



Sociolinguistics

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Sociolinguistics: The study of the relationship between language and society (investigation of language use in relation to society).

Society: A group of people who are drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes.

Language: What the members of a particular society speak.

Language can also mean:

1. A way of communication.
2. Means of communication.
3. What people speak in their society.

“Language is a communal possession, but at the same time an abstract entity”.

Language and society are connected in dialects, accents, gender, communities...etc. **they are also related, and they depend on each other** (definitions are not independent). The definition of language also includes a reference to society.

There are many different forms of speech, so choosing forms over others to describe a language might be a contentious issue.

A society can also be:

1. Plurilingual/Multilingual.
2. Bilingual.

Knowledge of Language

Code: A system (grammar) in which people use language/ accent/ dialect to communicate with each other. (every speaker knows this system).

“A person has knowledge about a language more than what any grammar book has to describe it”.

A knowledge of language is:

1. Something which an individual speaking the language possesses.
2. Shared information possessed by all those who speak the language.

Linguists agree that the knowledge that speakers have of a language they speak is of something abstract.

2 basic aspects needed to be able to know a language well:

1. **Social aspects:** gaining knowledge about a social perspective about a language to help knowing what language forms to use. **They are also learnt through language knowledge that entails us with:**
 - a) Ways of saying and doing things with sounds, words, and sentences, rather than specific ones.
 - b) What is in a language and what is not.
 - c) What is possible to say and what is not.
 - d) Understanding new sentences shared among people and rejecting others for being ungrammatical.
2. **Grammatical aspects:** knowing the grammatical aspects alone is not enough, as the knowledge would be lacking. (social aspects are as equal and important as the grammatical aspects).

Based on this POV, we have 2 major points/tracks that a language takes:

1. **Social view:** Takes the social and grammatical aspects of a language into consideration (factors affect language variations)

Social linguist: William Labov.

Who is William Labov? What did he do?

- William Labov is an influential figure in sociolinguistics known in the last 40 years. He maintains that the linguistic behavior of individuals cannot be understood without knowledge of the communities they belong to.
- Before the 1970s, linguists used to ignore language variations, until Labov proved that **language variation is not free rule-governed, but it's related to some factors like age, gender, religion...etc.** based on a conducted research study that he made on 3 stores in Europe: Sears (cheap), Macy's (middle), and

Saksfifth Avenue (expensive). He noticed that speaking to employees in these stores varied based on the class (sound variation).

2. **Asocial view**: Takes only the grammatical aspects of a language into consideration (factors don't affect language variations). Language variations here are not worth looking at as it is seen as a free variation matter.

Asocial linguist: Noam Chomsky.

Who is Noam Chomsky? What did he do?

- Noam Chomsky is an influential figure in sociolinguistics from the last half century. He has argued that linguists must try to distinguish between what is important and what is not in order to make meaningful discoveries about the language.

Important matters: learnability of languages, characteristics they share, rules/ principles people follow in constructing sentences.

Unimportant matters: Individuals' use of specific utterances in a variety of ways in a certain situation.

- Chomsky contributed a lot in language. **He distinguishes between 2 main aspects**:

1. **Competence**: What speakers know about their language.

2. **Performance**: What speakers do with their language.

He claims that a linguist's task is to characterize competence, not performance "**Performance reflects competence**", and that language knowledge is unconscious.

An asocial linguist called **Lightfoot** rephrases what Chomsky talked about in relation to important and unimportant matters as being one between **2 aspects**:

1. **I-language (internal)** "**competence**": Claims that it's a linguist's duty to focus on it since it's a mental system that characterizes a person's linguistic range and is represented in the individual's brain.

2. **E-language (external)** "**performance**": Claims that it is a part of the outside world, not a system nor systematic, making it less important to scientific investigation.

How do we respond to both Chomsky and Lightfoot?

The knowledge involves more than knowledge of the language grammar, because it is apparent that speakers behave systematically in their performance; their actions are not random; there is order.

Knowing a language also means knowing how to use it since speakers know how to form and use sentences appropriately. Therefore, there is another kind of competence that includes social aspects, sometimes called **communicative competence**.

Communicative competence: Ability to use the language and communicate completely grammatically and socially. (**a sociolinguistics' POV**)

Variation

Variation is a central point of sociolinguistics, and all languages of the world show it. It is rule-governed and related to factors such as class, gender, age, education, occupation, place of residence...etc.

When it comes to language and society rules, there are 2 types:

1. **Homogeneous entity/ view (Chomsky)**: follows the asocial view and says there is no variation in language. This kind of study faced a lot of issues on the possible value of linguistics that deliberately separates itself from language use and users.

E.g. Theoretical linguistics: Many linguists argue that we must first understand what language is (competence) before studying language use or how it's learned. In this view, linguists should focus on writing grammar to help us understand language and its learnability, **without looking at the social aspects**. (not worth looking at/ cannot actually be applied on languages)

2. **Heterogeneous entity/ view (Labov)**: follows the social view and says that there is variation in language. This kind of study is important and must be studied, since it deals with different sets of rules.

To look further into language variation, we must look at issues such as:

1. Identity

An identity is something formed, shaped, and demonstrated through action and performance (not born with or acquired, nor a stereotype). It's constructed through interacting and socializing with others, as well as dealing with factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, physical location, social class, ... etc.

Identity includes:

a) **Personality**: Who we actually are.

b) **Persona**: How we want to be seen and identified.

"Normally, a person has more than one identity that are changeable".

Identity takes 2 parts:

1. **Individual identity**: Language is a profound indicator of identity when it comes to individuals that seek to negotiate, realize, or reject it through its use.

2. **Group identity**: Known as "community" or "social network". They are formed / shaped through action. They are not settled, as they have a process side and must be enacted or reproduced in order to exist.

2. Power “colonization (?)”

Power is never absent in society. It's the ability to control events in order to achieve one's aims, or the control someone has over the outcomes of others.

Potential ends that power can have: extremely brutal, most subtle.

“It may be exercised and resisted through words as well as deeds”.

Some languages or varieties are endowed with more symbolic power and are valued more than others.

E.g. Standard languages can have more power than certain accents.

When colonizing, the French used violence and force against who refused to speak French, even resorting to killing people.

3. solidarity

Solidarity refers to the motivations which cause individuals to act together despite their differences.

4. Markedness theory

This includes two aspects:

a) **Unmarked:** The normal, accepted, and expected speech in language use and life>

b) **Marked:** Anything that stands out and does not look normal or familiar.

Markedness helps us understand norms by identifying marked characteristics, but these norms are not permanent and can change.

Language and Society

Language theorists, such as Chomsky, focus on linguistic items of language such as sounds, words, and grammatical structures. They examine these elements, their statuses, and how they are organized.

Sociolinguists, as social theorists, aim to understand how societies are structured and how people coexist. To do that, they use concepts like identity, power, class, status... etc.

There are several possible relationships between language and society:

1. Social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behavior.

E.g. Age-grading phenomenon: young children speak differently from older children, children speak differently from mature adults.

2. (Opposite to the first): linguistic structure and/or behavior may either influence or determine social structure.

3. The influence is bi-directional; language and society may influence each other.

4. There is no relationship at all between linguistic/ language structure and social structure, and each is independent of the other. "This variant view appears to be the one that Chomsky himself holds".

Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language

Sociolinguistics: The study of language in relation to society.

Sociology of language: The study of society in relation to language.

Some people say that the difference is really thin to the point that many people look at them as being one. “Both Sociolinguistics and Sociology of language require systematic study of language **AND** society”.

Investigations in sociolinguistics

Interventionist approach: One of the major investigations in sociolinguistics, it seeks to reveal how language is used and abused in the exercise of power, violation, and the suppression of human rights.

E.g. 1. French colonization: Acts to actual exercise of power on people to make them speak French. Those who speak it are on the safe side. Those who don't are brutally treated.

2. Occupied Palestine: If Palestinians go to an Israeli institution, they won't get the service as they should be given if they don't speak Hebrew.

3. Smaller levels: if one from the city hears another speaking from rural areas, they might dislike them and call them “old-fashioned” and distance themselves from them.

This approach derives from the **critical theory**, which in turn has to do with the **critical discourse analysis approach**.

Critical theory: Concerned with the process by which systems of social inequality are created and sustained and are made to look unmarked.

Critical discourse analysis: Focuses on how language is used to exercise and preserve power and privilege in society in relation to the Interventionist approach. Language factors can only be understood through the framework of critical discourse analysis as systems that maintain an unequal distribution of wealth, income, status, education, and so on.

E.g. African Americans aren't highly appreciated by some people in America.

The critical theory looks at language from an ideological POV and argues that there is no hope of an ‘objective’ or ‘neutral’ sociolinguistics in valuing languages, therefore, critical discourse analysis is ideological and judgmental.

Methodological concerns

Methodological concerns are used to investigate, do some sociolinguistic research, ask good questions, and find the right kinds of data that bear on those questions to get good results.

“Methodological concerns must be oriented toward both data and theory (data must be collected for a purpose, and conclusions must support the theory and show scientific evidence)”

Study types conducted in Methodology:

1. **Correlational studies (relate 2 or more variants)**: A kind of study that looks into different aspects of the possible relations between language and society, and the changes that may occur between both structures. It correlates some language factors with the language, and how there are differences. However, correlation shows only a relationship between two variables, not the causation to it.

When observing how varied language use is, we must search for the causes and seek its social correlates.

2. **Implicational studies**: There's normally a kind of conclusion that we get to base on implications of language use. So, when we speak to somebody that changes [q] to [ʔ] in some word (وقعت: وئعت), we would assume that this person would change it in almost all words, or get the implication that they speak a certain accent and assume that they will change other things too to be applied to that accent. Here we get to a kind of study that the data that we have implies something. As a result, we get to conclusions.

3. **Micro-Sociolinguistics studies (refers to sociolinguistics)**: Investigates how social factors like class, sex, and age influence language use and correlate with them. They focus on very specific linguistic items, data, phenomena, or individual differences, rather than studying language use as a whole, often using correlational approaches to examine social-structural aspects of language.

4. **Macro-Sociolinguistic studies (refers to the sociology of language)**: Studies what societies do with their languages (attitudes, language shift, maintenance, and replacement). They examine the functional distribution of speech forms and interactions within speech communities, and large amounts of language data to draw broad conclusions about group relationships. Research in this field should remain objective without reflecting the speaker's POV, collecting data broadly rather than to confirm preconceived ideas.

Different methods in collecting data (as sociolinguistics require a database):

1. **Observation**: Observe a kind of language behavior in a society.
2. **Questionnaires**: Form a questionnaire that asks about a language phenomenon that we are investigating. They're usually the cheapest, and they reflect reliable results.
3. **Interviews**: Interview people and get information from them.
4. **Elicitation techniques (Matched-guise)**: Having participants who are asked to draw a certain language form based on hearing only, without seeing the speakers. By that, they get to know whether they're friendly or not, rich, the class they come from, job they do... etc. All based on what people say.

Observer's paradox - Problem facing sociolinguists when investigating

Observer's paradox is an important point needed to take care of in doing research. Labov points out that the aim of linguistic research is to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed, but the data are available only through systematic observation.

How can I get good data that reflects reality of the society (e.g. African American) when I (e.g. white American) am not part of that society?

It's the researchers' responsibility to overcome this paradox. One good way to do so is by gaining their trust, to the point that they give what's needed without making them feel like they are being observed, so that the vernacular can emerge.

Chapter 2: Languages, Dialects, and Varieties

Accent: Language form that focuses on one perspective only in studying (pronunciation), and is a part of the study of dialects.

Dialect: Language form (sub-variety) that focuses on many perspectives in studying. It reflects pronunciation, phonetics, phonological, morphology, lexicon, grammar, semantics, and syntax features. “All languages have dialects and varieties”.

As we said, dialects reflect:

1. Phonology and Phonetics

- E.g.**
- | | |
|--------------|--|
| ئال | Indicates that the person is مدني |
| جال | Indicates that the person is بدوي |
| [r] (father) | Indicates that the person is from the US |
| [ɑ] (father) | Indicates that the person is from the UK |

2. Morphology

E.g. Fish, Fruit ⇒ They are non-countable forms in a standard POV. However, the US says it with plural (Fishes, fruits). (gives information about the identity of the speaker).

3. Lexicon and Semantics

Different people use different words for the same thing:

E.g. apartment/ flat, petrol, oil/ cookie, biscuit.

This is kind of connected with semantics as different words can mean the same thing, or completely different, obviously, **one could know the difference through the context.**

- E.g.**
- | | |
|-----|------------------------------|
| سير | Could mean “walking” in مدني |
| | Could mean “a belt” in فلاح |

4. Grammar and syntax

Different varieties can have different kinds of grammar and syntax.

E.g. There 's many police officers outside.

From a standard perspective (UK), it is not acceptable to say it that way and (are) should be used instead, still, The US uses it this way.

- Ordinary people use the terms dialect and language forms in speech. For them, **a dialect is almost no more than a local non-prestigious variety of a real language, (therefore powerless).**

Vernacular: A term used by linguists to refer to the language a person grows up with and uses in everyday life in ordinary, commonplace social interactions. This variety may meet with social disapproval from others who favor another variety.

Language is used to refer to:

a) A single linguistic norm (standard).

b) A group of related norms (accent).

Dialect is used to refer to:

a) one of the norms.

France – Dialect and Patois

Dialect (in French): A regional variety of language that has an associated literary tradition.

Patois (in French): A regional variety that is regarded as something less than a dialect due to the lack of such a literary transition (not standard).

“No speaker of French considers standard French to be a dialect of French. In contrast to finding references to standard English as being dialect, even if it’s an important one”.

Variety of language: A set of linguistic items/ human speech patterns (sounds, words, grammatical features...etc.) associated with external factors (geographical area, social group) with similar distribution that can be something greater than a single language as well as something less than what is traditionally referred to as a dialect. **“It is hard to find a homogeneous language”.**

- English speakers say that a dialect is used for both local varieties of English and for various types of informal, lower-class, or rural speech, it is often used as part of standing outside the language, equivalent to **non-standard** or even **substandard**.

Intelligibility

The difference between languages around the world is intelligibility.

For **nation-building**, factors like language and religion can be important for variety and to bring people all together.

Languages can be **mutually intelligible** or **not mutually intelligible**.

1. Mutually intelligible

- a) Hindi – Urdu ⇒ **Mutually intelligible**, people who speak them can understand each other. “Same language (grammar), but both try to have different identities by using different scripts”.
- b) Spanish – Portuguese ⇒ **Mutually intelligible**, people who speak them can understand each other.
- c) Serbo-Croatian ⇒ **Mutually intelligible**, Serbian and Croatian were once considered one language, so people could understand each other even though the language started to split later on and no longer exists due to political and religious reasons.

2. Not mutually intelligible

- a) Chinese (Mandarin – Cantonese) ⇒ **Not mutually intelligible**, even though they write in the same system and tradition.
- b) Standard Dutch – Standard German ⇒ **Not mutually intelligible**, speaker of one cannot readily understand the speaker of the other.
- c) Portuguese – Italian ⇒ **Not mutually intelligible**, speaker of one cannot readily understand the speaker of the other.

Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish: Hierarchy of Mutual Intelligibility

Danish and Norwegian: Share vocabulary, differ in pronunciation.

Swedish and Norwegian: Differ in vocabulary, similar in pronunciation.

- Danes and Swedes claim good understanding of Norwegian, but Danes claim to comprehend Norwegian **much better** than Norwegian claims to comprehend Danes because D occupied N.

The poorest mutual comprehension: Danish and Swedes.

The best mutual comprehension: Norwegian and Swedes.

Thai and Lao

Laos understand spoken Thai. Thais do not understand spoken Laos.

Lao ⇒ **low-prestige language in Thai**. ⇒ willing to make extra effort to understand Thai.

Thai ⇒ **high-prestige language in Laos**. ⇒ unwilling to extend efforts to understand Lao.

“The differences in mutual intelligibility appear to reflect power relationships”.

Factors like **loyalty, power, and solidarity** are also important in nation-building:

1. **Loyalty**: Strengthens nations by fostering unity and stability, while in language, it ensures preservation and cultural identity.
2. **Power**: Requires a kind of asymmetrical relationship between entities: One has more of something that is important than the other or others; A language has more power than any of its dialect (Standard English and Parisian French).
3. **Solidarity**: A feeling of equality that people have with one another. It can lead people to preserve a local dialect or an endangered language to resist power or to insist on independence.

Divergence

Divergence: A process of which speakers of the same language go separately to different places to create variations, with the help of time and place.

E.g. The Indo-European family of languages ⇒ includes English, German, French, Russian, Hindi... dialects. There was once a single language (Indo-European) that the speakers of that language of various dialects spread to different parts of the world, and the original language diverged into the various languages.

Differentiating between Languages and Dialects

There are 7 criteria to distinguish languages from others/dialects:

1. Standardization (power)

Refers to the process by which a language has been codified and developed in some way. Done sometimes rapidly for political reasons, and is regarded a natural and proper language to use.

Once a language is standardized, it becomes possible to teach it in a deliberate manner. It takes on **ideological dimensions** (social, cultural, political...) beyond the purely linguistic ones.

- “**English and French** are standardized, **Italian** somewhat less so. **African American English** is not at all”.

- Written Standard English is codified to the extent that **the grammar and vocabulary of written varieties of English are the same everywhere in the world**, it's powerful and exerts a huge pressure on all local varieties.

E.g. of attempts of rapid Standardization processes: India (Hindi), Israel (Hebrew), Papua New Guinea (Tok Pisin), Indonesia (Bahasa Indonesia), Tanzania (Swahili).

Steps to follow if one language variety is to become the standard for that language:

a) **Codification:** The development of such things as grammars and dictionaries

b) **Elaboration:** The use of the standard in such areas as literature, the courts, education, administration, and commerce.

c) **Function:** Selecting/ accepting a norm since neither codification nor elaboration is likely to proceed far if the community cannot agree on a kind of model to act as a norm.

What happens in the selection process?

- Selecting a norm may be difficult and take a long time, because choosing one vernacular as a norm means favoring those who speak that variety. The **chosen norm** inevitably becomes **associated with power** and the **rejected alternatives** with **lack of power**. “Normally, a variety associated with an elite is chosen”. A group that feels intense solidarity may be **willing to overcome** great linguistic differences from establishing a norm (**like Indonesia and Malaysia**), whereas one that does not have this feeling may be **unable to overcome** small differences and be unable to agree on a single variety and norm (**like the Serbs and Croats**).

What functions can the standardization process perform?

- a. It unifies individuals and groups within a larger community and separates the community that results from other communities at the same time.
- b. It can be employed to reflect and symbolize some kind of identity: Regional, social, ethnic, or religious.
- c. It can be used to give prestige to speakers.
- d. It can serve as a goal for those who want to be part of it. "Standard English and Standard French are such goals for many whose norms are dialects of these languages".
- e. It attempts to reduce or to eliminate diversity and variety. Those who reject a standardized language might be punished.
- f. It continues over time (ongoing), as only dead languages remain fixed. Living languages change, so the process must keep evolving.

2. Vitality

Refers to the existence of living community of speakers. "In general, a language has always existed in a certain area, like Arabic (Middle East)". It is used to distinguish languages that are alive from those that are dead.

Language death/ attrition: The opposite of vitality by which the language is no longer spoken or functioned.

Hebrew ⇒ It existed as the word of God like Latin, not as it is today. As a result, many Jews around the world refused to speak it and did not want to pollute it in everyday speech, making it a semi-dead language until the 1900s. So instead, they borrowed words and spoke the languages of the countries they existed in and invented languages that don't reflect the word of God. "Hebrew is the only semi-dead language in history that has been revived".

Sometimes, dead languages can remain a considerable force even after they die:

E.g. Latin and Greek ⇒ no one speaks them as a native language, yet they have considerable prestige, and modern languages' speakers draw on them in many ways (e.g. Latin is spoken in churches "religious power").

Sanskrit ⇒ Important to Hindi speakers "cultural associations"

3. Historicity

Refers to a particular group of people that finds a sense of identity and pride through using a particular language. (reflects reality 'as opposed to dialects', "not fake/ myth").

E.g. Arabic, Hebrew, French, German, Russian, Chinese ⇒ standardized languages.

Historicity gives a feeling that a language is independent and not part of other languages, and that it existed throughout history at a certain geographical point, reflecting factual aspects about the area.

4. **Autonomy (independence)**

Language is an independent entity that is not related to other languages and gives a sense of beauty and identity. Speakers must feel that a language is different from other languages, like Arabic by which people think it's independent because of its connection to the Quran.

Still, autonomy is a **subjective** concept, as some speakers believe their language is distinct from others.

E.g. African American English speakers argue that their language is separate from English. While Mandarin and Cantonese speakers view what are considered different varieties simply as dialects of Chinese.

5. **Reduction**

Refers to a variety that may be regarded as sub-variety rather than an independent entity, meaning that it exists and revolves around that language and is part of it. Speakers of a dialect will say that they speak a variety of language that doesn't represent speakers of it and accept the existence of other varieties with similar subordinate status.

E.g. Arabic ⇒ It has different dialects (Palestinian, Egyptian, Algerian... etc.). Speakers of them believe they are the same and not as prestigious as standard Arabic itself, which is more expressive and beautiful than these dialects.

6. **Mixture**

Refers to feelings that speakers have about purity of the variety they speak. Some languages of the world are a mixture of different languages and not a one independent thing. **"Speakers of Arabic, Hebrew, French, German believe that their languages are pure"**.

E.g. Pidgins and creoles ⇒ Are not pure, autonomous, or vital when they were first invented, they find difficulty in classifying them as full languages. **"They don't have a historicity criterion and lack identity"**.

"Mixture reflects the feature of some dialects, not the standards".

7. **de facto**

Refers to actuality/ reality (everybody uses it), and a feeling that there are both **'good'** speakers and **'bad'** speakers (Dialect doesn't reflect reality).

Good speakers represent the language (norms of proper usage), bad speakers don't. Normally it focuses on one particular sub-variety as representing the **best** usage.

As for bad speakers, if they believe it is spoken or written poorly everywhere, the language may struggle to survive. **"This feeling is linked to languages that are dying out"**.

- In this case, Power can play a major role in fixing/ eliminating a language that is dead and ensure the correctness remains the preserve of an elite **"standardization process reaches completion in a dead language"**.

Based on all the criteria, different varieties of speech we observe might not be a language that has the same status as other varieties. Each variety satisfies a different sub-set of criteria.

- All languages from a linguistic perspective/ judgment **are equal**.
- All languages from a social perspective **are not equal**.

What does this have to do with the language and standardization?

Standardization takes us to the process of making a certain language standard, official, and the preferred dialect of all. **It begins with choosing a certain variety** (can be for religious, political, ethnic... etc. reasons) **to be the standard**.

As we said, when a dialect becomes standard, it becomes the empowered variety, therefore, the standard isn't called a dialect anymore, it becomes the language itself.

As for other dialects, they are considered sub-varieties with less influence. **This process overlooks historical linguistic diversity and pressures other dialects to conform to the standard.**

E.g. Modern English, where the London dialect became the standard, even though Western and Northern dialects were once equally significant. Over time, this standard has shaped perceptions of English and represented the language itself, making other dialects seem like mere variations of it.

The result of standardization can be either brutal or subtle:

- a)** Those who want unity/ be part of the nation abandon their dialects and start speaking the standard codified language as it should be, taking us to de facto (subtle).
- b)** Those who don't want to be part of it would either not speak it or speak it poorly (brutal).

Terms related to the dialects rather than languages itself

- 1. Vernacular:** The speech of a particular country or region/ a form of speech transmitted from a parent to a child as a primary medium of communication. It is the spoken language, not the literary or cultured, because literary variety is usually the standard.
- 2. Koine:** Common/ shared form, not necessarily a standard one.

Sometimes people who speak different varieties and live in a certain area can still speak a common language that brings them all, not necessarily the standard.

E.g. Many people live in different villages in Jerusalem and have different varieties start speaking the dialect of Jerusalem to facilitate communication between them.

Two basic kinds of dialects that are known worldwide:

1. Regional Dialects

Refer to the dialect that is spoken in a certain region or area. It's clearer for one to indicate it in a region that spoke a language for a long time, as differences in it appear in different areas of that region. "one of the easiest ways of observing a variety in language".

Dialect - Patois

Dialect: Sometimes used only if there is a strong tradition of writing in the local variety (more standard to French). "in French, it has power, education, wide geographical base".

Patois: Used:

- a) To describe the variety in the absence of a tradition of writing
- b) In rural areas/ rural forms of speech.
- c) To refers to low class kind of language for French speakers in society "disfavored socially and politically"
- d) With no wild base, literature, or education power.

A variety in general, whether it is patois or dialects, is usually an indicator of identity.

Dialect Continuum: A term related to regional dialects. It is a series of different language varieties that are spread and spoken across some geographical areas, usually neighboring varieties "also known as a dialect chain"

According to research, the people that live on the border (e.g. of France and Italy) know both languages, so they have mutual intelligibility in the different varieties they speak and can understand each other. But the people who live in the center of the country or far from the borders don't (the farther we go, the more mutually unintelligible varieties become, until we get to two independent unintelligible varieties).

When a language has different forms, the challenge is to determine how many there are and how to categorize each one.

Dialect geography: A dialect study used to describe attempts, by dialect geographers, made to map the distributions of different linguistic features and variants of a language to show their geographical provenance (reflects regions).

E.g. Jerusalem ⇒ Produce [q] as [ʔ] (مدني)

Beersheba ⇒ Produce [q] as [ʒ] (بدوي)

Isoglosses (dialect mapping): Imaginary lines drawn on a dialect geography map to show actual boundaries around some features, to distinguish an area in which a certain feature is found from areas in which it is absent, and make it easy to distinguish between varieties of the same language.

In reality, there are no definite lines between places, especially if they were cities/ villages.

English Accents:

a. **Received Pronunciation (RP):** The standard form of British English. In terms of dialect geography, it is in London, and only 3% of the population in England speak it (referred as a non-localized accent).

RP became prestigious in the late 19th century and became common in the 1920s in the UK, it usually reflects high class (social/ education), BBC, and professions, and is taught to students learning English as a foreign language.

“The learners who succeed in speaking it have the best chance of being understood wherever they go in the British Isles”. (It started to get more adaptation in the world and more modern terms in it, and it’s not necessary to speak it to speak Standard English since it can be spoken with any regional accent)

Other names for it: Queen’s English, Oxford English, and BBC English.

b. **Estuary English:** An RP’s recent manifestation that developed and is trying to level all kinds of dialects and accents and make them equal in England (can have a movement from national accent norm to a regional one). One feature/ aspect of Estuary English that is spreading widely is the use of [ʔ] for [t]

In general, when we say that this tries to level all the different aspects of English, we need to understand that nobody hates their language, everyone loves it because it’s their identity and what people know.

What is the kind of accent is spoken in America?

A: Network English (also called General American English)

Network English has no definite standard accent like the RP, so the accent is considered good regardless of what region of America one is from, and one can’t say that an accent is perfect, and others are not.

“We may find American from the North that look down to the people of the South, and say they are more prestigious”.

2. Social Dialects

Refer to the dialects spoken by a certain social class (a society or a division based on class). There are factors related to deciding social class and how people speak, like education, income, place of residence, racial/ ethnic origin, religion, occupation, gender, age, caste... etc. Still, social class is among the very hard things to define in any study.

Indicators of this issue:

a) **India** ⇒ **caste** determines which variety of a language speaker uses.

b) **Baghdad** (in the past) ⇒ **(religion)** Christians and Jews spoke their own versions of Arabic within their communities. The Muslim version of Arabic was used as the common language between all groups. Consequently, Christians and Jews used both their own version at home and the Muslim version for trade and interactions with Muslims.

c) **United States** ⇒ **ethnic** variation can be seen where one variety of English has become identified with an ethnic group referred to as **African American English**.

Some people try to change their **stereotypes**, meaning identifying themselves as being in a certain class by using certain variants of that class.

Related to that, we have:

- **Hypercorrection**: Some people try to speak other dialects that are seen as more prestigious, as they do so, they do it in a hyper way and overdo it.

E.g. [r] is associated with low class (African American) in which they delete it. (**How?**)

[fɑ:ðər] ⇒ becomes [fɑ:ðə]

What happens then is that they carry this and apply it with words where it doesn't exist: Linda ⇒ Linder/ Africa ⇒ Afriker.

We can tell from the way they speak that they are low-class and hypercorrect themselves to look like a higher class (in this case, the middle).

This reflects **individual security**. Some people are not secure in the dialect or language they produce that's why they do hypercorrection to sound like something they are not. In the end, this behavior goes beyond the prevailing local norm and becomes an ethnic characteristic that serves as an indicator of identity and solidarity.

Styles, Registers, and Beliefs

1. Style

The study of dialects is further complicated as speakers can adopt different styles and degrees of speaking based on the circumstances: very formal / less formal/ informal/ very informal and casual.

- One should know that native speakers of all languages control a range of stylistic varieties. It is possible to predict the stylistic features that a native speaker will tend to employ on certain occasions.

A style can be:

1. **Personal**: When a certain person decides to use a certain style of speech on their own behave, whether it's formal or informal.
2. **Group**: Less common than personal, but we can still find it in groups too, as one can get closer to people who are close to them in language and like to be with them.

2. Register

a language variety that is spoken by a certain number of people who are occupationally grouped, like airline pilots, bank managers, doctors...etc. Each group has its own terms that are not common even for the people who speak the same language that are used to facilitate communication.

Each register helps to express identity at a specific time or place. In other words, how to seek to present yourself to others and how to validate yourself to those with whom you would identify or whom you would seek to impress

In that sense, register includes Jargon, which is also a language variety that is spoken by a certain occasionally grouped.

3. Beliefs

Refers to what people believe about an accent or dialect spoken. It makes us believe on what is good and acceptable as opposed to what is not.

Many people hold strong beliefs on various issues having to do with language and are quite willing to offer their judgments on issues.

Chapter 3: Pidgins and Creoles

Definitions

Due to colonization, many people were exposed to new languages, such as English, but not everyone – in colonized nations – had equal opportunities to learn them in a proper way; since the colonizer kept a distance or a gap between themselves and the colonized.

Therefore, there was a creation of many different languages, among the many languages of the world are a few often assigned to a somewhat marginal position: Pidgins, Creoles, and lingua francas.

Pidgins: A simple language with no native speakers, and is no one's first language but is a contact language created for different reasons, like slavery or trading. (Second-language learning)

“sometimes regarded as a ‘reduced’ variety of a ‘normal’ language”.

Creation of Pidgins – Pidginization

When different groups come together without a common language, they often create a new way to communicate with a dominant European language, or when those who need to communicate speak a variety of languages and the speakers of the ‘target’ language are ‘superior’. What is created is called a pidgin. This newly formed pidgin emerges out of necessity from being in a multilingual situation, and to facilitate communication among people to understand one another despite coming from different linguistic backgrounds. However, since its purpose is purely functional, it tends to die once it's no longer needed, like the end of slavery/trading.

How did Pidginization start?

The best example for the Pidginization process could be slavery. When slavery first began, western colonizers captured Africans and transported them to America and Europe, but first held them in forts for months – mainly in Portuguese territories – to gather large numbers before shipping them. Portuguese slave masters detained hundreds of captives from different linguistic backgrounds. To communicate, they developed a pidgin, blending elements of the multiple languages they spoke, with the colonizer's language often being dominant and contributing the most by simplifying it. This simplified language enabled interaction among enslaved people and traders, serving as a practical bridge between different linguistic groups.

“Creating a pidgin cannot happen with only 2 languages”

Creoles: A pidgin that has become a native language of a new generation of speakers. (First-language learning)

“regarded as a ‘normal’ language in almost every sense”.

Creation of Creoles – Creolization

As enslaved men and women were held in forts, they often had relationships and bore children. These children grew up hearing only the pidgin spoken around them, adopting it as their native language and maintain it. As the pidgin became the primary means of communication within the community, it evolved into a Creole. In this situation, even if the purpose ends, the language still continues and is passed to children. By this, many developments and changes will occur. But regardless of how developed a Creole becomes, **it doesn't get to the point where it's equal to the dominant language.**

“Some still call Creoles as Pidgins, even though they become first languages to them”.

Characteristics

To both Pidgins and Creoles

1. The sounds of a pidgin or creole are fewer and less complicated in their arrangements than in the standard language.
2. The vocabulary has many similarities to that of the standard language with which it is associated, but it's much more limited.
3. Pidgins and Creoles are languages that don't have any kind of prestige.
4. They reflect low social class.
5. They have existed for a long time, but many linguists ignored them because they thought they are not worth looking at.
6. There is no definite known origin for Pidgins and Creoles.
7. Those who speak the languages are treated with disdain and negatively, and are likely to feel a sense of low self-esteem when they are compared to standard languages such as French and English.
8. They are associated with poorer and darker people, negative stereotypes, inferiority, deficiency, laziness, and ignorance, and are given little value and interest.
9. They are considered abnormal and seen as degeneration of an actual language.
10. They have no social, cultural, economic, political power literature.
11. Many people see them as being unsystematic (deviations from other systems).
12. They are regarded as identity markers to those who speak them.

To Pidgins

1. They are very simple and lack a lot of aspects of standard official language.
2. They have simple vocabulary where one word can mean 10 or more different things, making the use of the reduplicative pattern important, to avoid possible confusion.
3. They don't have complicated phonetic and phonological relationships between similar words (morphophonemic variation), instead they have reduction in morphology and syntax, and extensive borrowing of words from local mother tongues.
4. They have a complete lack and reduction of inflection in nouns (not marked for number or gender), pronouns, verbs (lack tense markers), and adjectives.

To Creoles

1. They are a developed version of a pidgin.
2. They have an expansion in phonetics, morphology, syntax, grammatical aspects like pronouns, gender, and tense (present/past), which are normally not found in the Pidgins (but not as complicated as in standard languages), and development of a stable system for increasing vocabulary.
3. There is development of embedded clauses like relative clauses.

A different view

whereas some of the asocial linguists see Pidgins and Creoles as a sign of inferiority. Many sociolinguists see them as being fully-fledged (complete) languages. According to them, **they have systems, they function and facilitate communication** among these who speak them. **They have structures**, especially in the creoles, though they're not as complicated as in standard languages. They are seen as **empowering languages** as millions of people speak them and collectively gain influence and strength, just like AAE.

Distribution of Pidgins and Creoles

1. Pidgin and creole languages are distributed in the equatorial belt around the world, usually in places with direct or easy access to the oceans.
2. They are found mainly in:
 - a) The Caribbean and around the north and east coasts of South America.
 - b) Around the coasts of Africa, particularly the west coast
 - c) Across the Indian and Pacific Oceans.
3. The Northern Hemisphere, where some sociolinguists claim that **African American English (AAE)** is the only Creole that existed there.
4. Speakers of Creoles are estimated to range from 6 to 17 million people.
5. According to linguistics, there are 35 different pidgins and creoles around the world, altogether about 150 different mixed languages.
6. According to sociolinguists, there are 127 different pidgins and creoles around the world, divided as:

a) 15 French-based. Like Haitian Creole.	e) 3 Italian-based
b) 14 Portuguese-based	f) 6 German-based. Like Yiddish
c) 7 Spanish-based	g) 5 Dutch based
d) 35 English-based. Like Hawaiian Creole and Tok Pisin.	h) The rest are based on a variety of other languages.

“Their distribution appears to be related to patterns of trade, including trade in slaves”.

Lingua Franca

People who speak different languages and are forced into contact with each other must find some way of communicating. This way is the lingua franca.

Lingua franca: A language that is adopted for a wider and common communication between speakers of different languages.

A lingua franca can be either a standard language or a Pidgin/Creole.

Other terms given to lingua franca:

1. Trade language (Swahili in East Africa): A lingua franca based on Arabic, and was developed out of the different African languages.

2. Contact language (Greek koiné in the Ancient World)

3. International language (English)

4. Auxiliary language (Basic English)

“They usually develop due to population migration or for purposes of trade”.

5. Mixed languages (Michif): A lingua franca spoken in America, and a mixture of Cree and French that uses Cree grammar and French vocabulary. It is developed between Native Americans, Canadians, and speakers of the English, and is a clear marker of group identity.

Other examples of lingua franca:

1. Arabic (associated with the spread of Islam), Hindi, and Mandarin in China.

2. English, the international language of relations, travel and commerce nowadays.

3. Sabir: A Portuguese-based lingua franca, and was very common in the Middle Ages, used in the Mediterranean among the sailors and crusades that came from different linguistic backgrounds (English, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese...), thus, they needed a common language, which was Sabir.

4. Swahili: A mixed language/lingua franca spoken as a native language on the coast of East Africa (Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya). As Swahili spread inland in Tanzania, it was simplified in structure, and many people were using was a pidginized form of it.

Why do some Africans adopt a lingua franca that develops of a pidgin?

In Tanzania, where 140 languages are spoken, choosing one native variety between all the different varieties can cause conflict, as language is tied to identity, and no one wants to be looked down on. To avoid this, people turn to a neutral lingua franca where all languages are equal, and these lingua francas have items for these different variations that are spoken in certain countries.

“All of these lingua francas underwent simplification, and are spoken in a variety of ways (not a homogeneous entity)”.

Bush Negro Pidgin

How did Bush Negro Pidgin originate?

Enslaved Africans were hunted, often by other African men, under Portuguese and American control. They were imprisoned in forts for months, coming from different linguistic backgrounds. To be able to communicate, they developed a pidgin.

The children these slaves had had no choice but to speak the language they grew up hearing, leading to Creoles. As America expanded its colonies, slave masters deliberately purchased slaves from different linguistic backgrounds to prevent rebellion and thinking, believing them less than human, and made them work really hard, so they had no time to learn English, instead they just relied on pidgins – many Portuguese-based – that traveled to America. Some slaves then found a way to escape. Those who ran away from slavery and were lacking a shared language, created Bush Negro Pidgin to communicate.

Origins - Theories

Pidgins from very different parts of the world exhibit remarkable similarities in structure even when the standard languages with which they are associated are quite different. Therefore, **there are different theories discussing the origin of Pidgins and Creoles:**

1. 'Baby-talk' or 'Foreigner-talk'

It says that Europeans created Pidgins by deliberately simplifying their languages in order to facilitate communicate with others in trade and slavery matters, rather than using standard languages. These simplified forms then serve to provide pidgins with their basic structures and vocabularies.

“There are many structural similarities among pidgins and creoles associated with different European languages that make this theory of origin plausible”.

The theory's drawback: Having them creating Pidgins, it is expected for them to be able to use it. In reality, pidgins are less frequently used between Europeans. In fact, many Europeans who must deal regularly with pidginized varieties of their languages speak them very badly, and there is plenty of evidence that it is Europeans who learn the pidgins from non-Europeans rather than the opposite.

2. Polygenesis

It says that Pidgins and Creoles have a variety of origins (not a single source) that are in the Indo-European languages with their shared, common circumstances and similarities. At the same time, there is a variety of African languages that have common aspects between them. When these Indo-European languages (colonizers) came in contact and interacted with the different African languages (slaves), Pidgins emerged and were created, meaning that the similarities Pidgins have are due to the fusion of European and African components.

3. Monogenesis

It claims that a single source accounts for the perceived similarities among all the varieties we find.

Here we have 3 basic beliefs:

1. Portuguese-based: When slaves were detained in forts in West Africa, they needed a communication system. So, they developed a Pidgin that was simple for them to communicate, which was Portuguese-based (Sabir). This says that Portuguese was the language around which Pidgins evolved, simply because they were the masters of traders and slavery. Later on, these slaves carried the Portuguese-based pidgin with them around the world, once they settled in a place (France, Germany, America...), they changed the Portuguese words to the other languages, but when looking deeply to them, they still carry the essence that the Portuguese one was built on. This explains the similarities between Pidgins around the world.

2. Afro-genesis: Says that the origin of Pidgins around the world is the African languages that are spoken by slaves that were kept in forts with a common and shared culture, having the contact among the slaves themselves as the single source.

The only problem with this is that there's a conflict relationship about the need to have a standardized language to refer to the African languages that Pidgins were created from.

3. Nautical Jargon: It is Developed among sailors in the Atlantic Ocean that came from the different linguistic backgrounds. This Jargon was created as a lingua franca to communicate with each other (not a Pidgin at first). Later on, this lingua franca formed the basis for the Pidgins.

4. Relexification

Relexification (as a linguistic term): Taking the grammatical aspects of a certain language and apply words of other languages to it.

The theory says that all the present European-language-based pidgins and creoles derive from a single source, a lingua franca (later a Pidgin) called **Sabir** used in the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the Portuguese relexified this language; that is, they introduced their own vocabulary into its grammatical structure, so that a Portuguese-based pidgin came into widespread use as a trade language. Later, this pidgin was in turn relexified again into pidginized French, English, and Spanish...etc. In each case the underlying grammatical structure remained largely unaffected, but a massive shift occurred in vocabulary as replacement words were imported from the lexifier language to produce a clear vocabulary shift. (Common structural features, different vocabularies).

The theory's drawback:

1. Pidgins are so stripped down that they lack most of the features that linguists rely on to relate one language to another.
2. The similarities among them are very general, and some alternative theory may explain them better.
3. Relexification claims that people can learn the grammar quite independently of the vocabulary and that they do indeed learn the first but completely replace the second during the process of learning. When it's normally the opposite that happens.

5. "Uncorrected Language Formation"

It says that the slaves went through the same process that an actual child learning the first language goes through, but the difference is that an actual child is corrected in speech by the parents, but those slaves were not corrected or given the correct forms and grammatical mistakes, because there was a gap between them and the colonizers. Therefore, those slaves continued to produce the false forms, and as they came together, they taught each other the different forms that they learned, then it was passed to their children to the point that these incorrect forms formed a Pidgin.

Dismissed theory (Biological):

Pidgins arise because the people among whom they are found lack the intellectual ability to learn and understand the standard languages with which the pidgins are associated and are mentally behind and regarded as retarded, making the European languages somehow 'better' than others. This theory is a 'racist' one and shows how the colonizers looked down on the colonized. It ignores many important facts about Pidgins.

From Pidgins to Creoles and beyond

A pidgin is always involved in the earliest stage of a creole, but not every pidgin becomes a creole. Most of them are lingua francas, and when they are no longer needed, they die out. Creolization occurs only when a pidgin becomes the variety of language that children must use in situations in which the use of a 'full' language has effectively denied them.

Tok Pisin is a very known pidgin language in the world. There's no agreement on where the name came from it. Some people say it's from the word pigeon, and some say it's from some Chinese word "business": Talking business.

When did Tok Pisin originate, and how has it developed over the years?

In the 18th century in the Polynesian Islands, spanning Australia, New Zealand, and the Southwest Pacific Ocean, there are over 1000 islands, with over 800 languages. Many of them were colonized by the British, therefore they developed a Pidgin that resulted from the contact of these languages with English (the dominating language) to facilitate communication.

Tok Pisin is a widely spoken pidgin in the Polynesian Islands that developed into a Creole in Papua New Guinea, a language for 9 million people, but continued to be referred to as a pidgin, though it has become a full-fledged Creole.

As the British remained there for over 300 years, Tok Pisin gradually developed and got more English elements (from the Highly codified language: Time, Number, Pronouns, Styles, Vocabulary, Morphology...). With more development added to the Creole, it reaches a point called **post-creole continuum or decreolization**, meaning that the Pidgin goes beyond the Creole. It grows closer to English but remaining distinct – **never fully equating to what it originally derived from**. Then, in 1960, Tok Pisin became nativized and the official language of Papua New Guinea. By that, it was used in education, media, government..., and it became a symbol of the Polynesian culture.

African American English (AAE) – Black English Vernacular (BEV)

The process of decreolization can be observed in the linguistic history of Black slaves brought to work on U.S. cotton plantations. They arrived in 1619, speaking various West African languages, some linguists say the number of them is almost 1,200, while others say there are more than 3,000 different languages. Many had some knowledge of Portuguese-based pidgins, the trading lingua francas of the African coast, that they developed in forts. Slave owners deliberately mixed language backgrounds to prevent rebellion, fostering the development of English-based pidgins and creolization, specifically when they started having children who spoke it as a first language. Since whites and Blacks remained socially distant, decreolization was limited. However, as Black people gained legal equality and greater opportunities, Standard English exerted a strong influence on the original Creole, creating a linguistic continuum. Today, African American English (AAE), the modern reflex of this Creole, is regarded as a regional or social variant of Standard English.

“Though a pidgin is based on a standard language, they could be completely unintelligible to it (doesn’t relate to it)”.

4 major processes to change from Pidgins to Creoles and Decreolize (Fully-fledged):

- 1.** People speak creoles faster than pidgins and they do not speak them word by word (since it becomes a first language). Consequently, processes of assimilation and reduction can be seen at work in Tok Pisin.
- 2.** Expansion of vocabulary resources: new shorter words are formed, There is also much borrowing of technical vocabulary from English.
- 3.** Development of a tense system in verbs.
- 4.** Greater sentence complexity is now apparent. Some speakers are now able to construct relative clauses.

Having Tok Pisin as an official language, differences in speakers occur regarding class:

1. **Basilect**: A variety at the other extreme of the continuum and least comprehensible to a speaker of the standard.
2. **Mesolect**: The 'space' between the Acrolect and the Basilect (the middle).
3. **Acrolect**: A variety which has very few differences from other varieties of Standard English, and is spoken by the educated people of Tok Pisin (not the highest class), it becomes the 'super' compared to everything else.

A continuum requires some kind of continuity in society among the various sub-groups. If in the total society there is little or no contact between the groups who speak the creolized and superordinate (standardized) varieties, and/or if these two varieties have separate and distinct functions in the lives of people, then there will be no continuum. We will have a **diglossic situation** as in Haiti between Haitian Creole and French.

Diglossia

A diglossic situation is one in which the Creole and the standard lack continuity, and that functional discontinuity is generally strongly supported by severe social stratification. It could happen with the decreolization process).

There are 2 basic language forms or varieties, one **high** and one **low**.

E.g. Arabic: **High:** The language of the Quran

Low: Any other local variety spoken by everyone

Regardless of how developed the Creole and educated the people are, speakers of Creole have **low self-esteem** because the kind of language that they use is low compared to the standard on which the pidgin is based.

Chapter 4: Codes

Codes: A neutral comprehensive term referring to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication, i.e., all spoken and written forms of language varieties, including languages, accents, dialects, vernaculars, jargon, registers, and so on.

People are nearly always faced with choosing an appropriate code when they speak. When one opens their mouth, they must choose a particular variety (code) to speak and give information about themselves. One cannot avoid doing so.

Why do people choose a certain variety over another?

Because of factors such as beliefs, age, gender, power, solidarity, identity, adaptation, accommodation, acceptance, and building bridges. Each code has some value to it (social, political, religious...) and people give different values to different codes in different situations.

Factors that influence the choice of codes (major language phenomena) are Diglossia, Bilingualism and Multilingualism, Code-Switching, and Accommodation.

Diglossia

Diglossia: A sociolinguistic situation in which two language varieties (codes) are used in the same community, each show clear functional separation and they are kept quite apart in that: One code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set without using one for the other's set, and each is viewed differently by those who are aware of both.

The two codes can be of the **same language** (vernacular of the village and of the city), or **two different languages** (Hebrew and Arabic). One of the codes is classified as **high (H)**, while the other is **low (L)**.

Characteristics and usage of (H) variety:

1. It is more prestigious and usually associated with the strong.
2. It is regarded beautiful, logical, expressive, and unique.
3. It has a considerable body of literature that reflect values like religious, social, moral, political, and economic.
4. Some children may concurrently learn the (H) variety with the (L), but many do not learn it at all.
5. The (H) variety is taught: likely to be learned in formal setting (education).
6. It is used in formal lectures, ceremonies, political speeches, religious services, and prestigious jobs.
7. Used in broadcasting the news, media, writing poetry, fine literature, and editorials in newspapers.

Characteristics and usage of (L) Variety:

1. It lacks prestige, acceptance, and power.
2. The (L) variety is acquired: All children learn it naturally.
3. It borrows learned words from the (H) variety and comes from it.
4. Many people reject the (L) varieties to have values like the (H).
5. It is used in everyday speech among families, low jobs, and in informal situations.
6. Used in captions on political cartoons in newspapers, and 'folk literature.'

"The 2 varieties have coexisted for a long period within a persistent social and linguistic phenomenon".

When having one variety being higher in prestige than the other, speakers of the high send a message and expressions that they are not equal to the less prestigious with their use of words and values shown.

Diglossia on the same language

Charles Ferguson identifies 4 major diglossic situations in the world:

1. **Arabic "Middle East"**: Classical (Qur'an) and the colloquial vernaculars

The standard Arabic is known to be the word of God (used more religiously) and one should treat it with respect. It is the most prestigious, beautiful, expressive, sacred, and has all factors of a high variety.

While some diglossic situations are seen as a factor of separation and creation of gaps between the high and low codes (especially with having illiteracy, since everything is written in standard) – the standard Arabic is seen as a **factor for unity**. Bringing people from different regional and local varieties together. Therefore, there is no debate about stopping using the standard and start using the low.

"Some people wanted to divide the Arab world by planting a division of language: I don't speak Arabic, I speak Egyptian."

2. **French "Haiti"**: Standard and Haitian Creole

The French controlled an island called today Haiti in 1659 until it gained independence by 1803. During this period (about 150 years) the people created and developed a Creole that is based on a dominant and powerful language over all the languages that they spoke, which is French.

Therefore, a diglossic situation appeared, with the standard French being the high with **power**, and the Haitian French-based Creole being the low, and both of them were kept apart.

Speakers of Haitian French know that their Creole has the characteristics that an (L) variety has, making it lower than the standard French and used daily by everyone. This situation has created problems to the speakers of the Creole, one of them is **standardizing the Haitian French**.

How was standardizing the Haitian French a problem?

Speakers of Haitian French continued to use the language as it is even after gaining independence. However, in 1983, they started to think of standardizing this Haitian French, this resulted in with the problem of **growth of literacy, and a desire to decrease regional and/or social barriers with a unified 'national' language.**

Not everyone speaks standard French, so when they wanted to standardize the Creole, they faced many issues on whether the amount of standard French words should be increased or borrowed in this Creole, or the low variety should keep its own words to be based on Haitian Creole itself and be elevated, since the (L) variety represents identity, ethnicity, nationality... as opposed to standard French, the colonizers.

Because of this kind of debate, **both varieties were made official languages in 1987**, but major linguistic issues were still there. One important issue is about the **appropriate orthography (spelling system) for Haitian Creole** on whether standard French spelling should be used, or the Haitian Creole's spelling, and on whether the differences between French and Haitian Creole should be minimized in the orthography for Haitian Creole.

Other issues concerning the gap between the 2 varieties:

1. Some people who speak standard French say that Haitian French does not relate to French, because the difference between them is somehow big.
2. Haitian French Creole limits mobility, meaning that if one want to get a good prestigious job or publish a newspaper, they should have some knowledge of Standard French.
3. **Greek "Greece":** Katharévousa and Dhimotiki (Demotic)

In Greece, people are divided between 2 varieties: The Katharévousa (H), and Dhimotiki (L). The ones who prefers the high variety in Greece are **the right wing**, while the **left wing** prefer the low.

The ancient Greek is known for representing god's knowledge, philosophy, and religion. The right wing, the conservatives, preferred it simply because it connects them with the 'glorious' past. They regarded this old Greek as the **pure** form of the language – to the point that anyone who is not Greek was regarded barbarian – and the high variety Katharévousa was the official language.

However, in 1975, the liberals, the left wing, took **power**, and changed the use from (H) to (L), **declaring Dhimotiki as the official language in 1976**. By that, the high variety disappeared almost entirely from the public view and was no longer used, and everyone used the low variety, which gained more grounds among the population.

The problem between the (H) and (L) has started to appear again, because many people now look back to the past, and remember the glory, philosophy, and knowledge that the (H) represents. But still, there is no solution to the situation, because the Greeks are divided between the use of the high and the use of the low, to the point that there are **two dictionaries that are used in Greek**. One of them for the (H), and the other for the (L).

4. German “Switzerland and Luxembourg”: Standard and Swiss German/Luxembourgish

a) Switzerland

There are two basic forms of German, German spoken in Germany (H), and German spoken in Switzerland “Swiss German” (L).

People in Switzerland know that the kind of German that they speak is not as high as that spoken in Germany. German spoken in Switzerland does not give the mobility and ability to access everything that is written in German as opposed to those in Germany who have a wide access to anything that is written in standard German.

Swiss German is known as the variety of intimacy and friendship, used among family members. German in Germany reflects the standardized form. Children in Switzerland learn the high variety in schools (but not as a foreign language).

b) Luxembourg

Luxembourg is a small European country with less than 1 million people and surrounded by 3 European countries: **Belgium**, **France**, and **Germany**. Luxembourg is known to be a triglossic country (has 3 languages in one community, **German (H)**, **French (H)**, and **Luxembourgish (L)**).

Luxembourgish reflects the **national language**, it reflects identity and solidarity. Still, 96% of the population claim that they speak French, 81% claim that they speak German, and 80% claim that they speak Luxembourgish, and some regard the latter as a variety of the French language

The reason behind using French more than Luxembourgish is that French is an international language that holds power and is spoken by millions (H), whereas Luxembourgish is spoken by the less (L).

“Power has a lot to do with this relationship between the (H) and the (L). It plays a major role on deciding whether to use this or that”.

English does not have a diglossic situation, but **there has been a time in history where it was compared to another language, creating some sort of separation in value:**

In 1066, the King of England died, and there was no heir to the throne. Therefore, the King of France (his cousin) conquered England since there is no heir, and English and Norman French coexisted in England in a diglossic situation with Norman French the (H) variety with only elite people speaking it, and English the (L) with only common people speaking it. However, the (L) variety gradually assumed more and more functions associated with the (H), and by 1300, there was no longer high or low, and just the English language.

English doesn't have diglossia because the **difference in aspects (semantics, grammar...) between the standard RP and the vernacular is very small.**

Diglossia beyond the same language itself

In 1980, a sociolinguist called **Joshua Fishman** said that some communities live and speak two languages at the same time, there is some kind of division, labeling and ranking of these languages that are spoken in the same community, usually on power.

One of those languages is **high**, and the other one is **low**, each one has their own functions and is used in a set of circumstances.

when there are two languages spoken in the same community, one of them is (H) and the other is (L). Joshua Fishman, a religious Jew, gives an example on how this case reflected diglossic situation.

The history of Jews

Jews were known to be dispersed worldwide. Therefore, they did not have a community where they could develop Hebrew and make it a national language, especially when Hebrew was a religious language that reflected the Word of God and should not be polluted by everyday speech.

Thus, Jews in Europe developed an alternative form of language called **Yiddish** in the 9th century to keep Hebrew sacred. As opposed to Hebrew that was (H), Yiddish was the (L), and it is taken from different languages, including German, Hebrew itself, Aramaic, Slavic, and Latin. It also uses the Hebrew alphabet and served its speakers.

Yiddish is still used by some people who have some linguistic knowledge up till today in daily conversations. In this case, **Yiddish is a fully-fledged language** with its own usage, and Hebrew itself, even though it was semi-dead up to the beginning of the 20th century, is highly and fully standardized with its own usage.

Later on, Hebrew has become a fully-fledged language because the Zionists believed that to have a nation, a language is required. The pioneer for the revival of the Hebrew is **Ben Yehuda**, who established schools for only Hebrew to be used. **It was obligated on parents to not speak any sort of language but Hebrew to their children.** By the time, Hebrew was fully revived with some Arabic words until they switched to European words, and Jews use the language all the time.

As Fishman says that Diglossia extends to two languages, this leads to **bilingualism and multilingualism**.

Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Bilingualism: The ability to speak two languages at the same time.

Multilingualism: The ability to speak several languages at the same time (like Luxembourg).

Monolingualism: The ability to speak one language only.

In today's speech, everyone speaks different varieties, and being a monolingual is not accepted or even possible in most places (There are no single code speakers in the world) as they would be marked as lacking an important skill of being able to interact freely with the speakers of other languages.

A bilingual/multilingual is normally **conscious** of that. Becoming bilingual unconsciously could happen by the marriage of 2 from different language backgrounds and having children who eventually speak both languages.

Normally, the situation and sociolinguistic context determine language used, as people put different values towards different varieties, making bilingualism a very big issue.

India and Pakistan – are they bilingual?

Before the colonizing, India and Pakistan used to be one nation living together with one culture, now, India speaks Hindi, and Pakistan speaks Urdu, and each one uses its own scripts. In reality, they both have the same language (**mutual intelligibility**). One can't say whether the people of both countries are actually bilingual or not. Same goes to the middle east, where Arabs claim to speak the same language, but mutual unintelligibility is found within people from Palestine and Morocco, for example. It is also hard to say, therefore, whether one is speaking a language or just a dialect.

Who is against Bilingualism and Multilingualism?

1. People who see that bilingualism and multilingualism encourage the lack of unity, solidarity, and nation building, and that it is the cause of division in society.
2. Monolinguals, mostly because they don't understand any other language, making it hard to get involved with others.

Some societies in the world have and encourage bilingualism or multilingualism:

1. **Tukano**

The Tukano, who live in the Amazon, believe that marrying someone speaking the same language is a kind of incest (just as getting married to a sibling). Therefore, one gets married to one from outside their language group, here, multilingualism is taken for granted and is considered a norm.

2. **Paraguay**

Paraguay is living a bilingual state where 2 languages exist: **Guarani**, spoken by 90% of the population, and **Spanish**, spoken by 10% (since it was colonized by Spain).

To the people of Paraguay, Spanish is known to be the (H) and more prestigious than Guarani (L), especially to the women, as for men, they usually use it for job purposes, as well as solidarity.

Guarani reflects identity, nationality, and solidarity, and is used among friends. As for **Spanish, it reflects** utility, the language of government, and education that gets one to a higher level, and is used in most business transactions.

The choice between Spanish and Guaraní depends on various factors (applies on other languages too):

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Location (city or country) | 4. Status | 7. Degree of closeness to somebody | 10. Occupation |
| 2. Formality | 5. intimacy | 8. Type of activity | 11. Solidarity |
| 3. Gender | 6. seriousness | 9. Education | 12. Power |

Bilingualism plays a major role regarding **immigration**. (**What's the relationship between the two?**)

There are immigrants who go to Europe, their languages are normally not welcome, because Europeans see speaking a different language as a community within another community or a country in another country. Still, even though their languages are not welcome, European educational systems offer second language learning, whereas the educational system gives money for the second language, these people come with the second language talking it already.

To explain this irony, the second languages that are not welcome in the educational systems are the non-European languages, so unless the immigrant speaks a classical European language he is not welcome, this could lead to language loss among immigrants or even diffusion between the languages.

What about Spanish from south America?

Spanish can reflect the Hispanic community, by that, it reflects low class as well. Therefore, Hispanics are no welcome. Same happens in north America with immigrants from Mexico and Cuba, who only speak Spanish and reflect low class. The value of Spanish in America is not appreciated since its users mostly don't speak English and have separate communities in the same place.

What is the language aspect that is used in bilingualism?

The most used aspect is vocabulary.

Code-Switching

Code switching (code mixing): Switching between two or more codes, languages, dialects, styles, registers...etc., normally, one is aware when the person in front of them switches between two varieties.

People they know that there is some kind of mechanism that usually controls this kind of code switching and they associate different factors regarding the languages. Code-switching defines the situation and can tell what language to speak, in what manner, to whom, and how. It establishes common ground, and shows flexibility and openness.

Code-switching can occur in 2 sentential ways:

1. **Inter-sentential:** Occurs in conversation where one sentence is produced in a language and another produced in another language.
2. **Intra-sentential:** Occurs in conversation when one sentence is produced and has words from different languages (switching in the same sentence).

Code-switching can be both conscious or unconscious. If conscious, the person wants to **send out a message** that there's a reason why they speak or code-switch. It's a self-expression of how they want others to see and treat them and is used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers who must deal with more than one language. Also, one might need to switch between the language depending on the purpose, like educational purposes, or not having an alternative.

Code-switching is a **conversational strategy** used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries and go abroad them, show solidarity, express accommodation, create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations.

Examples of countries that code-switch (it's a norm): Singapore (Singlish), USA, and Luxembourg.

Forms of Code-switching:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Political expression. | 3. Gain power: economic, social, privilege. |
| 2. Resistance of power. | 4. Identity and solidarity. |

Code-rejection

We can even find instances of deliberate code rejection when more than one code is available: A good example is Spain. Spain has two spoken varieties: Catalan and Castilian. Castilian-speaking youth in Barcelona resist using Catalan. Those who speak Catalan are aware that they are not welcome as a language and a group of people. Therefore, Catalans only speak the variety among themselves, and Castilian with other varieties.

Types of Code-switching

1. Situational code-switching

Occurs when the situation decides the language that is used and changes it according to it: they speak one language in one situation and another in a different one. No topic change is involved.

E.g. Standard languages in schools.

2. Metaphorical code-switching

Occurs when the topic itself determines the kind of code that one speaks. It is deeply ingrained and that it serves subtle but strong functions.

E.g. English when talking about phonetics.

The differences between diglossia and code-switching

1. Both of them control the choice of variety spoken.
2. Diglossia is more rigidly defined by the particular activity involved and by the relationship between the participants than code-switching.
3. Diglossia reinforces differences, enhances, and puts in action, whereas code-switching reduces them.
4. Code-switching is more flexible and acceptable than diglossia.
5. Differences are more established in diglossic situation than code-switching situation.
6. Both of them can be conscious or unconscious, but consciousness and awareness is more existing in diglossia, while code-switching is more subconscious.
7. The ability to code-switch may even be regarded with suspicion or disfavor in certain circumstances.
8. There is a kind of we-them distinction. We-type language expresses solidarity, and is therefore deemed suitable for in-group and informal activities, whereas the they-type is considered appropriate to out-group and more formal relationships. This distinction is especially in diglossia to separate between people who speak different varieties with different values to them.

E.g. AAE and Standard English.

Code-switching exists in the case of the colonizer and the colonized: Some colonizers did not give the colonized the chance to learn their languages, and refused to allow others to code-switch and insisted on using the other's language, even if sometimes such use provided a poorer means of communication. Europeans used a local language very badly with servants rather than let them use English, French, and so on, in order to maintain social distance.

Code switching is NOT a matter of laziness or unintelligence. In fact, the one who knows how to code switch are has high capabilities and are aware of community norms.

Unmarked and Marked choices

Myers-Scotton says that speakers have unmarked and marked choices available to them when they speak that vary by situation. The unmarked is the norm. The other is anything that is not normal or a norm. In America, English is the unmarked and any other language is marked.

Myers-Scotton has developed a theory called **the Matrix Language Frame model**. She says that in code-switching one language acts as a dominant or matrix language and the other as a subordinate or embedded language.

Face dimension

Face dimension is how people want to be seen or viewed: prestigious, educated..., so they code switch to other varieties to do so.

Throughout history, all colonial languages were prestigious, and people would switch to them except for one colonial language which is **Hebrew**. It is the only colonial language in history that is used by the (L), not the (H). The uneducated are the ones who normally speak Hebrew.

Crossing or styling

Crossing or styling: Putting yourself into someone else's shoes from a sociolinguistic perspective.

E.g. Rap is associated with black people, it's a kind of music that talks about the experiences that black people went through and go through, such as drugs, arrests, imprisonment, and so on. Eminem, a white singer, specifically rapper, crosses the border and went to someone else's shoes by choosing to be engaged with black music. (this could lead to serious problems with some cases).

Some people are asked to perform a variety of crossing when they are **urged to abandon one language or dialect in favor of another**.

When it comes to crossing, there's a methodology to show attitudes of speaking different languages, which is the **Matched-guise technique**.

Matched-guise technique

Matched-guise technique: A common method used by judging people only by hearing what they say without any interacting.

Its purpose is to see how listeners react to various characteristics in speech. Judgements are then given on aspects like whether the person is rich, with positive/negative attitude, intelligent...etc. listeners are mostly affected by code choices when they judge what speakers say to them and put some stereotypes and assumptions on them.

Accommodation

Accommodation: Adjustment and adapting to the expectations of others and to be like them in terms of speaking a variety of language and choice of words (could be consciously or unconsciously).

Two major concepts about accommodation (types):

1. **Convergence:** When an individual try to induce another to judge them more favorably by reducing differences between the two, or may even be prepared to sacrifice something to gain social approval. This could lead to 'killing' minority languages if convergence was on a wide span.
2. **divergence:** When an individual try to be judged less favorably and the shift in behavior will be away from the behavior of another or others and dissociated.

Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT)

A person called **Giles** talked about SAT and described it as a multiply organized and contextually complex set of alternatives, regularly available to communicators in face-to-face talk, and it can function to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a conversational partner, reciprocally and dynamically.

Therefore, **there are 2 types of convergence designs:**

1. **Audience design:** Accommodate with the audience and speak the same variety as they do to make it as appropriate as possible.

E.g. Speaking English in conferences full of English speakers.

2. **Referee design:** Accommodation in which a reference exists to an absent third party that influences language choice (the person/group is not there, but the language is).

E.g. Negotiations in English between Palestinians and Israelis when there's supposedly no English speakers.

Another type that has to do more with divergence:

1. **Speaker's design:** The use of language as a resource in the actual creation, presentation, and recreation of speaker identity regardless of the audience.

There are two basic language styles regarding accommodation:

1. **Home style:** Used for in-group communication in the community among family members and friends, where they share intimate relationships.
2. **Local style (local standard):** It's the local approximation of standard American English, and is used in very limited circumstances.

E.g. AAE is used in home style in speech, while Standard English is used in local style. Sometimes people shift to the local style to accommodate with others.

Chapter 13: Gender

Definitions

The difference between sex and gender:

Sex: Biologically and naturally determined, or what you are born with (who we actually are).

Gender: A social and personal construct involving the whole gamut of genetic, psychological, social, and cultural differences and behaviors between males and females (self-expression of identity).

'Gender is one of the major topics discussed among sociolinguists, and is a key component of identity'.

When it comes to differences between male's and female's language, grammar has nothing to do with it. It has its own rules that everyone follow in the same way no matter what the gender is.

Are there any language differences in structure/pragmatics between males and females?

The differences between males and females begin with the genetic aspects. Each one has different genetic aspects. Physically, men are larger than women and they have a harsher voice than women, females have more fat and less muscle than males. In addition, many of the differences may result from different socialization practices and concepts. Gender is also something cultural. A boy is raised to behave and speak like a man in a certain society, while different cultures could have different conceptualizations and morals. As a result, the ultimate outcome to these aspects is that there are language and speech differences.

These differences sometimes change from one generation to another. One generation could be more tolerant to men behaving like women than other generations, for example.

Some sociolinguists say that some people **criticized** gender itself, because of the idea that it will create differences between people and bring conflict between men and women, and that the relationships should be built on **cooperation** rather than competition.

Who goes by the prescribed language form?

Prescribed language form: What is supposed to be as and not changed. It is stereotypical and social expectations about how different genders should communicate.

It is known that females go by the prescribed language more than males do. The society does not judge a man for not following the prescribed language as much as it does with women.

Whose language is the norm, the male or the female?

It is the male's language that is the norm, to the point that some women might talk with male morphemes or talk in a man's way.

Gender Differences

There are gender differences that differentiate between men and women around the world:

First: Pragmatic Differences

1. Phonological differences

Males (Scotland): Schoolboys tend to produce the phoneme [t] as a glottal stop [ʔ], like in /sɪʔi/.

Females (Scotland): Schoolgirls tend to produce the phoneme [t] as an alveolar stop [t], like in /sɪti/.

2. Morphological differences

Morpheme: Any unit that has a meaning.

a) **-ess:** A morpheme that indicates female figures rather than males.

E.g. Actor ⇒ Actress, Lion ⇒ Lioness, Tiger ⇒ Tigress, Seward ⇒ Stewardess, Host ⇒ Hostess...

b) **-trix:** A morpheme that was used to indicate female figures. Nowadays it is rarely used: Aviator ⇒ aviatrix.

Though some changes are happening to some words regarding this point, schools still teach the different morphemes, simply to differentiate between men and women, and to be able to understand the difference in the old written things that already have these morphemes.

3. The use of words “Notice that words can be morphemes as well”

Lakoff, a sociolinguist, claims that there are differences in the use of words between men and women:

a) Women use color words more than men do: Beige, aquamarine, lavender, verbal, magenta...etc.

b) Women use certain adjectives that men tend to use less: adorable, charming, lovely, sweet...etc.

c) Women tend to have their own vocabulary for emphasizing certain ethics on other women: fantastic, precious, adorable, so good, fun, exquisite...etc.

d) There are equality movements that tend to change some aspects of the English language or delete some gender-based differences, insisting on neutral expressions (not reflecting male or female):

1. Some words that are for males are now used to indicate females as well: Actor (deletion of -ess).

2. Some job applications nowadays either add the choice ‘other’ when choosing the sex or not add the sex item at all.

3. People try to change word that indicates chauvinism (being biased): Chairman ⇒ Chairperson, Mailman ⇒ Carrier, Salesman ⇒ Salesclerk, He/She ⇒ They

Regardless of those efforts, even the ones calling for equality in the West still use some gender-based words: King, Queen, She, He... This shows that it is not easy to eliminate these differences, because there are things that cannot be changed. One can change some aspects, but not all aspects in a language.

e) Some words – apart from the use of morphemes – reflect gender differences: King – Queen, Widow – widower, Gentleman – lady.

f) Some words are mentally and psychologically associated with a certain gender, especially with professions:

1. Good, high professions like doctor, engineer, pilot... are associated with males.

2. Low professions, such as nurse, are associated with females.

4. Grammatical differences

a) Intonation differences: A sociolinguist called **Brend** (1975) claims that the intonation patterns of men and women vary somewhat:

1. Women use more rising intonational patterns than men, the ones that are associated with:

- Surprise, due to lack of knowledge and hearing something unexpected (new information).
- Uncertainty, due to lack of knowledge
- Yes, no (tag) questions, normally connected with both surprise and uncertainty:

X: John left to America.

Y: Did he?

X: Mary can speak three languages.

Y: Wow! Can she?

By that, women usually seek some kind of reaffirmation and emphasizing of what they hear.

They also answer questions with a statement that employs rising intonation pattern, according to Lakoff.

2. Women tend to use more polite patterns (falling intonational pattern) than men do:

X: Will you open the window, please?

Men tend to say a sentence like this in a more **structured** or **orderly** way: Open the window.

Second: Paralinguistic Differences

Paralinguistic differences: A way of communication including movements, gestures, voice quality, signals, loudness... (the outside language 'non-lexical').

For Women:

1. Women use lower hesitant voice more than men do.
2. Women are shakier, as for giving a reaction when someone dies suddenly.
3. Women are more submissive to men (under control).
4. Women are usually required to be silent when men speak.
5. When addressing a person, women are likely to be addressed by their first names rather than titles (using titles "E.g. Mr." is more associated with men).
6. Women are acquired to silent in the presence of other men (especially the husband or father).
7. Women's language is gossipy (speak more than men), trivial, corrupt, illogical, idle, deficient, and lazy.
8. Women tend to speak about topics related to children, food, and fashion.

A sociolinguist called **Holmes** found a list of what she calls 'sociolinguistic universal tendencies' and offers some testable claims:

1. Women and men develop different patterns of language use.
2. Women tend to focus on the affective functions of an interaction more often than men do (emotions and feelings).
3. Women tend to use linguistic devices that stress solidarity more often than men do.
4. Women tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase solidarity, while (especially in formal contexts) men tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase their power and status.
5. Women are stylistically more flexible than men.

For Men:

1. Men tend to taboo and profanities (dirty/sexual language) more than women do.
2. Men tend to challenge more than women.
3. Men are more impolite and ruder.
4. Men could disagree with the ideas of another easily to show power.
5. Men tend to speak about topics related to challenges, sports, and life.
6. Men are blunter.

In general, when talking about languages, there are languages that interact with gender-based language aspects, like class, culture, education, race, gesture or style, movement, identity, and so on. These aspects prove that all these points mentioned above do not apply to all people everywhere. It just takes the majority into consideration.

Reality

Some points mentioned previously align with reality, while others can be viewed oppositely:

- 1.** Though it is said that women are gossipy, it was found that men were speaking twice as much as women do (or they just talk more than women in general).
- 2.** Women's speech concentrates on affiliation (the use of expressions), and they are more submissive.
- 3.** Women develop solidarity with other women and build social relationships to make friendships and to be nice with others.
- 4.** Women avoid being masculine, powerful, and authoritative.
- 5.** Women tend to repeat what others say.
- 6.** Women interrupt others to show cooperation and goodwill, and they ask more questions than men.
- 7.** Men speak in an orderly style or something and play the experts.
- 8.** Men are not afraid to show disagreement in front of others and don't have any fear to express their actual feelings or interrupt others.
- 9.** Men interrupt others to express knowledge, reflect dominance, challenge, and ignore.
- 10.** Men's speech concentrates on competition, teasing, Sports, and aggression.
- 11.** Men tend to become politer and speak fewer taboo words when there are women around them. They are willing to change styles in front of women (from rude to nice).
- 12.** Men are the ones who usually comment and start a conversation with women. Women, on the other hand, might not respond to men at all.
- 13.** Men protest more than women, and show a willingness for verbal sparring.

Possible Explanations For A Gendered Language

There are 3 claims that explain why language is different when it comes to males and females:

1. Biological differences

Men and women are biologically different. Therefore, one outcome of this difference is language. This difference has serious consequences for gender. Women are somehow predisposed to be mutually supportive and non-competitive, while men are predisposed to independence and to vertical rather than horizontal relationships. There appears to be **little or no evidence for this claim**.

2. Dominant view

Societies are organized hierarchically, where men are powerful, and women are weaker, which leads to men being dominant. Such organization by power may appear to be entirely normal, justified both genetically and evolutionarily, and therefore natural and possibly even preordained. Whereas men dominate, women's language is chosen for prestige.

This leads to the Markedness theory: Women's language is the marked variety; men's language is the unmarked variety, i.e., the norm. According to Lakoff, one way that women can achieve equality with men is for them to behave more like men, or to be more associated with power.

The **drawback** in this theory is that it does not actually explain gender language differences.

3. Difference (deficit) view "as opposed to the dominant view"

Men and women are social beings who have learned to use language in different ways. Language behavior is largely learned behavior that men and women build and grow up believing in. Men learn to talk like men and women learn to talk like women because society subjects them to different life experiences and subcultures.

E.g. Females are not supposed to stay out late, produce taboo language, and have boyfriends. Males are not supposed to cry or show any weak emotions in front of others.

As these boys and girls grow up, they carry out these cultures with them, and pass on these concepts with them to their children, turning it to a cycle that goes on and on again.

Within this view, there is something called **community of practice**.

Community of practice: A group where people develop shared and common language patterns through social interaction, shaping distinct ways of speaking over time. (each one is raised to speak in a certain way).

Though one might have a male appearance, what they do (social practices, behavior, and ideas) is what decides on whether they're viewed as masculine or feminine "**Gender is what individuals do, not what they have**". By the time, the definition of male and female changes as well.

The consequence of this is that **this ideology passes from one generation to another, sometimes to the point where one must obey without knowing the reason behind this kind of behavior.** To eliminate this difference between men and women, some changes in society (social changes) must be done. that we have to make changes in the society.

Remember that the definition of male-female differs from one society to another.

E.g. In Malagasy, Madagascar, women are usually outspoken, and men are the ones who are polite.

Most of those differences can be explained by the different positions men and women fill in society. Internationally, Men seek power, and women seek prestige.

When it comes to prestige, some may view the speech of certain women as being hypercorrect. Lower-class women often hypercorrect their speech **to imitate the upper class**, sometimes making errors in the process. For example, in American English, /r/ deletion is linked to lower-class speech, but some women overgeneralize by adding /r/ where it doesn't belong, such as in Linda ⇒ Linder, Africa ⇒ Africer. This reflects a linguistic attempt to gain prestige, whereas men tend to be less influenced by such patterns.

Language planning

All deliberate attempts to change or modify languages to free them of perceived sexism or make them gender-neutral are a form of **language planning**. Sometimes the goal appears to be to force language to catch up to social change, and at other times it seems designed to bring about social change through mandating language change.

Feminists' Views

Some feminists in the West seek not only changes in the language, but also a complete creation of the language that is 100% feminist language.

1. **Dale Spender**: A sociolinguist called Dale Spender says that **Whorfian hypothesis** or the language we hear affects our view and how we see the world. For example, telling a female all negative traits words would result in believing that these traits actually apply to her as she grows up. She says that men have created language to serve them, express or to show their masculinity and oppress women.

2. **Penelope**: A sociolinguist that argues that women should be aware of 'the lies of the fathers' tongues' and of the 'Patriarchal Universe of Discourse.' She says that women have to be aware and conscious of the father's life, in other words, men in general, and that the kind of language that men use and its origin is masculine and serves them to make them powerful.

3. **Freed**: While some feminists say that we have to change the way the society sees both genders and the language, Freed says that believing in these changes is utopian. She says that it's not easy to change, and language cannot ever become 'neutral.' Stereotypes are existing, regardless of female changes in the language or women change in the society, especially when human beings seek distinction all the time.

Chapter 14: Disadvantages

All languages and varieties of particular languages are linguistically equal in that they serve the needs of those who use them (except for Pidgins and Creoles). They are equal since they enable their speakers to communicate. What makes them different is the social aspect, like prestige and power, ignorance, and backwardness. These aspects create an argument between the different varieties.

Standard and Non-standard varieties

In any society, there are values given to different varieties:

1. **Standard variety**: In a social sense, it has a preferred status, it gives those who use it certain social advantages and values (social, economic, political...) and it increases their life chances.
2. **Non-standard variety**: It tends to produce the opposite effect. It degrades and belittles those who speak it.

Attitudes

The association for different varieties reflects attitudes. Some varieties are prestigious, non-prestigious, better, not better, beautiful, elegant, civilized, backward, expressive, deficient, beautiful... The consequence of this classification is that some speakers are advantaged while others are not.

By that, 2 English varieties can be discussed in relation to social class: The **lower social class**, England, and **black English vernacular**, America.

The Lower Working Class

Basil Bernstein is a sociologist that believes that social norms, or the language we use, affect how we see the world around us, and that there is an influence of culture/social aspects on the language (though he does believe that there's mutual influence).

Bernstein's interest is in **the role of language in the socialization process**, and how these two affect the cultural identity of the people, i.e. how a child acquires a specific cultural identity and responds to that identity (Whorfian theory).

He talks about 2 subcultures: lower working class and African-Americans, and how language is used in both, in relation to **education**.

Teachers are required to use a certain form of language which reflects the standard aspect when educating. However, lower working-class and African-American children grow up speaking a vernacular that is different from the standard. Some features that they use are not acceptable in the educational situation, therefore, they face many problems in learning.

Whorfian theory – The hypothesis of all linguistic relativity

Bernstein is heavily affected by the Whorfian theory (Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). It says that the structure of the language that we hear affects the worldview cognition, and perception, either positively or negatively. Telling a child bad words would make him grow and see the world from that perspective (the language he hears), for example. According to Whorf, culture reflects language, including the kind of grammar used.

Deep structure of linguistically regulated communication

In relation to the Whorfian theory, Bernstein studies **The Structure of Linguistically Regulated Communication**:

1. He argues how the culture of the LWC British community and the language of the African-Americans affect the cognition of the child.
2. He believes that language reflects social structure. Speaking good English would give a good social structure.
3. He believes that a particular social structure leads to a particular language behavior.
4. He believes that language produces and reproduces the same social structure over and over again in a cycle. Therefore, children learn their social role through that language and regulated communication through his parents and pass them to his children, affecting the identity out of these language norms.

Bernstein classifies language into two forms in these subcultures:

1. Elaborated code

The formal and standard type used in education that reflects accurate grammar, syntax..., correct or good use of all language/grammatical aspects with complex sentences (conjunctions, subordination, prepositions, adjectives...), as well as the use of the pronoun **I**, reflecting confidence of the speaker and what he says. This code reflects the proper (good) use of language, intellectuality, and complex conceptual analysis and hierarchy of organizing the language. “not all community members have access to the elaborated, creating a huge gap between what LWC children have and should have instead”

2. Restricted code

The informal type used among friends and family members (language of intimacy). It reflects short, simple grammar, unfinished sentences, repetition of conjunctions, little subordination, dislocated representation of information, i.e. there is no logical relationship between the different ideas presented, limited use of adjectives and adverbs, much use of idioms, implicit way of giving information, confounding conclusions (mixed up), and employment of pronouns like **he, she, you, and they** instead of **I**, reflecting ignorance, quoting, and lack of information. This kind of code is usually among LWC children, which limits the intellectual horizons of its speakers.

Dramatic consequences of LWC & AA children not having the restricted code:

- **Dropping out of schools:** Children find themselves in a disadvantaged position in which they have psychological, educational, social, and emotional consequences as a result of not knowing the elaborated code when they start going to school.

LWC and MC

Bernstein compares the gap between lower working class (LWC) and middle class (MC):

1. The socialization process of the language (SE) used by the middle-class people bridges the gap between school and society.
2. The kind of language used in the lower class is not used in the education process. It is different from the one used in schools.
3. The kind of language used affects on the intellectuality of the children. Those who grow up using and standard language will automatically have a better chance to access things than those who don't.
4. Even though there's a gap between the two classes, it is not the schools' job to bridge the gap.

There are 2 kinds of families that Bernstein talks about (in the British society):

1. Position-oriented families

- a) Members are positioned in place and are not supposed to go beyond what they are put in, and hence opportunities are not developed.
- b) The language is used in physical contact among members who share the same assumptions and ideologies, and it cannot be switched to another variety
- c) People live together and depend on each other, and there is a strong sense of social rather than individual identity (the person speaks the same way as the other individuals of the same society do). They are also connected and tied up to certain closed social network
- d) Communication is implicit rather than explicit, and is less complex and creative.
- e) Requires less complexity and elaboration in language use (social class system does not give LWC members access to elaboration forms).

2. Person-oriented families

- a) The language is used individually. By that, there is a sense of personal identity (it fosters personal autonomy). The people might know each other through other people rather than a direct relationship.
- b) The language is more dynamic, direct, explicit, and free-content.
- c) People are not tied up to certain comments or topics, they can go beyond that (there is not much physical contact).
- d) People have more chances and opportunities to move up different life aspects.

Bernstein goes back to the different language forms found in the society and says that parents, in particular, **mothers**, are responsible for them. He compares between two types of mothers, LWC and MC.

LWC:

1. There is a use of command more than in MC mothers in the language they use.
2. They don't answer their children's questions, nor they give them a chance to speak or express.
3. They don't give not much help and assistance is limited when doing tasks.
4. They see themselves as authoritative figures (positional authority).
5. They don't give explanations to why the child should or should not do a certain action, mostly because of ignorance.
6. They don't give moral lessons.
7. There is more punishment than reward in a random way.
8. There is an act of coercion by which mothers force children on doing things against their will.

Result: Frustration, and children dropping out from schools for not having what's needed, whether is the language itself or general assistance.

MC:

1. They use the language to negotiate with their kids.
2. They give more explanation and answer their children's Wh-questions.
3. They are less likely to avoid pivotal questions.
4. They point out the consequences of doing or not doing something.
5. They help and instruct their kids in their tasks, whether it's for school or home tasks.
6. They use less coercion than LWC.

Criticisms/drawbacks of Bernstein's theory

1. Bernstein generalizes the working class where it is obvious that he is specifying lower working class.
2. He uses stereotypes, mental images based on perceptions, in his theory which are not necessarily realistic, as in saying that LWC children would drop out either way since they "lack intellectuality".
3. Many of his arguments are circular. The same point is repeated over and over again.
4. His hypothesis is weak, because there is no relativeness actually between the use of prepositions and conjunction, and intellectuality. Not using them doesn't mean that children are weak or less intellectual.
5. He looks at the quantity rather than the quality.

6. Research has actually found that some MC children are usually inventive or have some kind of fear, while some LWC children speak more than MC children.

7. He doesn't give any solutions, though he has big researches.

Black English Vernacular

Other names for BEV: Black English, African or Afro-American Vernacular English, African American English (AAE), Non-standard Negro English, and Ebonics.

Why does Black English exist?

بعينكم الله يعرف انه طويل بس افهموه فهم مش اكثر

Enslaved Africans were dehumanized and confined in slave forts, where they came from diverse linguistic backgrounds and lacked a shared language. To communicate, they used Sabir, a Portuguese-based lingua franca, and developed a pidgin language. Over time, especially as they had children, this evolved into a Creole. Upon arrival in America, most had little or no English. Plantation owners deliberately mixed language groups to prevent rebellion and denied them the chance to learn standard English. Some slaves arrived with pidgins; others started to pick up English in between them.

As more enslaved people were born in the South, their Creole languages continued to grow and spread. Some believe that even many white Southerners didn't speak standard English, which made the language situation even more complex. After the Civil War -mostly fought over slavery- the North won and ended slavery. Many freed African Americans moved north, hoping for a better life. But instead, they were rejected and denied basic needs like jobs, education, and housing. Because of this, they stayed together in their own communities. Separated from the rest of society, they kept speaking the kinds of language they had used in the South, shaped by their African roots and the struggles they had faced.

As these communities faced deep poverty and lack of opportunity, some were pushed toward crime and drugs simply to survive. At the same time, the way they spoke -what some sociolinguists see as a "pidginized" form of English- was passed down from one generation to the next. When AA children entered schools, they were met with a major challenge: **their home language, often called African American English, was very different from the Standard English used in classrooms**. Structures like "we be done" or "we be go" were common in their communities but misunderstood and mocked by white teachers and classmates.

This language gap led many students to feel confused or discouraged. They were not taught in a way that respected or built on their language skills. Instead, they were often seen as wrong or unintelligent. This mismatch made it harder for them to keep up in school, and many ended up dropping out, sometimes turning to crime as the only option left.

It's also important to remember that African Americans in the North were never truly welcomed as equals. They had been accepted only as slaves, not as citizens. Even after slavery ended, many remained on the plantations where they had always lived and worked. They had no other place to go, no access to the larger world. And just like their situation stayed the same, so did the language they continued to use.

AAE is seen from different linguistic perspectives: Non-standard, Pidginized language form, actual variety of the English language. (People from NY or California have the same language forms as AA).

The similarity in language forms (uniform) in these places is due to two important tools:

1. Migration from the South to the North, resulting in living in the same small places since they were rejected.
2. The long-standard racial segregation.

Black English characteristics/features

1. Phonological features

- a) /θ/ (thing) becomes /t/ (ting), and can become /f/ in some cases (bath: baff).
- b) /ð/ (brother) becomes /d/, and can become /v/ (brovuh) in some cases.
- c) **Devoicing final stops**: kid ⇒ kit, big ⇒ bik.
- d) **Deletion of final stops**: task ⇒ tas (it stays deleted even when pluralizing: tassess)
- e) **Non-rhoticity**: deletion of /r/ sound: brother ⇒ brotha, car ⇒ cah. Sometimes to avoid sounding from the low class, they add the /r/ in some places where they should not be, leading to hypercorrection.
- f) **Deletion of /l/ sound after vowels**: cold, bold, bought...
- g) **Vowel nasalization**: [̃].
- h) **Changes in the production of diphthongs**: based on the kind of English that slaves in the South learned by themselves:
 - [aɪ] ⇒ [aɛ] (/a:/)
 - [aʊ] ⇒ [aɛ] (/æ/)
 - [ɔɪ] ⇒ [ɔɛ] (/ɔ:/)
- i) **Metaphoric use (metaphysis)**: switch some letters in the same word “switching sounds”: aks for ask.

2. Morphological features

- a) **Past -ed**: can be pronounced as /t/ (after voiceless sounds “asked”), /d/ (after voiced sounds “killed”), and “ed” (after d & t “acted, decided”). The past -ed is a morpheme and not a phoneme because it has a meaning. As for AA, they delete the past morpheme.
- b) **Deletion of 3rd person singular**: he go instead of he goes, he play...
- c) **Deletion of possessive ‘s**: this is my father book.

3. Syntactic features

a) **Deletion of copula (zero copula)**: you bad instead of you are bad.

b) **Use of the expression “ain’t”**: for all negative forms like am not, will not, cannot... (He ain’t nice).

“Regardless of how uneducated white people get, they never delete the copula, they always use it”.

c) **Deletion of the sound (s) if it can be contracted**: he nice, he been singing every Sunday.

“this feature is used by white people when insulting: you bogger, you bad, she bad... Some say that such use is like indicating or saying it’s not a good language

d) **Verbs are not inflected for tense and number**: play for singular and plural.

e) **Addition of embedded structure**: (a sentence inside a sentence):

X: where are you? Y: what did he say? Z: he asked where are you. “2 clauses in 1 sentence where they shouldn’t be, making it look like a NP/statement rather than a Q”.

f) **Double negation**: I ain’t got nothing.

g) **No use of antonym**: I am tin (thin) ⇒ I ain’t tin.

h) **Use of nobody and nothing with the double negation**: I ain’t seen nobody.

i) **Growth of special aux**: done and been ⇒ I done work, I been working.

j) **Use of them instead of they**: them done this.

Different views about the relationship between BEV and the English language itself

1. AAE is a variety of the English language (Anglicist hypothesis of origin)

This is because the features that are found in AAE are common among all varieties of AAE in different places in the North or South. It is an accent like any other known English accent. This variety is very similar to the variety of the English language that is found in the **South** and many believe it is its product. Some say that the kind of English that was spoken by white people in the South has actually borrowed some words from African Americans, like goober for peanut and buckra for white man. Proponents of this theory say that the difference between AAE and other varieties is that AAs produce a greater amount of certain up-language usages and features than other varieties (non-standard), like ain’t, double negation... etc.

2. AAE is a creolized variety of the English language

AAE began as a pidgin and then it developed into a Creole whose genesis is not English. But at the same time, as it came in contact with the English language and has started to take some aspects of the English language to the point of that it reached the post-Creole continuum or decreolization. It is believed that there is some residual Africanism (African bases or roots) to it, including the style of speaking, rapping, sounding, signifying, rifting... all of which go back to African origin.

2.a. One sociolinguist has conducted a research in 1996, and says that AAE is not a variety of the English language, nor a creole that is based on the English language, but **a variety of its own** that have taken a development of its own.

3. Labov's theory

Labov was among the first pioneers to study AAE, and he is a proponent of it. He says that AAE is a variety of the English language, and it has its roots in it. The early language that was brought to the US came in contact with the SE, and almost all vocabulary items used in AAE are taken from SE.

This variety is rich just like any other variety. He gives an example on this situation, which is Cockney English, a variety that is spoken in England that is very hard even for the British themselves. He says that in the same way Cockney English is hard, so is AAE, therefore in the same way that sociolinguists accept Cockney English, AAE should be accepted as a variety as well.

Consequences of African American English on children's education

1. Traditional theory: Many educators in the United States believe that African American English is a deficient language. They also say that this deficiency in AAE has resulted in a cognitive deficiency (Deficit Hypothesis) in the black children's mentality and intellectuality, saying that they don't have the ability to think logically because their variety is an illogical and incompetent form. Some believe that AA children lack the ability to process information and analyze it, because they don't use SE.

a) Attempt to teach SE to children: In the 1960s, there were attempts of teaching basic aspects of SE to AAs, such as the different forms of negation instead of ain't; Polar concepts, where they use the actual antonyms instead of alternative terms or same adjectives; the use of prepositions and how they are used; how to think and perform logical operations.

b) Labov's POV: Labov disapproves with the idea that AAE is a deficient language, because he sees it as a rich language variety with its own systems and rules. What he believes in is that black children, when they start going to school, they just need some adjustment to certain middle-class values in the educational system since they're faced with a language dilemma, because it is not a problem concerning only AAE, but also all minorities in the US that come to school speaking a non-standard language like Mexican Americans whose first language is Spanish.

2. Whose responsibility is it to address language difficulties?: While programs like ESL (English as a Second Language) support non-native speakers, African American students and other minorities face different language challenges not rooted in a foreign language, but in dialect and linguistic variation.

Expecting schools and subject teachers to take on the role of teaching Standard English risks shifting their primary function, from educating in specific subjects to correcting language use. Teachers assume students already possess the necessary language skills. If the focus shifts to teaching English itself, it redefines the educator's role and complicates their core mission.

3. Pro AAE: As opposed to the traditional theory, some see African American English as valid and rich, not deficient. From their view, the problem isn't the dialect, it's the system that fails to support it in education. So, the solution should address structural barriers, not the language itself.

Approaches used in education to deal with AAE

1. Eradication of AAE

The traditional view regards AAE as a nonstandard, deficient form of speech that should be eradicated and replaced by SE. Supporters of this perspective argue that AAE not only hinders educational attainment but also reinforces negative social perceptions. To them, speaking AAE marks individuals as lower class, affecting how they are perceived and treated, thus creating both linguistic and social disadvantages. This view has heavily influenced educational policy, framing AAE as an obstacle to be removed.

However, AAE is not just a way of speaking, it carries deep cultural significance. It reflects identity, heritage, and group solidarity. For many speakers, it is a core part of who they are. Therefore, calls to replace AAE with SE are seen as attempts to erase that identity. Resistance to this view stems from the belief that language is not merely a tool, but a representation of community and self. Eradicating it would mean erasing part of the people who speak it.

2. Bidialectalism

Speakers of AAE should be taught to speak SE, but no attempt should be made to eradicate AAE. Indeed, in the early stages of instruction AAE itself should be used as the language of instruction.

Language Shift Without Acceptance

Research shows that switching from AAE to SE doesn't guarantee social acceptance or upward mobility. Even when someone adopts middle-class language norms, they may still be judged based on their working-class background. This gap between linguistic adaptation and social acceptance often leads to insecurity, especially among those who feel they're leaving behind part of their identity.

The Deeper Roots of Inequality

Language alone can't dismantle systemic problems like poverty, crime, low self-esteem, and unemployment. While speaking SE is often promoted as a pathway to success and opportunities, it doesn't address the broader conditions many AA children face. True solutions require more than language reform, they demand a comprehensive approach that respects identity and tackles structural inequality head-on.

Chapter 15: Planning

Language planning/policy: A new science that has to do with the human intervention in the natural course of a language. It involves purposefully redirecting how a language or variety evolves over time and the choice of it. “it is a prescriptive and deliberate science”.

Forms of intervention: Change, Diffusion, Managing, Policy, Maintenance, Death.

It started after the end of colonization and the independence of many countries. It focused on managing linguistic diversity during nation-building with defining a national identity, language included.

Post-Colonial Context

Many newly independent countries, especially across Africa and Asia, were faced with intense linguistic diversity, for having nation-building must include people, resources, and the language. Tanzania, for example, had over 120 languages spoken within its borders. Choosing just one indigenous language risked alienating others and potentially inciting conflict since no one is willing to give in to any other variety as their language reflects identity. When language planners in a country like this consider how to handle language diversity (and endangered languages), they look at the status of a language, which includes political, economic, social, and scientific power, ethnic value, and territorial distribution and demography (i.e., concentration of speakers)

To avoid internal clashes, many countries took the language of their colonizers, like English, as the official language. These languages were already standardized, seen as neutral, prevent conflict, and were external to local ethnic rivalries. This decision, however, was not ideologically neutral nor innocent. Moreover, The use of the colonizer’s language led to language attrition/erosion over the generations.

Reflection: Why European Languages in African Nations?

Not because of geography or culture, but because retaining the colonizer’s language was seen as the “safest” choice, sparing the country from civil unrest while sacrificing linguistic autonomy.

Reasons for the people to accept these languages:

1. Official language choice isn't just about communication, it's about power: Those who control the official language often hold financial, economic, and sometimes military influence.
2. Language policy decisions tend to produce two outcomes, subtle, gradual shifts in identity, access, and opportunity, and brutal, exclusion, marginalization, and conflict for those left out of the official linguistic domain (lacking access to jobs, education, or a good life). So, one usually would go to the subtle choice.
3. Even when a local variety is chosen, standardizing it is a massive undertaking. It requires linguists, training programs, textbooks, educational software, typefaces, and technological infrastructure. This process is resource-intensive and slow, particularly in post-colonial societies where time and budgets are constrained.

From Practical to Political: Intellectual Colonization

Adopting a colonial language isn't simply administrative. It shapes how people think, learn, and engage with the world. This is known as **linguistic imperialism** or **intellectual colonization**, 'the subtle domination of thought through language. Speaking a colonizer's language often means absorbing its worldview, internalizing a sense of dependency on external systems of knowledge and authority, and see the world through that language.

Historical Working Languages

In the past, there were only six working languages: Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, and Slavonic (used in churches). By the 19th century, these six became 30 because of changes in the political situation in the world and many nations that started to gain independence (e.g. Serbo-Croatia). Then by 1937, they increased to 53.

Forms of planning

1. Status Planning

Changing the position or the function of a certain variety (to give a different status) .

Happen in a certain community, e.g. African community, where different languages are spoken. After independence, they start thinking of adopting a certain variety to become standardized and the official language. A language that is denied has no status.

- Results:**
- a) Not everybody would accept that. Minorities regard their languages to be equally powerful.
 - b) The chosen variety is given priority, and those who speak it have more rights.
 - c) Status includes function. It also includes the language and the rights of those who speak it.
 - d) Speaking the variety gives access to job, education, and research.

2. Corpus Planning

Taking the language itself and beginning to standardize and developing it. It involves making decisions about the components of the language to develop, select, or change.

How does it work?

Languages are like the human body, they have 'organs' such as morphology, syntax, semantics... etc. If there's a problem in the language, one cannot speak generally on what it is, it has to be specified. Therefore, the work focuses on its components, involving **setting rules and changes**, **deciding what sounds to include**, and **choosing the kind of spelling to use**. Once a language is chosen to be official, **standardization** begins, with the elaboration, function, and codification, and decide on which words to use and which not to use. The **chosen variety is then used in** government, education, trade, and media.

Ideologies

There are 4 major ideologies related to language planning:

1. Assimilation

It means making two different things one. In language planning, this ideology is about making everybody in a certain area assimilate and speak one language, mostly the dominant.

E.g.	France	Colonized countries and wanted all to speak French.
	Israel	Jews from America, France, Germany, and Italy melted into Hebrew.
	US	Indigenous Native Americans were expected to forget their languages and speak English.
	Russia	In Eastern Europe (Poland, Ukraine, Georgia), people were forced to use Russian. This policy was called Russification . The Soviet Union had more than 100 ethnicities and wanted everyone to speak or recognize Russian.
	Spain	Catalan, Castilian, and Basque were spoken, but Castilian was promoted as Spanish, the official language.

Consequences:

- a) Only one selected variety is accepted. Other varieties may die or face language attrition.
- b) Rights of speakers of other varieties are not respected or accepted, and speakers are **expected** to use the selected variety, regardless.

2. Linguistic Pluralism

It means more than one. According to this ideology, language planners decide on the use of more than one language.

E.g. Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg.

Features of such action:

- a) More than one, sometimes more than two, languages are used.
- b) Two may be official or standard.
- c) Accepted, tolerated, and welcoming, unlike assimilation.

3. Vernacularization

An ideology that calls for using a local variety. Language planners choose one local variety or language (which can be standardized) and make it official. In some cases, there is no need for standardization if the language is already standardized. In other cases, like some African countries post-independence, they work on standardization of a non-standard variety.

E.g. Hebrew: After the occupation of Palestine and the recognition by the UN, Hebrew was chosen over Arabic, even though many Jews previously spoke Arabic or Yiddish. Hebrew was considered and claimed to be local, though it was a semi-dead language.

4. Internationalization

It is the ideology of choosing an international language to be the official language of a certain country.

Why Is It Used?

After colonization, many countries gained independence and wanted to establish nationhoods. They had the land and the people, but they had many languages, not just one. In some countries, different varieties were spoken, and none was willing to give in or accept the variety of another group. To avoid conflict, they decided to use an **outside** or **international language** that already existed, often the language of the colonizer/occupier (e.g. French in Haiti).

E.g. of International Languages: English, French, German, Italian, Dutch. These languages were already used and had penetrated in daily life. So, it wouldn't be hard to continue using them.

Is the Choice Innocent?

People may believe that this choice is innocent, but it is not. This decision can change the thinking and cultural aspects of the indigenous or native people.

In all of the ideologies -except for pluralism- not everyone accepts the planners' decision. Speakers of the non-official languages might not accept the chosen variety.

Classifications

Kinds of language Classifications:

1. Official Language

A language recognized by the government or state as the language of everyday use, education, media, trade, and so on. It is the language that is already chosen and used officially in a certain area. **"This fact does not necessarily mean that the status must be recognized constitutionally, it may be a matter of long-standing practice, as it is with English in the US and UK"**

E.g. French in France.

2. Standardized Language

A language that is standardized and has rules. Quite often, the standardized language is the official.

3. Promoted Language

A language encouraged in a certain community. It may or may not be official, and quite often they are not.

E.g. During the colonization of Palestine by the British, English was a promoted language, Hebrew was promoted among Jews. In Palestine today, Arabic is the official language, English and French are promoted.

4. Tolerated Language

A language that is not promoted, not attacked, but accepted.

E.g.	<u>Soviet Union</u>	Russian was promoted. Ukrainian was not tolerated, but over time, was accepted.
	<u>America</u>	Native American languages were once not accepted, then 1960s language and human rights movements led to change, and Spanish is now a tolerated language in America

5. Discouraged / Prescribed Language

A language that is not accepted and is often attacked, along with its speakers.

E.g.	<u>France in Algeria</u>	Arabic was prescribed, and Algerians were killed for not speaking French
	<u>Spain</u>	Catalan and Basque were prescribed, since multiple languages were seen as a threat to unity, leading to suppression. Castilian (Spanish) was the official.

6. Banned Language

A language that is not allowed to be used, like Catalan and Basque in Spain.

- Language Policy and Language Death

Different language policies often cause **language attrition** because many languages are neglected.

In assimilationist countries, like France, the government believes in the use of one language only (French). Immigrants or minorities who want to maintain their own language must do so at their own cost. Governments often refuse to support immigrant or minority languages in the educational system or in foreign language programs. Examples include Syrians or Palestinians in France or Germany.

This lack of support leads to the gradual **disappearance of minority languages**.

The Council of Europe and Minority Languages (1988)

In 1988, the Council of Europe **adopted a charter**, more like a law, concerning minority languages. This was a response to the rise in immigration, wars, movement, and easy transportation during the 1980s.

There are two main issues discussed in the charter:

1. Language Rights and Immigrants

Immigration raised questions about whether immigrants should keep or give up their native languages. Therefore, **two policies emerged**:

Policy A: Immigrants must **give up** their native languages (e.g., in France and Germany, immigrants are expected to speak only French or German).

Policy B: Immigrants should **not give up** their native languages. Governments should be responsible for incorporating those languages (e.g., Arabic) into education and society. Speaking Arabic on the streets, for example, should be tolerated and acceptable.

Note: People disagree. Even within the same country, some support **A**, others support **B**. Still, the policy of the country is what matters officially.

2. The Role of Demography and Data

Deciding language policy depends on the number of immigrants.

E.g. 1 million immigrants in one country vs. 4,730 immigrants in another. A large number demands attention, while a smaller number may result in less action (they're more likely to assimilate). As well as where these immigrants are located exactly. Still, with time, data changes. In 20 years, some immigrants might identify as part of the new society (e.g., regard themselves as German). Language planning must consider how situations shift over time.

Global Language Planning After Colonization

After colonization ended (19th century to mid-20th), many countries gained independence, and many had no written language, and even those with spoken varieties struggled to make decisions about official use. Therefore, with the vernacularization ideology, they chose one local language from many spoken varieties and making it official and standard. This leads to conflict and the need for educators, books, and other resources. So, there is the other ideology, internationalization, that adopts an international language in areas where it did not exist.

Reactions: Some were **with**, and others **against**, adopting a European language. But in both cases, there was one stronger power, the colonizer. After independence, funding and support still depended on the former colonizer, so the easiest way was to continue using the colonizer's language.

Reasons for accepting the colonizer's language:

- 1.** Avoiding conflict.
- 2.** It's an international language.
- 3.** It supports mobility.
- 4.** It provides access to knowledge.
- 5.** It is used in science and technology.

A Variety of Situations around the World

1. France – Assimilationist Policy

French colonization forced others to learn French to be part of the community. Immigrants who wanted to keep their languages must teach their own language at their own cost, find money, resources, and places. Children could be sent to private schools to learn Arabic and religion outside the school circle.

2. Belgium – Pluralism

There were two groups: Walloons (speak French) and Flemish (speak Dutch).

Historically, King William limited Walloon power and promoted Dutch. Later, French dominated because it is more international and used in science books. Dutch was not banned, but seen as a prescribed language at times. The number of French-speakers was less (40% vs. 60%), still French is more powerful, and English was introduced as a third, neutral language in Belgium. (Those who speak Dutch see French as a threat to the national unity).

3. Spain

Three languages are used: Catalan, Castilian (Spanish), and Basque.

Castilian is the official language. Catalan and Basque were banned, then prescribed, due to associations with independence. King Charles later granted freedom to speak these languages. Historically, Catalans didn't speak Catalan around Castilians due to tension.

4. Turkey

After WWI, Turkey no longer wanted ties with the Middle East. In 1928, Kamal Atatürk adopted the Roman alphabet (ABC) to avoid any relationship to Arabic. No objection occurred because **90% of the population was illiterate**, children learned Roman, unaware of previous Arabic script.

Scientific terms from English entered Turkish. The goal was to be **part of the West** and distant from Arabs and Muslims.

The Sun Language Theory

A theory that claimed that all languages came from Turkish. Borrowed terms were seen as originally Turkish, just being taken back.

5. Russia

In 1930, Russia shifted from Cyrillic to Roman and adopted it, like Turkey. Later, returned to Cyrillic to separate Turkish from Muslim minorities in Central Asia. This shift supported a Western identity, avoiding ties with Arabs and Muslims.

Soviet Union

There were over 100 minorities in different regions. Russians Promoted only one language per area to prevent unity with dividing minorities by assigning different languages in different places, using a policy called **Divide and Rule**.

Russification

A policy occurred later where everyone was supposed to speak Russian. It was part of the assimilationist theory by which the Soviet Union controlled satellite countries across Europe. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, countries gained independence. They stopped using Russian and returned to native languages. (Russian is still used in some areas).

6. Finland

Finland is close to Russia and Sweden. In the past, many parts of both countries had no written language, only spoken forms. When Finland gained independence, it wanted to be completely separate from both Sweden and Russia.

In the 19th century, Finland developed an orthography (spelling system), and its unwritten language became written. Within a few years, rules were set, and the language was standardized.

7. India

In India, high-caste (social class) people avoid contact with lower castes, seeking **ritual cleansing** if they do. This idea of purity extends to language. There's an effort to purify Hindi from English, just as Hebrew was purified from Arabic. Hindi, spoken mostly in the North by elites more than commoners in the South, is promoted at the cost of other varieties, leading to their decline.

8. The United States

The US Constitution does not declare English as the official language (same for UK). Yet, English is taken for granted as official because of long-standing practice.

Another widely spoken language in the US is **Spanish**. By 2000, the Hispanic population made up 12%, and 1 out of 6 people in America didn't speak English. Some Hispanics don't know English at all. The US language policy pushes for anglicization, to make everyone speak English. **AAE** is also targeted by that policy; educators consider it deficient, aiming to eliminate it (go to Labov's POV. P59).

There are two views regarding the languages in the US:

- a) Some support bilingualism.
- b) Others support assimilation, including policies like English First. Those who support English-first policies often see multilingualism as a threat to national unity, since English reflects identity.

Winners and Losers

Native Language Distribution and Global Language Shifts

In 1950, the percentages of the world's population speaking certain languages as native speakers were:

English: 9% Spanish: 5% Urdu and Hindi: 5% (counted together) Arabic: 2%

“At that time, Urdu and Hindi were viewed as one language”.

By 2000, the percentage of people speaking English as a native language dropped to 6%, because English speakers started having fewer babies than before. Spanish remained at 5% as well as Urdu and Hindi.

By 2050, it's expected that English, Spanish, and Arabic will each be at 5%, and Urdu will gain more ground than Hindi in speaker numbers

Regardless of these changes, nothing compares to Chinese in size and influence. Meanwhile, languages like Russian, French, Japanese, and German are not thriving the way the others are.

English: Native vs. Non-Native Growth

In 2000, about 25% of the world population spoke English, whether native or non-native, which equaled roughly 2 billion people.

By 2050, this number is expected to reach 3 billion. “N population of it will be about half of the 1950s”.

The native speakers will continue decreasing, and the number of non-native English speakers will rise, making the English use globally expanding “even if its native speakers die, it will continue to thrive”

The most important or thriving languages by 2050 are expected to be Chinese, Arabic, and Spanish.

Why People Study English

People study English for many reasons:

1. Economic reasons, especially science and technology: Over 90% of the world's science is in English. 80% of the world's humanities are also in English.
2. English is a prestigious language.
3. It includes military power, sports, and Hollywood.
4. It has value in the job market, people often find work just by speaking English.
5. English is the lingua franca of the world.

With 3 billion out of 9 billion people speaking English, the spread of the language leads to seeing the world through English, this connects to the Whorfian theory. The result is language hegemony.

The spread of English also leads to different “colors” or varieties of the language, like Indian English, African English, Canadian English, and others.

Who Sets the Rules of English?

There is no definite answer, but two possibilities can happen to the language:

1. Non-native speakers outnumber natives (1.5 billion vs. 350 million) and therefore have the power change the language.
2. Native speakers must adjust to these changes and accept new varieties of English.

Endangered Languages

Endangered language: One that is threatened with extinction if it is not maintained and kept. Languages die when they are no longer used or spoken.

Reasons for Languages Death:

1. **Natural Reasons:** Disasters, epidemics, earthquakes, volcanoes, or any natural phenomena that wipe out a population.
2. **Deliberate Reasons:**
 - a) **Assimilation:** People adopt a new language, lose their identity, and eventually lose their language.
 - b) **Colonization:** Examples include the French, the Americans with Native Americans, and the Russians.
 - c) **Immigration:** Moving to a country where another language dominates can cause language shift.
 - d) **Economic reasons:** People switch languages to get jobs.
 - e) **Education, science, and technology:** Because 90% of the world's science is in English, people adopt it to secure better futures.

English is a **thriving language** (not endangered), because it's a lingua franca, an auxiliary/second language spoken all over the world

There are about 6,912 different languages spoken in the world. Now, 60% of the world's languages are in the process of **language attrition**. By the end of the 21st century, it is expected that 95% of these languages will die (only about 300 languages will remain) since they are no longer used.

A Historical Note: Latin was once a lingua franca, but it died because people stopped using it the way English is used today.

The Hegemony of English

English is considered the most common and dominating language in the world today. It is seen as a **killer language**, because speakers of other languages switch to it for reasons like economics, education, immigration, and assimilation. As a result, minor languages are overtaken, and many become endangered or die out (**Language erosion**)

Preserving endangered languages is the responsibility of native speakers, not governments, especially in developed countries. Immigrants must fund their own efforts, including schools, teachers, and materials.

The future of English

According to a linguist called **Bruthiaux**, **no language will replace English in the 21st century**. He believes English has secured its global position, and unless something dramatic happens, it may continue to thrive for the next 900 years.

Some argue that **Mandarin**, **Arabic**, or **Spanish** could become the next lingua franca, but Bruthiaux insists English remains dominant.

The hegemony of English comes from many types of dominance:

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Political. | 3. Economic. | 5. Imperialism. |
| 2. Cultural. | 4. Scientific. | |

While some see the spread of English as innocent, Bruthiaux and others argue it reflects a deeper imperial agenda, including military, educational, and cultural control. According to this view, **there is nothing innocent** about the global rise of English; its dominance is tied to power.

External Article: What is Discourse Analysis?

Discourse: Anything that is written or spoken and is discussed (language in general).

Discourse analysis: A qualitative method that has been adopted and developed by social constructionists.

Production of knowledge

Discourse is the **production of knowledge** of the language. Knowledge is power. It gives the ability to control and threaten others.

Discourse is not just a philosophy, it is **discursive**. Topics like pidgins and creoles can be discussed from different angles, but all fall under sociolinguistics.

Discourse and Ideology

Discourse always reflects ideology, or what we believe. Our ideology serves the interests of particular groups. Therefore, discourse serves people, shaping and reflecting their beliefs.

There are 3 philosophers

1. Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault, a French philosopher, developed a theory about the **West and the rest**. The West refers to Europe and America (Europeans and Americans), and the rest refers to all other non-European and non-American countries. **He believes that:**

- a) A power relationship exists between the West and the rest. The West sees itself as superior, on top of other nations, with a superior civilization.
- b) Knowledge gives power, and power gives the ability to produce and control discourse, even to the point of reversing truth (e.g., making black seem white). This knowledge could be scientific, technological, educational... etc. With power, one can dictate language, imposing it on others.

Foucault's Two Key Points:

- 1. Discourse is produced by many institutional voices. Gaza is discussed by Palestinians, Israelis, Americans, French, etc., for example.
- 2. He codes the system of discursion that deals with distribute the same knowledge and discourse based on the theory, that western discourse (e.g. English) is positioned as superior/holds a superior status, and the rest is inferior. This view is embedded in systems grounded in Christian ideology, language, culture, and power dynamics (a network of ideologies).

Truth and Ideology in Foucault's View

According to Foucault, Discourse is divided into **truth** = Science, and **False** = Ideology. The ideology is not always true, because what is true for one group may be false for another. It is shaped by values that interact with our social world. According to Foucault, values, or ideologies, interfere with the social world, and power plays an important role in ideology.

Regime of Truth

Michel Foucault talks about the **regime of truth**, he says that power produces it. This means if you possess power, you can shape what is accepted as truth. Power has the ability to turn black into white and white into black, truth into falsity, and falsity into truth. Foucault coined the term regime of truth -by change- to describe this dynamic.

Criticism: **Stuart Hall** criticizes Foucault's hesitation to directly state that discourse serves the interests of specific groups.

2. Stuart Hall

Stuart Hall, a Jamaican-British sociolinguist, says that **discourse is never innocent**, and the language choices individuals or groups make, including the use of English by many independent countries, are not neutral.

Why is discourse not innocent?

1. Colonial imposition of norms

When Europe colonized different parts of the world (the "New World"), they imposed their cultural, linguistic, and educational norms. This meant eliminating existing local norms to fit colonized societies into the colonizers' framework. They also sought to convert the colonized to Christianity, imposing their religious values.

2. Contradictory colonial objectives

Colonizers claimed they came to spread Christianity (the "Word of God"). At the same time, they sought material wealth; gold, silver, and natural resources. This contradiction questions the sincerity of their ideological motives. They also called regions beyond Europe 'beyond the sea'.

3. Perception of superiority

Colonizers viewed themselves as fully human and superior. The rest were placed in a lower, inferior position (not humans), so there was no balanced power dynamic between the two.

3. Edward Said

Edward Said, a Palestinian-American intellectual, analyzes the relationship between the West and the **Middle East**. His main work focuses on how the West constructs an image of the East.

Orientalism

Edward Said talks about **Orientalism**, which is the discourse through which the West (especially French) creates and imposes ideas about the Orient (the east, especially the Middle East). Orientalism analyzes how the West views the East socially, ideologically, militarily, scientifically, and imaginatively.

Key Concepts in Said's Orientalism

1. Europe (the West) produced the concept of the Middle East, called the Orient. This production came through military, ideological, scientific, and cultural dominance.
2. Orientalism exists within the European mindset, images of the East are embedded in how the West perceives and represents the non-west in different perspectives.
3. These representations were shaped in the post-Enlightenment period, when Muslims were said to be in the Dark Ages. During this time, the West had the power to define truth and dictate. The post-Enlightenment period became dominant, lasting even today.

Representation of Orientalism

According to Edward Said, Orientalism was very negative (not neutral) and presented the East as inferior and restricted. The Middle East is **not a free subject**. It is defined within a controlled framework that serves Western interests. To think about the Middle East (inferior), one must think within the terms set (ideologies) by the West (superior).

The Archive of Orientalism

Orientalism is a library, or a vast **archive** of texts. It includes many books and sources written with information about the East. These texts analyze the Middle East socially, psychologically, economically, and even genetically. The analysis often suggests that Middle Eastern people are non-human or inferior.

Sources of common knowledge in the Archive

1. Classical knowledge

The first civilizations emerged in Greece, where philosophy and knowledge developed. Rome conquered Greece but recognized its civilization and adopted Greek knowledge, altering names and concepts. Moreover, **those outside Rome and Greece were considered barbarian**, these 'barbarians' lived in a paradise they didn't deserve, as they failed to recognize its value. Romans justified taking this paradise from the barbarians.

Going back to their knowledge, Arab scholars later translated Greek and Roman texts, preserving classical knowledge, and when Europe entered its Enlightenment, it used this translated information against the Middle East, who had by then entered their own period of decline.

2. religious and biblical sources

The Europeans were Christians; the Middle East was Muslim. Europeans believed that when Jesus was born, three wise men came to him and presented the world to him. Therefore, they saw themselves as heirs to Jesus and claimed the world was theirs, and **justified colonization with the aim of converting non-Christians to Christianity**, especially in Jerusalem that was considered the center of the earth, and its old city had to be Christianized. However, their actions, such as killing and exploiting resources, contradicted the idea of spreading the Word of God.

3. Mythology

Europeans created a mythology about the Middle East. It was portrayed as enchanted, beautiful, more so than Europe. Consequently, Europeans viewed it as their rightful possession. The people living there were seen as beasts unworthy of such a paradise, so their role was to reclaim the land from them.

4. Travelers' tales

European travelers explored different parts of the world and returned with tales. These accounts and tales, though fake, were accepted as absolute truth since no one could verify them. Many of these narratives became part of the archive used to define the East. This archive represents the sources through which information was gathered and structured into a discourse that shaped how the East was viewed. Thus, Western knowledge about the Middle East was shaped not by direct engagement but by pre-existing assumptions reinforced by these tales.

“For the West, knowledge about the East wasn’t sought for understanding or entertainment, but rather to reaffirm existing perceptions”.

Regime of Truth

The regime of truth: Power allowing turning truth into falsity and falsity into truth.

Europeans created knowledge during colonization while Muslims were looked down upon. Because Europe had power, it could believe and spread its version of truth, and some people still believe this version today.

The Role of the Royal Society

About 500 years ago, Britain was extremely powerful and had a magazine called the **Royal Society**. It was the main source of information when most people had no other resources. It published what was accepted as truth, shaping public belief, giving legitimacy to colonial knowledge and ideology.

Although truth became clearer and vivid with advancements in science and technology, many Western ideologies about the East did not change. The ideas of Eastern people as non-human or inferior had already taken root. Travelers had a hand in portraying them like that, and encouraged Europeans to go armed and claim that land through violence. Later on, **the Royal Society made things look more real**, encouraging Europeans to seize land through violence. It also promoted the idea that only European languages enabled thought, while others were merely animal-like communication.