued to be English-

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medium. In these schools, English is used throughout the curriculum, and Urdu (the national language) is taught much as a foreign language (Shamim & Allen, 2000 Shamim, F. and Allen, P. 2000. *Activity types and pattern of interaction in language classrooms in Pakistan*, Karachi, Pakistan: Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development. (Unpublished research report). Although these elite private schools are very expensive, many urban middle-class parents are willing to make huge sacrifices to give their children an English-medium education in these schools. In fact the term "English-medium" has become synonymous with a quality education in well-resourced schools (Rahman, 2002 Rahman, T. 2002. *Language, ideology and power*, Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press. It is probably because of the symbolic value of English that during the last two decades, the number of private non-elite English-medium schools has risen phenomenally; in fact, they are beginning to mushroom even in far-flung and remote areas of Pakistan (Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2006 Andrabi, T., Das, J., & Khwaja, A.I. (2006). A dime a day: The possibilities and limits of private schooling in Pakistan (World Bank policy research working paper 4066). Retrieved February 10, 2008, from the World Bank Web site:http://www.wds.worldbank.org; Harlech-Jones, Baig, Sajid, & ur-Rahman, 2005 Harlech-Jones, B., Baig, M., Sajid, S.and ur-Rahman, S. 2005. Private schooling in the Northern Areas of Pakistan: A decade of rapid expansion. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 25: 557–568.

According to the latest figures from the Ministry of Education (2005–2006), the number of students enrolled in private schools is approximately half of all student enrolments in schools in the public sector (figures available from Government of Pakistan, Statistics Division web site: http://www.statpak.gov.pk). These schools, mainly serving the middle- and lower-income groups, profess to teach in English, often using expensive foreign textbooks. However, the language proficiency of both the teachers and students in these schools is rather low (Rahman, 2002)

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Topic – 189: Secondary Education in Pakistan and Language Issues

Secondary education in Pakistan begins from grade 9 and lasts for four years. After end of each of the school years, students are required to pass a national examination administered by a regional Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (or BISE). Upon completion of grade 9, students are expected to take a standardized test in each of the first parts of their academic subjects. They again give these tests of the second parts of the same courses at the end of grade 10. Upon successful completion the student gets a certificate of SSC. This is locally termed as 'matriculation certificate' or 'matric' for short.

The curriculum usually includes a combination of eight courses including electives such as Biology, Chemistry, Computer and Physics as well as compulsory subjects such as Mathematics, English, Urdu, Islamic studies and Pakistan Studies. Students then enter an intermediate college and complete grades 11 and 12. Upon completion of each of the two grades, they again take standardized tests. Upon successful completion the student gets a certificate of HSSC. It is also called the FSc/FA or 'intermediate' which offers following options:

- Pre-medical
- Pre-engineering
- Humanities (or social sciences)
- Computer Science and
- Commerce

Each stream consists of three electives and as well as three compulsory subjects of English, Urdu, Islamiat (grade 11 only) and Pakistan Studies (grade 12 only). Then we also have O levels and A Levels. Of course there are numerous issues of Language related to different streams of education. There are also issues of Language related to different streams of education and issues of identity.

As far as the quality of secondary education is concerned it is very poor. Go through the following extracts to understand the situation.

> Brief descriptions of the teaching and learning of English in Pakistan can be found in unpublished reports (e.g. British Council, 1986 British Council. (1986). English teaching profile: Pakistan. London: British Council, English Language and Literature Division. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED274160. Aas well as in published works (e.g. Blundell, 1989 Blundell, P. 1989. Language barriers. *Education*, 173: 354–355; Mansoor, 2005 Mansoor, S. 2005. *Language planning in higher education: A case study*, Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press. Rahman, T. 2002. *Language, ideology and power*, Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press. In addition, a few in-depth studies of English language teaching at the classroom level have been conducted both in schools and higher education institutions in Pakistan (Shamim, F. 1993). Teacher-learner behaviour and classroom processes in large ESL classes in Pakistan. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Education, University of Leeds,

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UK. Case studies of organization of English language teaching in public-sector universities in Pakistan. Research report for the National Committee on English, Higher Education Commission, Islamabad, Pakistan. Shamim & Allen, 2000 Shamim, F. and Allen, P. 2000. *Activity types and pattern of interaction in language classrooms in Pakistan*, Karachi, Pakistan: Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development. (Unpublished research report).

Teacher-learner behaviour and classroom processes in large ESL classes in Pakistan. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Education, University of Leeds, UK. Shamim studied the teaching and learning of English in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes of varying sizes in government and non-elite private secondary schools in Pakistan. Findings revealed that teachers mainly concentrated on "doing a lesson" or "doing grammar", irrespective of class size. "Doing a lesson" mainly comprised a predictable set of activity types: reading the text (lesson) aloud by the teacher and/or the students; explaining the text, often in Urdu or the local language, giving the meanings of "difficult words" in English and/or Urdu/the local language; and getting the students to do follow-up textbook exercises in their notebooks. This is illustrated in the following classroom vignette.

The teacher tells the students to open their textbooks on page 64 and take out their copies [notebooks] to write "words meanings". She writes the title of the lesson (a fairly long reading passage in the textbook followed by comprehension questions and unrelated grammar exercises) on the blackboard. First, a few students are nominated to read parts of the text aloud. Then the teacher reads it out loud, stopping occasionally to explain and/or write the meaning of a "difficult" word on the blackboard in Urdu. This continues till the end of the class hour. During this time the students sit passively, with their heads down, apparently listening to the teacher and copying mechanically from the blackboard.

The same procedure is followed in the next class, the only difference being that the teacher reads out the text herself. The third class is devoted to doing the exercises following the text. The teacher reads out the questions, often translating them into Urdu. If the selected students cannot answer a question correctly, the teacher provides the answer herself, which the students mark in their textbooks. The students are told to copy down the "question-answers" in their "fair copies" for homework. (Adapted from

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Shamim, 1993 Shamim, F. (1993). Teacher-learner behaviour and classroom processes in large ESL classes in Pakistan. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Education, University of Leeds, UK. pp. 187–88)

Similarly, "doing grammar" comprised teaching and learning of a grammar item (with a focus on form only), and writing essays, letters, and so forth. A teacher explained her teaching of grammar items as follows:

If we want to teach articles, I make a table to explain different kinds of articles. I also use a table to teach tenses. In this way they understand better. It's like maths. For example, I teach present tense through brackets. I make them [students] draw these even in their copies… Then they do exercises – 10 to 12 sentences in class; then more sentences are given to do at home. (Shamim, 1993 Shamim, F. (1993). Teacher-learner behaviour and classroom processes in large ESL classes in Pakistan. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Education, University of Leeds, UK. p. 193)

The majority of teachers, particularly in schools where the students' and teachers' proficiency of English was relatively low, dictated a set of essays and letters or wrote them on the blackboard for the students to copy in their notebooks. The students learned these by heart and reproduced them in the examination.

Subsequently, Shamim and Allen (2000 Shamim, F. and Allen, P. 2000. *Activity types and pattern of interaction in language classrooms in Pakistan*, Karachi, Pakistan: Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development. (Unpublished research report) studied the activity types and patterns of interaction in English and Urdu language classrooms in varied instructional settings (primary/secondary, rural/urban, public/private) in Pakistan using an adapted version of the Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) observation scheme, originally developed in Canada (Spada & Frohlich, 1995 Spada, N. and Frohlich, M. 1995. *COLT communicative orientation of language teaching observation scheme: Coding conventions and application*, Sydney, Australia: Macquarie University National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research). The data revealed that teaching and learning of English was carried out in broadly similar ways in the different instructional settings studied. For example, all classrooms observed were dominated by whole-class teacher-led

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activities. Also, there was a focus on formal aspects of the language at both primary and secondary levels. Most of the time, the teachers controlled topic selection, either of their own or based on the textbook. While extensive use of the blackboard was observed, there was minimal use of any other visual aids.

However, despite these similarities in teaching and learning practices, a great deal of diversity was noted across different settings in the extent of English, Urdu or local languages used by teachers and students in their classroom discourse. Teachers and the students in elite private English-medium schools were found to use English only. In contrast, Urdu and/or the local language was the dominant classroom language in the government Urdu-medium schools. Varied levels of code-switching between English, Urdu and the local languages were observed in the non-elite private schools. These profiles of teaching and learning of English in Pakistani school classrooms indicate that the practice of teaching English in all school types in Pakistan leaves much to be desired with regard to current principles and practice of

Topic – 190: Tertiary Education in Pakistan and Language Issues

According to the UNESCO's 2009 Global Education Digest, 6% of Pakistanis (9% of men and 3.5% of women) were university graduates as of 2007(Global Education Digest 2009 (PDF) - UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2009). There are two types of Bachelor courses in Pakistan: Pass or Honors. Pass degree requires two years of study. Language choices and related language issues are involved in this regard. There are various cultural aspects of language issues and linguistic consequences as well as social consequences.

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Lesson 39

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 191: Second Language Acquisition and Sociolinguistics

L2 (language 2) acquisition is the process by which people learn a second language. The field of second-language acquisition is a sub-discipline of applied linguistics, but also receives research attention from a variety of other disciplines such as sociolinguistics. The primary factor driving SLA appears to be the language input that learners receive. Learners become more advanced the longer they are immersed in the language they are learning. The input hypothesis developed by linguist Stephen Krashen makes a distinction between language acquisition and language learning (acquisition–learning distinction), claiming that acquisition is a subconscious process, whereas learning is a conscious one.
According to this hypothesis, the acquisition process in L2 (Language 2) is the same as L1 (Language 1) acquisition. The learning process is consciously learning and inputting the language being learned. However, this goes as far as to state that input is all that is required for acquisition. Sociocultural approaches reject the notion that SLA is a purely psychological phenomenon, and attempt to explain it in a social context. Some key social factors that influence SLA are the level of immersion, connection to the L2 community, and gender.

Topic – 192: Sociolinguistic Approaches to Second Language Acquisition

Various approaches emerged at different time points which include the following significant ones:

Contrastive Analysis

Second language acquisition (SLA) is a relatively young research area that started in the mid-twentieth century. In the 1940s and 1950s the strong assumption prevailed that most of the difficulties facing L2 learners were imposed by their L1.

Error Analysis

Corder (1971) for instance, claimed that in both FLA and SLA learners make errors.

Sociolinguistic Account of SLA

The latter half of the 1970s and the 1980-90s in particular and even up until today have witnessed the emergence of more social and pragmatic linguistic concerns, which inevitably led language studies to further examine the nature of literacy within a sociocultural framework. According to Firth and Wagner (1997), second language acquisition (SLA) research was too dominated by psycholinguistic thinking. Firth and Wagner for the first time called for research from the sociolinguistic perspective. It made sense in the socially embedded experiences of L2 speakers in their own worlds. Sociolinguistically oriented research on second language acquisition (SLA) since Firth and Wagner (1997) has continued. It is argued that a sociolinguistic approach should be central to socially oriented SLA research. Over the last couple of decades substantial progress has been made in developing a model of the sociolinguistic processes that inform second language acquisition.

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This model is supported by empirical evidence shows that learners' L2 input and processing of L2 input in social settings are socially mediated. This means social and linguistic context affect linguistic use, choice, and development, and that learners intentionally assert social identities through their L2 in communicating in social contexts. Strength of sociolinguistically oriented SLA research is its strong focus on linguistic outcomes, tracking the impact of contextual factors in producing those outcomes.
Preston (2000, 2002) and Fasold and Preston (2006) provided a central sociolinguistic framework to integrate research on the interaction of social factors and cognitive processes in producing interlanguage, which is a variable linguistic system. Sociocultural approaches reject the notion that SLA is a purely psychological phenomenon, and attempt to explain it in a social context. Some key social factors that influence SLA are: the level of immersion, connection to the L2 community, and gender.

Today, the sociolinguistic approach goes a long way towards establishing the balance between the cognitive and the social that Firth and Wagner called for. Sociolinguistic approaches allow us to study the impact of social factors on cognitive processes as these results in the acquisition of a new linguistic system. A sociolinguistic approach to SLA is one that studies the relationship between such social contextual variables as interlocutor, topic, or task and the formal features of learner language or interlanguage 2 (IL) production. An important aspect of sociolinguistic SLA work examines the interdependence between the social contexts in which IL is used and the cognitive processes of the learner that affect learner language variation and change, leading to acquisition.

Topic – 193: Second Language Acquisition and Sociolinguistics: The Case of Pakistan

In the general sense with reference to second language acquisition what matters is the context. This calls for a sociolinguistic approach towards second language acquisition. To understand the case of Pakistan we need to think of the social context of Pakistan, the linguistic issues in this context, multilingual education in Pakistan and the teaching learning practices as well. Pakistani educators' general concern is that the English language is taught under conditions which are far from being satisfactory. English has the status of a lingua franca and is a common means of communication - besides Urdu. It is an easy medium for science and technology. However, despite studying English in schools and colleges for about 6- 8 years, students, especially those from rural backgrounds, are not able to communicate in English with relative ease and success. Even in some areas where students use a regional language as a first language (L1) besides Urdu - and in such areas English becomes a third language (L3) - they lack all the four major linguistic skills - reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Since acquiring a second language is a skill, it should be approached in that light. It is clear that the methods of teaching the English language in Pakistan have not yielded the desired objective, i.e. communicative competence. Educators, second language acquisition researchers, and English language teachers in Pakistan must approach teaching English as a Second Language from the perspectives of Applied linguistics and sociolinguistics.

We also need to consider the issues of diversity, and should use diversity as a resource. The process of any second or foreign language teaching includes 'selection,' 'grading,' and 'presentation' as the major steps. Careful planning at every step plays an instrumental role in the teaching process.
Drawbacks in the education system include

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1. Little understanding of curricular objectives
2. Inexperienced teachers
3. Defective methods

The obsolete translation method is still being adopted by most language programs in rural areas. While it is true that there are certain advantages to using the learner's first language in teaching the second language, in this case English, the disadvantages far outweigh the ephemeral benefits. According to Van Patten (2005), first language learning and second language acquisition are similar at the core. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that just as the child learns a first language through exposure to a vast amount of auditory input, second language learners will also gain speaking proficiency by listening to both authentic and connected speech in English and by doing oral work. Communication skills are neglected and a great deal of stress is laid on rules and exceptions. There is increasing recognition in second language acquisition research of the auro-oral approach being more effective than the translation method. Communicative approach to teaching English as a Second Language should be adopted. Further we need to think about the issues of:

- Inappropriate books
- Inadequate material facility
- The faulty examination system

So, there is a need to devise a system that fits the sociolinguistic context.

Topic – 194: Learners' Choice of Target Language Variety and Social Context

Learners' choice of target language variety is closely linked with social context. Various complexities of the local sociolinguistic context are involved in it. Various factors matter in this regard such as sociolinguistically oriented language preferences, target language, choice of target language, role of the learner and motivation (Is motivation enough? If yes, how? If no, how? These questions are of great significance in this context.)

Factors that contribute or are to be considered in the selection of target language:

1. To develop the learner's intellectual power through it
2. To enhance the learner's cultural values, literature and philosophy
3. To be able to communicate orally in their second language
4. To help acquiring reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills
5. To deepen knowledge and appreciation of target language cultural experiences

Topic – 195: Second Language Acquisition and Sociolinguistics: The Case of Japanese

There are two types of non-English speaking countries that are affected by the global one language policy of the American Empire. Some choose to embrace English as a means of international communication for economic benefit (Japan, Scandinavia) while others had English imposed on them through colonial rule (India, Nigeria). As far as the case of Japan is concerned, to understand it we need to understand the status of English in Japan as SLA in relation to Japanese. The Japanese language has developed, and is embedded in, a particular social and cultural system. So, Japanese people speaking English should still be communicating through their unique Japanese and eastern perspective. A huge debate in this regard is whether English can be taught through discussions of famous Japanese

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individuals, Japanese historical events and the significance of Japanese traditions. Knowledge of American holidays, religious rituals or famous individuals is general knowledge or cultural appreciation that should be taught to young adults, after they have a sound knowledge of their own cultural identity.

In contrast to this traditionally, many other countries have taught foreign cultural appreciation to young children in elementary school. There are various concerns in SLA. For example Japanese society, and in particular Japanese young people are strongly influenced by western culture and values already. It is important that these influences are not inadvertently reinforced through English language classes within the school system. Serious national reflection may not change national policy, but an understanding of the factors influencing government decisions will build a stronger foundation on which to place further English language policy.

When it comes to methodology, although Japanese students receive formal English training beginning in junior high school, their English conversation skills are poor. This is partly a result of archaic grammar-translation teaching methods. Grammar Translation methodology would have worked well in the Meiji Period (1866-1912) but does not serve the language needs of Twenty-first century Japan. Secondly, the low performance of Japanese students' English speaking and listening skills are a result of first culture interference. Japanese culture is intrinsically entwined in ritual, style and form. In many circumstances the form in which something is uttered, rather than the words or message, actually conveys the meaning. By the age of puberty, young Japanese students are cognisant of the importance of form and style in their mother tongue. This preoccupation with the form rather than the message hinders their ability to experiment with a second language comfortably.

At an Asia-Pacific Conference concerning English proficiency, Chongkittavoon Kaui pointed out: "What surprised me in Japan is that the form of learning English is like a ritual, but in Thailand when you speak in English you just say anything you want, as long as you can communicate (Hani)."

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Lesson 40

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Topic- 196: Scope of Research in Sociolinguistics

The question of concern is why to do research in sociolinguistics and what the scope of this research is. As far as the scope of research in sociolinguistics is concerned, it is immense. It is also multidisciplinary and multicultural in nature. The scope of research in sociolinguistics relates to most up-to-date and the most rapidly advancing areas of research including language and identity and language and gender. Sociolinguistics, combined with other disciplines, offers enhanced engagement through the inclusion of thought-provoking perspectives and questions.

Significant areas of research in sociolinguistics are various. Over time, sociolinguistics has developed dialectological core interest and expanded its field of interest. In the social sciences, rigorous awareness of the principles underlying exploration and explanation led to a highly developed critical theory which sociolinguistics has also drawn on. This has resulted in macro-sociolinguistic work in the consequences for language of globalization and the multinational economy: politics, ideology and education policy have become key areas for sociolinguists.

Sociolinguistics provides the possibilities of exploring local and international contexts, and to make comparisons and contrasts. The negotiation and manipulation of power and powerlessness, status and stigma, consensus and conflict are all matters for analysis within sociolinguistics.

Topic – 197: Significance and Scope of Teaching of Sociolinguistic

The issue of concern is the significance and scope of teaching of sociolinguistics. After all why to teach sociolinguistics? Significance and scope is evident from the fact that it helps to understand the following the patterns of multilingualism in the global context. It also helps to identify the shape of new language varieties, helping to define ethnicity and identity in various contexts. And, finer gradations can be made between core sociolinguistics and social linguistics and the sociology of language from the point of view of teaching.

Its scope includes the international and interdisciplinary diversity of the field in representing the broad view of sociolinguistics. Together with second language research and teaching (which itself owes much to sociolinguistic work), sociolinguistics is the central discipline of applied linguistics. It has practical outcomes for education policy, government spending, social affairs, constitutional arrangements, international relations, debates on ethnicity, nationalism, multiculturalism and cultural values. Significance and scope of teaching sociolinguistics in relation to other disciplines can be understood by relating it to the following disciplines:

- Discourse Analysis
- Pragmatics
- Ethnography

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Topic – 198: Other Issues of Data Collection in Sociolinguistics

Data collection in sociolinguistics is of crucial significance and due to its significance the issues attached to it also become significant. Various data collection techniques are employed in analyzing social variation and language use. There are various options available such as:

1. Working with the existing data
2. Generating new data
3. The sociolinguistic interview
4. Free conversation
5. Issues

However, there are various problems in this regard. The first and the foremost problem is of the availability of natural setting. Also the role of the interviewer and the effect of the interviewer effect cannot be denied. In this respect an example can be of Trudgill (1986) who has found that he was accommodating toward the speech of his interviewees i.e. his own speech tended to replicate that of his subjects. Although interview techniques in sociolinguistic research are acknowledged to be an effective tool for collecting sociolinguistic data, their limitations must also be recognized. Some types of linguistic variants are difficult or even impossible to collect by using the method of the sociolinguistic interview. Certain vernacular forms may occur only in peer conversation, even minimal pair tests fail to elicit the forms the researcher may need to study in order to resolve an important theoretical question (Edwards, 1986; Milroy, 1987).

Also there are possibilities of the use of polling techniques. To research on broad-based samples across a speech community such as a city or even an entire state is helpful and quite appropriate. However, there is a huge variety available and there are different types with their own problems such as in-person, postal, and telephone polling techniques. For example, when it comes to the data collection of minority languages the researcher needs to have native or near-native command of the target language. The issue is whether the researcher personally conducts sociolinguistic interviews, hires a local interviewer to match the local speech style (Trudgill, 2010) or uses other supplemental techniques (Wolfram, 2011). There are also issuesof availability of grammatical sketches, dialect studies, or records of historical linguistics in the target language to serve as a basis for comparison. Sometimes the linguistic variable to be investigated does not provide sufficient stratified data in the subsystem to meet Labov's (1972) principle of accountability.

With regard to the study of endangered indigenous languages there are also certain issues. According to Rau (2011) it takes much longer to develop a basic understanding of the language before studies of variation can even be attempted. Data collection is usually restricted to word lists and narratives, as the researcher's proficiency in the language is limited.

Topic – 199: Advances in Computing Technology: Opportunities and Challenges in Teaching and Research in Sociolinguistics

When it comes to advances in computing technology it can be asserted without any doubt that opportunities are great but equally the challenges are huge with reference to teaching and research in

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sociolinguistics. In this regard there are various aspects and factors that we need to consider such as access to materials, books, existing fund of research, analysis tools and virtual connectivity. With regard to opportunities related to research the growth in computing power, storage, and networking has encouraged and enabled an increasing interest in big data in sociolinguistics. Also these are factors such as availability of volumes of data beyond what any individual researcher can collect and analyze directly, as well as availability of diverse data.

In (socio-) linguistics, this naturally leads to increased emphasis on data sharing, which is one way to amass data of sufficient size and variety to permit new kinds of insight. A growing consensus among sociolinguists is that researchers must refine their views on demographic, situational, and attitudinal factors that correlate with linguistic differences in order to permit not only more effective data sharing and comparison but also more accurate conclusions.

When it comes to the issues and challenges, they are huge with reference to teaching and research in sociolinguistics. There are problems involved in developing a methodology for interoperable metadata. Sociolinguists want to be able to share and compare datasets, and they want to do so now and far into the future. Achieving this dream will require that sociolinguistic corpora are archived in a sustainable way and that those corpora are encoded in such a way that interoperation among them is possible. We need to be able to compare contemporaneous findings from multiple speech communities to describe synchronic variation. We also need to be able to study other scholars' data in order to confirm the conclusions of their analyses. Individual sociolinguists can create corpora that are portable and interpretable, but they cannot by themselves preserve those corpora long into the future or provide long-term access to future users. That is the role archives play for the corpora entrusted to their keeping. Neither can individual sociolinguists by themselves make their corpora discoverable by any potential user; nor can archives do this by themselves. For this they depend on aggregating services.

Aggregators harvest information curated by others and offer the convenience of a single point of entry for accessing those many sources. A general internet search engine like Google is a prime example. If archives expose the contents of their collections on web pages, then it becomes possible for potential users to discover relevant material by using Google search.

Topic – 200: The Future of Sociolinguistics as a Discipline

Modern sociolinguistics originated in the 1960s as an interdisciplinary subfield intersecting sociology, anthropology, and linguistics. The scope for future developments is very vast because the inter-disciplinary research partnerships suit the nature of the discipline. Sociolinguists can build inter-disciplinarity both pedagogically as well as professionally. Sociolinguistics has the potential to bridge gaps in theory and methods. The possibilities of future interdisciplinary scholarship between sociolinguists and sociologists depend on how the gap can be bridged. Half a century after the Social Science Research Council set up a committee on sociolinguistics, the amount of interaction between linguists and sociologists remains minimal. Despite important work on discourse and conversational analysis, very few sociologists have acquired the basic tools of linguistic analysis, and very few linguists have contributed to the thinking of sociologists. As far as future hopes are concerned, in the face of increasingly complex and diverse global realities, sociolinguists can gain greater insight into micro- and

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macro-level processes of social interaction, social stratification, and social change by jointly investigating. Some key avenues to explore in future include literacy acquisition and educational achievement; the relevance of conversation in bringing about social cohesion and social exclusion; and the significance of conversation styles in processes of prejudice and discrimination.

Some further comments about the future of sociolinguistics can be made based on what Labov has asserted. According to Labov, "Linguistics is not a predictive science, and I would prefer to let the future unroll under its own momentum". What will determine the future is whether studies of linguistic change and variation prove to be a cumulative and positive route to answering our fundamental questions about the nature of language and the people who use it.

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