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Цель пособия – помочь студентам-филологам овладеть основами социолингвистики, изучаемой на английском языке в рамках дисциплины базового цикла «Язык и общество». Пособие состоит из двух частей. Первая часть, теоретическая, вводит ключевые понятия социолингвистики, представленные в книге Holmes J. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (4 edition) // Routledge, 2013. Вторая часть углубляет разобранные в первой части концепции на примере ситуаций и их анализа, упражнений на перевод и закрепление лексики, а также включает вопросы для обсуждения и дискуссии.

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An Introduction to Sociolinguistics

PART 1

1

What do sociolinguistics study?

Key words: sociolinguistics, social context, social functions of language, indignation, linguistic variation, monolingual communities.

Sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community, and the way people convey and construct aspects of their social identity through their language.

The way people talk is influenced by the social context in which they are talking. It matters who can hear us and where we are talking, as well as how we are feeling.

Example 1

Ray: Hi mum.

Mum: Hi. You're late.

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

Mum: Nana's here.

Ray: Oh sorry. Where is she?

You can see that language serves a range of functions. We use language to ask for and give people information. We use it to express indignation and annoyance, as well as admiration and respect. Often one utterance will simultaneously convey both information and express feelings. Ray's utterance "Yeah, that bastard Sootbucket" kept us

in again not only tells his mother, why he is late, his choice of words also tells her how he feels about the teacher concerned. In addition, it tells us something about his relationships with his mother compared to his grandmother and the principal (to whom he uses “sir”). We also indicate aspects of our social identity through the way we talk. Our speech provides clues to others about who we are, where we come from, and perhaps what kind of social experiences we have had.

Why do we say the same thing in different way?

Languages provide a variety of ways of saying the same thing – addressing and greeting others, describing things, paying compliments. Our final choices provide clues to social factors, such as the relationship between the people in the particular situation, and how the speaker feels about the person addressed.

What are the different way to say things?

Sociolinguists are also interested in the different types of linguistic variation used to express and reflect social factors. Vocabulary or word choice is one area of linguistic. But linguistic variation occurs at other levels of linguistic analysis too: sounds, word-structure (or morphology), and grammar (or syntax) as well as vocabulary. Within each of these linguistic levels, there is variation, which offers the speaker a choice of ways of expression. They provide us with different linguistic styles for use in different social contexts. Choices may even involve different dialects of a language, or quite different languages, as we shall see.

Example 2

There are some language variations in Russian language. Here you can see the type of language variation. It's stylistic: «алкоголик (neutral) – алкаш (vernacular)». The same things will happen with other words such as «скандал (neutral) – дебош (vernacular); девушка (neural) – дева (outdated); скряга (neutral) – жмот (vernacular)»

To sum up, people may use different pronunciations, vocabulary, grammar, or styles of a language for different purposes. They may use different dialects of a language in different contexts. In addition,

in some communities people select different languages according to the situation in which they are speaking.

In every community, there is a range of varieties from which people select according to the context in which they are communicating. In monolingual communities, these take the form of different styles and dialects.

Exercises.

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

Note what you call your mother in different contexts:

1. addressing her

- at home alone with her
- on the telephone with friends listening

2. referring to her

- at home to another family member when she is present
- at home to another family member when she isn't present
- to a sales assistant in a shop when she is present.

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

2

Social factors, dimensions and explanations

Key words: social factors, dimensions, a social distance scale, a status scale, a formality scale, functional scales.

Social factors that influence the way a person speaks are:

1. The participants:

- (a) who is speaking and
- (b) who are they speaking to ?

2. The setting or social context of the interaction: where are they speaking?

3. The topic: what is being talked about?
4. The function: why are they speaking?

In addition to these components, it is useful to take account of four different dimensions for analysis which relate to the factors above.

They are:

1. A social distance scale concerned with participant relationships
2. A status scale concerned with participant relationships
3. A formality scale relating to the setting or type of interaction
4. Two functional scales relating to the purposes or topic of interaction.

The solidarity–social distance scale

Intimate	_____	Distant
High solidarity		Low solidarity

This scale shows us that our linguistic choice depends on how well we know the person we speak with. The better we know the person, the more informal style of speaking we will use.

The status scale

Superior	_____	High status
Subordinate		Low status

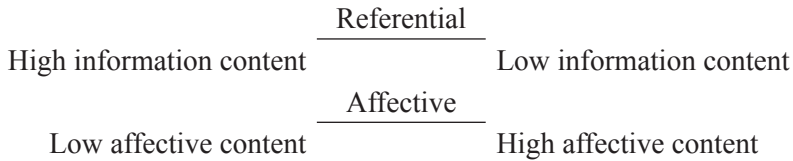
This scale points to the relevance of relative status in some linguistic choices. For example, a student would address a school principal who is of higher status as “*бы*” (in Russian), to show the respect to their position.

The formality scale

Formal	_____	High formality
Informal		Low formality

This scale is useful in assessing the influence of the social setting or type of interaction on language choice. In a formal transaction such as one with the bank manager in his office, or at a ritual service in church, the language used will be influenced by the formality of the setting. For a friendly chat, people generally use colloquial language.

The referential and affective function scales



Language can convey objective information of a referential kind; and it can also express how someone is feeling. **For example**, a student coming home late may say “That bastard kept us in again”. This utterance simultaneously expresses both information about why he is late, while also conveying his feelings about the teacher referred to. Gossip may provide a great deal of new referential information, while also clearly conveying how the speaker feels about those referred to. It is very common for utterances to work like this, though often one function will dominate. In general, the more referentially oriented an interaction is, the less it tends to express the feelings of the speaker.

Looking for explanations

We can begin to look for patterns which will help to formulate an explanation of why people use one set of forms in some contexts, but different forms in others.

The first two steps which need to be taken are:

1. to identify clearly the linguistic variation involved (e.g. vocabulary, sounds, grammatical constructions, styles, dialects, languages)
2. to identify clearly the different social or non-linguistic factors which lead speakers to use one form rather than another (e.g. features relating to participants, setting or function of the interaction).

Exercises.

1. Answer the following two questions for each of utterances a, b, and c, below.

(i) What information does the utterance provide about the relationship between the people talking in the context of their talk?

(ii) What is the function of the utterance in the context?

Does it convey primarily affective or referential information?

(a) Here is the forecast for the Wellington district until midnight Tuesday issued by the meteorological service at 6 o'clock on Monday evening. It will be rather cloudy over night with some drizzle, becoming fine again on Tuesday morning. The outlook for Wednesday– a few morning showers then fine.

(b) Good morning little one – you had a good big sleep, didn't you, pet?

(c) Excuse me, Mr. Clayton. I've finished your letters, sir.

2. Students are discussing the preparations for the conference with their teacher. Using the four dimensions of sociolinguistic analysis, **identify four linguistic features (distance, status, formality, type of content) likely to characterize their discussions** in each of these situations:

(a) during an organised meeting in a classroom and

(b) when students discuss the details in a café.

3

Choosing your variety or code

Key words: language use, code choice, domains, variety, social factors, social distance, status relationship, dimension of formality, interaction.

Example 1

Kalala is 16 years old in Bukavu. It is a multicultural, multilingual city. Over 40 groups speaking different languages can be found in the city. Kalala speaks an informal style of Shi, his tribal language, at home with his family, and he is familiar with the formal Shi used for weddings and funerals. He uses informal Shi in the market-place when he deals with vendors from his own ethnic group. When he wants to communicate with people from a different tribal group, he uses the lingua franca of the area, Swahili. He learned standard (Zairean) Swahili at school, but the local market-place variety is a little different. It has its own distinct linguistic features and even its own name –

Kingwana. He uses Kingwana to younger children and to adults he meets in the streets, as well as to people in the market-place. He listens to pop music in Lingala, although he doesn't speak it or understand it. Despite the fact that French is the official language of the Democratic Republic of the Congo-Zaire, Kalala knows almost no French. Like most other people in Bukavu, he uses standard Swahili with officials in government offices.

He spends most of his time with his friends, and with them he uses another variety or code called Indoubil. This is a variety which is used among the young people in Bukavu, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds or tribal affiliations. It is used like in-group slang between young people in monolingual communities. Indoubil is based on Swahili, but it has developed into a distinct variety or code by drawing on languages like French, English and Italian – all languages which can be read or heard in the multilingual city of Bukavu.

Exercise

Using the information provided in the example above, which varieties do you think Kalala will use to

- (i) talk to his younger brother at home?
- (ii) plan the morning's activities with his best friend?
- (iii) greet a stranger from a different tribe whom he met in the street?

Domains of language use

Certain social factors – who you are talking to, the social context of the talk, the function and topic of the discussion – turn out to be important in accounting for language choice in many different kinds of speech community. It has proved very useful, particularly when describing code choice in large speech communities, to look at 'typical' interactions which involve these factors. We can imagine, for instance, a 'typical' family interaction. It would be located in the setting of the home; the typical participants will obviously be family members; and typical topics would be family activities. A number of such typical interactions have been identified as relevant in describing patterns of code choice in many speech communities. They are known as **domains of language use**, a term popularised

by Joshua Fishman, an American sociolinguist. A domain involves typical interactions between typical participants in typical settings.

Example 2

Sasha lives in Crimea. When it was part of Ukraine, Sasha spoke Ukrainian at school. When Crimea became a part of Russia, the language policy in the school changed, and students had to begin speaking Russian in school settings. However, with friends, Sasha continues to communicate in Ukrainian.

Modelling variety or code choice

Domain is clearly a very general concept which draws on **three important social factors** in code choice – participants, setting and topic. Using information about the domains of use in a community, it is possible to draw a very simple model summarizing the norms of language use for the community. This is often particularly useful for bilingual and multilingual speech communities.

For example, Maria is a teenager whose Portuguese parents came to London in the 1960s. She uses mainly Portuguese at home and to older people at the Portuguese Catholic church and community centre, but English is the appropriate variety or code for her to use at school. She uses mostly English in her after-school job serving in a local café, though occasionally older customers greet her in Portuguese.

This information identifies four domains and describes the variety or code appropriate to each.

Domain	Variety/code
Home/family	Portuguese
Church/religion	Portuguese
Work/employment	English
School/education	English

While it obviously oversimplifies the complexity of bilingual interaction, nevertheless a model like this (when we choose appropriate variety depending on the situation) is useful in a number of ways. **First** it forces us to be very clear about which domains and varieties are **relevant** to language choice. The model summarises what we know about the patterns of language use in the community. It is not an account of the choices a person *must* make or of the process

they go through in selecting a code. It is simply a description of the community's norms which can be altered or added to if we discover more information.

It would be possible, for instance, to add other domains after 'school', for instance, such as 'the pub' or 'the law court'.

A second reason why an explicit model is useful is that it provides a clear basis for comparing patterns of code choice in different speech communities. Models make it easy to compare the varieties appropriate in similar domains in different speech communities. And a model is also useful to a newcomer in a community as a summary of the appropriate patterns of code use in the community.

Other social factors affecting code choice

People may select a particular variety or code because it makes it easier to discuss a particular topic, regardless of where they are speaking. At home, people often discuss work or school, for instance, using the language associated with those domains, rather than the language of the family domain. Some describe this as 'leakage'. Particular topics may regularly be discussed in one code rather than another, regardless of the setting or addressee.

When both participants share more than one variety, then other factors will contribute to the appropriate choice. The **social distance** dimension is relevant, for instance. How well do they know each other, i.e. what is the social distance between the participants? Are they strangers, friends, brothers?

The **status** relationship between people may be relevant in selecting the appropriate code. A high-status official in Bukavu will be addressed in standard Swahili in many contexts.

Social role may also be important and is often a factor contributing to status differences between people. Typical role relationships are teacher–pupil, doctor–patient, soldier–civilian, priest–parishioner, official–citizen.

Features of the setting and the dimension of **formality** may also be important in selecting an appropriate variety or code. In church, at a formal ceremony, the appropriate variety will be different from that used afterwards in the church porch. The variety used for a formal radio lecture differs from that used for the adverts.

Another important factor is the **function** or goal of the interaction. What is the language being used for? Is the speaker asking a favour or giving orders to someone?

Models can usefully go beyond the social factors summarized in the domain concept to take account of social dimensions such as social distance (stranger vs friend), relative status or role (doctor–patient), degrees of formality (formal wedding ceremony vs lunchtime chat) and the function or goal of the interaction (getting a bargain). Interactions where people switch between codes within a domain cannot always be captured even by diagrams which consider the relevance of topic or social dimensions such as formality and social distance.

4

Diglossia

Key words: diglossia, polyglossia, bilingualism, high variety, low variety, diglossia situation, individuals.

In sociolinguistics, diglossia is a situation in which two distinct varieties of a language are spoken within the same speech community.

In the narrow and original sense of the term, diglossia has three crucial features:

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

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

3. No one uses the high variety in everyday conversation..

In most diglossia situations the H form would not occur in everyday conversation, and the L form would generally seem odd in writing.

Attitudes to H vs L in a diglossia situation.

Attitudes to it are usually very respectful. It has prestige in the sense of high status. These attitudes are reinforced by

the fact that the H variety is the one which is described and ‘fixed’, or standardised, in grammar books and dictionaries. People generally do not think of the L variety as worth describing. However, attitudes to the L variety are varied and often ambivalent.

Diglossia with and without bilingualism

Diglossia is a characteristic of speech communities rather than individuals. Individuals may be bilingual. Societies or communities are diglossic. In other words, the term diglossia describes societal or institutionalised bilingualism, where two varieties are required to cover all the community’s domains.

Polyglossia

The term polyglossia has been used for situations where a community regularly uses more than three languages.

Changes in a diglossia situation

Diglossia has been described as a stable situation. It is possible for two varieties to continue to exist side by side for centuries. Alternatively, one variety may gradually displace the other. Latin was ousted from its position as the H language in Europe.

Example 1 – In Eggenwil, a town in the Aargau canton of Switzerland, Silvia, a bank-teller, knows two very distinct varieties of German. One is the local Swiss German dialect of her canton which she uses in her everyday interactions. The other is standard German which she learnt at school, and though she understands it very well indeed, she rarely uses it in speech. Newspapers are written in standard German, and when she occasionally goes to hear a lecture at the university it may be in standard German. The national TV news is broadcast in standard German, but weather broadcasts now use dialect. The sermons her mother listens to in church are generally in standard German too, though more radical clerics use Swiss German dialect. The novels Silvia reads also use standard German.

Example 2 – People from the south of Russia use high variety of Russian language when speaking in such situations as buying things or visiting the official authorities. Having conversations

between members of the neighborhood or in family they use low variety of language (such words as бачить, шо, як).

Exercise 1

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

(H(igh) L(ow) Variety Variety)

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

Exercise 2

How can the following three dimensions be used to distinguish between H and L varieties in a diglossic speech community?

- (i) Formality
- (ii) Social distance
- (iii) Social status

Code-switching or code-mixing

Example 1.

[Maori is in italics.]

Sarah: I think everyone's here except Mere.

John: She said she might be a bit late but actually I think that's her arriving now.

Sarah: You're right. Kia ora Mere. Haeremai. Keitepeheakoe?
[HI MERE. COME IN. HOW ARE YOU ?]

Mere: Kiaora e hoa. Keitepai. [HELLO MY FRIEND. I'M FINE]

People sometimes **switch code** within a domain or social situation. When there is some obvious change in the situation, such as the arrival of a new person, it is easy to explain the switch. In example 1, Mere is Maori and although the rest of the meeting will be conducted

in English, Sarah switches to Maori to greet her. The Maori greeting is an expression of solidarity. So a code-switch may be related to a particular participant.

Example 2.

There are three main settings in which language is learned – home, school and college or University. Before a child comes to school, she/he learns the first language at home, where the usual language of interaction is Russian. Nevertheless, the child is exposed to different instances of social interaction where variations in English and Russian language use may arise. It can happen everywhere – in the street, at the shop, while watching TV, listening to the radio, talking to peers, parents, neighbors, etc. The thing is the English language has become an integral part of the Russian-speaking community.

One of the Russian pop-group “Diskoteka Avariia” at the contest in Iurmala, July 29, 2003:

Guliai, hip-hop planeta! Hey everybody, attention! Hey, devchonki! Zachem, krasivye, vy khodite za mnoi?

A speaker may similarly switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee. Even speakers who are not very proficient in a second language may use brief phrases and words for this purpose. This kind of switching is sometimes called emblematic switching or **tag switching** (Example 3).

Example 3.

A: Well I’m glad I met you. OK?

M: bien [OK], I’m glad too.

By using the Spanish tag, M signalled to A that she recognised the relevance of their shared ethnic background to their future relationship. The tag served as a solidarity marker between two minority ethnic group members whose previous conversation has been entirely in English.

A **referentially oriented code-switch** is when a speaker switches code to quote a person. The switch involves just the words that the speaker is claiming the quoted person said. So the switch acts like a set of quotation marks. The speaker gives the impression – which may or may not be accurate – that these are the exact words the speaker used. A related reason for switching is to quote a proverb or a well-known saying in another language.

Exercise

When people switch from one code to another for reasons which can be clearly identified, it is sometimes called situational switching. If we knew the relevant situational or social factors in advance in such cases, we could usually predict the switches. Which code would you predict the speaker will switch from and which code will they switch to in the following situation and why?

Three students from the Chinese province of Guangdong are sharing a flat together in London. They are discussing the ingredients of the stir-fry vegetable dish they are cooking. One of them starts to discuss the chemical composition of different ingredients.

5

Metaphorical Switching

Key words: metaphorical code-switching, fusedlect, lexical borrowing, rules for switching, intra-sentential switching, equivalence constraint, MLF, embedded language, intra-sentential switching, inter-sentential switching.

Example 1:

At a village meeting among the Buang people in PNG, MrRupa, the main village entrepreneur and ‘bigman’, is trying to persuade people who have put money into a village store to leave it there. This is a section from his skilful speech (TokPisin is in italics; Buang is not italicised).

Ikamaptrovel o wonem, mi kenstretimolgetatoktok.
Orait. Pasinkekenbe, menitikennyep la, suloklammembare,
olobamitingautimolgetatok... monitikennyepaga,
rekmusurekogokonambe, onemonirek...
monitikenbakstualamvuMambumpre, m nzomagon. Orait, bihain,
bihainimbilong wok long bisnis, orait, monibilongstuabaiibekimol
getaples.

English translation:

If any problem comes up, I will be able to settle all the arguments. OK. This is the way – the money that is there can't go back to the shareholders, and the meeting brought up all these arguments... the money that's there you won't take back, your money will... this money from the bulk store will come back to Mambump, and we'll hold on to it. Now later, if we continue these business activities, then the store money will be repaid to everyone.

In many of the examples, the specific reason for a switch can be identified with reasonable confidence. Though it would not be possible to predict when a switch will occur without knowing what a speaker intended to say next, it is often possible to account for switches after they have occurred. The example, however, moves switching into a different dimension. It is an example of what can be achieved by a really skilled bilingual. What is the social meaning of these rapid switches?

By switching between codes with such rapidity the village bigman effectively draws on the different associations of the two codes. Buang is the local tribal language. By using it Mr. Rupa **is emphasizing his membership of the Buang community**—he belongs here and everyone knows him. He is using Buang **to construct his local identity**. But he is also a skilled businessman with contacts in the outside world of money and marketing. Mr. Rupa's use of TokPisin, a creole which is a valuable lingua franca and an official language in PNG, **emphasizes this role of entrepreneur**, as well as **his superior knowledge and experience as a man of the wider world**. His use of TokPisin **constructs his professional identity as a businessman**. Buang symbolizes high solidarity, equal status and friendly feelings. TokPisin represents social distance, status and the referential information of the business world. Mr. Rupa is getting the best of both worlds. He is code-switching for rhetorical reasons, drawing on the associations of both codes. This type of switching has sometimes been called **metaphorical switching**. Each of the codes represents or symbolises a set of social meanings, and the speaker draws on the associations of each. The term also reflects the fact that this kind of switching involves

rhetical skill. Skilful code-switching operates like metaphor to enrich the communication.

The switches are very well motivated in relation to the symbolic or social meanings of the two codes. This kind of rapid switching is itself a specific sociolinguistic variety. It has been labeled a **fusedlect**. It is a distinctive conversational style used among bilinguals and multilinguals – a rich additional linguistic resource available to them. By switching between two or more codes, the speakers convey affective meaning as well as information.

Lexical Borrowing

It is obviously important to distinguish this kind of switching from switches which can be accounted for by lack of vocabulary in a language. When speaking a second language, for instance, people will often use a term from their mother tongue or first language because they don't know the appropriate word in their second language. These 'switches' are triggered by **lack of vocabulary**. People may also borrow words from another language **to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available in the language they are using**. Borrowing of this kind generally involves **single words** – mainly nouns – and it is motivated by lexical need. It is very different from switching where speakers have a genuine choice about which words or phrases they will use in which language.

Borrowings often differ from code-switches in form too. Borrowed words **are usually adapted to the speaker's first language**. They are pronounced and used grammatically as if they were part of the speaker's first language.

Example 2:

Nowadays there are a lot of people who have their YouTube video blogs, where they speak about everything. Some of these people live in the non-mother country. Speaking with their audience, they use the language of the country they are living, but sometimes we can meet the words from their mother tongue. It happens at the moments, when it is really difficult to them to find a proper word on their non-native language (I really like tvorog. It's an amazing milk product).

Linguistic Constraints

Sociolinguists who study the kind of rapid code-switching describe the points at which switches occur in utterances. Some believe there are very general **rules for switching** and they are searching for universal linguistic constraints on switching.

It has been suggested, for example, that switches only **occur within sentences** (intra-sentential switching) at points where the grammars of both languages match each other. This is called **‘the equivalence constraint’**. So you may only switch between an adjective and a noun if both languages use the same order for that adjective and noun.

Another suggestion is that **there is** always a **‘matrix language frame’** (MLF) which imposes structural constraints on code-switched utterances. The other language is called **the embedded language**.

Other sociolinguists argue that it is unlikely that there are universal and absolute rules of this kind. They argue for greater attention to social, stylistic and contextual factors. So, it is suggested, only **very proficient bilinguals will switch within sentences**, intra-sententially, whereas **people who are less proficient will tend to switch at sentence boundaries** (inter-sentential switching), or **use only short fixed phrases or tags in one language on the end of sentences in the other language**.

Attitudes to Code-switching

People are often unaware of the fact that they code-switch. When their attention is drawn to this behaviour, however, many tend to apologise for it, condemn it and generally indicate disapproval of mixing languages. The speech of young students who were switching between the local dialect and the standard was condemned as ‘artificial speech’. Reactions to code-switching styles are negative in many communities, despite the fact that proficiency in intra-sentential code-switching requires good control of both codes. This may reflect the attitudes of the majority monolingual groups in places like North America and Britain. In places such as PNG and East Africa, where multilingualism is the norm, attitudes to proficient code-switching are much more positive.

Exercise

1) At the beginning of the discussion of code-switching, the sociolinguistic patterns, which characterize behaviour of young people in Pamaka (Eastern Suriname), were mentioned. How can we interpret their behaviour, consisting in avoiding using the language of Pamaka in dialogues with their friends, if we assume that they're trying to construct their local identity?

2) Can you give some examples of metaphorical code-switching concerning your native language?

6

Language shift in different communities, Language death and language loss, Factors contributing to language shift

Key words: language, language shift, language death, language loss, migration, speaker, domain.

Language shift occurs when a person stops to use his/her mother tongue.

Example 1—When Ann was born, her mother went to Germany. She was offered a good position. Ann was left with her grandmother in Russia. A few years later, mother returned after her daughter and took her to Germany. So Ann started to speak German at school and with her friends, even at home. As a result Ann gradually stopped using Russian language.

Migrant minorities

The order of domains in which language shift occurs may differ for different individuals and different groups, but gradually over time the language of the wider society displaces the minority language mother tongue. There are many different social factors which can lead a community to shift from using one language for most purposes to using a different language. Migrant families provide an obvious example of this process of language shift.

In countries like England, Australia, New Zealand and the USA, the school is one of the first domains in which children of migrant families meet English. They may have watched English TV programmes and heard English used in shops before starting school, but at school they are expected to interact in English. They have to use English because it is the only means of communicating with the teacher and other children. For many children of migrants, English soon becomes the normal language for talking to other children – including their brothers and sisters.

There is pressure from the wider society too. Immigrants who look and sound ‘different’ are often regarded as threatening by majority group members.

Non-migrant communities

Language shift is not always the result of migration. Political, economic and social changes can occur within a community, and this may result in linguistic changes too (for example, Farsi in Iran and Oberwart in Austria).

Migrant majorities

Language shift often indicates the influence of political factors and economic factors, such as the need for work. People may shift both location and language for this reason.

When colonial powers invade other countries their languages often become dominant. Countries such as Portugal, Spain, France and Britain have generally imposed their languages along with their rule. This has not always resulted in linguistic subjugation and language shift. Multilingualism was too well-established as normal in countries like India and Papua New Guinea, and in many African countries. It was not possible for a single alien and imported language to displace and eradicate hundreds of indigenous vernacular languages. But when multilingualism was not widespread in an area, or where just one indigenous language had been used before the colonisers arrived, languages were often under threat. In this context, English has been described as a ‘killer language’.

When language shift occurs, it is almost always shift towards the language of the dominant powerful group.

Language death and language loss

Language death occurs when the last speaker died.

Manx has now completely died out in the Isle of Man – the last native speaker, Ned Maddrell, died in 1974; the Polabian language died when the last Slavic Polab disappeared.

When a language dies gradually, as opposed to all its speakers being wiped out by a massacre or epidemic, the process is similar to that of language shift. The functions of the language are taken over in one domain after another by another language. **Language loss** – as the domains in which speakers use the language shrink, the speakers of the dying language become gradually less proficient in it.

Example 2 - Annie at 20 is a young speaker of Dyirbal, an Australian Aboriginal language. She also speaks English which she learned at school. There is no written Dyirbal material for her to read, and there are fewer and fewer contexts in which she can appropriately hear and speak the language. So she is steadily becoming less proficient in it. She can understand the Dyirbal she hears used by older people in her community, and she uses it to speak to her grandmother. But her grandmother is scathing about her ability in Dyirbal, saying Annie doesn't speak the language properly.

With the spread of a majority group language into more and more domains, the number of contexts in which individuals use the ethnic language diminishes. The language usually retreats till it is used only in the home, and finally it is restricted to such personal activities as counting, praying and dreaming. In the wider community, the language may survive for ritual or ceremonial occasions.

Factors contributing to language shift

Economic, social and political factors

The community sees an important reason for learning the second language. The reasons are often economic, but they may also be political. Obtaining work is the most obvious economic reason for learning another language.

The second important factor, then, seems to be that the community sees no reason to take active steps to maintain their ethnic language.

Without active language maintenance, shift is almost inevitable in many contexts.

The social and economic goals of individuals in a community are very important in accounting for the speed of shift.

Demographic factors

Demographic factors are also relevant in accounting for the speed of language shift. Resistance to language shift tends to last longer in rural than in urban areas. This is partly because rural groups tend to be isolated from the centres of political power for longer, and they can meet most of their social needs in the ethnic or minority language. So, for example, because of their relative social isolation, Ukrainians in Canada who live out of town on farms have maintained their ethnic language better than those in the towns.

Shift tends to occur faster in some groups than in others. The size of the group is sometimes a critical factor. To maintain a language you must have people you can use it with on a regular basis.

Attitudes and values

Language shift tends to be slower among communities where the minority language is highly valued. When the language is seen as an important symbol of ethnic identity, it is generally maintained longer. Positive attitudes support efforts to use the minority language in a variety of domains, and this helps people resist the pressure from the majority group to switch to their language. The status of a language internationally can contribute to these positive attitudes.

Pride in the ethnic identity and the language can be important factors which contribute to language maintenance, provided there is a strong community to support and encourage these attitudes.

Exercises

1. What would you predict as the effect of intermarriage on language maintenance and shift? If, in England, an English-speaking woman marries a Gujarati-speaking man, for instance, which language will they use to their children?

2. Why do you think people might want to maintain their minority language when they move to a new country? Make a list of the factors

which seem to contribute to language maintenance as opposed to those which favour language shift.

How can a minority language be maintained?

Key words: minority group, language maintenance, extended family, language revival, migrants, nuclear family, social context, language shift, language death.

A minority language is a language spoken by a minority of the population of a territory.

There are several ways to maintain a minority language:

If families from a minority group live near each other and see each other frequently, this also helps them maintain their language.

Another factor which may contribute to language maintenance for those who emigrate is the degree and frequency of contact with the homeland. A regular stream of new migrants or even visitors will keep the need for using the language alive.

Members of a minority community can take active steps to protect its language. Where the normal family organisation for an ethnic group is the extended family with grandparents and unmarried relatives living in the same house as the nuclear family, for example, there is good reason to continue using the minority language at home.

School or church will increase the chances of language maintenance.

The minority group, which can mobilise education, law and administration, religion and the media institutions to support language maintenance, has some chance of succeeding.

When the government of a country is committed to maintaining or reviving a language, it is possible to legislate for its use in all these domains.

For a minority group fighting for the survival of its language, official signage is often a political battle well worth engaging in.

Language revival

Sometimes a community becomes aware that its language is in danger of disappearing and takes deliberate steps to revitalise it.

There is clearly no magic formula for guaranteeing language maintenance or for predicting language shift or death. Different factors combine in different ways in each social context, and the results are rarely predictable.

This account has stressed the importance of economic, social, demographic and attitudinal factors. Economic factors are very influential and rarely work in favour of maintaining small minority group languages.

Example 1 – Armeen is an Iranian teacher of English. He is concerned that Farsi, the official language of Iran, is displacing his native language Azeri. One piece of evidence supporting his concern about Azeri is that the streets of his home town Tabriz are full of signs in the Farsi language. What is more, people are not taught to read and write Azeri, despite the fact that there is a rich literature in the language, some of it housed in books in the Tabriz library. So there is a vicious circle. People don't use Azeri in public signs because they know that literacy in Azeri is almost non-existent.

Example 2 – A common example – the Russian people who live in Brighton beach district, New York, there they use Russian language to communicate, to go shopping and so on. Some members of this district may not know English, though live in America. There people always treat to maintain their language minority, so they study in Russian schools and so on.

Exercise 1

Can you think of any factors which may contribute to language shift which have not been discussed in detail in this chapter?

Exercise 2

Yoruba, the language of people living in the state of Lagos in Nigeria, West Africa, is increasingly threatened by the spread of English. In November 2006, Chief Olusoji Smith led a group of tribal elders who recommended that Yoruba be made compulsory as an admission criterion into tertiary institutions. How much of a

contribution do you think this will make to encouraging parents to use Yoruba in the home?

7

Linguistic varieties and multilingual nations

Key words: Linguistic varieties, multilingual nations, bilingual, components of the meaning, Standard languages, World Englishes, Lingua francas.

Over half the world's population is bilingual and many people are multilingual. They acquire a number of languages because they need them for different purposes in their everyday interactions. The labels and the criteria that sociolinguists use to distinguish between different varieties or codes in multilingual communities are examined.

Example 1

Mr. Patel is a spice merchant who lives in Bombay. When he gets up, he talks to his wife and children in Kathiawari, their dialect of Gujarati. Every morning he goes to the local market where he uses Marathi to buy his vegetables. At the railway station, he buys his ticket into Bombay city using Hindustani, the working person's lingua franca. He reads his Gujarati newspaper on the train, and when he gets to work, he uses Kacchi, the language of the spice trade, all day. He knows enough English to enjoy an English cricket commentary on the radio, but he would find an English film difficult to follow.

However, since the spice business is flourishing, his children go to an English-medium school, so he expects them to be more proficient in English than he is.

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

There are **three components of the** meaning of the term vernacular(native language). The most basic refers to the fact that

a vernacular is an uncodified or unstandardized variety. The second refers to the way it is acquired – at home, as a first variety. The third is the fact that it is used for relatively circumscribed functions. The first component has been most widely used as the defining criterion, but emphasis on one or other of the components has led to the use of the term vernacular with somewhat different meanings.

Standard languages

A **standard variety** is generally one which is written, and which has undergone some degree of regularization or codification (for example, in a grammar and a dictionary); it is recognized as a prestigious variety or code by a community, and it is used for H functions alongside a diversity of L varieties. The example:

Example 2

Standard Russian

The standard form of Russian is generally regarded as the modern Russian literary language (современный русский литературный язык). It arose in the beginning of the 18th century with the modernization reforms of the Russian state under the rule of Peter the Great, and developed from the Moscow (Middle or Central Russian) dialect substratum under the influence of some of the previous century's Russian chancellery language. Until the 20th century, the language's spoken form was the language of only the upper noble classes and urban population, as Russian peasants from the countryside continued to speak in their own dialects. By the mid-20th century, such dialects were forced out with the introduction of the compulsory education system that was established by the Soviet government.

Standard varieties are codified varieties. Codification is usually achieved through grammars and dictionaries which record, and sometimes prescribe, the standard forms of the language.

Dictionary writers (or lexicographers) have to decide which words to include in the dictionary as part of the standard variety, which forms to mark as dialectal, and which to omit altogether.

They generally take the usage of educated and socially prestigious members of the community as their criterion. The codification

process, which is part of the development of every standard variety, was accelerated in the case of English by the introduction of printing. In 1476, William Caxton, the first English printer, set up his printing press in Westminster. He used the speech of the London area – the newly emerging standard dialect – as the basis for his translations. In other words, he used the vocabulary, the grammar and the pronunciation of this dialect when looking for words, constructions and spellings to translate works from French. Selecting forms was not always straightforward.

Exercise1

Look up the meaning of ‘standard’ in a good dictionary. Which of the meanings listed seems closest to the definition provided in this section?

Answer the following questions:

1. What is the difference between standard language and standard dialect?
2. How is standard language usually defined?
3. Which version of the language is usually taught to learners as a foreign language?

World Englishes

The terms ‘**World Englishes**’ and ‘**New Englishes**’ have been used to emphasize the range of different varieties of English that have developed since the nineteenth century.

World Englishes is a term for emerging localized or indigenized varieties of English, especially varieties that have developed in territories influenced by the United Kingdom or the United States.

The issue of World Englishes was first raised in 1978 to examine concepts of regional Englishes globally. Pragmatic factors such as appropriateness, comprehensibility and interpretability justified the use of English as an international and intra-national language.

Currently, there are approximately 75 territories where English is spoken either as a first language (L1) or as an unofficial or institutionalized second language (L2) in fields such as government, law and education. It is difficult to establish the total number of

Englishes in the world, as new varieties of English are constantly being developed and discovered.

New Englishes is a term for recently emerging and increasingly autonomous varieties of English, especially in a non-western setting, such as India, Nigeria, or Singapore. It refers to varieties of English in countries where English is an official, but not necessarily the first language of all inhabitants. The term is used to contrast with the so-called Anglo Englishes or Older Englishes: the varieties of English spoken in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

Lingua francas

A lingua franca is a language used for communication between people whose first languages differ. In multilingual communities, lingua francas are so useful they may eventually displace the vernaculars. When people from different ethnic groups marry in the Democratic Republic of the Congo-Zaire or Tanzania or Papua New Guinea, they often use the lingua franca of their area as the language of the home, and their children may therefore learn very little of their father's and mother's vernaculars. From a linguistic and sociolinguistic point of view, the most interesting lingua francas in many respects are pidgin and creole languages.

8

Pidgins and creoles

Key words: pidgin, creole, lexifier, superstrate, substrate, continuum of varieties, acrolect, basilect, mesolect

Pidgins

A pidgin is a language which has no native speakers. Pidgins develop as a means of communication between people who do not have a common language. So a pidgin is no one's native language. Pidgins seem particularly likely to arise when two groups with different languages are communicating in a situation where there is also a third dominant language.

Example 1. Bislama is a variety of Melanesian Pidgin which is used by nearly everyone in Vanuatu, an archipelago of about 80 islands and a population of around 200,000 in the southwest Pacific. Like the Caribbean pidgins, it originated because of the need for a lingua franca among plantation workers. But the Melanesians who worked in the nineteenth century on the sugar-cane plantations of Queensland (Australia), and later Fiji, were not slaves. They were ‘indentured’ or contract workers. The pidgin then spread because it was so useful to traders in sandalwood and seaslugs or *beche de mer*, from which the language’s name derives). The usefulness of a lingua franca in Vanuatu, a country with over 100 different vernacular languages, guaranteed its survival there. Today Bislama is a fully functioning creole which has been adopted as Vanuatu’s national language.

Pidgins are typically used for quite specific functions like buying and selling grain, or animal hides, rather than to signal social distinctions or express politeness. Consequently, the structure of a pidgin is generally no more complicated than it needs to be to express these functions. Nobody uses a pidgin as a means of group identification, or to express social distance, and so there is no pressure to maintain referentially redundant features of a language or complicated pronunciations whose main purpose is to signal how well educated you are.

The language which supplies most of the vocabulary is known as the *lexifier* (or sometimes *superstrate* language, while the languages which influence the grammatical structure are called the *substrate*. So in Papua New Guinea, English is the lexifier language for TokPisin, while Tolai contributes to the substrate.

Pidgin languages do not have high status or prestige and, to those who do not speak them, they often seem ridiculous languages. They have been described as mongrel jargons and macaroni lingos, and given negative labels such as Broken English and Kitchen Kaffir. Because of the large number of pidgin words which derive from a European language in a pidgin such as Tok Pisin, many Europeans consider pidgins to be a debased form of their own language. They assume they can guess the meanings. But sometimes it is not so.

Example 2. The Russian-Chinese pidgin, often called Kyakhta pidgin or Maimachin speech, initially arose as the means of communication between Chinese and Russian merchants in the trading towns of Kyakhta and Maimachin. Today, Kyakhta is an small town, population 20,000, in Buryatia. Maimachin across the border is also known by its Mongolian name, Altanbulag. At the time the pidgin developed, from the early eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, these two towns were an important trading portal between Russia and the Qing dynasty's Outer Mongolia. At that time, the Russians sold furs, textiles, clothing, hides, leather, hardware, and cattle, while the Chinese exported silk, cotton, tea, fruits, porcelain, rice, candles, rhubarb, ginger, and musk. A derivative of the Kyakhta pidgin spread eastwards, along the Chinese Eastern Railway, all the way to Vladivostok and Harbin. Later, it also spread to the Lower Amur region, where it was used by a number of indigenous Tungusic-speaking peoples for inter-group communication. This latter use of the Russian-Chinese pidgin is depicted in Vladimir Arsenyev's book *Dersu Uzala*, which formed the basis of a noted film by Akira Kurosava.

Creoles

A **creole** is a pidgin which has acquired native speakers. Many of the languages which are called pidgins are in fact now creole languages. They are learned by children as their first language and used in a wide range of domains. Tok Pisin is one obvious example of a pidgin which has developed into a creole language. This makes it clear that the label of a language is not an accurate guide to its status as pidgin or creole. Despite its name, Tok Pisin is a creole because it has been learned as a first language by a large number of speakers, and has developed accordingly to meet their linguistic needs.

Pidgins become more structurally regular as they undergo **creolisation**, the process by which a pidgin becomes a creole.

Once a creole has developed it can be used for all the functions of any language – politics, education, administration, original literature, and so on. Creoles have become accepted standard and even national and official languages. Once developed there is no evidence in their linguistic structure to reveal their pidgin origins. Though

outsiders' attitudes to creoles are often as negative as their attitudes to pidgins, this is not always the case for those who speak the language.

Origins and endings

Despite their huge geographical spread – they are found in every continent – many similarities are found among pidgins and creoles. Over a hundred have been identified, but the lexifier language for most (about 85) is one of seven European languages: English (35), French (15), Portuguese (14), Spanish (7), German (6), Dutch (5) and Italian (3). So perhaps the similarities are not surprising.

But the fact that similarities have been found between pidgins from quite different geographical regions, and in pidgins where quite different languages have contributed to their development, suggests things are not quite so straightforward. Some have argued that all pidgins and creoles had a common origin. Firstly, pidgins arise in different contexts but for the same kinds of basic functions – trade, barter, and other essentially transactional and referentially oriented functions. Secondly, these functions are expressed through structural processes which seem universal to all situations of language development – processes such as simplification and reduction of redundant features (like gender markers). It is argued that these processes will be found in any context where basic communication is the aim, so there is no need to argue for a common origin for all pidgins. It is easy to see the fascination of the debate – and it is one which seems likely to continue for some time.

Eventually there may exist a continuum of varieties between the standard language and the creole – sometimes described as a **post-creole continuum**. In this situation, linguists label the variety closest to the standard an **acrolect** (where *acro* means 'high'), whereas the variety closest to the creole is labeled the **basilect** or 'deep' creole. These two varieties are often mutually unintelligible. Varieties in between these two extremes are described as **mesolects** or intermediate varieties.

Exercise 1

Can you guess which European languages have contributed to the vocabulary of the languages illustrated in the following sentences?

(a) mɸpeastesabanan- I am buying the banana

- (b) de bin aldelukdat big tri - they always looked for a big tree
- (c) a waka go a osu - he walked home
- (d) olmaanikas-imchek - the old man is cashing a cheque
- (e) lipotesa bay mo - he brought that for me
- (f) jafruherwirbleiben - yes at first we remained
- (g) dissmol swain i bin go fomaket - this little pig went to market

Answers:

- (a) Seychelles Creole: French based/French is the lexifier language.
- (b) Roper River Creole: English-based/English is the lexifier language.
- (c) Sranan: English-based/English is the lexifier language.
- (d) Cape York Creole: English-based/English is the lexifier language.
- (e) Guyanais: French-based/French is the lexifier language.
- (f) Papua New Guinea Pidgin German: German-based/German is the lexifier language.
- (g) Cameroon Pidgin: English-based/English is the lexifier language.

Exercise 2

Using the social dimensions– solidarity, status, formality, and function– consider the social characteristics of the following linguistic varieties:

- (a) vernacular
- (b) standard
- (c) lingua franca
- (d) pidgin
- (e) creole

The answer: vernacular languages contrast with standardised varieties predominantly on the status and formality dimensions. Vernaculars are generally low status varieties used to express solidarity or construct aspects of social identity in informal contexts. Standard dialects are prestigious varieties which may be used in more formal situations. Lingua francas and pidgin languages can perhaps be best

described in terms of their functions. They are both primarily means of expressing referential functions – they are associated with informal but information-oriented contexts. Pidgins and creoles are generally regarded as low status linguistic varieties.

9

National languages and language planning

Key words: diglossia, official language, pidgin, national language, creole, multilingual countries, formal context.

Example 1: There is one highly educated Paraguayan, who has spent many years fighting to develop and encourage pride in Guaraní, the indigenous language, among Paraguayans from all social backgrounds. Upper-class Paraguayans have always regarded Spanish as the language of culture, education and civilisation, and in the past, they tended to belittle Guaraní as the language of the ill-bred and uneducated. The man has pointed to the linguistic richness of Guaraní. He has also emphasised its importance as the only language, which can express Paraguayan national identity. As a result of his efforts and those of others, Guaraní is now a language most Paraguayans are proud of.

The example shows that it is really important to know and be proud of the language of your nation.

Paraguay is the only Latin American nation with a distinctive national language – Guaraní. **A national language** is a language, or language variant, that has some connection – de facto or de jure – with people and the territory they occupy.

It is interesting that Guaraní is an indigenous American Indian language spoken by over 90 per cent of the population, and it has co-existed for the past 300 years with Spanish (which is spoken by no more than 60 per cent of the people).

Paraguay provides a clear case of stable broad **diglossia** (a situation in which 2 dialects or languages are used by a single language community), with Spanish, the language, used in formal contexts,

for administration, a great deal of education and legal business, and Guaraní, the language of solidarity, the language of love, humour and poetry. A lot of Paraguayans consider that Guaraní is an important symbol of Paraguayan identity and you cannot be a true Paraguayan unless you can speak the language.

Example 2: Vanuatu is a multilingual Pacific republic. It declared independence in 1980. Vanuatu is unique in the Pacific because it has adopted a former *pidgin*, Bislama, as its sole national language. Bislama is an English-lexified creole with origins in a Melanesian plantation pidgin (a language which has no native speakers and develops as a means of communication between people who do not have a common language).

Besides a national language (the language of a political, cultural and social unit) there is *an official language* – a language which may be used for government business. Its function is primarily utilitarian rather than symbolic

In the 1960s Guaraní was declared the ‘national’ language while Spanish was an ‘official’ language of Paraguay. However, the situation changed again in 1992, when Guaraní was granted official status alongside Spanish. So Paraguay now has two **official languages** and one **national language**, Guaraní.

Example 3: In Russia we also have some republic where several official or national languages exist together. For example, Republic of Tatarstan has two official languages Russian and Tatar, or Komi Republic has Russian and Komi as official languages.

In *multilingual countries* (the countries, population of which speaks multiple languages), the government often declares a particular language to be the national language for political reasons. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, for instance, has four African languages as national languages, Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba and Kikongo, alongside French as an official language. Lingala is, however, the official language of the army.

English is an official language in many countries throughout the world. Often it shares this official status with an indigenous language,

such as Malay in Malaysia, Swahili in Tanzania. But English is not legally an official language of England, the USA, or New Zealand.

Many countries have regarded the development of a single national language as a way of symbolising the unity of a nation. 'One nation, one language' has been a popular and effective slogan. Somali is the first language of 90 per cent of the people of Somalia and the national official language of the country. Danish is the national language of Denmark, and the first language of 98 per cent of the people. Political power is the crucial factor. In multilingual countries, the significance of political power in the choice of national language is particularly clear.

Exercises:

1. In 1855, Dean Trench, a leading architect of the Oxford English Dictionary, expressed the hope that studying the dictionary would 'lead through a more intimate knowledge of English into a greater love of England'. In the 1980s, this attitude was expressed once again in relation to the standard dialect of English. The British Secretary of State for Education pointed to the importance of the English language as a symbol of nationhood. What do you think of the claims of these men that studying standard English will develop a sense of national pride in England?

2. Are there any other official languages on the territory of Russia? Can you name some of them?

Planning for a national official language

Key words: national language, selection, codification, elaboration, securing

What is involved in developing a code or variety (whether dialect or language) so that is suitable for official use?

There are generally **four interrelated steps**:

1. Selection: choosing the variety or code to be developed.

2. Codification: standardizing its structural or linguistic features. This kind of ‘linguistic processing’ is known as corpus planning.

3. Elaboration: extending its functions for use in new domains. This involves developing the necessary linguistic resources for handling new concepts and contexts.

4. Securing its acceptance: the status of the new variety is important, and so people’s attitudes to the variety being developed must be considered. Steps may be needed to enhance its prestige, for instance, and to encourage people to develop pride in the language, or loyalty towards it. This is known as status planning or prestige planning.

Selecting the code to be developed is often an entirely political decision, though linguists may point out the different linguistic problems presented by selecting one variety rather than another. Acceptance by the people will generally require endorsement by politicians and socially prestigious groups. So selection and acceptance are steps which involve social and political factors. Codification and elaborating the code to handle a wider range of functions are, by contrast, essentially linguistic processes.

Example 1

Tanzania

Selecting a code

When Tanzania gained independence in 1961, the government faced the dilemma of which language to choose as its official national language. Choosing one language from over a hundred languages,

each associated with a particular tribe, would have simply provoked discontent, if not inter-tribal war. Choosing English for a newly independent nation seemed inappropriate. The first President of Tanzania chose Swahili, a language of the Bantu language family, which was widely used throughout the country. There were some obvious reasons for his choice. Some were pragmatic. Swahili was already the medium of primary education, for instance, and so children learned the language at school. Other obvious reasons were more ideological. Ninety-six per cent of Tanzania's languages are Bantu languages, like Swahili, so it could be clearly identified as an African language.

Codifying and elaborating Swahili

The process of standardizing Swahili was begun by the British administration well before independence. In the 1920s, a southern variety of Swahili, used in Zanzibar, was selected as the basis for the standard. The fact that it was being used in primary education and for administration meant standardization was essential. Its codification involved developing a standard spelling system, describing the grammar of the variety selected as the new standard, and writing a dictionary to record its vocabulary. Following Tanzanian independence in 1961, Swahili was used in more and more contexts for education, administration, politics and law. The President intended that eventually it should be used for post-primary education, in the Higher Courts and in all areas of government. This meant intensive work in order to develop the necessary vocabulary and technical terms, and an enormous amount was achieved in a short space of time. In 1984, however, the government decided not to extend Swahili-medium education to secondary and tertiary education. English has been retained for these levels.

Attitudes to Swahili

The role of Swahili in unifying the people of Tanzania to work for independence guaranteed it prestige and positive attitudes. Even the president used it in domains where formerly English had been used and this too increased its status. People have often seen the success of Swahili as the national language in Tanzania as due to its 'neutral'

status – it is not identified with a particular tribe. But its widespread acceptance was also due to the fact that Tanzanians developed a strong loyalty towards the language which united them in working towards ‘freedom’. It provides a culturally acceptable symbol of unity.

Example 2

The official languages of Canada are English and French, which “have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada,” according to Canada’s constitution. Official bilingualism is the term used in Canada to collectively describe the policies, constitutional provisions, and laws that ensure legal equality of English and French in the Parliament and courts of Canada, protect the linguistic rights of English and French-speaking minorities in different provinces, and ensure a level of government services in both languages across Canada.

Exercise 1

Why do you think English might be regarded by some politicians as more suitable than Swahili for secondary and tertiary education in Tanzania?

PART 2

1

Sociolinguistic Issues

By Andrew Button

(classroom.synonym.com)

Language and society interact in strange and fascinating ways. Sociolinguistics, the study of language as social behavior, is primarily concerned with the issues arising from language in society. Some of the issues that arise in the study of sociolinguistics include political, historical, cultural and bureaucratic.

Political

The phenomenon of dominant and minority languages in linguistic regions can result in political issues. As University of Chicago linguist Clara Chu argues, the dominant language in a region tends to dictate the terms of the culture to linguistic minorities, a phenomenon that can lead to social segregation and, potentially, even political disenfranchisement. Sociolinguistics study the political issues associated with interaction between linguistic groups, which can include interpretation issues, social exclusion issues and even oppression.

Historical

Language and society are rooted in history. The sociolinguistic issues stemming from historical developments are twofold: First, linguistic differences typically originate from historical developments – such as the splitting apart of countries; second, linguists must rely on historical documents to trace the development of languages over time. Thus, historical issues are part of the subject matter and methodology of sociolinguistics.

Cultural Issues

In many ways, language dictates culture. The defining literature and philosophy of a given country is often composed in that country's native language. However, in countries that have multi-ethnic origins or roots as part of a historical empire, much of the country's literature and philosophy may be imported. For example, much of European

and American religious thinking has its roots in texts that were written in Greek and Hebrew. In regions where several countries share intellectual roots inherited from foreign linguistic sources, cultural differences may emerge. The Catholic and Protestant fault lines in the 30 Years War corresponded very well with fault lines between Latin- and German-speaking European countries.

Bureaucratic

Language is often entrenched in law, particularly immigration law. Because many countries have immigration quota systems that allocate a certain number of spots to people from different countries, languages are often used to verify a person's origins. However, this process can be difficult, because many countries have linguistic minorities – so a person's accent and mother tongue may not be sufficient grounds for determining whether a person is from the country she claims. Sociolinguistics are often called upon to evaluate factors such as ethnicity and cultural knowledge against language to evaluate whether a person's claims of national origin are valid.

Vocabulary:

To interact with (взаимодействовать с); social segregation (социальная сегрегация); disenfranchisement (лишение гражданских прав); social exclusion (социальная изоляция); oppression (угнетение); to be rooted in (; to stem (происходить); twofold (двойной); to inherit (унаследовать); to emerge (возникать); fault lines (линии разлома); to be entrenched (быть укоренившимся); to allocate (выделять); to call upon (призывать); to evaluate (оценивать).

New terms to acknowledge:

1. Minority languages- is a language spoken by a minority of the population of a territory. Such people are termed linguistic minorities or language minorities.

2. Social segregation- an issue, dealing with certain group inequalities, and how some social groups, with more power and influence, can keep other groups disadvantaged and unable to gain the same social recognition and respect of other groups.

3. Social exclusion- the social disadvantage and relegation to the fringe of society

Points for discussion:

1. How does language interact with society?
2. What phenomenon is reflected in the interaction of language and politics?
3. What are linguistic differences originated from?
4. What is specific about history of language and multi-ethnic society?
5. What are language minorities?

2***What is a sociolinguistic?***

ielanguages.com

Dr. Jennifer Wagner

Sociolinguistics refers to the way language is used in society. A **dialect** is a variety of language that is systematically different from other varieties of the same language. The dialects of a single language are mutually intelligible, but when the speakers can no longer understand each other, the dialects become languages. Geographical regions are also considered when dialects become languages. Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish are all considered separate languages because of regular differences in grammar and the countries in which they are spoken, yet Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes can all understand one another to a large extent. Hindi and Urdu are considered mutually intelligible languages when spoken, yet the writing systems are different. On the other hand, Mandarin and Cantonese are mutually unintelligible languages when spoken, yet the writing systems are the same.

A dialect is considered standard if it is used by the upper class, political leaders, in literature and is taught in schools as the correct form of the language. Overt prestige refers to this dominant dialect. A non-standard dialect is associated with covert prestige and is an ethnic or regional dialect of a language. These non-standard dialects are just as linguistically sophisticated as the standard dialect, and judgments to the inferiority of them are based on social or racist judgments.

African-American English contains many regular differences of the standard dialect. These differences are the same as the differences among many of the world's dialects. Phonological differences include r and l deletion of words like poor (pa) and all (awe.) Consonant cluster simplification also occurs (passed pronounced like pass), as well as a loss of interdental fricatives. Syntactic differences include the double negative and the loss of and habitual use of the verb "be." He late means he is late now, but he be late means he is always late.

A **lingua franca** is a major language used in an area where speakers of more than one language live that permits communication and commerce among them. English is called the lingua franca of the whole world, while French used to be the lingua franca of diplomacy.

A **pidgin** is a language of few lexical items and less complex grammatical rules based on another language. No one learns a pidgin as a native language, but children do learn creoles as a first language. Creoles are defined as pidgins that are adopted by a community as its native tongue.

Besides dialects, speakers may use different **styles** or **registers** (such as contractions) depending on the context. Slang may also be used in speech, but is not often used in formal situations or writing. Jargon refers to the unique vocabulary pertaining to a certain area, such as computers or medicine. Words or expressions referring to certain acts that are forbidden or frowned upon are considered taboo. These taboo words produce euphemisms, words or phrases that replace the expressions that are being avoided.

The use of words may indicate a society's attitude toward sex, bodily functions or religious beliefs, and they may also reflect racism or sexism in a society. Language itself is not racist or sexist, but the society may be. Such insulting words may reinforce biased views, and changes in society may be reflected in the changes in language.

Vocabulary:

1. **Dialect**— is a form of a language that people speak in a particular part of a country, containing some different words and grammar, etc;

2. **Lingua franca** – is a language used in a linguistically diverse region, as a mode of communication for people who don't have any other common native language;

3. **Pidgin** – is a grammatically simplified means of communication that develops between two or more groups that do not have a language in common: typically, its vocabulary and grammar are limited and often drawn from several languages;

4. **Slang** – is language (words, phrases, and usages) of an informal register that members of special groups like teenagers, musicians, etc.

5. **Jargon** – is a type of language that is used in a particular context and may not be well understood outside that context. The context is usually a particular occupation (that is, a certain trade, profession, or academic field, etc.).

6. **Euphemisms** – is a generally innocuous word or expression used in place of one that may be found offensive or suggest something unpleasant.

Answer the questions:

1. What is a dialect? Why may dialects become languages? Which dialect may be considered standard?

2. What is a lingua franca? What is the lingua franca of the whole world?

3. What is a pidgin?

4. What are the euphemisms? Why do people use them?

5. Does the society influence the language? How?

Translate into English:

1. Социолингвистика занимается изучением использования языка обществом

2. Люди часто используют сленговые выражения, но в официальной речи это едва ли допустимо

3. Эвфемизмы – это выражения, заменяющие собой оскорбительные слова. Также эвфемизмы используются, когда речь заходит на какую-либо табуированную в обществе тему

4. Сам по себе язык не является ни расистским, ни сексистским, но общество может сделать его таким, используя определенные слова

5. Перемены в жизни общества находят отражение в языке.

Points for discussion:

1. Is sociolinguistic important? Why or why not?
2. Do you often use euphemisms? Why? In what situations?
3. Compare the way you and your parents speak. What is the difference? Why do you think you speak different?

The material above may be used as the Introduction to the course of Sociolinguistic

3***Sociolinguistic Peculiarities Of Advertisement Language***

Russian Linguistic Bulletin, №1 (9) 2017

The study of mass media texts in general and English-speaking advertisement texts in particular has a long tradition in Russia and abroad. A lot of well-known scientists such as Shmelev, Kostomarov, Laptev, Teun van Dijk, Allan, Bell, Norman Fairclough, Martin Montgomeri were engaged in the questions of functioning of the language in the sphere of mass media. Various aspects of advertisement texts were studied with the help of discourse analysis methods, content analysis, cognitive linguistics, as well as in the framework of such relatively new areas as critical linguistics and linguocultural studies.

However, a comprehensive description of advertisement texts is hardly possible without a systematic philological analysis, which allows us to consider the text of the text media as an integral multi-level phenomenon that exists in close connection with verbal and media characteristics. Advertisement texts are studied from a variety of perspectives: typological descriptions, functional style, media format, syntagmatic features, as well as from the standpoint of cognitive and pragmlinguistic approaches. Such consistent analysis system allows not only to scrutinize the individual properties of media texts, but also bring all the data into a single logically structured picture that best reflects their real properties and attributes.

In most of the advertisement texts we can observe the following grammatical constructions typical of advertising language:

1. the comparative degree of adjectives and adverbs as well as the superlative degree of adjectives and intensifiers (Adverbs and Adjectives) taken as attributes describe the product from the qualitative point of view;

“Persil washes whiter” (Persil)

2. indicative mood (the Present indefinite and the Future indefinite) referring the contents of an advertisement text to the present moment or to the nearest future creates the atmosphere of temporal closeness to the consumer;

“I hate health food. But I love to eat.” (Kashi)

3. infinitive form taken in the function of adverbial modifier of purpose concentrates the reader’s attention upon the action;

“Your friends will want to look at it. You won’t even want to take it off to shower”. (The Bradford Exchange jewelry)

4. modal verbs and words shift the focus on a kind of opportunity the offer may provide;

“Discount” health plans can look legitimate but can leave you drained of cash and unprotected.” (HealthCare Services)

5. imperative sentences is frequent as it is one of the most powerful means of persuasion in any type of discourse;

Buy the car. Own the road. (Pontiac Grand Am)

6. declarative sentences compress the message of an advertisement text and make it sound like motto;

“You will love the skin you are in” (Olay)

7. interrogative sentences in an advertisement text do not presuppose answer and are perceived as statements or guidance;

“Take pictures at night? You need a FinePix” (Fujifilm)

8. one-member and nominative sentences compress an advertisement text and its message to the limit and thus makes advertisement text extremely eye-catching;

“Proud colours. Young colours. Colours designed for greatness. [...]” (Maybelline)

9. ing-forms (Participle I and Gerund) as well as Participle II are close to the use of adjectival forms modifying nouns that stand for the product;

“The world is shrinking. Whereas your scope is constantly growing” (Automatic fax service)

10. conditional clauses present clear structure of logical propositions;

“If you died young, who’d pay the bills?” (G Ensurance)

All these grammatical peculiarities of advertisement language build a part of a system the main purpose of which is to attract our attention as consumers and persuade us into liking a product on offer immediately. Even taken individually in any type of written discourse they represent powerful suggestive means influencing particular parts of our nature.

Sociolinguistic studies devoted to male and female language found out that each gender group gives preference to particular grammatical structures characteristic of men and women in their everyday life.

Thus the interdependence between the mass media and sociolinguistics and the way advertisement texts are determined by social and gender roles can be studied through a particular “social roles’ net”, containing schematically taken target groups that any advertisement is always focused on.

The correct choice of such an audience (or group) is one of the basic factors that contribute to creating a successful advertisement. So here a proportional system of the most general male and female social roles is worked out that helps to analyze different types of advertisement texts according to their grammatical functions.

Schematically women are divided into “Housewives”, responsible for their families’ comfort, safety and health, products for cooking and different types of household gadgets; “Mothers” that also manage their families’ comfort and safety with a special “focus” on their children and “Sex Objects” a consuming part of female audience preoccupied with decorating themselves. In this “net” men are addressed as “Plodders”, interested in necessary tools to serve their houses with their own hands; “Businessmen” who search for high-quality information to place their investments accurately or to be in line with the latest developments and “Consumers” interested in expensive gadgets and any kinds of latest developments meant for entertainment. Pensioners (both men and women) present a separate group in this “net” indistinguishable in terms of gender as they are viewed by advertisers in general as a source of money saved during

their lives. Thus each of the “distinguishable” groups possess a group-couple and they both form a “family group” that can also be in focus of an advertisement, such as mothers businessmen, housewives – plodders and sex objects – consumers.

One more set of factors that helps any socio-oriented advertisement text to communicate its message successfully can be added to these characteristics. Any advertisement must address the right or part of human nature or the right “center”. In general there are 3 main “centers”, addressed to in any advertisement text: “the head” (or consciousness), “the heart” (or emotional center) and everything that is “below”, responsible for consumerism.

“Being aware of the persuasive effect and power of advertising language is very important not only for linguistics as science of but also for the consumers and even copyrighters as well. Understanding the mechanisms of psychological manipulating helps not only to detect their impact in our everyday life but also gives a field for the further development of advertisement as a type of discourse”.

1. Match the terms with their definitions:

Code, bilinguals, speech communities, domain, dialect, style, diglossia, multilinguals, cognitive functions, referential functions, jargon.

a) ability of an individual or the members of a community to use two languages effectively.

b) the standard variety serves as a yardstick for correctness

c) people who speak two languages freely

d) a particular form of a language which is specific to one region or social group

e) a language

f) a particular form of a language which is specific to one region or social group

g) the individual use of two languages or two forms of the same language

h) two forms of what's effectively the same language which are used in different situations or for different purposes by a speech community

i) specific lexicon used in a profession or other community of practice

2. Answer the questions:

1. How should we study the advertisement to reach the comprehensive description of the text?

2. How many of the typical advertising grammatical constructions can you remember?

3. How does the indicative mood help in advertising texts?

4. What is the use of the declarative sentences?

5. What social roles are characteristic of males and females?

6. What are the 3 main centers to address to in advertisement?

7. What are the grammatical tricks of the following advertisements?

a) You still use the usual washing-powder? Then we are going to you!

b) Just Do It.

c) I'm loving it.

3. Discuss the following topics in pairs or small groups:

a) What features of the advertisement have you noticed in real life?

b) What are the types of advertisement that seem most likable to you?

c) Do you agree with division of all the customers by their gender roles?

d) To what group do you think you belong (you can make up your own division)?

4

Code-switching

Online journal 'ELLO'

<http://www.ello.uos.de/field.php/Sociolinguistics/Codeswitching>

(1) *This morning I hantar my baby tudekat babysitter tulah.*

'This morning I took my baby to the babysitter.'

(Malay / English bilingual)

(Source: Romaine, 2000: 55)

(2) *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y terminoenespañol.*

'and finish it in Spanish.'

(English / Spanish bilingual)

(Source: McArthur, T. (ed.). 2005.

The Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language.

Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press).

In sociolinguistics a language may be referred to as a code. A code is a neutral term which can be used to denote a language or a variety of language.

Code-switching is a linguistic phenomenon which occurs in multilingual speech communities. The term describes the process in which a communicatively competent multilingual speaker alternates or switches usually between two languages or language varieties or codes during the same conversation.

In example (1), the speaker switches between two codes (Malay and English) within a single sentence. This particular type of code-switching is also called intra-sentential code-switching or code-mixing. Intra-sentential code-switching defines a change from one code to another code across clauses (= inter-sentential code switching). In example (2) the first clause is in English and the second in Spanish. The linguistic result is a characteristic hybridization because of the mixing of linguistic elements from two languages within the same sentence or clause.

Code-switching is often used as a superordinate term which also includes code-mixing. While code-switching indicates the movement from one code to another in a single interaction, code-mixing

specifically designates a mixture between two codes. This causes a state of hybridization which can make it difficult to identify which language is actually being spoken.

Code-switching as described here is restricted to communicatively competent or skilled bilinguals/multilinguals. It therefore needs to be distinguished from a mixture of languages as performed by unskilled speakers who lack knowledge in a particular code. For instance, language learners who are not yet fully competent tend to fill a lexical gap in their knowledge of the target language (L2) with lexical elements from their native language (L1) whilst speaking. These switches are motivated by a lack of knowledge in vocabulary and are not defined as code-switching.

Central Factors Involved in Code-Switching

Code selection in multilingual speech communities depends on the situation or domain of use:

In general, the speaker's choice between different linguistic varieties in both monolingual and multilingual speech communities is not a random decision but is motivated by various social factors. The reasons for code-switching are very complex.

For example, a change in the character of the speech situation – the social context of interaction – can affect a speaker's code selection. Thus a change in a particular factor, e.g. location (physical setting), participants or topic can bring about a change in code. This is called situational code-switching.

A change in the physical setting may trigger a code switch because obviously, there is a difference if a speaker has a conversation at home with a close friend or family member or whether the speaker addresses his/her teacher at school. This example also shows that a change in code happens to account for changed status relations between the participants of a conversation. Apart from signalling status relationships, an addressee-dependent code switch can express solidarity. Thus, it can show shared group membership or shared ethnicity. A code switch then can be used to emphasize a speaker's ethnic identity. Likewise a change in conversational topic may trigger a code switch. In bilingual/multilingual communities certain topics are often typically discussed in one code while other topics are dealt with by using another code.

Additionally, code-switching may also occur in affective functions, i.e. in order to express particular emotional states such as anger or annoyance.

Sometimes skilled bilinguals/multilinguals perform what is termed metaphorical switching: code switching for rhetorical reasons.

Define the terms:

Code, code-switching, multilingual speech communities, intra-sentential code-switching, characteristic hybridization, code-mixing, bilinguals.

- a) a change from one code to another code across clauses
- b) people who speak two languages freely
- c) a community where speakers alternate or switches usually between two languages or language varieties or codes
- d) a mixture between two codes
- f) a language
- g) the mixing of linguistic elements from two languages within the same sentence or clause
- h) a linguistic phenomenon which occurs in multilingual speech communities

Answer the questions:

1. What type of code-switching is used in the example (1)?
2. What is the difference between code-switching and code-mixing?
3. What kinds of switches are not defined as code-switching?
4. What are the central factors involved in code-switching?
5. What is metaphorical switching?
6. What can addressee-dependent code switch express?

Translate

1. Код – это нейтральный термин, который используют, когда говорят о языке или его разновидности.

2. Коммуникативно ответственный многоязычный говорящий переключается между двумя кодами или переходит с одного на другой.

3. Как было выше сказано, переключение языка относится только к коммуникативно ответственным говорящим.

4. Выбор языка в многоязычных сообществах зависит от коммуникативной ситуации и домена.

5. Смена обстановки может спровоцировать переключение языка, потому что, очевидно, есть разница между тем, когда человек разговаривает с дома с друзьями и близкими и тем, когда он обращается к учителю в школе.

6. Точно так же, переключение языка может быть вызвано сменой темы разговора.

5

Women Get Interrupted More—Even By Other Women

By ALICE ROBB

May 14, 2014

<https://newrepublic.com/article/117757/gender-language-differences-women-get-interrupted-more>

The idea that men and women use language differently is conventional wisdom—appearing everywhere from Cosmo and Glamour to The Journal of Psychology and Anthropological Linguistics. Recent research, though, suggests that the most important variable is not the sex of the person doing the talking, but that of the person being spoken to. According to a paper published Sunday in the online edition of the Journal of Language and Social Psychology, both men and women are more likely to interrupt and to use dependent clauses when speaking with a woman than with a man. Adrienne Hancock, a researcher at the Department of Speech and Hearing Sciences at George Washington University, and Benjamin Rubin, a Master's student, recruited 20 male and 20 female volunteers and instructed them to engage in two short conversations, one with a man and one with a woman. Hancock gave the volunteers' "conversation partners" scripts about reality television or cell phone use to guide the dialogue. "We tried to get gender-neutral topics," explained Hancock. "And then

there were counter-balances: Sometimes the speaker would talk to the male about reality TV, and sometimes to the female.”

Hancock and Rubin then transcribed the conversations and analyzed them for ten linguistic markers suspected of differing in men and women’s speech. For instance, studies have suggested that women are more likely to use “hedges” (words like “probably” or “kind of”), intensive adverbs (“very,” “extremely”), fillers (“uhh,” “I mean”) and tag questions (the “isn’t it” in: “It’s cold out, isn’t it?”). In contrast with previous research, Hancock and Rubin didn’t find any significant differences in the way men and women spoke—but they did find that having male or female conversation partners elicited different results. “When speaking with a female, participants interrupted more and used more dependent clauses than when speaking with a male,” they wrote. Over the course of each three-minute conversation, women, on average, interrupted men just once, but interrupted other women 2.8 times. Men interrupted their male conversation partner twice, on average, and interrupted the woman 2.6 times.

Every single participant used more dependent clauses when speaking with their female conversation partner. Dependent clauses, which contain a subject and a verb but can’t stand alone, tend to appear in longer, more complex sentences—the kind we might expect women to produce. Women, said Hancock, “are thought of as more elaborate in their language, whereas men are really succinct and to the point.” Another possible explanation: “There is something called ‘communication accommodation,’ where you speak like the other person in order to facilitate the interaction or feel close to that person,” explained Hancock. “It’s possible that speakers had a stereotype that women have a more elaborate style of speaking, so they tried to modify their own language to match that.”

No matter that the stereotype didn’t actually hold true. “This is analogous to a speaker using a Southern dialect only when speaking to a known Southerner, even when that Southerner is not displaying a Southern dialect,” wrote Hancock and Rubin.

Key terms:

Gender-neutral – (of language) that does not refer specifically to men or women, and so can be understood to include both sexes.

Linguistic marker – a free or bound morpheme that indicates the grammatical function of the marked word, phrase, or sentence. Most characteristically, markers occur as clitics or inflectional affixes. In analytic languages and agglutinative languages, markers are generally easily distinguished. In fusional languages and polysynthetic languages, this is often not the case. For example, in Latin, a highly fusional language, the word *amo* («I love») is marked by suffix -o for indicative mood, active voice, first person, singular, present tense. Analytic languages tend to have a relatively limited number of markers.

Communication accommodation theory (CAT) – a theory of communication developed by Howard Giles. This theory concerns “(1) the behavioral changes that people make to attune their communication to their partner, and (2) the extent to which people perceive their partner as appropriately attuning to them.” This theory is concerned with the links between language, context, and identity. It focuses on both the intergroup and interpersonal factors that lead to accommodation, as well as the ways that power, macro and micro-context concerns affect communication behaviors.

Read the word, give its translation and explain in which context it is used in the article:

Variable, interrupt, use dependent clauses, linguistic markers, “hedges”, communication accommodation, elaborate style of speaking.

Answer the questions:

1. Why is the idea of men and women speaking differently considered a conventional wisdom?

2. What influences the speech more: the sex of a person or who they are talking to?

3. What research Adrienne Hancock and Benjamin Rubin conducted?

4. What features of language are most likely to be used by women (according to the result of the research)?

5. What explanations are given about the usage of dependent clauses?

Translate the sentences:

1. То, что мужчины и женщины говорят по-разному, – это общепринятая истина.

2. Хэнкок разбил волонтеров на пары и дал им сценарии, чтобы они могли вести диалог на гендерно-нейтральные темы.

3. Исследователи не обнаружили существенных различий² в речи мужчин и женщин, зато они заметили, что пол партнера влияет на речь говорящего.

4. По словам Хэнкока, речь женщин считается более сложной, тогда как речь мужчин проста и точна.

5. Возможно, из-за стереотипа о том, что женщины используют более сложные формы слов, мужчины пытаются модифицировать свою речь, чтобы соответствовать женщинам.

Analytical work: analyze the speech of your friends (both genders) according to the linguistic markers mentioned in the article and compare your results with the results of researchers.

6

Singaporean English is Almost Impossible to Pick Up

By Urvija Banerji

from online magazine Atlas Obscura

(<https://www.atlasobscura.com/>)

“Two dollar onny, dis one,” a street vendor might say to you in Singapore. A local might reply, “Wah! So espensive one, cannot leh.”

While this might sound like broken English, it is an example of *Singlish*, the highly complicated English *creole* spoken in Singapore. Its staccato, off-grammar *patois* is the subject of much bemusement for visitors to the country, and it’s almost impossible for outsiders to imitate.

“Singlish is easy to learn, but hard to execute,” says Sai Pogaru, who moved to Singapore in 2001 and is now a citizen. “There is a certain flair to the language/accent. It actually requires lots of practice to sound authentic.”

Singlish is not just one creole: it's an *amalgamation* of many different Southeast Asian *dialects* and *pidgins* all rolled up into one. Singlish comes from the mixing of Singapore's four official languages: English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil.

English, now the *lingua franca*, was brought over by the British during Singapore's period of colonization, which lasted from 1819 to 1963. Following its introduction into Singaporean schools, English began to permeate the streets outside them, and was picked up by the Malay, Chinese and Indian populations. After independence, the newly formed Singaporean government made the decision to continue teaching in English after identifying that there was a need for a common language in the country.

Many British expatriates moved back to England after Singapore's independence. In the unregulated environment following their departure, the English spoken in Singapore became substantially influenced by Malay—the native language—and the other languages brought over by immigrants: Tamil and the Chinese Mandarin and Hokkien dialects.

The grammar of Singaporean English began to mirror the grammar of these languages. For example, a modern-day Singaporean could say “I go bus-stop wait for you,” to mean that he will wait for you at the bus stop. This phrase could be translated into either Malay or Chinese without having to change the grammatical structure of the sentence. Those unfamiliar with the grammatical structure of these languages, as a result, have a hard time picking up Singlish.

Words from the other languages became appropriated into the creole as well, creating an entire Singlish lexicon that is used today. The word “angmoh,” for example, is a Hokkien word which literally translates to “red hair,” but is used in Singlish to describe people of Caucasian descent. The Malay word “makan” is commonly used to mean food, or the act of eating. The Tamil word “goondu,” which means “fat” in its original language, is used in Singlish to describe a person who is not very smart.

Perhaps the most famous Singlish word is the ubiquitous “lah,” an example of the language's more playful sensibilities. It is essentially a filler word with no meaning. “Lah” can be placed anywhere in a sentence, but is often used as a form of audible punctuation

at the end. Another popular exclamation is “wahlah,” or the even more flamboyant “wahlah eh,” used to express surprise or wonder.

One of the many barriers to picking up Singlish is its complicated intonation. English is a *stress-timed language*, which means that some syllables are longer, and others are shorter. Singlish, however, is *syllable-timed*, which means that each syllable is pronounced for an equal amount of time, making Singlish far more staccato in nature.

Where it gets even more complicated is in the tones. English is a *non-tonal language*, which means that words do not have particular tones associated with them. Chinese, on the other hand, is a *tonal language*, in which words change their meaning depending on the tone used to speak them. Singlish retains all the tones of the Chinese words that it borrows, but maintains no tones in its English, Malay and Tamil words, making it a semi-tonal language.

There’s more. Though Singlish is prevalent all over Singapore, it operates on a spectrum dependent upon the circumstances, making it even harder to trace down. In formal settings, for example, Singlish tends to be toned down to its *acrolectal form*: Singlish words and grammatical structures are eliminated, and only the accent remains. In the day-to-day, however, a more *colloquial form* of Singlish is used.

Pogaru, who moved to Singapore with his family at the age of eight, explains that his ability to speak Singlish only came when he joined the Singapore Armed Forces at the age of 18. “Singlish to me was just an accent with a “lah” thrown in at the end of a sentence,” he says of his opinion of the creole before joining the army. “I didn’t think much of it.”

His experience with Singlish drastically changed in his first year of National Service, the two-year period of compulsory service required of all male citizens of Singapore. “I vividly remember an incident in Basic Military Training where my sergeant told my platoon, ‘You all have 15 minutes. Go up and lepak [relax],’” says Pogaru. He spent the next 15 minutes trying to figure out what “lepak” meant and what exactly the sergeant wanted. “Singlish was the language of communication in NS, and I realized that I would have to learn some new vocabulary to truly understand what was happening.” Though Pogaru has worked hard to increase his understanding of Singlish over the years since his time in the army, he’s not quite sure he has it down

yet. “Despite knowing Singlish, I still have not been able to impress my Singaporean friends with my attempts to sound local,” he says. “Guess I just have to keep practicing.”

Vocabulary:

Singlish – singaporean variant of English;

Creole – a stable native language, developed from a mixture of different languages at a sudden point in time;

Patois – a speech or language that is considered nonstandard;

Dialect – a variety of language;

Pidgin – a grammatically simplified means of communication between two or more groups that do not speak one language;

Amalgamation – the process of combining multiple entities into one;

Lingua franca – a bridge, common language;

Stress/syllable-timed languages;

Tonal/non-tonal languages;

Acrolectal/colloquial forms of language.

Answer the questions:

1. What is Singlish?

2. How many languages were mixed together to create Singlish? How and when it happened?

3. What languages influenced English in Singapore?

4. Give a definition of a tonal language.

5. What is the difference between stress-timed and syllable-timed languages?

Translate into English:

1. Сингапурский вариант английского языка является слиянием многих юго-восточных азиатских диалектов и пиджинов.

2. Английский язык, теперь получивший статус лингва франки, проник в Сингапур в период британских колонизаций, который длился с 1819 по 1963 года.

3. После получения независимости правительство Сингапура приняло решение и дальше использовать английский язык

для обучения в школах, так как страна нуждалась в наличии единого языка.

4. Одной из трудностей, с которой встречаются люди, решившие освоить синглиш, является непривычная система интонаций.

5. Несмотря на то, что синглиш распространён на всей территории Сингапура, его использование ситуативно. Это, в свою очередь, усложняет его систематизирование.

Points for discussion:

1. Are there any accents that can be found within your native language? Can you name them? Are they different from the standard variation? What is the general attitude towards people speaking with an accent in your country?

2. What do you think about the notion of creole languages? Do you consider them useful? Why or why not?

Think of possible ways of making the process of learning Singlish easier for people who don't speak Asian languages.

Bilingualism and Multilingualism from a Sociological Perspective

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Understanding Multilingualism in Context

In a world in which people are increasingly mobile and ethnically self-aware, living with not just a single but multiple identities, questions concerning bilingualism and multilingualism take on increasing importance from both scholarly and pragmatic points of view. Over the last two decades in which linguistic/ethnic communities that had previously been politically submerged, persecuted, and geographically isolated, have asserted themselves and provided scholars with new opportunities to study the phenomena of individual and societal bilingualism and multilingualism that had previously been practically closed to them. Advances in social media and technology (e.g., iPhones and Big Data Capabilities) have rendered new tools to study bilingualism in a more naturalistic setting. At the same time, these developments have posed new practical challenges in such areas as language acquisition, language identities, language attitudes, language education, language endangerment and loss, and language rights.

The investigation of bi- and multilingualism is a broad and complex field. Unless otherwise relevant on substantive grounds, the term “bilingualism” in this article is used as an all-inclusive term to embody both bilingualism and multilingualism.

Bilingualism as a Natural Global Phenomenon: Becoming Bilingual

Bilingualism is not entirely a recent development; for instance, it constituted a grassroots phenomenon in India and Africa since the pre-Christian era. Contrary to a widespread perception, particularly in some primarily monolingual countries—for instance, Japan or China—or native English-speaking countries, such as the United States, bilingualism or even multilingualism is not a rare or exceptional

phenomenon in the modern world; it was and it is, in fact, more widespread and natural than monolingualism. The *Ethnologue* in the 16th edition estimates more than seven thousand languages (7,358) while the U.S. Department of States recognizes only 194 bilingual countries in the world. There are approximately 239 and 2,269 languages identified in Europe and Asia, respectively. According to *Ethnologue*, 94% of the world's population employs approximately 5% of its language resources. Furthermore, many languages such as Hindi, Chinese, Arabic, Bengali, Punjabi, Spanish, and Portuguese are spoken in many countries around the globe. Such a linguistic situation necessitates people to live with bilingualism and/or multilingualism.

Adult Bilingualism: UG and Native Language Dominance

Why is the task of learning a second language by adults more difficult and time consuming than by children? In spite of considerable motivation and effort, why do adults fall short of achieving native-like competency in their target language? Why do even very competent and balanced bilinguals speak with an “accent”? The Critical Period Hypothesis by Lenneberg attempts to answer these questions, and it is sensitive to age. Children are better equipped to acquire languages because their brains are more “plastic” before they hit maturity. Afterward, the loss of plasticity results in the completion of lateralization of language function in the left hemisphere. Even though adults are more cognitively developed and exhibit a high degree of aptitude, they have to rely on their native language (L1 transference—including “foreign accent” together with morphological features) in the process of learning a second language. Then there comes a time when their ultimate attainment of L2 falls short of the native language target, termed “fossilization” stage. No amount of training allows them to bypass this stage to free themselves from second language errors.

Siegel, for instance, offers an alternative explanation of the language attainment state termed fossilization in second language acquisition research—a stage of falling short of attaining a native-speaker end grammar). He argues that fossilization is not biologically driven but is the reflection of learners' decisions not to clone the native speaker's norm in order to index their own identity. Some researchers believe that this stage does not have a biological

basis; instead, it is the result of bilingual, dual, or multiple identities. Adult learners are not ready to give up their identity and, as a result, this prevents them from having a perfect native-like competency of L2.

The differential competencies, as evident from the different types of adult bilinguals, can be accounted for primarily on sociolinguistic grounds. For instance, gender or the period of residency in a host country yields the qualitative and quantitative differences in bilingual language acquisition. Factors such as access to workplace, education, relationship, social networks, exogamic marriage, religion, and other factors lead to differential male and female bilingualism in qualitative grounds. Additionally, learners' type, their aptitude, and attitude also contribute to a variable degree of language learning curves. Instrumental learners who learn a second language for external gains tend to lag behind Integrative learners who aim at integration with the target culture. Similarly, the Social Accommodation Theory attempts to explain differences in language choices and consequences on one hand and the social evaluation of speech (good vs. bad accents) on the other, which influence the social-psychological aspects of bilingual verbal interaction in different social settings.

Useful glossary

Get acquainted with words and phrases bellow, scan through the article and contextualize them. Make your own sentences with some of these phrases

ethnically self-aware	Этническое самосознание
scholarly and pragmatic points of view	Научная и прагматическая точки зрения
politically submerged	Политически изолированный
in a more naturalistic setting	В более естественных условиях
language acquisition	Овладение языком
language attitudes	Языковые установки
language endangerment	Исчезновение языков
around the globe	По всему миру

Time consuming	Требующий много времени
native-like competency	Уровень носителя языка
target language	Изучаемый язык
to hit maturity	Достичь зрелости/повзрослеть
left hemisphere	Левое полушарие мозга
To fall short	Не соответствовать
language learning curves	Кривые изучения языка
instrumental learners	Изучающие язык по учебным материалам
integrative learners	Изучающие язык при помощи погружения в языковую среду
social evaluation of speech	Социальная оценка речи
verbal interaction	Вербальное взаимодействие

Translate sentences into English using the glossary:

- Исчезновение языков – это большая проблема в современном мире.
- Взрослому человеку обычно довольно сложно изучить язык достаточно хорошо, чтобы достичь уровня носителя языка.
- Люди, изучающие иностранный язык при помощи погружения в языковую среду обычно гораздо свободнее пользуются приобретенными языковыми навыками, чем люди, изучившие язык по учебным материалам.
- На китайском, арабском, испанском и португальском языках говорят по всему миру.

The following sociolinguistic terms can help you to understand the article. Read them and try to remember

Bilingualism (or more generally: Multilingualism) is the phenomenon of speaking and understanding two or more languages. The term can refer to individuals (individual bilingualism) as well as to an entire society (social bilingualism).

The term can also refer to the corresponding scientific research which studies the phenomenon itself.

Bilingualism, multilingualism and polyglotism can all be used as synonyms for the same phenomenon

The lateralization of brain function is the tendency for some neural functions or cognitive processes to be specialized to one side of the brain or the other. For example, language functions such as grammar, vocabulary and literal meaning are typically lateralized to the left hemisphere, especially in right-handed individuals. While language production is left-lateralized in up to 90% of right-handers, it is more bilateral, or even right-lateralized, in approximately 50% of left-handers.

Language attitudes are evaluative reactions to different language varieties. They reflect, at least in part, two sequential cognitive processes: social categorization and stereotyping. First, listeners use linguistic cues (e.g., accent) to infer speakers' social group membership(s). Second, based on that categorization, they attribute to speakers stereotypic traits associated with those inferred group membership(s).

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.

Language acquisition is the process by which humans acquire the capacity to perceive and comprehend language, as well as to produce and use words and sentences to communicate. Language acquisition is one of the quintessential human traits, because non-humans do not communicate by using language. Language acquisition usually refers to first-language acquisition, which studies infants' acquisition of their native language

A **learning curve** is a graphical representation of how an increase in learning (measured on the vertical axis) comes from greater experience (the horizontal axis); or how the more someone (or thing) does something, the better they get at it.

Points for discussion

1. What is the difference between social and individual bilingualism? What do you think – is it the same phenomena or they are two different terms?
2. Is multilingualism beneficial or injurious in cross-culture communication?
3. How does the phenomena of bilingualism/multilingualism influence cultural development?
4. How does bilingualism influence the development of personality?
5. Is it possible to raise a child as a bilingual person in monolingual cultural area and why? (For example, Russian-English bilingual child in Russia)

Analytical work

Study the phenomena of bilingualism from social point of view.

Describe in details the linguistic situation in countries, where there are two or more official languages. Chose not less than two countries and compare them. (by Bhatia, T. (2017, June 28). Bilingualism and Multilingualism from a Socio-Psychological Perspective. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.82>

8

Planning for a national official language

Tanzania

Selecting a code

When Tanzania gained independence in 1961, the government faced the dilemma of which language to choose as its official national language. Choosing one language from over a hundred indigenous languages, each associated with a particular tribe, would have simply provoked discontent, if not inter-tribal warfare. Choosing English for a newly independent nation seemed inappropriate (though many other nations have had little choice but to use the language of

former colonisers as their only official language). The first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, chose Swahili, a language of the Bantu language family, which was widely used throughout the country as a lingua franca in many contexts. There were some obvious reasons for his choice. Some were pragmatic. Swahili was already the medium of primary education, for instance, and so all Tanzanians learned the language at school. Other obvious reasons were more ideological. Ninety-six per cent of Tanzania's languages are Bantu languages, like Swahili, so it could be clearly identified as an African language. Moreover, Swahili had served as the lingua franca of the anti-colonial political movement for independence. In this role, it had acted as a kind of social cement between very disparate groups. It could hardly have had better credentials from a political and social point of view.

Codifying and elaborating Swahili

The process of standardising Swahili was begun by the British administration well before independence. In the 1920s, a southern variety of Swahili, used in Zanzibar, was selected as the basis for the standard. The fact that it was being used in primary education and for administration meant standardisation was essential. Its codification involved developing a standard spelling system, describing the grammar of the variety selected as the new standard, and writing a dictionary to record its vocabulary. Following Tanzanian independence in 1961, Swahili was used in more and more contexts for education, administration, politics and law. Its vocabulary was expanded to meet the demands of new contexts by borrowing freely from Arabic and English as appropriate. President Nyerere intended that eventually it should be used for post-primary education, in the Higher Courts and in all areas of government. This meant intensive work in order to develop the necessary vocabulary and technical terms, and an enormous amount was achieved in a short space of time. In 1984, however, the government decided not to extend Swahili-medium education to secondary and tertiary education. English has been retained for these levels.

Attitudes to Swahili

The role of Swahili in unifying the people of Tanzania to work for independence guaranteed it prestige and positive attitudes. The

charisma of Nyerere himself carried over to the language he used extensively in his speeches and his political writings. He used it in domains where formerly English had been used exclusively – he also translated Shakespeare's Julius Caesar and The Merchant of Venice into Swahili – and this too increased its status. People have often seen the success of Swahili as the national language in Tanzania as due to its 'neutral' status – it is not identified with a particular tribe. But its widespread acceptance was also due to the fact that Tanzanians developed a strong loyalty towards the language which united them in working towards uhuru ('freedom').

The story of the acceptance of Swahili as the national language of Tanzania is therefore an interesting one. Swahili serves as a lingua franca in a country with hundreds of different tribal vernaculars. It provides an economical solution to the problem of which language to use for local administration and primary education. It provides a culturally acceptable symbol of unity. Linguistic diversity can seem problematic to those working for political unification. It is potentially divisive. Swahili has provided a very convenient compromise in Tanzania.

Translate into English:

1. Когда в 1961 году Танзания получила независимость, правительство столкнулось с проблемой выбора официального национального языка.

2. Тот факт, что язык суахили уже использовался в начальной школе и правительстве, означал необходимую стандартизацию языка.

3. Суахили считался языком межэтнического общения анти-колониального политического движения за независимость.

4. Процесс стандартизации языка суахили начался британским правительством задолго до независимости страны.

5. Словарный запас языка был расширен посредством заимствования из арабского и английского языков.

6. Кодификация языка включала в себя развитие системы произношения, грамматики и написания словаря, чтобы включить туда список всех слов.

Answer the questions.

1. What problem did Tanzania face when it gained its independence in 1961?
2. Why did Tanzanians choose Swahili as a national official language?
3. Describe the process of standardizing Swahili
4. What was Nyerere's role in unifying the people of Tanzania?

Describe the stages of choosing a national official language

Find the terms connected with sociolinguistics

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Оглавление

PART 1.....	3
1. What do sociolinguistics study?.....	3
2. Social factors, dimensions and explanations.....	5
3. Choosing your variety or code.....	8
4. Diglossia.....	12
5. Metaphorical Switching.....	16
6. Language shift in different communities, Language death and language loss, Factors contributing to language shift.....	20
7. Linguistic varieties and multilingual nations.....	26
8. Pidgins and creoles.....	29
9. National languages and language planning.....	34
10. Planning for a national official language.....	37
PART 2.....	40
1. Sociolinguistic Issues.....	40
2. What is a sociolinguistic?.....	42
3. Sociolinguistic Peculiarities Of Advertisement Language.....	45
4. Code-switching.....	50
5. Women Get Interrupted More—Even By Other Women.....	53
6. Singaporean English is Almost Impossible to Pick Up.....	56
7. Bilingualism and Multilingualism from a Sociological Perspective.....	61
8. Planning for a national official language.....	66
References.....	70

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