AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS

RONALD WARDHAUGH
AND JANET M. FULLER

EIGHTH EDITION

with website

WILEY Blackwell

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Illustrations

Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics

The books included in this series provide comprehensive accounts of some of the most central and most rapidly developing areas of research in linguistics. Intended primarily for introductory and post-introductory students, they include exercises, discussion points and suggestions for further reading.

1. Liliane Haegeman, *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory* (Second Edition)
2. Andrew Spencer, *Morphological Theory*
3. Helen Goodluck, *Language Acquisition*
4. Martin Atkinson, *Children's Syntax*
5. Diane Blakemore, *Understanding Utterances*
6. Michael Kenstowicz, *Phonology in Generative Grammar*
7. Deborah Schiffrin, *Approaches to Discourse*
8. John Clark, Colin Yallop, and Janet Fletcher, *An Introduction to Phonetics and Phonology* (Third Edition)
9. Natsuko Tsujimura, *An Introduction to Japanese Linguistics* (Third Edition)
10. Robert D. Borsley, *Modern Phrase Structure Grammar*
11. Nigel Fabb, *Linguistics and Literature*
12. Irene Heim and Angelika Kratzer, *Semantics in Generative Grammar*
13. Liliane Haegeman and Jacqueline Guéron, *English Grammar: A Generative Perspective*
14. Stephen Crain and Diane Lillo-Martin, *An Introduction to Linguistic Theory and Language Acquisition*

15. Barbara A. Fennell, *A History of English: A Sociolinguistic Approach*
16. Henry Rogers, *Writing Systems: A Linguistic Approach* Benjamin W. Fortson IV, *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction* (Second Edition)
17. Liliane Haegeman, *Thinking Syntactically: A Guide to Argumentation and Analysis*
18. Mark Hale, *Historical Linguistics: Theory and Method*
19. Bruce Hayes, *Introductory Phonology*
20. Betty J. Birner, *Introduction to Pragmatics*
21. Joan Bresnan, *Lexical-Functional Syntax* (Second Edition)
22. Henning Reetz, Allard Jongman, *Phonetics: Transcription, Production, Acoustics, and Perception* (Second Edition)
23. Ronald Wardhaugh and Janet M. Fuller, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (Eighth Edition)

Forthcoming:

Benjamin W Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction* (Third Edition)

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS

RONALD WARDHAUGH AND JANET M. FULLER

EIGHTH EDITION

WILEY Blackwell

This edition first published 2021

Edition History
Basil Blackwell Ltd (1e 1986); Blackwell Publishers Ltd (2e 1992, 3e 1998, and 4e 2002); Blackwell Publishing Ltd (5e 2006, 6e 2010); Wiley Blackwell (7e 2015)

Registered Offices
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA
John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

Editorial Office
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, customer services, and more information about Wiley products visit us at www.wiley.com .

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats and by print-on-demand. Some content that appears in standard print versions of this book may not be available in other formats.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Wardhaugh, Ronald, author. | Fuller, Janet M., 1962– author.
Title: An introduction to sociolinguistics / Ronald Wardhaugh and Janet M. Fuller.
Description: 8th edition. | Hoboken, NJ : Wiley-Blackwell, 2021. | Series: Blackwell textbooks in linguistics | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2021004384 (print) | LCCN 2021004385 (ebook) | ISBN 9781119473428 (paperback) | ISBN 9781119473497 (adobe pdf) | ISBN 9781119473541 (epub)
Subjects: LCSH: Sociolinguistics.
Classification: LCC P40 .W27 2021 (print) | LCC P40 (ebook) | DDC 306.44–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021004384
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021004385

Cover Design: Wiley
Cover Image: © ivector/Shutterstock

List of Figures

List of Tables

Acknowledgments

I did the bulk of this eighth edition in the first half of 2020, during the beginning of the Covid-19 crisis, which included sheltering with six other family members (three human, three canine) in my house, which was a bit too small for the seven of us. Embedded in the craziness of these times was also the stimulating environment of living with my three mentors for understanding contemporary culture. Our conversations often revolved around many of the issues of social inequality and power abuse which were put into sharp focus in these months. I am sure that many of my readers spent many hours, as we did, reading and discussing the many horrible developments of this time, and taking the edge off the despair by laughing at memes. The intensity of this situation is seen overtly in only a few moments of this book, but it arguably has permeated all of my writing. For this I owe a great debt of thanks to Indigo Nathani, Jayden Nathani and Niko Johnson-Fuller. In addition to providing me with new perspectives and ideas, they also read sections of the book and offered invaluable feedback. Niko has long acted as my youth culture/technology support staff and continued in that role for this book. (If what I’ve included is nonetheless cringey, he’s not to blame.)

My co-workers Zorro Montenegro de Alemania, Guadalupe Runter vom Sofa, and Biene Fetzt also deserve a mention. Although their demands for walks sometimes seemed a burden, ultimately they helped us to stay sane.

Although this book was finished in the age of the corona, I started it much earlier. I signed a contract shortly before moving to Groningen in 2017, and while taking on this new position delayed work on the book, it also provided me with a fabulous context within which to grow as a sociolinguist. I know ‘fabulous’ is a strange word to use for the workplace, but there really is not a more appropriate word for my colleagues here. Especially the members of the Language & Society team, but all of the members of the European Languages and Cultures program, as well as many valuable colleagues in the Center for Language and Cognition in Groningen, have made my job a pleasure and provided me with a rich intellectual environment.

The field of sociolinguistics is increasingly concerned with issues of power and inequality, and as these issues become central, more and more sociolinguists are reflective about the history of the field and how we have brought our own biases to the study of language in society. I am proud to be part of a field that is addressing important social issues and doing the difficult work of reflexivity, while I am also aware that there is much room for improvement, in the field and in this book. Many of the chapter reviewers were helpful in pointing out my own anglophone, binary, and Western biases; while I fear these biases are still present in this book, the extent to which I have succeeded in being more inclusive is due to the excellent feedback I got from reviewers. In addition, they provided input on the content to make this up-to-date and accurate. (Any errors are, of course, my own.) For reviews of book chapters I would like to thank Charlotte Gooskens, Marina Terkouafi, Tony Webster, Itxaso Rodriguez-Ordonez, Farzad Karimzad, Aurelie Joubert, Eva Daussa, Emily Davis, Lotte Verheijen, Joana Duarte, and Nanna Hilton. I literally could not have finished the book without their help. I would also like to thank Stefan Dollinger for helpful comments on various chapters which helped improve the content and text.

A special thanks goes to Itxaso Rodriguez-Ordonez, who, in addition to offering feedback on two chapters of the book, also discussed the book proposal for this eighth edition with me prior to its submission, providing many ideas about topics to include and how to re-package some of the information already included. Her input on this was invaluable.

I would also like to thank Roberto Barrios and Kelly McGuire for their insider expertise and advice in the making of Exploration 1.3.

I also owe a continued thanks to the first author, Ronald Wardhaugh, and the editors and staff at Wiley Blackwell, who have made this book possible.

About the Companion Website

This book is accompanied by companion websites for students and instructors.

www.wiley.com/go/wardhaugh8e

The instructor website includes the following information for each chapter:

- Discussion points
- Solutions and sample answers to explorations and exercises

The student website includes the following resources for each chapter:

- Review guide: summry, compare and contrast exercises, review questions, terms to know
- Additional exercises and examples
- Links to online resources

1
Introduction

KEY TOPICS

- What makes a system of communication a language
- What it means to 'know' a language
- How language varies across language users and within the language use of one person
- The social construction of identities
- The relationship between language and culture
- How to define and delineate the study of sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is the study of our everyday lives – how we use language in, for example, our conversations or social media interactions, and how this language use is influenced by the presence of societal norms, policies, and laws which address language. Since you are reading this book, you may already have some idea what the study of sociolinguistics entails; you may already have an interest in, and knowledge about, regional dialects, multilingualism, language policy, or non-sexist language. And we will cover all of these topics, along with many others – for example, what social class and ethnicity might have to do with language use, why we do not always 'say what we mean,' and the role of language in education.

But we would like to encourage readers to approach the study of sociolinguistics not only as an empirical approach to studying language and society, but as a way of viewing the world around you. In sociolinguistics, we seek to analyze data so that we can make generalizations about language in society, but also to question both our findings and the very process of doing research. Take, for instance, the topic of nicknames. There is a stereotype that men use nicknames and women do not, exemplified in the following joke:

> If Diana, Natalie, Naomi, and Maria meet for lunch, they will call each other Diana, Natalie, Naomi, and Maria. But if Matt, Peter, Kirk, and Scott go out for a brewsky, they will call each other Dutch, Dude, Doofus, and Pencil.

We could investigate this sociolinguistic phenomenon by surveying people about their nicknames and also observing or recording interactions in which they are addressed by close friends and family members. We might find, indeed, that the men in our study are often called nicknames, while the women rarely are. But we would like to go deeper than this generalization; why do we ask this question in the first place? Why do we assume that the categories of ‘men’ and ‘women’ are socially relevant? What is it about nicknames that makes using them, or not using them, significant social behavior? And even if most men are called by a nickname and most women are not, how do we explain the existence of individual men who do not have nicknames, and the individual women who do?

Thus, while in sociolinguistics we analyze linguistic interactions with the goal of making generalizations, we also question these generalizations and examine how they, in turn, influence how we use language. In short, the goal of sociolinguistics is not to make simple observations (e.g., men call each other nicknames, women do not) but to study the complex ways in which societal norms are intertwined with our language use (e.g., what it means to be a male or female member of a particular society may influence the terms we use to address each other).

We will come back to these points repeatedly: language, society, and sociolinguistic research findings must all be viewed in their social contexts, interpreted, and redefined. To begin, however, we will offer a starting point for discussing language in society. By society, we mean a group of people who are drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes; this is a rather vague and broad term, and throughout this book we will be engaged in discussing how to draw meaningful boundaries around a group of language users for the purposes of studying their language (see in particular chapter 3). We use the term language to mean a system of linguistic communication; this includes spoken, written, and signed modes of communication. A note here about terminology: although the majority of the research we will refer to is on spoken language, there is an increasing number of studies looking at written discourse (especially from social media) and we also do not wish to exclude those who communicate through signed languages. Thus, we will use the term 'language user' instead of the more commonly used term 'speaker' as a general term.

The main idea we would like to convey here is that language is inherently social. A society must have a language or languages in which to carry out its purposes, and we label groups of people with reference to how they communicate – e.g., *Spanish speakers* , *bilinguals* , *American Sign Language users* . This connection is inevitable and complex; our purpose here is to study the relationship between language and society in more specific ways which help us more clearly define and understand both the social groups and the ways they speak.

In this introductory chapter, we will present some of the basic concepts in the field of sociolinguistics: what defines a language, what it means to 'know' a language, the nature of differences across and within languages, the importance of social group membership in language use, and different ideas about the relationship between the worldviews of these groups and the languages they use. Further, we will provide a brief discussion of how sociolinguistics draws on ideas from a variety of disciplines for key concepts and approaches to the study of language.

The Nature of Language

A mainstay of introduction to linguistics textbooks (see for example Yule 2017) is a discussion of the nature of language and, often, how it differs from animal communication. Although the human ability to learn language is innate, a person learns a language through contact with others and thus language is **culturally transmitted** – an idea which is at the heart of sociolinguistics. Other features include **discreteness** , **productivity** , and **displacement** , which can be used to distinguish between non-linguistic means of communication such as gestures and language. Another important feature is that the relationship between the form and meaning of a linguistic sign is **arbitrary** ; aside from a few onomatopoetic words, such as words for animal sounds (e.g., *meow* , *moo*), the form (including both the sound and the way it might be written) of a morpheme is not derived from its meaning, or vice versa. We see evidence for the arbitrariness of the form–meaning relationship in the presence of synonyms within languages (e.g., *sofa* , *couch*) as well as the fact that words from different languages may have drastically different forms but still have the same meaning (e.g., English *love* , Swahili *kupenda*).

By examining how language works in its social context, sociolinguistics has greatly advanced our understanding of the relationship between signs and their meanings. The philosopher Peirce (Hartshorne et al.1931) suggested a three-way typology of signs. A **symbol** is a sign which has developed a conventional meaning; for example, a heart shape indicates love. There is nothing about this shape which inherently leads to this interpretation; it is simply a correspondence which has grown out of use. As noted above, linguistic signs are generally symbols, that is, we understand them because of conventionalized meanings, not because of any ‘natural’ connection between the sign and its meaning. An **icon** is a sign which in some way resembles the object it refers to, such as a map. Although linguistic signs are not generally held to be iconic, particular varieties may be seen as having an iconic relationship with the people who use them (see chapter 3 for a discussion of this in the section on language ideologies). An **index** is something which ‘points to’ something – such as literal pointing with your finger to indicate what you are referring to, or the commonly used example of smoke indexing fire. Smoke does not resemble fire, but since the two often co-occur, we associate them with each other (as shown in the idiom ‘when there’s smoke there’s fire’). The concept of indexicality is one which has drawn great interest in sociolinguistics. Put simply, certain varieties often come to index certain types of language users; thus indexicality is inherently a central aspect of the study of language in society. We will expand on the use of this concept in sociolinguistics in the next chapter.

Knowledge of Language

As mentioned in the last section, language is culturally transmitted, and while the ability to learn a language is innate, we are not born knowing a particular language, nor are we genetically pre-dispositioned to speak a certain variety, but we learn the language(s) we are exposed to. The system (or the grammar, to use a well-known technical term) is something that each language user ‘knows,’ but two very important issues for linguists are (1) just what that knowledge comprises and (2) how we may best characterize it.

In practice, linguists do not find it at all easy to write grammars because the knowledge that people have of the languages they speak is extremely hard to describe. Anyone who knows a language knows much more about that language than is contained in any grammar book that attempts to describe the language. One of the issues here is that grammar books tend to be written as **prescriptive** works; that is, they seek to outline the standardized language and how it ‘should’ be spoken. What sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropologists do is provide **descriptive** grammars of languages, which describe, analyze, and explain how and why people actually speak their languages.

One example of this difference can be found in the *less/fewer* distinction. Prescriptively, *less* should be used with non-count nouns, such as water, rice, or money; *fewer* is used with count nouns (or noun phrases) such as drops of water, grains of rice, or pesos. So something may be worth *less money* , but it costs *fewer pesos* . Descriptively, however, this distinction does not hold; *less* is often used with count nouns. For example, it is common in the US to see signs in grocery stores indicating that certain cashier lines are for patrons with 'ten items or less,' although 'item' is clearly a count noun. Chances are you will also hear people saying things like *there were less students present today than yesterday* . While some speakers do still adhere to the *less/fewer* distinction, it is being lost in some varieties.

Linguistics are aware of prescriptive rules of language as dictated in reference grammars, and they are not irrelevant in sociolinguistics; as we will discuss below, language ideologies are also an important part of how language functions in society. However, in the study of language, linguists focus on descriptive grammar, that is, the rules inside the heads of language users which constitute their knowledge of how to use the language. This knowledge includes underlying rules and principles which allow us to produce new utterances, to know both what it is possible to say and what it is not possible to say. Most language users can't articulate these rules, but know how to apply them. It is this shared knowledge that becomes the abstraction of a language, which is often seen as something which exists independent of language users. How this knowledge is used by language users is the core of sociolinguistics. In the following sections, we will explore the ways in which sociolinguists and linguist anthropologists have conceptualized language and its users.

Competence and performance

Confronted with the task of trying to describe the grammar of a language like English, many linguists follow the approach associated with Chomsky, who distinguishes between what he has called **competence** and **performance** . He claims that it is the linguist's task to characterize what language users know about their language, that is, their competence, not what they do with their language, that is, their performance. The best-known characterization of this distinction comes from Chomsky himself (1965, 3–4) in words which have been extensively quoted:

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker–listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance. This seems to me to have been the position of the founders of modern general linguistics, and no cogent reason for modifying it has been offered. To study actual linguistic performance, we must consider the interaction of a variety of factors, of which the underlying competence of the speaker–hearer is only one. In this respect, study of language is no different from empirical investigation of other complex phenomena.

However, it is exactly the interaction of social and linguistics factors that interests Labov, arguably the most influential figure in sociolinguistics in the last sixty or so years. He maintains (2006, 380) that 'the linguistic behavior of individuals cannot be understood without knowledge of the communities that they belong to.' This is the focus of sociolinguistics, and what makes it different from Chomskyan linguistics. We are primarily concerned with real language in use (what Chomsky calls performance), not the language of some ideal language user (i.e., an idealized competence). This distinction is reflected in methodological differences; syntacticians such as Chomsky will often use **grammatical judgments** to get at competence, while sociolinguists tend to use actual language production (see Part II for discussions of sociolinguistic methodologies).

Further, the knowledge which underlies language production, or performance, is more than just knowledge of grammar; language users must also know social norms for how to use a language – when it is appropriate to speak or to be silent, what topics are acceptable, what form of a question is appropriate to use with a friend versus your boss. There is thus another kind of competence, sometimes called **communicative competence** . This means knowing social rules for communication. These rules are often linked to language, but are also community-specific. Communicative competence can be independent of grammatical competence; that is, someone may understand the form of the questions ‘What’s up?’ but not understand that this is a greeting, showing grammatical competence but a gap in communicative competence. The reverse may also be true; for instance a second language learner might use a polite form as dictated by the norms of a community, but not use prescriptively correct word order.

Exploration 1.1 Grammatical Judgments

Here are a number of statements that can be 'tagged' to make them into questions. Add a tag question to each with the tag you would be most likely to use and also add any other tags you might also use or think others might use. If you wouldn't use a tag question in this context, is there some other means for seeking confirmation, such as the use of *right?* or *okay?* which sounds more natural to you?

See (1) for an example of a potential answer. Indicate for each example which tag you believe to be the prescriptively 'correct' tag, or if you might associate certain tags only with certain types of speakers. Compare your results with those of others who do this task. If there are differences in your answers, how can you explain them? Do such differences challenge the idea of a shared communicative competence?

1. He's ready, *isn't he?*

   Other possible tags: 'innit,' 'ain't he.'

   Prescriptively 'correct' tag: 'isn't he.'
2. I might see you next week, ... ?
3. No one goes there any more, ... ?
4. Either John or Mary did it, ... ?
5. Few people know that, ... ?
6. You don't want to come with us, ... ?
7. I have a penny in my purse, ... ?
8. I'm going right now, ... ?
9. The baby cried, ... ?
10. The girl saw no one, ... ?

Variation

The competence–performance distinction just mentioned is one that holds intriguing possibilities for work in linguistics, but it is one that has also proved to be quite troublesome, because the performance of different language users, and the same person in different contexts, can vary quite a lot. For instance speakers in some areas of the Midwestern United States might utter sentences such as 'The car needs washed' while others would say 'The car needs to be washed' or 'The car needs washing.' Further, an individual speaker might use all three of these constructions at different times. (These different structures for expressing the same meaning are called **variants** ; we will explain this term and how it is used in more detail below.) For sociolinguists, this **linguistic variation** is a central topic, and a core belief is that variation in language is socially meaningful. There is variation across language users, that is, reflections of different ways that people use a language in different regions or social groups, but also variation within the language use of a single person. No one uses language the same way all the time, and people constantly exploit variation within the languages they know for a wide variety of purposes. The consequence is a kind of paradox: while many linguists would like to view any language as a homogeneous entity, so that they can make the strongest possible theoretical generalizations, in actual fact that language will exhibit considerable internal variation. One claim we will be making throughout this book is that variation is an inherent characteristic of all languages at all times, and the patterns exhibited in this variation carry social meanings. (See the link to a website which provides an overview of the field, the sociolinguistics page for the PBS series *Do You Speak American* , in the materials associated with chapter 1 in the web guide to this textbook.) Thus, sociolinguistics is concerned with language not as an abstraction, but in the forms in which it is used.

Variation can occur on all linguistic levels, including lexical, phonetic, or morphosyntactic features. Lexical variation is exemplified by different words for the same thing – for instance, while Canadians go to the *washroom* , their US neighbors often say they are headed for the *bathroom* or the *restroom* , while elsewhere in the English-speaking world, people use the *toilet* or the *loo* . Phonetic variation has to do with different pronunciations, for example, the pronunciation of words such as *playing* with a final - *in’* (alveolar nasal) or - *ing* (velar nasal). *The car needs washed/washing* example above shows morphosyntactic variation; a further example of morphological variation is the use or non-use of verbal -s marking on third person singular verbs, e.g., *he plays* versus *he play* . These examples illustrate variation associated with different social meanings (a topic which will be taken up in the next chapter) – *washroom/bathroom/toilet/loo* and *needs washed/washing* are examples of regional variation, - *in’/-ing* variation has to do with the level of formality, and the use or non-use of verbal - *s* is part of standardized and non-standardized varieties of English. But of course, a single speaker might also use all of these variants, especially the phonetic and morphological variants. Certainly every English speaker has said both *playin’* and *playing* in different contexts!

Further, while there is considerable variation in the speech of any one individual, there are also definite bounds to that variation: no individual is free to do just exactly as they please so far as language is concerned. You cannot pronounce words with random sounds, inflect or not inflect words such as nouns and verbs arbitrarily, or make drastic alterations in word order in sentences as the mood suits you. If you do any or all of these things, the results will be unacceptable, even gibberish. The variation you are permitted has limits (at least if you want to be understood!), and these limits can be described with considerable accuracy. For instance, although most of us would say ‘the cow jumped over the fence,’ we can say, ‘It is the fence that the cow jumped over,’ which is comprehensible if somewhat stilted; but most people would agree that ‘the fence jumped the cow over’ does not follow English word order rules and is largely incomprehensible. Most language users know what utterances are part of the language – or at least their variety of the language – although they do not usually know the linguistic rules; such explanations are the job of linguists!

Our task will be one of trying to specify the norms of linguistic behavior that exist in particular groups and then trying to account for individual behavior in terms of these norms. This task is particularly interesting because most people have no conscious awareness of how their linguistic behavior is conditioned by social norms. We will also see how the variation we find in language allows changes to occur over time and often points to the direction of change. A living language not only varies, it changes.

Exploration 1.2 Variation in Greetings

How do you greet your friends, your family, your colleagues, your professors and your acquaintances? Are there different verbal exchanges as well as different embodied practices (e.g., kissing, hugging, shaking hands, doing a fist bump)? Does the situation matter – that is, do you greet your family differently if you have not seen them for a long time, or friends in different ways depending on whether you run into each other by accident on campus or if you are meeting for dinner? Are there ways of greeting, either that you use or that you do not use, that index membership in particular groups? Are there ways of greeting that you find inappropriate – in general, or for particular addressees or in particular situations? Compare your own repertoires and practices with those of the other students in your class.

Variants and the linguistic variable

We discussed variants above, saying that variants are different forms which largely mean the same thing; we could also say that they are different forms which can be used in the same environment. A **linguistic variable** is a linguistic item which has identifiable variants. For instance, the variation between *washroom* , *bathroom* , *toilet* and *loo* gives us four lexical variants. Another example which has been studied extensively is the vowel system of US English (e.g., Gordon 2002), including, for example, the production of words such as *cot* and *caught* – some people pronounce these two words the same, while others use distinct vowels.

These examples show that there are at least two basically different kinds of variation. One is of the kind with distinct variants, such as different lexical items. The other kind of variation is a matter of degree; pronunciation of vowels is not binary but includes production on a continuum within the vowel space.

An important principle in the analysis of variants is the **principle of accountability** , which holds that if it is possible to define a variable as a closed set of variants, all of the variants (including non-occurrence if relevant) must be counted. That is, the analysis is done by identifying all of the environments where the variable could occur, and then seeing which variants are used. Take, for example, the study of third person singular -s marking. Some speakers of English have variation between this marker and a **null variant** (e.g., *she goes* and *she go* may both be used). To study this, you would look at all contexts with a third person singular subject. While this principle applies to grammatical variables in general, for pragmatically motivated variables such as discourse markers (e.g., *you know* , *well*) the principle of accountability cannot be applied, as there are no mandatory environments for such particles. As we will see in Part II, the features of language studied is an important consideration when choosing a research methodology.

Language Users and Their Groups: Identities

In order to talk about how people use language, we must talk about both individuals and groups, together with the relationships between people within and across groups. One of the current ways of thinking about this focuses on language user identities. The term **identity** has been used in a variety of ways in both the social sciences and lay speech. In current social theory, identities are not seen as fixed attributes of people or groups but are dynamically constructed aspects which emerge through social behavior, including but not limited to language use. Although we do look at identities of individuals, what we are primarily concerned with is *social* identity: 'Identity is defined as the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories' (Kroskrity 2000 , 111).

In such a view, identities are not preconceived categorical affiliations such as 'male' or 'female' but nuanced ways of being that we construct; while we may indeed reference such categories, our identities are not simply a matter of listing demographic identifiers (e.g., 'single white female, 45, architect, nature lover'). So while a speaker may introduce a comment by saying *As a mother …*, thus explicitly referencing this aspect of her identity, what will emerge is a more nuanced picture of what type of mother she is – for example, protective, feminist, one who encourages independence, one who is concerned with the upward mobility of her children. Named social categories such as 'single mother' or 'helicopter parent' are not our identities but concepts we use to construct our identities.

Further, our identities are fluid and we do not have a single identity but multiple levels of identity, and shifting and sometimes even conflicting identities which emerge in different contexts. To continue the example above, the speaker may reference her identity as a mother but then also focus on how she identifies strongly with her profession and struggles to balance this with the demands of parenthood; this may be intertwined with her gender identity and her social class identity. In another conversation, this same person might use particular lexical items to focus on her regional affiliation to construct a different aspect of her identity, and to align herself with an interlocutor who shares this background. Thus, the identities we construct are constantly shifting, and also at different levels, from macro-categories such as ‘woman’ or ‘southerner’ to interactional positionings such as alignment.

Likewise, group identity categories are constantly being negotiated. What it means to be the member of a particular social category (e.g., ‘gay,’ ‘educated,’ ‘Latinx’) may vary over time, space, and situation, and how particular language users identify with or are assigned to these categories may also vary. We will revisit this concept of multiple identities throughout this text because it is highly relevant to our study of language in society.

So far, we have said that the term ‘society’ refers to a group of people unified through some purpose; other concepts such as ‘speech community,’ ‘social network,’ and ‘community of practice’ will be found in the pages that follow (see especially sections devoted to these concepts in chapter 3). We will see how these are useful if we wish to refer to groups of various kinds, since it is among groups that individuals form relationships or reject connections with others. The groups can be long-lasting or temporary, large or small, close-knit or casual, and formally or informally organized. This is, therefore, another level of complexity we must acknowledge in the pages that follow as we refer to ‘middle class,’ ‘women,’ ‘speakers of Haitian Creole,’ ‘teenagers,’ and so on. We must remember that these categorizations also have a process side to them: all must be enacted, performed, or reproduced in order to exist. Socioeconomic class, gender, language background, and age are only important aspects of our identities and groups if we choose to organize our lives in that way; in some contexts they may not be salient social categories and we may instead see ourselves as members of groups based on racial identification, sexual orientation, national belonging, or membership of a particular formal social group (e.g., a choir, a professional association, or a fox hunting club).

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) provide a framework for the analysis of the linguistic construction of social identities. Central to this framework are the ideas of identity as emergent in interaction and encompassing different aspects of identity, simultaneously but also varying across interactions. In chapters 7 and 8 , in our discussions of interactional sociolinguistics and multilingual discourse, we will return to this framework to discuss the linguistic means through which identities are constructed. In this introduction to the study of identities, the main point we wish to stress is the concept of identities as relational, which is inherent in group membership. Bucholtz and Hall note that the construction of identities is not done in a vacuum, but has to do with the relationships between self and other. Similarity and difference are thus central to the process of identity construction. For example, two people may construct themselves as similar in their identities as cycling enthusiasts by using jargon specific to that group (see Exploration 1.3 below). However, another participant in the conversation may construct difference in identity by avoiding such jargon or using words such as 'thingamajig' or 'whatchamacallit' to refer to bike parts. Another aspect of identity which has been the focus of sociolinguistic studies is authenticity (e.g., Jones 2011 ; Mason Carris 2011 ; Shenk 2008 ; Westinen 2014). These studies show that language is used to construct authenticity not just in linguistic groups but also in ethnic categories, sexuality groups, or in groups related to expertise and activity, such as hip-hop artists. Thus, the construction of the social identities is inherently also about the construction of social groups in terms of boundaries and membership.

Exploration 1.3 Identities

Members of cycling communities have a lexicon to refer to their social activities which is not shared with outsiders. Below is a list of terminology. What observations about group norms can you make based on these terms? What aspects of identity are constructed through the use of these terms, beyond simply being an avid cyclist?

Taking a pull: riding in the front of the line of cyclists and breaking the wind resistance

Wheel sucker: someone who drafts and never takes a pull

To hammer: pedaling hard

Hammerhead (pejorative): someone who likes to hammer a lot

Crit (abbreviation for criterium): a competition on a short distance course where cyclists do laps

Prime: prizes in a crit

Sandbagging: racing a category beneath one's abilities to get a prime

Granny gear: lowest gear

Off the back: getting left behind by the group

On your wheel: riding close to the cyclist in front of you (often used to describe someone's strategy in competition)

Clydesdale: a male cyclist over 220 pounds or a female cyclist over 160 pounds

Do you have any social groups which have specific lexicons and, if so, what are the consequences of using or not using these terms in ingroup or outgroup interactions?

Language and Culture

There is a tradition of study in linguistic anthropology which addresses the relationship between language and **culture** . By 'culture' in this context we do not mean 'high culture,' that is, the appreciation of music, literature, the arts, and so on. Rather, we adopt Goodenough's well-known definition (1957, 167): 'a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and to do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves.' Such knowledge is socially acquired: the necessary behaviors are learned and do not come from any kind of genetic endowment. Culture, therefore, is the 'knowhow' that a person must possess to get through the task of daily living; for language use, this is similar to the concept of communicative competence we introduced above. The key issue addressed here is the nature of the relationship between a specific language and the culture in which it is used. Of course, we must recognize that cultural norms are not static; they change over time and what is 'normal' is constantly negotiated by members of a society. Thus they do not just vary over space, but also over time.

Directions of influence

There are several possible relationships between language and culture. One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behavior. Certain evidence may be adduced to support this view. For instance, given the evidence of the **age-grading** phenomenon (i.e., young children speak differently from older children, and, in turn, children speak differently from mature adults), we could argue that the social organization of age groups influences the language used in these groups. Another possible piece of evidence for this direction of influence is studies which show that the varieties of language that people use reflect such matters as their regional, social, or ethnic origin and possibly even their gender. In both cases it might be that social structures account for – possibly even determine – linguistic differences.

A second possibility is directly opposed to the first: linguistic structure and/or behavior may either influence or determine social structure or **worldview** . This is the view that is behind the **Whorfian hypothesis** , which we will discuss in more detail in the next section. Such a view is behind certain proposed language reforms: if we change the language we can change social behavior, for example, a deliberate reduction in sexist language not only reflects a desire to combat sexism, but is also aimed at raising consciousness about the prevalence of sexist attitudes.

A third possible relationship is that the influence is bi-directional: language and society may influence each other. Certain language reforms can also be seen as relying on this perspective; the reforms are made because of changes in societal norms, for example, awareness that generic 'he' is not inclusive may increase the power of women and girls, enabling them to claim inclusion. Consequently, language change and a greater awareness of gender equality co-occur, hand in glove as it were.

A fourth possibility is to assume that there is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of the other. A variant of this possibility would be to say that, although there might be some such relationship, present attempts to characterize it are essentially premature or unproveable, given what we know about both language and society.

The Whorfian hypothesis

The claim that the structure of a language influences how its users view the world is today most usually associated with the linguist Sapir and his student Whorf, a chemical engineer by training, a fire prevention engineer by vocation, and a linguist by avocation. However, it can be traced back to others, particularly to Humboldt in the nineteenth century. Today, the claim is usually referred to as ‘Linguistic Determinism,’ the ‘Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis,’ the ‘Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis,’ or the ‘Whorfian Hypothesis.’ We will use the last term since the claim seems to owe much more to Whorf than to anyone else.

Sapir acknowledged the close relationship between language and culture, maintaining that they were inextricably related so that you could not understand or appreciate the one without a knowledge of the other. Whorf took up Sapir’s ideas but went much further than saying that there was merely a ‘predisposition’; in Whorf’s view the relationship between language and culture was a deterministic one; the social categories we create and how we perceive events and actions are constrained by the language we speak. Different language users will therefore experience the world differently insofar as the languages they speak differ structurally.

One claim is that if users of one language have certain words to describe things and users of another language lack similar words, then users of the first language will find it easier to talk about those things. We can see how this might be the case if we consider the technical vocabulary of any trade, calling, or profession; for example, physicians talk more easily about medical phenomena than those without medical training because they have the vocabulary to do so. A stronger claim is that, if one language makes distinctions that another does not make, then those who use the first language will more readily perceive the relevant differences in their environment. If you must classify camels, boats, and automobiles in certain ways, you will perceive camels, boats, and automobiles differently from someone who is not required to make these differentiations. If your language classifies certain material objects as long and thin and others as roundish, you will perceive material objects that way; they will fall quite ‘naturally’ into those classes for you.

This extension into the area of grammar could be argued to be a further strengthening of Whorf’s claim, since classification systems pertaining to shape, substance, gender, number, time, and so on are both more subtle and more pervasive. Their effect is much stronger on language users than vocabulary differences alone. The strongest claim of all is that the grammatical categories available in a particular language not only help the users of that language to perceive the world in a certain way but also at the same time limit such perception. They act as blinkers: you perceive only what your language allows you, or predisposes you, to perceive. Your language controls your worldview. Users of different languages will, therefore, have different worldviews. (This idea also appears in popular culture; for instance, we can see it in a strong form in the science fiction movie *Arrival* , in which those who learn the aliens' language also acquire the ability to see the future and past.)

Whorf's work on Native American languages led him to make his strongest claims. He contrasted the linguistic structure of Hopi with the kinds of linguistic structure he associated with languages such as English, French, German, and so on, that is, familiar European languages. He saw these languages as sharing so many structural features that he named this whole group of languages Standard Average European (SAE). According to Whorf, Hopi and SAE differ widely in their structural characteristics. For example, Hopi grammatical categories provide a 'process' orientation toward the world, whereas the categories in SAE give SAE users a fixed orientation toward time and space. In SAE, events occur, have occurred, or will occur, in a definite time, that is, present, past, or future; to users of Hopi, what is important is whether an event can be warranted to have occurred, or to be occurring, or to be expected to occur. Whorf believed that these differences lead users of Hopi and SAE to view the world differently. The Hopi see the world as essentially an ongoing set of processes; time is not apportioned into fixed segments so that certain things recur, for example, minutes, mornings, and days. In contrast, users of SAE regard nearly everything in their world as discrete, measurable, countable, and recurrent; time and space do not flow into each other;

mornings recur in twenty-four-hour cycles; and past, present, and future are factual ways of viewing events. (We should note that Malotki (1983) has pointed out that some of Whorf's claims about the grammatical structure of Hopi are either dubious or incorrect, for example, Hopi, like SAE, does have verbs that are inflected for tense.)

Deutscher (2010a , 2010b) has revisited the Whorf hypothesis, noting some of the obvious problems with this hypothesis: 'If the inventory of readymade words in your language determined which concepts you were able to understand, how would you ever learn anything new?' However, he further discusses some recent research which provides evidence for the connection between language and worldview. One example is that users of a remote Australian aboriginal tongue, Guugu Yimithirr, from north Queensland, do not make use of any egocentric coordinates (i.e., deictic words such as 'left,' 'right,' 'behind,' 'in front of') but instead rely solely on the cardinal directions of east, west, north, and south. Research on this language prompted recognition of the same phenomenon in languages of other far-flung places such as Bali, Namibia, and Mexico. Deutscher uses this research not to make strong claims about linguistic determinism, but to urge readers to recognize linguistic relativity, advising us that 'as a first step toward understanding one another, we can do better than pretending we all think the same.'

More recently, McWhorter (2014) argued against the Whorf hypothesis, with a book written for a popular audience titled *The Language Hoax: Why the World Looks the Same in Any Language* . His main point seems to be that the differences between groups are cultural, and not determined by language. This book has not been well received by linguistic anthropologists, as can be seen in Webster's (2015) review. Nonetheless, a shared perspective seems to be a rejection of the neo-Whorfian interest of experimentally testing differences of perception across users of different languages. McWhorter's point is that if there is an effect of language on thought, it is minor; Webster's is that different languages have different poetic potentials and this, and not some abstract idea about 'thought,' is what is interesting about the influence of language on our worldview. In the next section, we will move on from the question of the direction of influence to the discussion of the nature of connections between linguistic features and social variables in sociolinguistic research.

Exploration 1.4 Translatability

If you speak more than one language or dialect, are there certain words or phrases which you feel you cannot translate into Standard English? What are these words or phrases – are they simply words for things which are not part of the cultures of the English-speaking world, or concepts or idioms not found in English? What does the view of particular words as 'untranslatable' indicate about the connection between language and worldview?

Correlations

It is possible to claim a relationship between the use of certain features of language and social structure, and such correlational studies have long formed a significant part of sociolinguistic work. Gumperz (1971 , 223) has observed that sociolinguistics is an attempt to find correlations between social structure and linguistic structure and to observe any changes that occur. The approach to sociolinguistics which focuses on such correlations and the quantitative analysis of them is often called **variationist sociolinguistics** , and the theory and methodology of this will be discussed in chapter 5 .

It is important to note that correlation only shows a relationship between two variables; it does not show causation. To find that X and Y are related is not necessarily to discover that X causes Y (or Y causes X). For example, to find that female language users use more standard features than male language users in a given community does not prove that being female causes someone to speak in a more standard manner (see chapter 5 for a discussion of how such findings have been interpreted, and chapter 11 for a broader discussion of language and gender). We must always exercise caution when we attempt to draw conclusions from such relationships.

As noted by Eckert (2012), although first and second wave variationist sociolinguistic studies focused on such correlations of specific variables and static social categories, third wave variation study embraces the ideas about language as a means for constructing social identities, not reflecting them (see chapter 5 for a deeper discussion of the three waves of research). These different ideas about the role of language in society, and society in language, reflect the multiple influences from different academic fields of study on contemporary sociolinguistics; this is the topic of the next section.

The Interdisciplinary Legacy of Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics has grown out of ideas presented by scholars from different traditions, most notably linguistics, sociology, and anthropology, although some key figures in its development also came from the field of education (see Wodak et al. 2011 for a more detailed overview of this). There is a general distinction between **micro-sociolinguistics** and **macro-sociolinguistics** (which has also been called the sociology of language). In this distinction, macro-sociolinguistics includes such topics as language policy and planning, societal patterns of language use (especially in multilingual contexts) and intercultural communication, while micro-sociolinguistics looks, as the name implies, at the smaller details of interactions – the structure of conversation, the use of specific linguistic variables and their variants, and the variation of these aspects of language across different social contexts.

A further distinction which is sometimes made is that between sociolinguistics and **linguistic anthropology** . A number of scholars (Duranti 2003 ; Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 2008 ; Bucholtz and Hall 2008) have noted the fuzziness of the distinction between these two fields, arguing that there is considerable overlap in theory, themes, methodologies, and history. Ethnography of communication (which will be discussed in detail in chapter 6) has long been an area of overlap between these two fields (and others); this approach examines languages as a system of cultural behavior. Current approaches to the study of identities and language ideologies also blur the distinction between sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. In chapter 6 , we will discuss several ethnographic approaches which focus on language in society, including ethnography of communication. This is qualitative research and thus methodologically very different from quantitative variationist work; it also tends to address the question of the social meaning of language use less in terms of correlation with the social categories associated with the language user, and more in terms of how people use language to carry out their social lives (including but not limited to positioning themselves as members of particular social categories). Further, other approaches to discourse analysis (the broad term used to discuss methods that look at language use at a level beyond the utterance) which have similar aims will be introduced in chapter 7 .

There is also a growing amount of work originally called **critical sociolinguistics** (Singh 1996 ; Kress 2001) but now often termed **critical discourse studies** (Wodak and Meyer 2015 ; van Dijk 2009). This approach takes what can be called an 'interventionist' approach to matters that interest us; we will discuss its findings in more detail in the section on Critical Discourse Analysis in chapter 7 , and in Part IV of the book on Sociolinguistics and Social Justice. Rooted in critical theory, research in this vein is concerned with looking at power structures and the reproduction of inequalities. This work focuses on how language is used to exercise and preserve power and privilege in society, how it buttresses social institutions, and how even those who suffer as a consequence fail to realize that many of the things that appear to be ‘natural’ and ‘normal’ are culturally constructed and not inevitable; it is power relations in society that determine what is defined as ‘normal.’ Critical discourse studies thus seek to bring such power relations to light, with the aim of bringing more social equity.

This is very much an ideological view, and its proponents maintain that all language use is ideological as are all investigations, that is, that there is no hope of an ‘objective’ or ‘neutral’ sociolinguistics. Indeed, neutrality is not sought within critical discourse studies. As noted by Blommaert: ‘it is not enough to uncover the social dimensions of language use. These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation, and analysing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilising people to remedy social wrongs’ (2005, 25). It is important to note that this perspective of the societal utility of sociolinguistics is not new or solely in the area of critical discourse studies. Linguists have long seen the importance of weighing in on social issues connected to their research; a well-known example is the testimony of linguists about the status of so-called Black English and the educational rights of its users in 1979 (Labov 1982). Recent discussions of engagement in sociolinguists are a call to go beyond mere consciousness raising (see Lewis 2018 ; Labov 2018 ; Rickford 2018 ; and Rickford and King 2016 for a deeper discussion of this).

The intellectual history of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology also reflects broader ideas and movements of its time. Heller and McElhinny (2017) address how political and economic ideologies and events, such as colonialism and capitalism, have influenced how language is studied and what conclusions are drawn from sociolinguistic studies. Block (2018 , ix) notes that sociolinguistics increasingly includes social theory more broadly. His text on political economy in sociolinguistics addresses the study of topics such as English world-wide (which we will pick up in chapter 13), the language of tourism, language in the workplace, and the importance of social class in not just how we speak but also discourses about social groups and their inherent social value. Further, sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have often been involved in language revitalization movements and language policy and planning, topics which will be addressed in chapter 13 .

As can be seen by this brief introduction, the study of sociolinguistics has grown out of an interest in the role of society in how we use language to encompass a concern for how language is part of the construction of social realities. This volume seeks to present contemporary research but acknowledge the history of the field, presenting theories and findings which contribute to our understanding of language in society in different ways.

Overview of the Book

As should now be apparent, the study of sociolinguistics is deeply concerned with aspects of scholarship which are sometimes labeled theoretical and others which are said to be **applied** . At the very least, sociolinguistics is a socially relevant variety of linguistics, but it is probably much more.

These chapters are organized within four general topics. However, there will be considerable moving back and forth with cross-referencing within topics and among topics. Inter-relationships are everywhere, and our themes will recur across the discussions of dialects, multilingualism, discourse, and social justice.

Part I, Languages, Communities, and Contexts, deals with some traditional language issues: trying to separate languages from dialects and looking at types of regional and social variation within languages (chapter 2); trying to figure out what kinds of 'groups' are relevant when we study language use (chapter 3); and looking at the role of context in language use and interpretation (chapter 4).

Part II, Theory and Methods, looks at three broad approaches to research in sociolinguistics and how they are carried out. Chapter 5 deals with variationist sociolinguistics, chapter 6 ethnographic approaches, and chapter 7 discourse analytic research.

Part III, Multilingual Matters, addresses both macro- and micro-sociolinguistic topics in the study of multilingualism. These topics include interactional as well as societal patterns of multilingualism (chapter 8), structural consequences of language contact (chapter 9), and language in national, transnational, global, and digital contexts (chapter 10).

Part IV, Sociolinguistics and Social Justice, looks into three areas of life in which sociolinguistics offers us some hope of understanding pressing problems (and which some sociolinguists argue require our deliberate intervention). Language, gender, and sexuality, one of the great 'growth areas' in language study, is the first of these (chapter 11). Sociolinguistics and education is the second (chapter 12). Language planning and policy issues, including the spread of English world-wide and the 'death' of many languages, is the third (chapter 13).

Chapter Summary

This chapter provides an introduction to the field of sociolinguistics as well as to some of the major themes that will recur throughout this textbook. We propose broad definitions for the terms 'language' and 'society,' and introduce the concept of 'identities,' which is central to the study of contemporary sociolinguistics. We also explore the possible relationships between language and culture, most notably the Whorfian hypothesis. Finally, we note the interdisciplinary nature of the field of sociolinguistics, as well as the breadth of topics, both macro and micro, that we will deal with in the coming chapters.

Exercises

1. Look at the list of grammar rules below. Write an essay defending the use of one of these 'incorrect' grammatical constructions. Why do you think using these constructions is justifiable? Explain how the difference between these rules and natural speech demonstrates the difference between descriptive and prescriptive grammars. Prescriptive rules and examples:

    - Never end a sentence with a preposition; use 'whom' instead of 'who' in object position. Example of a violation: Who did you give it to? ('Correct' speech: 'To whom did you give it?')
    - Adverbs (words which modify a verb or adjective) should end in -ly (unless they are irregular, e.g., *fast-fast* or *good-well*). Examples of violations: Come quick! The house is on fire! ('Correct' speech: 'come quickly') That's a real nice dress you're wearing. ('Correct' speech: 'really nice') You read so slow! ('Correct' speech: 'you read so slowly')
    - The verb 'lie' (past tense 'lay') means that something is in a prone position; the verb 'lay' (past tense 'laid') means that something is being

put into a prone position. Examples of violations: It's laying on the table. Just lie it down there.

2. Politically correct (PC) language. Below are some examples of so-called PC language. Think about why these terms have been suggested, which ones have been widely adopted, and what attitudes exist toward some of these linguistic terms. What beliefs about the relationship between language and culture are reflected in the suggestion and adoption of or resistance to PC language?

   Firefighter (formerly 'fireman')

   Police officer (formerly 'policeman')

   People of color (formerly 'non-white')

   Differently abled (formerly 'disabled')

   Homemaker (formerly 'housewife')

   Native Americans (formerly '[American] Indian' or 'Red Indians')

   Happy Holidays (instead of 'Merry Christmas')

3. Language and culture: Covid terms. Below is a list of expressions used during the time of Covid-19. Discuss how these words construct cultural norms of the time as well as illustrate linguistic creativity.

   'Quarantini': it's a regular martini but you drink it alone at home

   'Zoomtail': similar to quarantini, except that you do it on Zoom

   'Covidiot': someone who blatantly violates social distances/hygiene protocol

   'The Rona': short version of Coronavirus

   'Zoom-ba': same as Zumba, but on Zoom

   'Zate': Zoom + date (a date or meetup on Zoom)

   'Quaran-tan': tanning while quarantined

‘Quaranteens’: babies conceived during a quarantine, who will be teens by 2033

‘Quarantime’: the era of the Covid-19 restrictions

‘Coviduation’: you may graduate but won’t participate in a graduation ceremony

‘Zumping’: getting dumped on Zoom

4. Communicative competence. Look at the following joke about British sayings and what they really mean. Discuss how this depiction of cross-cultural miscommunication illustrates the concept of communicative competence.

WHAT THE BRITISH SAY	**WHAT THE BRITISH MEAN**	**WHAT FOREIGNERS UNDERSTAND**
I hear what you say	I disagree and do not want to discuss it further	He accepts my point of view
With the greatest respect	You are an idiot	He is listening to me
That’s not bad	That’s good	That’s poor
That is a very brave proposal	You are insane	He thinks I have courage
Quite good	A bit disappointing	Quite good
I would suggest	Do it or be prepared to justify yourself	Think about the idea, but do what you like
Oh, incidentally/by the way	The primary purpose of our discussion is	That is not very important
I was a bit disappointed that	I am annoyed that	It doesn’t really matter
Very interesting	That is clearly nonsense	They are impressed

WHAT THE BRITISH SAY	WHAT THE BRITISH MEAN	WHAT FOREIGNERS UNDERSTAND
I'll bear it in mind	I've forgotten it already	They will probably do it
I'm sure it's my fault	It's your fault	Why do they think it was their fault?
You must come for dinner	It's not an invitation, I'm just being polite	I will get an invitation soon
I almost agree	I don't agree at all	He's not far from agreement
I only have a few minor comments	Please rewrite completely	He has found a few typos
Could we consider some other options	I don't like your idea	They have not yet decided

Source: Translation table explaining the truth behind British politeness becomes internet hit, by Alice Philipson, *The Telegraph* , September 1, 2013. © 2013, Telegraph Media Group Limited.

Further Reading

Bayley, Robert, Richard Cameron, and Ceil Lucas (eds.) (2013). *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5): 585–614.

Coupland, Nikolas. (2016). *Sociolinguistics: Theoretical Debates* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duranti, Alessandro (ed.) (2009). *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Mallinson, C. (2009). Sociolinguistics and sociology: Current directions, future partnerships. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3(4): 1034–1051.

References

Block, D. (2018). *Political Economy and Sociolinguistics: Neoliberalism, Inequality and Social Class* . London: Bloomsbury.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boas, F. (1911). Introduction. *Handbook of American Indian Languages* . Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution. In D. H. Hymes (ed.) (1964), *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* . New York: Harper & Row.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power* . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5): 585–614.

Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2008). All of the above: New coalitions in sociocultural linguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4): 401–431.

Chambers, J. K. (2002). Studying language variation: An informal epistemology. In J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . Oxford: Blackwell, 3–14.

Chambers, J. K. (2003). *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and its Social Significance* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* . Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Coulmas, F. (ed.) (1997). *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Deutscher, G. (2010a). *Through the Language Glass: Why the World Looks Different in Other Languages* . New York: Metropolitan Books.

Deutscher, G. (2010b). Does your language shape how you think? *New York Times* , August 29.

Duranti, A. (2003). Language as culture in U.S. anthropology: Three paradigms. *Current Anthropology* 44(3): 323–347.

Eckert, P. (2012). Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 87–100.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis* . London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power* . 2nd edn. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2006). *Language and Globalization* . New York: Routledge.

Fishman, J. A. (1972). The sociology of language. In P. P. Giglioli (ed.), *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Goodenough, W. H. (1957). Cultural anthropology and linguistics. In P. L. Garvin (ed.), *Report of the Seventh Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Study* . Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Gordon, M. J. (2002). Investigating chain shifts and mergers. In J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . Oxford: Blackwell, 244–266.

Gumperz, J. J. (1971). *Language in Social Groups* . Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. and J. Cook-Gumperz (2008). Studying language, culture, and society: Sociolinguistics or linguistic anthropology? *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4): 532–545.

Hartshorne, C., P. Weiss, and A. W. Burks (eds.) (1931). *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* , vol. 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931–1935.

Heller, M. and B. McElhinny (2017). *Language, Capitalism, Colonialism: Toward a Critical History* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hudson, R. A. (1996). *Sociolinguistics* . 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, L. (2011). 'The only dykey one': Constructions of (in)authenticity in a lesbian community of practice. *Journal of Homosexuality* 58(6–7): 719–741.

Kress, G. (2001). From Saussure to critical sociolinguistics: The turn towards a social view of language. In Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates (eds.), *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader* . London: SAGE, 29–38.

Kroskrity, P. (2000). Identity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1–2): 111.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns* . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1982). Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science: The case of the Black English trial in Ann Arbor. *Language in Society* 11(2): 165–201.

Labov, W. (2006). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* . 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, W. (2018). A materialist response. *Language in Society* 47(3): 347–350.

Lewis, M. C. (2018). A critique of the principle of error correction as a theory of social change. *Language in Society* 47(3): 325–346.

Malotki, E. (1983). *Hopi Time: A Linguistic Analysis of the Temporal Concepts in the Hopi Language* . Berlin: Mouton.

Mason Carris, L. (2011). La voz gringa: Latino stylization of linguistic (in)authenticity as social critique. *Discourse & Society* 22(4): 474–490.

McWhorter, J. (2014). *The Language Hoax: Why the World Looks the Same in Any Language* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rickford, J. R. (2018). Crafting a more integrated, specific, and community-sensitive approach to applied sociolinguistics. *Language in Society* 47(3): 364–368.

Rickford, J. R. and S. King (2016). Language and linguistics on trial: Hearing Rachel Jeantel (and other vernacular speakers) in the courtroom and beyond. *Language* 92(4): 948–988.

Sapir, E. (1921). *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech* . New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Shenk, P. S. (2008). 'I'm Mexican, remember?' Constructing ethnic identities via authenticating discourse 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(2): 194–220.

Singh, R. (ed.) (1996). *Towards a Critical Sociolinguistics , vol. 125*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tollefson, J. W. (2006). Critical theory in language policy. In T. Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* 2(1): 62–86.

Webster, A. K. (2015). Why the world doesn't sound the same in any language and why that might matter: A review of *The Language Hoax: Why the World Looks the Same in Any Language* by John H. McWhorter. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2014 [xx + 182 pages]. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 25(1): 87–93.

Westinen, E. (2014). The discursive construction of authenticity: Resources, scales and polycentricity in Finnish hip hop culture. *Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities* , 227.

Wodak, R. and M. Meyer (eds.) (2015). *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies* . London: SAGE.

Wodak, R., B. Johnstone, and P. E. Kerswill (2011). *The SAGE handbook of sociolinguistics* . London: SAGE.

Yule, G. (2017). *The Study of Language* . 6th edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Part I
Languages, Communities, and Contexts

2
Languages, Dialects, and Varieties

KEY TOPICS

- The difference between a language and a dialect
- Defining a standard/standardized language
- Defining dialects by region: drawing geographical boundaries
- Development of social and ethnicized dialects
- How languages create meaning and how the meaning of languages is created
- Indexicality and entexualization

We stated in the introductory chapter that the concept of language is considered by many sociolinguists to be an ideological construct. Further, we noted that all languages exhibit internal variation, that is, each language exists in a number of varieties and is in one sense the sum of those varieties. We use the term **variety** as a general term for a way of speaking; this may be something as broad as Standard English, or a variety defined in terms of location and social class (e.g., 'working-class New York City speech'), or something defined by its function or where it is used, such as 'legalese.' In the following sections, we will explore these different ways of specifying language varieties and how we define the terms 'language' and 'dialect' (regional and social). We will also address how the associations between language and social meaning develop and are used in communicating in different speech contexts.

What is a Language?

What do we mean when we refer to a language or, even more important, the idea of mixing languages? As we will discuss further in chapters 8 and 9 , recent research has coined many new terms to describe what has traditionally been called multilingualism – ‘(trans)languaging,’ ‘metrolingualism,’ ‘heteroglossia.’ These terms reflect the idea that languages are ideological constructs; while we (usually) have names for different ways of speaking and can describe their features, in practice linguistic boundaries may be fluid. Not only do many people mix languages, but in some contexts, language users do not recognize the linguistic elements they use as part of different codes but simply as a normal way of speaking (Jaspers and Madsen 2019). Further, as we will discuss below, dialect continuums also challenge the perspective of languages as discrete, bounded entities.

The idea of languages as distinct codes is very deeply ingrained in society (and in linguistics!), and it is consequently often a very jarring concept to grasp. Throughout this text, we will continue to point out how ideologies about language lead us to think in ways which are not supported by empirical linguistic data. While we will continue to use the terms ‘language’ and ‘code,’ we recognize that these are words which refer to static systems, while linguistic communication is dynamic and flexible.

Language or Dialect?

For many people there is no confusion at all about what language they speak. For example, they are Chinese, Japanese, or Korean and they speak Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, respectively. In these cases, many people see language and ethnicity or nationality as virtually synonymous (Coulmas 1999). However, for many people, there is no one-to-one correlation between these categories; some people are both Chinese and French, or may identify as simply Canadian, not Korean Canadian, regardless of what languages they speak.

Most people can give a name to their language(s). On occasion, some of these names may appear to be strange to those who take a scientific interest in languages, but we should remember that human naming practices often have a large 'unscientific' component to them. Census-takers in India find themselves confronted with a wide array of language names when they ask people what language or languages they speak. Names are not only ascribed by region, which is what we might expect, but sometimes also by caste, religion, village, and so on (see Mallikarjun 2002). Moreover, they can change from census to census as the political and social climate of the country changes.

Linguists use the term **vernacular** to refer to the language a person grows up with and uses in everyday life in ordinary, commonplace, social interactions. We should note that so-called vernaculars may meet with social disapproval from others who favor another variety, especially if they favor a variety heavily influenced by the written form of the language. Therefore, this term often has pejorative associations when used in public discourse. The vernacular is often contrasted with a **standardized language** , which we will discuss in depth below.

Haugen (1966) has pointed out that language and **dialect** are ambiguous terms. Although ordinary people use these terms quite freely in speech, for them a dialect is almost certainly no more than a local non-prestigious (therefore powerless) variety of a 'real' language. In contrast, scholars may experience considerable difficulty in deciding whether one term should be used rather than the other in certain situations. How, then, do sociolinguists define the difference between a dialect and a language?

First, we need to look at the history of these terms. As Haugen says, the terms 'represent a simple dichotomy in a situation that is almost infinitely complex.' The word 'language' is used to refer either to a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms, and 'dialect' is used to refer to one of the norms.

A related set of terms which brings in additional criteria for distinction is the relationship between what the French call *un dialecte* and *un patois* . The former is a regional variety of a language that has an associated literary tradition, whereas the latter is a regional variety that lacks such a literary tradition. Therefore, *patois* tends to be used pejoratively; it is regarded as something less than a dialect because it lacks an associated literature. Even a language like Breton, a Celtic language still spoken in parts of Brittany, is called a *patois* because it lacks a strong literary tradition and it is not some country's language. However, *dialecte* in French, like *Dialekt* in German, cannot be used in connection with the standardized language, that is, no speaker of French considers Standard French to be a dialect of French, and in German to tell someone they speak a *Dialekt* means that they do not speak Standard German (called *Hochdeutsch* 'High German'). In contrast, it is not uncommon to find references to Standard English as being a dialect – admittedly a very important one – of English.

Haugen points out that, while speakers of English have never seriously adopted *patois* as a term to be used in the description of language, they have tried to employ both 'language' and 'dialect' in a number of conflicting senses. 'Dialect' is used both for local varieties of English, for example, Yorkshire dialect, for various types of informal speech, or for lects associated with uneducated or rural speakers. The term 'dialect' often implies nonstandard or even substandard, and can connote various degrees of inferiority, with that connotation of inferiority carried over to those who speak a dialect. This is part of what we call the **standard language ideology** , and we will have more to say about it below.

In the everyday use of the term, 'language' is usually used to mean both the superordinate category and the standardized variety; dialects are nonstandard and subordinate to languages. Sociolinguists view this issue somewhat differently; every variety is a dialect, including the standardized variety, and the reason we see some varieties as dialects of the same language is based on sociopolitical, not linguistic, criteria. Although linguistic criteria do play a role in the next topic we will discuss, mutual intelligibility of varieties, as we will see this is not the deciding factor in the language – dialect distinction.

Mutual intelligibility

A commonly cited criterion used to determine if two varieties are dialects of the same language or distinct languages is that of **mutual intelligibility** : if language users can understand each other, they are using dialects of the same language; if they cannot, they are speaking different languages. However, there are several problems with this criterion (Gooskens 2018). First, mutual intelligibility is not an objectively determined fact (Salzman et al. 2012 , 170). For example, some speakers of German can understand Dutch, while others may find it incomprehensible. Your ability to understand someone who speaks differently from you may vary according to your experience with different ways of speaking.

Second, mutual intelligibility may depend on the regional variety you speak. Because there are different varieties of German and Dutch, and they exist in what is called a **dialect continuum** , speakers of some varieties of German can understand varieties of Dutch better than they can understand other varieties of German! Historically, there was a continuum of dialects across the region of northern Germany and the Netherlands which included what we now call the different languages of German and Dutch. The varieties which became standardized as the languages of the Netherlands and Germany, Standard Dutch and Standard German, are no longer mutually intelligible for most speakers. However, in the border area, speakers of the local varieties of Dutch and German still exist within a dialect continuum and remain largely intelligible to one another. People on one side of the border say they speak a variety of Dutch and those on the other side say they speak a variety of German, but linguistically these varieties are very similar. There are important sociopolitical distinctions, however. The residents of the Netherlands look to Standard Dutch for their model; they read and write

Dutch and are educated in Dutch. Consequently, if they speak the local variety, they call it a dialect of Dutch. On the other side of the border, German replaces Dutch in all equivalent situations, and the speakers identify the local variety as a dialect of German. The interesting linguistic fact is that there are more similarities between the local varieties spoken on each side of the border than between the Dutch dialect and Standard Dutch and the German dialect and Standard German. Thus, situations in which there is a dialect continuum make it apparent that the lines drawn between languages are not based on linguistic criteria.

The third problem with using mutual intelligibility as the criterion for status as a dialect or a language is that even without a dialect continuum, there are many examples of named, distinct languages that are mutually intelligible. Hindi and Urdu are considered by linguists to be the same language in its spoken form, but one in which certain differences are becoming more and more magnified for political and religious reasons in the quest to establish different national identities. Hindi is written left to right in the Devanagari script, whereas Urdu is written right to left in the Perso-Arabic script. Hindi incorporates more words from Sanskrit, while Urdu draws on Arabic and Persian sources. Large religious and political differences make much of small linguistic differences. The written forms of the two varieties, particularly those favored by the elites, also emphasize these differences. They have become highly symbolic of the growing differences between India and Pakistan (see King 2001 for more details on this historical development). As far as everyday use is concerned, it appears that the boundary between the spoken varieties of Hindi and Urdu is somewhat flexible and one that changes with circumstances. This is exactly what we would expect: there is considerable variety in everyday use but somewhere in the background there is an ideal that can be appealed to, ‘proper’ Hindi or ‘proper’ Urdu. This ideal is based on a sociopolitical ideology of the language, and on different social identifications of the speakers, not on any clear and objective linguistic difference.

Another example showing the sociopolitical division of language is the story of the rise and fall of Serbo-Croatian. In what was once Yugoslavia, now divided by the instruments of ethnicity, language, and religion, the language called Serbo-Croatian was described by Brozović (1992) as a pluricentric language, meaning that it had more than one codified form. After the country of Yugoslavia disintegrated in the 1990s, the different varieties ceased to identify with the previously imposed umbrella term Serbo-Croatian, and the different centers have become recognized as languages: Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin, spoken in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro, respectively (Jordan 2018). The varieties are written in different scripts; Croatian is written in Roman script, Serbian in Cyrillic, Bosnian in both writing systems, and in Montenegro 'Montenegrin Latin' (which has 32 instead of 30 symbols) and Cyrillic writing systems are both used. These differences are very much the result of sociopolitical, religious, and ethnic divides between these groups; the different varieties were not the source of the social differences but the result.

There are other, less dramatically politically charged examples of how mutually intelligible varieties are considered different languages. We have already mentioned German and Dutch; we can also add the situation in Scandinavia as further evidence. Danish, Norwegian (actually two varieties), and Swedish are recognized as different languages, yet it is common for speakers of these languages to each speak their own language to each other and still be able to communicate (Gooskens 2018 ; Schüppert and Gooskens 2012). Linguistic overlap between these three languages is clearly enough to make communication feasible for most speakers, but the social and political boundaries foster the continued distinction of these varieties as separate languages.

The fourth reason that mutual intelligibility cannot be used as the sole means of distinguishing dialect versus language status is that there are sometimes unintelligible dialects which are identified by their users as being the same language. As a user of English, you may be aware of varieties of English you cannot understand, for instance. A particularly interesting instance of unintelligibility of dialects occurs with what we call Chinese, which is generally accepted to include two main sub-categories of varieties, Cantonese and Mandarin. Although they share a writing system, Mandarin and Cantonese are not mutually intelligible in spoken discourse; written characters are pronounced differently in these varieties although they maintain the same meaning. Yet speakers of Mandarin and Cantonese consider themselves speakers of different dialects of the same language, for to the Chinese a shared writing system and a strong tradition of political, social, and cultural unity form essential parts of their definition of language (Kurpaska 2010).

Likewise, speakers of different regional varieties of Arabic often cannot understand one another's dialects but are all oriented toward common standardized forms (Modern Standard Arabic, with its basis in Classical Arabic). Although some native speakers of some varieties of Arabic might not understand a radio broadcast in Modern Standard Arabic (Kaye 2001), no one questions the categorization of these disparate dialects as one language, because of the religious, social, historical, and political ties between the cultures in which they are spoken.

The role of social identity

Sociolinguists claim that the defining factor in determining whether two varieties are considered distinct languages or dialects of the same language is sociopolitical identity, not linguistic similarity or difference. Orientation toward a particular standardized language and, often, an associated national identity is what makes people identify as speakers of language X or Y.

In direct contrast to the above situation, we can observe that the loyalty of a group of people need not necessarily be determined by the language they speak. Although Alsatian, the dialect of German spoken in Alsace (France), is now in decline, for many generations the majority of the people in Alsace spoke their German tongue in the home and local community. However, they generally identified as French (Vajta 2013); speaking a Germanic dialect did not mean they identified with Germany. However, everyday use of Alsatian has been a strong marker of local identity, and for a long time was an important part of being Alsatian in France (Vassberg 1993; Gardner-Chloros 2013).

The various relationships among languages and dialects discussed above illustrate how society is an important factor in how we view and use our languages. The standard is the most powerful dialect but it has become so because of non-linguistic factors. ‘A language is a dialect with an army and a navy’ is a well-known observation. The process through which a standardized language arises is primarily a sociopolitical process rather than a linguistic one; this is the topic of the next section of this chapter.

Exploration 2.1 Dialects

How would you describe the dialect(s) you speak? Do you speak more than one dialect of a language? If so, can you name specific features which distinguish the dialects?

If you don’t identify as a speaker of a particular dialect, are there features of your speech that allow you to be identified as coming from a certain region? If so, what are these features?

What intra-speaker variation is there in your speech – that is, how do you choose to use different dialects or features? Give specific examples.

Standardization

One of the defining characteristics mentioned above about the distinction between 'dialect' and 'language' has to do with standardization. If you see yourself as a speaker of German, you orient to Standard German, not Standard Dutch, even if Standard Dutch might be linguistically more similar to your native dialect. Thus the process of standardization and the ideology involved in the recognition of a standard are key aspects of how we tend to think of language and languages in general. People tend to think of a language as a legitimate and fixed system which can be objectively described and regard dialects as deviations from this norm. This is the standard language ideology but, as we will see, it is only one way that we can think about a language and its varieties.

Standardization refers to the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of such things as grammars, spelling books, and dictionaries, and possibly literature (see chapter 13 for further discussion of language planning processes). We can often associate specific items or events with standardization, for example, Wycliffe's and Luther's translations of the Bible into English and German, respectively, Caxton's establishment of printing in England, and Dr. Johnson's dictionary of English published in 1755. Standardization requires that a measure of agreement be achieved about what is considered standard language and what is not.

The standard as an abstraction

We have noted that recent sociolinguistic scholarship challenges the idea of languages as clearly demarcated linguistic systems; the idea that standardized languages cannot be objectively defined has a much longer history. Lippi-Green (2012) writes about 'the standard language myth,' and Crowley (2003) discussed the standard as an 'idealized language.' One of the points Lippi-Green makes is that most people (i.e., non-linguists) feel strongly that they know what the standard language is 'much in the same way that most people could draw a unicorn, or describe a being from *Star Trek* 's planet Vulcan, or tell us who King Arthur was and why he needed a Round Table' (Lippi-Green 2012 , 57).

Lippi-Green also states that we see the standard as a uniform way of speaking; although some regional variation might be allowed (see below for further discussion), social variation is not considered acceptable within anything labeled as the standard. Furthermore, once we have such a codification of the language we tend to see standardization as the end result of a process. Change, therefore, should be resisted since it can only undo what has been done so laboriously. The standardized variety is also often regarded as the natural, proper, and fitting language of those who use – or should use – it. It is part of their heritage and identity, something to be protected, possibly even revered. Milroy (2001 , 537) characterizes the resulting ideology as follows: 'The canonical form of the language is a precious inheritance that has been built up over the generations, not by the millions of native speakers, but by a select few who have lavished loving care upon it, polishing, refining, and enriching it until it has become a fine instrument of expression (often these are thought to be literary figures, such as Shakespeare). This is a view held by people in many walks of life, including plumbers, politicians and professors of literature. It is believed that if the canonical variety is not universally supported and protected, the language will inevitably decline and decay.'

This association with the standard as simultaneously the goal of all and something which is created by (and accessible to) only the educated elite is also noted by Lippi-Green. She further points out that what is meant by 'educated' is never specified; indeed, it is quite circular, as we define the standard as the speech of educated people and educated people as speaking the standard. But the role of the standard in education is quite strong; it is the variety that is taught to both native and non-native speakers of the language (see chapter 12 for more discussion of this).

Exploration 2.2 What is the Standard?

Is there a name for the standardized dialect of your language (or one of the languages you speak)? How is this language defined, and who speaks it, and in what contexts? What are the consequences of not speaking the standardized variety in terms of education, work, and relationships with other members of your community?

The standardization process

In order for a standard form to develop, an idealized norm must be accepted; this is a norm that users of the language are asked to aspire to rather than one that actually accords with their observed behavior. However, it is perceived as a clearly defined variety.

Selection of the norm may prove difficult because choosing one vernacular as a norm means favoring those who speak that variety. As noted by Heller (2010), language can be viewed not as simply a reflection of social order but as something which helps establish social hierarchies. Thus it is not just that a variety is chosen as the model for the standard because it is associated with a prestigious social identity, but that it also enhances the powerful position of those who speak it, while diminishing all other varieties, their users, and any possible competing norms.

The standardization process itself performs a variety of functions. It unifies individuals and groups within a larger community while at the same time separating the community that results from other communities. Therefore, it can be employed to reflect and symbolize some kind of identity: regional, social, ethnic, or religious. A standardized variety can also be used to disenfranchise users of other varieties, usually those who are of lower socioeconomic status or ethnic/racial minorities (Rosa 2016). It can therefore serve as a kind of goal for those who have somewhat different norms; for example, Standard English and Standard French are such goals for many users of nonstandardized dialects of these languages. However, as we will see, these goals are not always pursued and may even be resisted.

The standard and language change

Standardization is an ongoing process, for only ‘dead’ languages (i.e., languages that no longer have native speakers) like Latin and Classical Greek do not continue to change and develop. What is considered standard in living languages continues to change. The standardization process is also obviously one that attempts either to reduce or to eliminate diversity and variety. Given that variation is inherent to language, standardization imposes a strain on languages or, if not on the languages themselves, on those who take on the task of standardization. That may be one of the reasons why various national academies have had so many difficulties in their work: they are essentially in a no-win situation, always trying to ‘fix’ the consequences of changes that they cannot prevent, and continually being compelled to issue new pronouncements on linguistic matters. Unfortunately, those who think you can standardize and ‘fix’ a language for all time are often quite influential in terms of popular attitudes about language. Opinion articles about how social media and technology are ruining language have addressed alternative spellings and the use of emojis as signs of the demise of sophisticated speech as we know it (see links in the companion website), but technology is not the only culprit named. Young people are identified as the problem in every generation (especially but not only because of their social media language use), and Americanisms are also named as the source of the deterioration of English (see for instance Engel 2017). While these articles focus on vocabulary and orthography, of course there are changes on all levels of language (see discussion of variation in chapter 1).

These articles you can access through links on the companion website focus on the purity of English, but of course the ideal of a pure language is not unique to anglophones. Users of other languages also complain about change – including influence from English, usually in the form of loanwords! We'll return to the topic of the influence of English on other languages in chapters 10 and 13 .

Such negative attitudes about language change are not in keeping with how sociolinguists view language; as we have discussed above, internal variation is inherent to all languages, and all languages keep changing. Also, such prescriptivist views are inherently classist and discriminatory against anyone who is not a member of the privileged class; we will develop our ideas about this below in our discussion of the standard language ideology.

Standard language?

It is not at all easy for us to define a standardized language because of a failure to agree about the norm or norms that should apply. For example, Trudgill (1995 , 5–6) defines Standard English as the variety which is:

- Usually used in print
- Normally taught in schools
- Learned by non-native speakers
- Spoken by educated people
- Used in news broadcasts

Note that this definition revolves around how it is used, not the particular features of the language, as Standard English is constantly changing and developing. While Trudgill writes specifically about Standard English, this is true for all languages. While some languages do have institutions which dictate what is considered standard, this will change over time to recognize new norms. Trudgill also points out that the standard is not the same as formal language, as the standard can also be used colloquially.

What variety is considered the standard is something that is specific to the language; while it is generally a variety associated with a high-status group, the history behind the development of a particular variety as the normative standard is quite culturally specific. For pluricentric languages such as English, there are different paths to the development of the different regional standards (see also Dollinger 2019 for a discussion about this for German). The standardized variety of British English is based on the dialect of English that developed after the Norman Conquest resulted in the permanent removal of the Court from Winchester to London. This dialect became the one preferred by the educated, and it was developed and promoted as a model, or norm, for wider and wider segments of society. It was also the norm (although not the only variety) that was carried overseas. Today, written Standard English is codified to the extent that the grammar and vocabulary of written varieties of English are much the same everywhere in the world: variation among local standards is really quite minor, so that the Singapore, South African, and Irish standardized varieties are really very little different from one another so far as grammar and vocabulary are concerned. Indeed, Standard English is so powerful that it exerts a tremendous pressure on all such local varieties; we will return to this topic in chapter 13 in our discussion of language planning and policy. However, differences in the spoken varieties exist and are found everywhere in the world that English is used and, while these differences may have been reduced somewhat in the British Isles, they may actually have increased almost everywhere else, for example, within new English-speaking countries in Africa and Asia.

The standard–dialect hierarchy

Because of the sociopolitical salience of the standard, is it often seen as the language itself, while regional or social varieties are considered subordinate to the standard.

Some people are also aware that the standardized variety of any language is actually only the preferred dialect of that language: Parisian French, Florentine Italian, Beijing Mandarin, or the Zanzibar variety of Swahili in Tanzania. It is the empowered variety. As a result, the standard is often not called a dialect astandard is often not called a dialect at all, but is regarded as the language itself. It takes on an ideological dimension and becomes the 'right' and 'proper' language of the group of people, an attitude which has social consequences. One consequence is that all other varieties have none of the status and power of the standard. Of course, this process of standardization and stigmatization usually involves a complete restructuring of the historical facts.

We see a good instance of this process in Modern British English. The new standard is based on the dialect of the area surrounding London, which was just one of several dialects of Old English, and not the most important since both the western and northern dialects were once at least equally as important. However, in the modern period, having provided the base for Standard English, this dialect exerts a strong influence over all the other dialects of England so that it is not just first among equals but rather represents the modern language itself to the extent that the varieties spoken in the west and north are generally regarded as its local variants. Historically, these varieties arise from different sources, but now they are viewed only in relation to the standardized variety. Thus, regardless of the actual history of a language, the standard is often regarded as the original language and the dialects as deviations from it.

Regional Dialects

Regional variation in the way a language is spoken is likely to provide one of the easiest ways of observing variety in language. As you travel throughout a wide geographical area in which a language is spoken, and particularly if that language has been spoken in that area for many hundreds of years, you are almost certain to notice differences in pronunciation, in the choices and forms of words, and in syntax. There may even be a very local character to the language which you notice as you move from one location to another. Such distinctive varieties are usually called regional dialects of the language.

Dialect geography

When a language is recognized as being spoken in different varieties, the issue becomes one of deciding how many varieties and how to classify each variety. **Dialect geography** is the term used to describe attempts made to map the distributions of various linguistic features so as to show their geographical provenance. For example, in seeking to determine features of the dialects of English and to show their distributions, dialect geographers try to find answers to questions such as the following. Is this an *r* -pronouncing area of English, as in words like *car* and *cart* , or is it not? What past tense form of *drink* do speakers prefer? What names do people give to particular objects in the environment, for example, *elevator* or *lift* , *carousel* or *roundabout* ? As discussed in the last chapter, we call such features **variables** , as there are variable (i.e., varied and changing) ways of realizing them (the variants we discussed in chapter 1). For example, the past tense of *drink* might be *drank* or *drunk* , or the words for the fuel you put in an automobile could be *petrol* or *gas* .

Sometimes maps are drawn to show actual boundaries around such variables, boundaries called **isoglosses** , so as to distinguish an area in which a certain feature is found from areas in which it is absent. When several such isoglosses coincide, the result is sometimes called a **dialect boundary** . Then we may be tempted to say that speakers on one side of that boundary speak one dialect and speakers on the other side speak a different dialect. We will return to this topic in chapter 5 .

However, complicating this picture of dialect regions is the idea of the **dialect continuum** , in which there is gradual change of the language (Heeringa and Nerbonne 2001); we discussed this above with the example of German and Dutch in the northern regions of those countries. Over large distances the dialects at each end of the continuum may well be mutually unintelligible, although speakers can easily understand people in neighboring areas; but the borders between dialect areas are not clear-cut lines as implied by the concept of the dialect boundary.

Everyone has an accent

The term dialect, particularly when it is used in reference to regional variation, should not be confused with the term **accent** . Standard English, for example, is spoken in a variety of accents, often with clear regional and social associations: there are accents associated with North America, Singapore, India, Liverpool (Scouse), Tyneside (Geordie), Boston, New York, and so on. However, many people who live in such places show a remarkable uniformity to one another in their grammar and vocabulary because they speak Standard English and the differences are merely those of accent, that is, how they pronounce what they say. While we will focus on variation and attitudes about English accents in this section, please keep in mind that the general points here are relevant for all languages!

One English accent has achieved a certain eminence, the accent known as **Received Pronunciation** (RP), the accent of perhaps as few as 3 percent of those who live in England. (The 'received' in Received Pronunciation is a little bit of old-fashioned snobbery: it meant the accent allowed one to be received into the 'better' parts of society!) This accent is of fairly recent origin (see Mugglestone 1995), becoming established as prestigious only in the late nineteenth century and not even given its current label until the 1920s. In the United Kingdom at least, it is 'usually associated with a higher social or educational background, with the BBC and the professions, and [is] most commonly taught to students learning English as a foreign language' (Wakelin 1977 , 5). Those who use this accent are often regarded as speaking ‘unaccented’ English because it lacks a regional association within England; we return to this point below. Other names for this accent are the Queen’s English, Oxford English, and BBC English. However, there is no unanimous agreement that the Queen does in fact use RP. Harrington et al. (2000) point out that an acoustic analysis of her Christmas broadcasts since 1952 showed a drift in her accent ‘toward one that is characteristic of speakers who are younger and/or lower in the social hierarchy.’ She ‘no longer speaks the Queen’s English of the 1950s.’ Today, too, a wide variety of accents can be found at Oxford University, and regional accents also feature prominently in the various BBC services.

The most generalized accent in North America is sometimes referred to as **Newscaster English** , the accent associated with announcers on the major television networks, or **General American** , a term which emphasizes its widespread acceptance and lack of regional association (see the website for this chapter to find a link to the discussion of Standard American English in the *Do You Speak American?* PBS production). Lippi-Green (2012 , 62) endorses the use of the term SAE (**Standard American English**), while recognizing that it is a ‘mythical’ beast and idealizes a homogeneous variety. There is no official definition of what forms are included in SAE in terms of accent or grammar; as noted by Pinker (2012), ‘The rules of standard English are not legislated by a tribunal but emerge as an implicit consensus within a virtual community of writers, readers, and editors. That consensus can change over time in a process as unplanned and uncontrollable as the vagaries of fashion.’ It is also often recognized that there are regional standards in US English; for example, while **r-lessness** may be considered standard in Boston or Atlanta, it is not in Chicago; / **ai/ monophthongization** (e.g., the pronunciation of the vowel in the pronoun ‘I’ to sound more like ‘Ah’) is heard by newscasters in southeastern parts of the United States but not farther north or west.

Of course, there are many other varieties of English spoken around the world, in countries where English is the majority language in all or some regions (e.g., Canada, Australia, New Zealand) or in multilingual countries where it is one of several languages in widespread use (e.g., India, South Africa, Malaysia). In these contexts there are also accents which are considered standard.

As a final observation we must reiterate that it is impossible to speak English (or any other language) without an accent. There is no such thing as 'unaccented English.' RP is an accent, a social one rather than a regional one. However, we must note that there are different evaluations of the different accents, evaluations arising from social factors not linguistic ones. Matsuda (1991 , 1361) says it is really an issue of power: 'When … parties are in a relationship of domination and subordination we tend to say that the dominant is normal, and the subordinate is different from normal. And so it is with accent… . People in power are perceived as speaking normal, unaccented English. Any speech that is different from that constructed norm is called an accent.' We will return to such matters in the next chapter in our discussion of language attitudes and ideologies. Further, we will address the use of English as a lingua franca (i.e., non-native Englishes) in chapter 9 .

Exploration 2.3 The Standard and Accents

Drawing on this discussion of English accents, discuss accents of other languages you are familiar with: is there a prestigious accent associated with a particular region or is it seen as regionally neutral? Are there different ways of speaking the Standard in different regions? Have there been changes or developments in what is considered Standard? Give specific examples where possible.

Social Dialects

The term dialect can also be used to describe differences in speech associated with various social groups or classes. An immediate problem is that of defining **social group** (see chapter 3) or **social class** (see chapter 5). Proper weight needs to be given to the various factors that can be used to determine social position, for example, occupation, place of residence, education, income, 'new' versus 'old' money, racial or ethnic category, national or cultural background, caste, religion, and so on. Such factors as these do appear to be related to how people speak.

Whereas regional dialects are geographically based, social dialects originate among social groups and are related to a variety of factors, the principal ones apparently being social class, religion, and race/ethnicity. In a study of the role of religion in variation in Arabic across Arabic-speaking countries, Germanos and Miller (2015 , 96) note that 'even tiny sociolinguistic variation (including salutations and terms of address) will often be enough to identify a speaker as Muslim, Jew or Christian in the same way that he will also be identified as urban or rural, as coming from such and such region, as belonging to popular or middle-class etc.'

Such studies in **social dialectology** , the term used to refer to this branch of linguistic study, examine how ways of speaking are linked to social differences within a particular region. Socioeconomic class is a main factor which will be addressed in chapter 5 . Another factor in social dialectology which has received a great deal of attention is race/ethnicity; later in this chapter we will focus on African American Vernacular English, a variety which has been studied extensively by sociolinguists. First, however, we will introduce a German social dialect which is controversial both in German society and among linguists, a case which brings to the forefront the concerns inherent to social dialectology.

Kiezdeutsch 'neighborhood German'

The term *Dialekt* , 'dialect' in German, as mentioned above, has historically been used solely to refer to regional varieties. While sometimes stigmatized, these dialects are at the same time integral to regional identities and seen as deeply, essentially German. While a body of literature on *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* ('guest worker German') emerged beginning in the 1970s, this variety was identified as a second language or a 'pidginized' variety of German, and very clearly spoken only by immigrants (e.g., Keim 1978 ; Pfaff 1980), and thus, not a German *Dialekt* . Subsequently, a body of research about multilingual language practices of multiethnic groups of urban youths in Germany showed that multilingual practices were common among urban youths of many backgrounds, including those whose families had long been in Germany (e.g., Auer and Dirim 2003 ; Kallmeyer and Keim 2003). While this research did show that such practices were not unique to children of immigrant background, it also did not suggest that multilingual discourse was something quintessentially German. However, when *Kiezdeutsch* , a way of speaking associated with multiethnic neighborhoods, was described as a German dialect (Wiese 2010 , 2012), resistance to the idea of recognizing this way of speaking as a variety of the German language became apparent. The controversies surrounding this work, both in academic circles and in public discourses, exemplify the issues in social dialects in general. These issues include the label applied to the variety, identifying the features of the variety, correlations with demographic factors, and the process of the development.

In the case of *Kiezdeutsch* , this term was chosen by researchers because other terms used to refer to the variety in everyday speech were inaccurate (e.g., *Türken - deutsch* , 'Turks' German') and potentially offensive (e.g., *Kanak Sprak* , derived from a derogatory term for foreigners [*Kanak* or *Kanaker*] and nonstandard spelling/pronunciation of German *Sprache* 'language'). However, as this case illustrates, no term is perfect. The term *Kiez* varies regionally in how it is used; in Berlin it is commonly used in a positive manner to refer to one's neighborhood, indicating it is where one feels at home, but in Hamburg the term is used to refer to one particular neighborhood, the so-called red light district. (As we will see in our discussion of African American Vernacular English and Latino Englishes below, labels for varieties are often problematic and sites of controversy; this issue will also be discussed further in the next chapter as we attempt to define social groups.)

While certain features of *Kiezdeutsch* do not seem to be disputed, the development and status of these features are. Wiese (2010 , 2012) argues that although *Kiezdeutsch* does include some lexical items from languages other than German (often, Turkish), it is not a mixed language (see chapter 9 for a definition of this term); instead, the grammatical features have their roots in the German language. She refers to *Kiezdeutsch* as a German dialect. Auer (2013 , 36) disputes this, saying it is simply a youth style of speaking which is not used consistently enough to be considered a dialect, and suggests that there are features indicating 'unsichere Beherrschung der deutschen Morphologie' ('uncertain mastery of German morphology'); Glück (2017) also dismisses Wiese's findings as the transitional speech of children and not a dialect, social or regional. Similarly, Jannedy (2010) calls *Kiezdeutsch* a 'multi-ethnolectal youth language,' and not a social dialect.

Popular opinion about nonstandard social dialects is often that these ways of speaking are lazy, sloppy, and degenerate. Wiese (2012) aims at convincing a general audience that the features of *Kiezdeutsch* are part of normal language development and variation, not a bastardization through foreign influence, but this position has caused great consternation for many readers, who do not want to accept that a new dialect is possible (see Wiese 2014 for an analysis of this discourse).

Who speaks *Kiezdeutsch* is also represented in the literature in different ways. There is agreement that its speakers generally live in multiethnic neighborhoods, and it is referred to as a youth language, but whether it is indeed limited to young speakers has not been conclusively demonstrated. Auer (2013) discusses the speakers of *Kiezdeutsch* as socially marginalized youths of immigrant background, while among Wiese's research participants are speakers with German backgrounds who are monolingual German speakers (as well as speakers of other ethnic or national backgrounds who are monolingual German speakers). More recent attitudinal research (Bunk and Pohle 2019) shows that while non-Kiezdeutsch speakers may associate the variety with ethnicity, the speakers themselves recognize their way of speaking as indexing educational failure, economic disadvantage, and a 'gangster image' (2019, 98). Significantly, these speakers also identify this way of speaking as just one code in their repertoires, reporting that while they use Kiezdeutsch among friends, they speak Standard German in more formal contexts.

Finally, the process of the development of this variety is controversial. It is often assumed to be the result of language contact, meaning that the features are borrowed from other languages, especially Turkish (e.g., Auer 2013). Wiese (2010 , 2012) argues for a somewhat different scenario: that this situation of language contact has created a fertile environment for internally motivated language change (see chapters 5 and 9 for discussions of contact variety development and language change more broadly).

What is clear is that *Kiezdeutsch* is a variety which has developed as an ingroup language; the development and use of *Kiezdeutsch* is intertwined with the identities of the speakers. As will be discussed for ethnic dialects, the identification with a group is a key element in the development of a social dialect.

Ethnic dialects

So-called ethnic dialects do not arise because members of particular ethnic groups are somehow destined to speak in certain ways; like all other social dialects, ethnic dialects are learned by exposure and anyone, regardless of their ethnic identification or racial categorization, might speak in ways identified as ‘African American Vernacular English’ or ‘Latinx English.’ The connection between race/ethnicity/nationality and linguistic variety is one that is entirely socially constructed, thus these varieties would perhaps best be described as ‘ethnicized.’

The processes that create ethnic dialects are not well understood, and much research remains to be done into how and why they develop. However, we do know that ethnic dialects are not simply foreign accents of the majority language; many of their speakers may well be monolingual in the majority language. Latinx English, for example, is not English with a Spanish accent and grammatical transfer, as many of its speakers are English monolinguals. Ethnic dialects are ingroup ways of speaking the majority language.

One study which gives us insights into the motivations for the development of an ethnic dialect was done by Kopp (1999) on Pennsylvania German English, that is, the English spoken among speakers of what is commonly called ‘Pennsylvania Dutch,’ which is a German dialect which developed in certain regions of Pennsylvania. Kopp analyzes a variety of features associated with speakers of Pennsylvania German in both sectarian (i.e., Amish and Mennonite) and nonsectarian communities. He discovers what at first seems to be a paradoxical pattern: although the sectarians are more isolated from mainstream society, and they continue to speak Pennsylvania German, their English has *fewer* phonological features that identify them as Pennsylvania German speakers than the nonsectarians, who are integrated into the English mainstream and less likely to be speakers of Pennsylvania German. So the nonsectarians, who are in many cases English monolinguals, exhibit more phonological features reminiscent of a Pennsylvania German accent in their spoken English than the sectarians! As Kopp explains, this makes perfect sense when we think of language as providing a way to construct identity. The sectarians speak Pennsylvania German, and thus can use that language to create group boundaries; the nonsectarians, who increasingly do not speak Pennsylvania German, have only their variety of English to use to construct themselves as members of a particular ethnic group.

Although Pennsylvania German English developed largely in rural areas, many ethnic dialects are urban phenomena. Cities are much more difficult to characterize linguistically than are rural hamlets; variation in language and patterns of change are much more obvious in cities, for example, in family structures, employment, and opportunities for social advancement or decline. Migration, both in and out of cities, is also usually a potent linguistic factor. Recent research on **superdiversity** focuses on this aspect of language contact and development and will be discussed further in chapter 10 .

In research which examines the complexities of urban speech, Jaspers (2008) also addresses some of the ideological issues at stake in the study of ethnic dialects. He addresses the practice of naming particular ways of speaking as **ethnolects** , pointing out that it is indicative of the ideological positions of the sociolinguists doing the research themselves. Labeling and describing a particular way of speaking as an ethnic dialect implies a certain homogeneity about the variety and its speakers, and it inevitably also places the dialect and the group who speaks it outside the mainstream. Further, such labeled varieties are not always linguistically distinct, despite the perception of speakers. Jaspers writes (2008, 100):

> The point is not that code-establishment and naming as such should be frowned upon, but that they limit our understanding of inner-city social and linguistic practices, and that they have ideological consequences sociolinguists should take into account. As an alternative, I have advocated that ethnolect be regarded as a useful term for speakers' perceptions of particular ways of speaking (and of course, some scholars of ethnolects are already attending to perceptions of this kind), with the understanding that speakers' perceptions, and the names they develop for them, do not necessarily correspond to systematic linguistic differences (and vice versa).

The following discussion of African American Vernacular English attempts to incorporate these disparate perspectives. In doing so, we seek to describe a fascinating linguistic phenomenon, the development and spread of a linguistic variety that is linked to a particular ethnic or racial group without contributing to **essentialist** ideas about social groups or making simplistic descriptions of languages.

African American Vernacular English

Interest in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) grew in part out of the observation that the speech of many Black residents of the northern United States, in New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, DC, Baltimore, Detroit, and Chicago, resembles the speech of Blacks in southern states in many respects, yet differs from the speech of Whites in their respective regions. To some extent, this similarity is the result of the relatively recent migrations of Blacks out of the south, but it is also a reflection of long-standing patterns of racial segregation. Linguists have referred to this variety of speech as *Black English* , *Black Vernacular English* , and *African* or *Afro-American English* . Today, probably the most-used term is *African American Vernacular English* , and we will use this term (abbreviated as AAVE), although in our discussions of research by particular authors we will use whatever term they used. (The term

Ebonics – a blend of *Ebony* and *phonics* – has also recently achieved a certain currency in popular speech, but it is not a term we will use in discussion of sociolinguistic research.) It should be also noted that variation in AAVE according to region (e.g., Hinton and Pollock 2000 ; Jones 2015 ; Wolfram and Thomas 2008), age (e.g., Rickford 1999 ; Wolfram and Thomas 2002), and social class (e.g., Britt and Weldon 2015 ; Linnes 1998 ; Weldon 2004 ; Wolfram 2007) has also been studied and that these social variables form an essential aspect of ongoing research. Indeed, the *The Oxford Handbook of African American Language* (Lanehart 2015, listed in Further Reading below) presents research that addresses variation within AAVE as well as the social factors, functions, and consequences of this variation.

Features of AAVE

The features of AAVE which have been researched include phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics (see also chapter 5 on variationist studies for discussions of research on this topic). We will focus here primarily on features which have been found to be specific to AAVE and which have been researched extensively over several decades. This is not, we stress, an exhaustive list of features nor an in-depth coverage of the research on their variation (please see the references in the Further Reading section to find more research on this topic). The aim of this section is to make our readers aware of some of the structural characteristics of this dialect.

On the phonological level, consonant cluster reduction has often been noted (e.g., from Labov 1972 to Wolfram and Thomas 2008); words such as *test* , *desk* , and *end* may be pronounced without their final consonants. Other phonological features commonly found in varieties of AAVE include r-lessness and /ai/ monophthongization, and realization of ‘th’ sounds as /t/, /d/, /f/, /v/ or /s/ (Thomas 2007), although these features are found in other varieties of English in North America and around the world.

Some of the most salient and frequently researched features of AAVE have to do with **verbal - *s* marking** . This involves the presence or absence of the suffix -s on finite verbs. In Standard English dialects, -s marking is only on third-person singular verbs (e.g., *She likes cheese*). In AAVE, this marking is sometimes absent (e.g., *She like school*) and this is considered one of the core features of AAVE. Further, verbal -s marking also appears in grammatical contexts other than third-person singular (e.g., *The men has wives*) in some varieties of AAVE. There is extensive literature on patterns of -s marking on verbs (Cukor-Avila 1997 ; Montgomery et al. 1993 ; Montgomery and Fuller 1996 ; Poplack and Tagliamonte 1989 , 1991 , 2005 ; Rupp and Britain 2019) showing similarities to other nonstandardized English dialects.

Another interesting pattern in the verbal system of AAVE is the use of the **zero copula** . As Labov (1969) has explained, the rule for its use is really quite simple. If you can contract *be* in Standard English, you can delete it in AAVE. That is, since ‘He is nice’ can be contracted to ‘He’s nice’ in Standard English, it can become ‘He nice’ in AAVE. However, ‘I don’t know where he is’ cannot be contracted to ‘I don’t know where he’s’ in Standard English. Consequently, it cannot become ‘I don’t know where he’ in AAVE. We should note that the zero copula is very rarely found in other dialects of English. It is also not categorical in AAVE; that is, there is variation between realization of copula forms and zero copula. Labov (1972) argued for the use of zero copula as a marker of group membership among certain Black youths in Harlem, members of a gang called the Jets. Zero copula use diminished as strength of group membership decreased. There is a wealth of literature on the linguistic factors in copula variation in AAVE (see, for example, Blake 1997 ; Hazen 2002 ; Rickford et al. 1991 ; Weldon 2003).

Still another feature of AAVE has been called **habitual *be*** (also called invariant *be* , or *be* $_2$). This feature has become a stereotype of Black speech, often imitated in caricatures of AAVE speakers; for example, the US toy store 'Toys "R" Us' has been jokingly called 'We Be Toys' in Harlem, a predominantly African American neighborhood of New York City (see the link to a discussion of this joke in the web links provided in the online materials for this textbook). The feature is called 'invariant' *be* because the copula is not conjugated but used in the form of *be* for all subjects (i.e., *I be* , *you be* , *he/she/it be* , etc.). It is called 'habitual' because it marks an action which is done repeatedly, that is, habitually. Thus the utterance *They be throwing the ball* does not mean that the people in question are (necessarily) currently throwing a ball, but that they often get together and throw a ball back and forth. This differs in meaning from *They (are) throwing the ball* , which indicates something that is happening at the current time. Research on this feature often focuses on its development, which leads us to another important aspect of research on this dialect as a whole: how did it develop, and how does it continue to change?

Development of AAVE

Sociolinguists have disagreed on how AAVE relates to other varieties of English in the United States. Kurath (1949 , 6) and McDavid (1965 , 258) argued that AAVE had no characteristics that were not found in other varieties of English, particularly nonstandardized varieties spoken by Americans of any color in the south. This is sometimes called the **Anglicist hypothesis** of origin. In this view, AAVE is just another dialect of American English (see Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2005 for more discussion).

Wolfram (2003) and Wolfram and Thomas (2002) take a slightly different position, favoring a neo-Anglicist hypothesis that early African Americans maintained certain features of the languages they brought with them while at the same time accommodating to the local dialects of English. Wolfram and Thomas say that such a **substrate** influence (see chapter 9) from the African languages still persists in AAVE, certainly in the variety they examined in Hyde County, North Carolina. Wolfram and Torbert (2006 , 228) claim that ‘AAE has diverged from European American varieties over the years, so that present-day AAE is now quite different from contemporary benchmark European American dialects. The differences are not due to earlier language history, but to the everyday nature of African American speech during the twentieth century.’

Diametrically opposed to this view is the view of the creolists, for example, Stewart (1967), Dillard (1972), and Rickford (1977 , 1997 , 1999), who maintain that AAVE is of **creole origin** , and therefore a variety of English which originated quite independently of Standard English. (As we’ll discuss in more detail in chapter 9 , creole languages are languages which develop in situations of language contact; in this case, contact between English-speaking settlers and colonizers and speakers of West African languages who were brought to the Americas as slave.) In this view, AAVE has features that are typical of creole languages, particularly the zero copula and habitual *be* , some residual Africanisms, and certain styles of speaking (such as rapping, sounding, signifying, and fancy talk) which look back to an African origin. The claim is that AAVE is not a dialect of English but a creolized variety of English which continues to have profound differences from the standardized variety.

However, more recent research seeks to incorporate both of these views, noting that while settler varieties may have formed the basis for AAVE, there is also evidence of the influence from creole varieties such as Gullah and possibly Caribbean creole languages (Winford 2017). Mufwene (2014) also promotes a view which combines these influences, taking the position that the English-origins position prevails, but this does not rule out contributions from creoles and African languages on the development of AAVE.

Societal aspects of AAVE use

Recent research on AAVE addresses its role in society along with the structural variation and change. Work on the role of AAVE in education has been of paramount importance (see Rickford et al. 2012), and the role of nonstandardized vernaculars and minoritized languages in schooling is a topic we will return to in chapter 12 . Recent research has focused on both the importance of the home language for children in terms of their social identities and development as well as ways of integrating the home language into instruction in order to foster both learning and community building.

Other lines of research investigate the use of AAVE in various other institutions such as churches (DeBose 2015) and courtrooms (Rickford and King 2016 ; Slobe 2016), again addressing issues of community and social network as well as inequalities and identities.

The use of AAVE in the media has also become an important line of research, both because the use of the dialect in this public space has increased and because sociolinguistics are increasingly tuned in to the importance of all types of media use as part of our linguistic performances. These studies look at features of AAVE and how they are used in public performances such as hip-hop music (Cutler 2008 , 2010) or Twitter (Jones 2015). The occurrence of Mock AAVE (Smokoski 2016) or what has been called CRAAVE (cross-race African American Vernacular English) by Bucholtz (1999) is also addressed, showing that AAVE is used to construct specific types of identities, drawing on essentialized ideas about violent and physically tough Black masculinity, as in Bucholtz's work, or Black women as 'fierce' and 'sassy,' as in a study on the use of AAVE by gay British men (Ilbury 2020). As we will discuss further in chapter 7 , the use of particular linguistic features is often part of stances and the construction of identities in interaction.

This brief overview of research on AAVE has raised two broad issues that we will continue to deal with throughout this text. First, language varieties are often associated with particular social groups and as such are used to construct the social identities of speakers. Second, these associations are often essentialized and used to discriminate. In the following section, we will look at the processes through which linguistic features acquire social meanings.

Styles and Indexes: The Social Meanings of Linguistic Forms

In addition to different regional and social dialects, there are also features of language which are linked to what has been called **style** . Recent research has investigated the question of how certain linguistic features become ideologically linked to particular varieties, and also how these features and varieties are used to create **stances** and construct social identities. While we will touch on this last point, this line of research will be developed more in chapter 7 ; our focus in this section is a discussion of the concepts involved in the study of the social meanings of linguistic forms.

A key concept in the understanding of stylistic variation is that of **indexicality** . An indexical relationship between a **sign** and its meaning develops through co-occurrence. The expression in English *when there's smoke there's fire* illustrates this. This phrase is usually used to mean that if there are rumors or accusations of wrongdoing, then they are probably true – the 'smoke' (rumors) would not appear if there was not 'fire' (actual wrongdoings). Thus smoke indexes fire. Another way of expressing indexical relationships is to say that an index 'points to' a particular entity or meaning. To use another nonlinguistic example, the occurrence of thunder indexes a storm – thus for instance in theater, the sound of thunder can be used to index (i.e., evoke for the audience) the presence of a storm (Johnstone 2016).

How is this relevant for language? Particular linguistic features can come to index speech styles, and these styles are linked to social identity categories. For instance, because the word *pop* to denote a soft drink such as Coke or 7-Up is heard in certain regions of the US, while *soda* is used in others, the use of *pop* has come to evoke regional belonging (in the Midwestern US). This is true of all types of linguistic features, not just the lexicon –

pronunciation, intonation, grammatical structures, or pragmatic and discourse strategies. We form associations between certain ways of speaking and the personas and social identities of language users.

However, it is important to note that exactly what social meanings are associated with particular ways of speaking may vary. This is exemplified in research on a style called 'Mock White Girl' (Slobe 2018). In all of the examples given, there are particular linguistic features which are used in all of the different Mock White Girl performances. One of these is uptalk, or raised intonation at the end of statements, another is the use of *like* as a **quotative** (e.g., *I was like, no way!*) or **focus particle** (e.g., *He was like, old*). While these features are often linked to particular personal characteristics (being blonde, liking Starbucks), the broader social meaning of being a White girl varies widely. In one context, the Mock White Girl features are used to link these ways of speaking to a childish person, in another to a perpetuator of everyday racism and microaggressions toward women of color, and in a third to trivialize the concerns of White girls. Thus while the linguistic features consistently index a social category, the ideological stance toward that category – and thus the social meaning of the use of the linguistic style – may vary. It should further be noted that these features have not been shown to be uniquely used by White females; thus the indexicality of these features is based on stereotyping.

This process of stereotypes of the speech of particular social groups is also addressed in recent work on **raciolinguistics** (Alim et al. 2016 ; Rosa 2016 ; Rosa and Flores 2017). This research investigates how connections are made between ways of speaking and racial categories, and how the ways of speaking associated with stigmatized social categories are devalued. This process involves assumptions and ideologies about language and language users. Rosa and Flores (2017) offer an example of how in the 2016 presidential election, Julian Castro, a Latinx man, was portrayed as linguistically deficient because of his (purported) lack of Spanish fluency, while Tim Kaine, a White man, was praised for his ability to speak (some) Spanish as a second language. Even assuming that there was any truth to the accusation of meager Spanish skills on Castro's part (see Rey Agudo 2019 for a discussion of this), the fact that both men spoke English fluently and also (at least some) Spanish was seen as a deficit in one case and an accomplishment in the other. This evaluation is the result of assumptions about indexicality – speaking Spanish indexes a Latinx identity – and also ideologies about the Spanish of immigrant background English speakers being a liability, and the Spanish of White mainstream English speakers being an achievement. Many of the critics of Castro's Spanish – and the Spanish of Latinxs in the US more generally – are not themselves Spanish speakers; but as White, mainstream English speakers, their assumptions about the linguistic deficiency of Latinx is taken seriously, and are part of the perpetuation of raciolinguistic stereotypes (Rosa and Flores 2017 , 628–629). As this example, as well as the Mock White Girl example, shows, indexicality is an ideological process.

Scholars have also discussed different types of indexical meaning, a summary of which is provided by Johnstone et al. (2006). What is called the first order of indexicality refers to features below the level of consciousness. An example of this is regional features; while for outsiders these mark speakers as being from a certain region, for non-mobile speakers they are not noticed because 'everyone speaks that way' (Johnstone et al. 2006 , 82). Second-order indexicality is when these features are recognized as belonging to certain ways of speaking, i.e., speakers can use them stylistically to index belonging or to distance themselves from the social group these ways of speaking are associated with. Third-order indexicality correlates with what Labov (1972) called **stereotypes** ; in this case linguistic features are widely recognized as belonging to particular varieties, and are used to construct identities of (stereotypical) members of the social group.

The process through which meaning becomes attached to linguistic form is called **enregisterment** (Agha 2006). This concept shifts the focus from a static description of what has been called a **register** (a way of speaking which is evocative of a particular context) to the dynamic process through which this association emerges. Johnstone (2016) discusses this process in terms of association of particular linguistic features and place, noting:

> 'Enregister' is a multi-place predicate. A (a linguistic form or some other potentially meaningful act) is enregistered with B (a register) by C (an agent) in terms of D (an ideological schema) because of E (an interactional exigency in which calling attention to the enregisterment of or enregistering one or more forms serves some rhetorical function) and F (a sociohistorical exigency that gives rise to metapragmatic practices). (Johnstone 2016 , 633–634)

To give just one example from Johnstone's article, a participant in an online forum about Pittsburghese said, 'I gotta tell yunz I think the way we talk is neat.' *Yunz* is a form heard in Pittsburgh which means 'you-plural.' This linguistic form (A) is enregistered with Pittsburghese (B) by this forum participation (C) in terms of the ideology of local belonging (D) evoked in the context of the online discussion which evaluates the regional dialect (E) which has been stigmatized but is also a matter of pride for its speakers (F).

Another relevant concept in the study of such stylistic performances is that of **entextualization** (Bauman and Briggs 1990). In this process, a chunk of discourse, or a text, becomes bounded, recognizable and replicable, and can thus be taken out of context and used in other discursive contexts. This is also discussed in terms of **intertextuality** , which is the use of text from one source to shape the meaning of another text (Fairclough 1992).

Leppänen et al. (2014) discuss this as a key resource for the construction of identities in social media, a point also discussed by Akkaya (2014). Language users on social media use chunks of text from other contexts to create new meanings. A prime example of this is the use of memes (Huntington 2013). In this multimodal form of communication, pictures and videos are circulated with changes in text which construct ideological stances (Davison 2012). In many cases, a particular photo is always used with the same text. For example, in the 'Am I a joke to you' meme shown in Figure 2.1 , there is a picture of a serious-looking man with the text *Am I a joke to you?* at the bottom. This meme is used to humorously scold someone for not taking someone or something seriously enough. We see one use of this meme in Figure 2.1 . Here, the meaning is clearly that the boy is lying and is 'talking to' (which in this context means flirting with, dating, etc.) other girls, but uses 'swearing on his grandma' to imply sincerity – and grandma in heaven accuses him of not taking her seriously. In this case, the meme can be interpreted without knowledge of past memes, as the text at the bottom makes the meaning explicit.

However, in some cases the picture in a meme is so well known it is used without text; in this case knowing the text which usually goes with the picture is necessary to interpret the meme. An example of this with this same meme is given in Figure 2.2 . Here the joke is about the lack of subtitles, with in this case the subtitles being the entity which is complaining about not being taken seriously.

In some cases, pictures from popular media, such as films, are used in such a way that the meaning is linked to the original text, which is not given in the meme; thus the meaning is derived from knowledge of the original source. An example of how meaning is tied to the entextualization of the picture can be found in the 'Is this a pigeon?' meme (https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/is-this-a-pigeon). This picture, taken from a Japanese anime TV series, shows a man holding up one hand and gesturing toward a butterfly; the original text was *Is this a pigeon?* The answer to this question is clearly no, and from this the meaning of this meme to indicate misunderstanding and confusion is derived. When other text is superimposed upon this picture, the same relationship between what the man represents and what the butterfly represents holds: the man is misidentifying the butterfly, and the answer to the question at the bottom is 'no.' For example, in one meme the man is labeled *depressed White guys* and the butterfly *White supremacist propaganda* and the question at the bottom is, *Is this a sense of belonging?* The message here is that while depressed White guys may think White supremacism will give them a sense of belonging, it will (or perhaps should) not.

Figure 2.1 'Am I a joke to you' meme.

Source: https://knowyourmeme.com/photos/1425673-am-i-a-joke-to-you

Figure 2.2 ‘Am I a joke to you’ meme without subtitles.

Source: https://meme.xyz/meme/42875&nomobileview=1

The larger social functions of meanings are multiple; as in this last example, memes can also be used to make socially critical and political statements (see also Piata 2016 for an analysis of Greek political campaigns). However, it should also be noted that there is research which describes the social meanings of memes as largely **phatic** (Varis and Blommaert 2015 ; Laineste and Voolaid 2017). In other words, the social work done by memes is entertainment and the creation of connection based on shared cultural knowledge.

Chapter Summary

What is the relationship between a language and a dialect? This chapter seeks to acknowledge many nonlinguists' perceptions about this issue while presenting the sociolinguists' stance that particular ways of speaking are considered distinct languages or subordinated dialects because of sociopolitical ideologies and identities, not because of linguistic differences between varieties. While a 'language' is considered an overarching category containing dialects, it is also often seen as synonymous with the standardized dialect; yet closer examination of the standard reveals that it is a value-laden abstraction, not an objectively defined linguistic variety. Further, every language has a range of regional dialects and social dialects, which develop due to social belonging as well as social stratification in linguistic communities. We also introduce some ideas about how these different varieties are used to create social meanings, looking at the processes of indexicality, enregisterment, and entextualization. These interrelated concepts are discussed and defined with a focus on how they are part of language users' identities and social interactions.

Exercises

1. Read the article from *The Independent* titled 'God save the Queen's English: Our language is under threat from ignorance, inverted snobbery, and deliberate "dumbing down".' (You can find this in the links listed for this chapter on the website for this textbook.) Find evidence of the following aspects of the 'standard language myth' referred to in this chapter, notably:
    - the standard as natural, as evidenced by its widespread use;
    - the link between the standard and the heritage and identity of its users;
    - the standard as linguistically superior;

- the standard as a clearly defined variety with recognizable features.

2. Find an internet meme and discuss it in terms of indexicality and entextualization. Define these terms and how they apply to the meme. What meaning is intended to be derived from the meme, or is it ambiguous? How is meaning derived by the viewer? What is the larger context of the use of the meme and how does this influence its interpretation?
3. Representing dialect. Find a novel that portrays AAVE speakers, such as the more recently published *The Hate U Give* by Angie Thomas or classics such as *The Color Purple* (Alice Walker) or *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (Zora Neale Hurston). What linguistic features are used in the dialogues to represent Black speakers? (Name at least four.) How are they similar to or different from the features discussed in this chapter? (Keep in mind that we have in no way presented a comprehensive list of features of AAVE; you may need to consult other research on AAVE if you want to draw conclusions about whether this fits with linguists' descriptions of the dialect.) Name and describe the features and give examples from the novel you are using. Do you think this writing represents authentic speech? What do you know about the author that contributes to your position on this?

Further Reading

Cukor-Avila, P. and A. Balcazar (2019). Exploring grammatical variation in the corpus of regional African American language. *American Speech: A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage* 94(1): 36–53.

Hughes, Arthur, Peter Trudgill, and Dominic Watt (2013). *English Accents and Dialects: An Introduction to Social and Regional Varieties of English in the British Isles* . Abingdon: Routledge. This fifth edition offers an up-to-date description and discussion of British Isles dialects, including both

rural and urban varieties which reflect the contemporary societies of this region.

Jaffe, A. and N. Coupland (2016). Indexicality, stance and fields in sociolinguistics. In *Sociolinguistics: Theoretical Debates* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 86–112. For students interested in how language is used to position speakers, this book explores this topic through research in a variety of languages and cultures.

Lanehart, Sonja L. (ed.) (2015). *The Oxford Handbook of African American Language* . New York: Oxford University Press. This volume offers an overview of African American language and its development, structure, and use.

Simmons, R. V. (2017). Whence came Mandarin? Qīng Guānhuà, the Běijīng dialect, and the national language standard in Early Republican China. *Journal of American Oriental Society* 137(1): 63–88.

Wiggins, B. E. (2019). *The Discursive Power of Memes in Digital Culture: Ideology, Semiotics, and Intertextuality* . London: Routledge.

Wolfram, W. and N. Schilling (2015). *American English: Dialects and Variation* , vol. 25. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. A comprehensive discussion both of issues in the study of dialects and of dialects specific to the US context, this text addresses theoretical issues involved in the study of language variation as well as applications of this knowledge to educational contexts.

References

Agha, A. (2006). Registers of language. In A. Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Akkaya, A. (2014). Language, discourse, and new media: A linguistic anthropological perspective. *Language* *and Linguistics Compass* 8(7): 285–300.

Alim, H. S., J. R. Rickford, and A. F. Ball (2016). *Raciolinguistics: How Language Shapes Our Ideas About Race* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Auer, Peter (2013). Ethnische Marker im Deutschen zwischen Varietät und Stil. *Das Deutsch der Migranten (IDS Yearbook 2012)* , 9–40.

Auer, Peter and Inci Dirim (2003). Socio-cultural orientation, urban youth styles and the spontaneous acquisition of Turkish by non-Turkish adolescents in Germany. In J. K. Androutsopoulos and A. Georgakopoulou (eds.), *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 223–246.

Bauman, R. and C. L. Briggs (1990). Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 59–88.

Blake, Rene (1997). Defining the envelope of linguistic variation: The case of ‘don’t count’ forms in the copula analysis of African American Vernacular English. *Language Variation and Change* 9(1): 57–79.

Britt, Erica and Tracey L. Weldon (2015). African American English in the middle class. In Sonja L. Lanehart (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of African American Language* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Brozović, D. (1992). Serbo-Croatian as a pluricentric language. *Pluricentric Languages: Differing Norms in Different Nations* 62: 347.

Bucholtz, M. (1999). You da man: Narrating the racial other in the production of White masculinity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3(4): 443–460.

Bunk, O. and M. Pohle (2019). 5 ‘Unter Freunden redet man anders’: The register awareness of Kiezdeutsch speakers. In *The Sociolinguistic Economy of Berlin: Cosmopolitan Perspectives on Language, Diversity and Social Space 17* : 97–124. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Coulmas, F. (1999). The Far East. In J. A. Fishman (ed.), *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crowley, T. (2003). *Standard English and the Politics of Language* . London: Palgrave.

Cukor-Avila, Patricia (1997). Change and stability in the use of verbal -s over time in AAVE. In *Englishes Around the World I* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 295–306.

Cutler, C. (2008). Brooklyn style: Hip-hop markers and racial affiliation among European immigrants in New York City. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 12(1–2): 7–24.

Cutler, C. (2010). Hip-hop, White immigrant youth, and African American Vernacular English: Accommodation as an identity choice. *Journal of English Linguistics* 38(3): 248–269.

Davison, P. (2012). The language of internet memes. In Michael Mandiberg (ed.), *The Social Media Reader* . New York: New York University Press, 120–134.

DeBose, C. E. (2015). African American church language. In Sonja L. Lanehart (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of African American Language* . New York: Oxford University Press, 677–690.

Dillard, J. L. (1972). *Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States* . New York: Random House.

Dollinger, S. (2019). *The Pluricentricity Debate: On Austrian German and Other Germanic Standard Varieties* . London: Routledge.

Engel, M. (2017). *That's the Way it Crumbles: The American Conquest of the English Language* .

London: Profile Books.

Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society* 3(2): 193–217.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (2013). Strasbourg revisited: C'est chic de parler français. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 224: 143–177.

Germanos, M. A. and C. Miller (2015). Is religious affiliation a key factor of language variation in Arabic-speaking countries? *Language & Communication* 42: 86–98.

Glück, H. (2017). Sachtemang mit dit Kiezdeutsche. *Studia Germanica Gedanensia* 37: 31–34.

Gooskens, C. (2007). The contribution of linguistic factors to the intelligibility of closely related languages. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 28(6): 445–467.

Gooskens, C. (2018). Dialect intelligibility. In Charles Boberg, John Nerbonne, and Dominic Watt (eds.), *The Handbook of Dialectology* . Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 204–218.

Harrington, J., S. Palethorpe, and C. I. Watson (2000). Does the Queen speak the Queen's English? *Nature* 408: 927–928.

Haugen, E. (1966). Dialect, language, nation. *American Anthropologist* 68: 922–935. In J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (1972), *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Hazen, K. (2002). Identity and language variation in a rural community. *Language* 78(2): 240–257.

Heeringa, W. and J. Nerbonne (2001). Dialect areas and dialect continua. *Language Variation and Change* 13: 375–400.

Heller, M. (2010). The commodification of language. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39: 101–114.

Hinton, L. N. and K. E. Pollock (2000). Regional variations in the phonological characteristics of African American Vernacular English. *World Englishes* 19(1): 59–71.

Huntington, H. E. (2013). Subversive memes: Internet memes as a form of visual rhetoric. *AoIR Selected Papers of Internet Research* 3.

Ilbury, C. (2020). 'Sassy Queens': Stylistic orthographic variation in Twitter and the enregisterment of AAVE. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 24(2): 245–264.

Jannedy, S. (2010). The usage and distribution of So in spontaneous Berlin Kiezdeutsch. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 52: 43–62.

Jaspers, J. (2008). Problematizing ethnolects: Naming linguistic practices in an Antwerp secondary school. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 12(1–2): 85–103.

Jaspers, J. and L. M. Madsen (2019). Fixity and fluidity in sociolinguistic theory and practice. In J. Jaspers and L. M. Madsen (eds.), *Critical Perspectives on Linguistic Fixity and Fluidity: Languagised Lives* . New York: Routledge.

Johnstone, B. (2016). Enregisterment: How linguistic items become linked with ways of speaking. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 10(11): 632–643.

Johnstone, B., J. Andrus, and A. E. Danielson (2006). Mobility, indexicality, and the enregisterment of 'Pittsburghese'. *Journal of English Linguistics* 34(2): 77–104.

Jones, T. (2015). Toward a description of African American Vernacular English dialect regions using 'Black Twitter'. *American Speech* 90(4): 403–440.

Jordan, P. (2018). Languages and space-related identity: The rise and fall of Serbo-Croatian. In Stanley D. Brunn and Roland Kehrein (eds.), *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map* . Cham: Springer, 1–21.

Kallmeyer, Werner and Inken Keim (2003). Linguistic variation and the construction of social identity in a German-Turkish setting. In J. K. Androutsopoulos and A. Georgakopoulou (eds.), *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities* . Pragmatics & Beyond, vol. 110. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 29–36.

Kaye, A. S. (2001). Diglossia: The state of the art. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 152: 117–130.

Keim, I. (1978). *Gastarbeiterdeutsch: Untersuchungen zum sprachlichen Verhalten türkischer Gastarbeiter: Pilotstudie* , vol. 41. TBL Verlag Narr.

King, R. D. (2001). The poisonous potency of script: Hindi and Urdu. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 150: 43–60.

Kopp, A. (1999). *The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift* . Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press.

Kurath, H. (1949). *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* . Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kurpaska, M. (2010). *Chinese Languages(s): A Look through the Prism of the Great Dictionary of Modern Chinese Dialects* . Berlin: De Gruyter.

Labov, W. (1969). Contraction, deletion, and inherent variability of the English copula. *Language* 45: 715–762.

Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular* . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Laineste, L. and P. Voolaid (2017). Laughing across borders: Intertextuality of internet memes. *European Journal of Humour Research* 4(4): 26–49.

Lee, D. Y. (2001). Genres, registers, text types, domains and styles: Clarifying the concepts and navigating a path through the BNC jungle. *Language Learning and Technology* 5(3): 37–72.

Leppänen, S., S. Kytölä, H, Jousmäki, S. Peuronen, and E. Westinen (2014). Entextualization and resemiotization as resources for identification in social media. In P. Seargeant and C. Tagg (eds.), *The Language of Social Media: Identity and Community on the Internet* . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 112–136.

Linnes, K. (1998). Middle-class AAVE versus middle-class bilingualism: Contrasting speech communities. *American Speech* 73(4): 339–367.

Lippi-Green, Rosina (2012). *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States* . 2nd edn. New York: Routledge.

Mallikarjun, B. (2002). Mother tongues of India according to the 1961 census. *Language in India* , 2(5). http://www.languageinindia.com/aug2002/indianmothertongues1961aug2002.html?source=post_page---------------------------, accessed January 20, 2020.

Matsuda, M. J. (1991). Voice of America: Accent, antidiscrimination law, and a jurisprudence for the last reconstruction. *Yale Law Journal* 100: 1329–1407.

McDavid, R. I. (1965). American social dialects. *College English* 26: 254–260.

Milroy, J. (2001). Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(4): 530–555.

Montgomery, M. and J. M. Fuller (1996). What was verbal -s in 19th century African American English? *Focus on the USA* 16: 211.

Montgomery, M., J. M. Fuller, and S. DeMarse (1993). 'The black men has wives and sweet harts [and third person plural-s] jest like the white men': Evidence for verbal -s from written documents on 19th-century African American speech. *Language Variation and Change* 5(3): 335–357.

Mufwene, S. S. (2014). The English origins of African American Vernacular English. In Sarah Buschfeld, Thomas Hoffmann, Magnus Huber, and Alexander Kautzsch (eds.), *The Evolution of Englishes: The Dynamic Model and Beyond* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 349.

Mugglestone, L. (1995). *'Talking Proper': The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol* . Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pfaff, C. W. (1980). Acquisition and development of 'Gastarbeiterdeutsch' by migrant workers and their children in Germany. In E. C. Traugott, R. Labrum, and S. C. Shepherd (eds.), *Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Historical Linguistics* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 381–439.

Piata, A. (2016). When metaphor becomes a joke: Metaphor journeys from political ads to internet memes. *Journal of Pragmatics* 106: 39–56.

Pinker, S. (2012). False fronts in the language wars: Why New Yorker writers and others keep pushing bogus controversies. *Slate* , May 31. https://slate.com/author/steven-pinker

Poplack, S. and S. Tagliamonte (1989). There's no tense like the present: Verbal -s inflection in early Black

English. *Language Variation and Change* 1(1): 47–84.

Poplack, S. and S. Tagliamonte (1991). African American English in the diaspora: Evidence from old-line Nova Scotians. *Language Variation and Change* 3(3): 301–339.

Poplack, S. and S. Tagliamonte (2005). Back to the present: Verbal -s in the (African American) English diaspora. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *Transported Dialects: Legacies of Non-Standard Colonial English* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 203–223.

Rey Agudo, R. (2019). There is nothing wrong with Julián Castro's Spanish. *New York Times* , July 27. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/27/opinion/sunday/julian-castro-spanish.html

Rickford, J. R. (1977). The question of prior creolization in Black English. In A. Valdman (ed.), *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* . Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Rickford, J. R. (1997). Prior creolization of African-American Vernacular English? Sociohistorical and textual evidence from the 17th and 18th centuries. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 1(3): 315–336.

Rickford, J. R. (1999). *African American Vernacular English* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Rickford, J. R., A. Ball, R. Blake, R. Jackson, and N. Martin (1991). Rappin on the copula coffin: Theoretical and methodological issues in the analysis of copula variation in African-American Vernacular English. *Language Variation and Change* 3(1): 103–132.

Rickford, J. R. and S. King (2016). Language and linguistics on trial: Hearing Rachel Jeantel (and other vernacular speakers) in the courtroom and beyond. *Language* 92(4): 948–988.

Rickford, J. R., J. Sweetland, A. E. Rickford, and T. Grano (2012). *African American, Creole, and Other Vernacular Englishes in Education: A Bibliographic Resource* . New York: Routledge.

Rosa, J. D. (2016). Standardization, racialization, languagelessness: Raciolinguistic ideologies across communicative contexts. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 26(2): 162–183.

Rosa, J. and N. Flores (2017). Unsettling race and language: Toward a raciolinguistic perspective. *Language in Society* 46(5): 621–647.

Rosewarne, D. (1994). Estuary English – Tomorrow's RP? *English Today* 10(1): 3–8.

Rupp, L. and D. Britain (2019). Verbal -s. In *Linguistic Perspectives on a Variable English Morpheme* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 25–128.

Salzman, Z., J. Stanlaw, and N. Adachi (2012). *Language, Culture, and Society: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology* . 5th edn. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Schüppert, A. and C. Gooskens (2012). The role of extra-linguistic factors in receptive bilingualism: Evidence from Danish and Swedish pre-schoolers. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 16(3): 332–347.

Slobe, T. (2016). Creepy-ass cracker in post-racial America: Don West's examination of Rachel Jeantel in the George Zimmerman murder trial. *Text & Talk* 36(5): 613–635.

Slobe, T. (2018). Style, stance, and social meaning in Mock White Girl. *Language in Society* 47(4): 541–567.

Smokoski, H. L. (2016). *Voicing the other: Mock AAVE on social media* . MA thesis, CUNY.

Spears, A. K. (1992). Reassessing the status of Black English (review article). *Language in Society* 21: 675–682.

Stewart, W. A. (1967). Sociolinguistic factors in the history of American Negro dialects. Florida FL Reporter 5(2): 11ff.

Thomas, E. (2007). Phonological and phonetic characteristics of African American Vernacular English. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1(5): 450–475.

Trudgill, P. (1995). *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society* . 3rd edn. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Vajta, K. (2013). Linguistic, religious and national loyalties in *Alsace* . *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 220: 109–125.

Varis, P. and J. Blommaert (2015). Conviviality and collectives on social media: Virality, memes, and new social structures. *Multilingual Margins: A Journal of Multilingualism from the Periphery* 2(1): 31.

Vassberg, Liliane Mangold (1993). *Alsatian Acts of Identity: Language Use and Language Attitudes in Alsace (No. 90)* . Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Wakelin, M. F. (1977). *English Dialects: An Introduction* . Rev. edn. London: Athlone Press.

Weldon, T. L. (2003). Revisiting the creolist hypothesis: Copula variability in Gullah and Southern Rural AAVE. *American Speech* 78(2): 171–191.

Weldon, T. L. (2004). African American English in the middle classes: Exploring the other end of the continuum. *NWAV (E): 2004 Meeting* , Ann Arbor, MI.

Wiese, H. (2010). Kiezdeutsch: ein neuer Dialekt des Deutschen. *In Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte (Issues* *on Sprache und Gesellschaft, Language, and Society)* . Edited by the Federal Centre for Political Education.

Wiese, H. (2012). *Kiezdeutsch: Ein neuer Dialekt entsteht* . Munich: C. H. Beck.

Wiese, H. (2014). Voices of linguistic outrage: Standard language constructs and discourse on new urban dialects. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies* 120: 2–25.

Winford, D. (2017). Some observations on the sources of AAVE structure. In C. A. Cutler, Z. Vrzic, and P. S. Angermeyer (eds.), *Language Contact in Africa and the African Diaspora in the Americas: In Honor of John V. Singler* , 53: 204–224. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wolfram, W. (2003). Reexamining the development of African American English: Evidence from isolated communities. *Language* 79(2): 282–316.

Wolfram, W. (2007). Sociolinguistic folklore in the study of African American English. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1(4): 292–313.

Wolfram, W., P. Carter, and B. Moriello (2004). Emerging Hispanic English: New dialect formation in the American South. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8: 339–358.

Wolfram, W. and N. Schilling-Estes (2005). *American English: Dialects and Variation* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Wolfram, W. and E. R. Thomas (2002). *The Development of African American English* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Wolfram, W. and E. Thomas (2008). *Development of African American English* . Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Wolfram, W. and B. Torbert (2006). When linguistic worlds collide (African American English). In W.

Wolfram and B. Ward (eds.), *American Voices* .
Oxford: Blackwell.

3
Defining Groups

KEY TOPICS

- How to define a speech community – regions, users, and norms
- How to define a community of practice – interactions
- Social network features and configuration
- Social identity and group membership
- How beliefs about groups of speakers and their languages shape how we speak

Language is both an individual phenomenon and a societal phenomenon. We look at the language of individuals and take into account their personal experiences, attitudes, and motivations for using language in different ways. But these individuals do not live in a vacuum, they are members of social groups, communities, cultures, and societies, so we are also concerned with how language use is influenced by membership in social groups. The material we cover in this chapter revolves around the underlying question of, how can we define and demarcate social groups? There are two broad aspects to this; what is meaningful for language users in terms of their sense of belonging and identification, and what is a meaningful way for sociolinguists to conceptualize and operationalize groups for the study of language use. As we'll see in the following sections, sociolinguists talk about groups in different ways, and these contribute different things to sociolinguistic research and our understanding of language variation.

We must remain aware that the groups we refer to in various research studies are often groups we have created for the purposes of our research using this or that set of factors. They are useful and necessary constructs but we would be unwise to assume that speakers themselves would also define their group membership along the same lines.

Further, we must be careful about our interpretation of the data from these groups. It is difficult to draw conclusions about individuals on the basis of observations we make about groups that we have defined for our research purposes. Furthermore, to say of any member of such a group that he or she will always exhibit a certain characteristic behavior is to offer a stereotype. We talk about such stereotypes as being part of essentialism, the idea that people can be placed into fixed social categories and that all members we assign to a category share certain traits which we see as the essence of this category. What sociolinguists (and social scientists) seek to do is not to make such generalizations, but to discover patterns in data which link social factors with language use without ignoring variation within groups and the specific practices and experiences that make up individual identities.

After our discussion of speech communities, social networks, and communities of practice, we will link these ideas about how we might define social groups with a framework for studying social identities in order to provide a bridge between individual repertoires and social categories. The final section of this chapter then moves on to look at how people view these social groups and the ways of speaking associated with them, looking at language attitudes, language ideologies, and perceptual dialectology studies.

Speech Communities

Sociolinguists have offered different interpretations of the concept of the speech community. We are faced with the dilemma of wanting to study groups of language users but lacking a clear definition of what comprises a group. We will discover that just as it is difficult to define such terms as language, dialect, and variety, it is also difficult to define speech community, and for many of the same reasons. Nevertheless, this concept has proved to be invaluable in sociolinguistic work in spite of a certain 'fuzziness' as to its precise characteristics.

Linguistic boundaries

In sociolinguistics, we need a specific definition of a group in order to do research. The kind of group that sociolinguists have generally attempted to study is called the **speech community** (see Patrick 2002 and Morgan 2001 , 2004 , for a general survey of the research). For purely theoretical purposes, some linguists have hypothesized the existence of an 'ideal' speech community. However, such a speech community cannot be the concern of sociolinguistics: it is a theoretical construct employed for a narrow purpose. Consequently, we must try to find some alternative view of speech community, one helpful to investigations of language in society rather than necessitated by abstract linguistic theorizing.

Lyons (1970 , 326) offers a definition of what he calls a 'real' speech community: 'all the people who use a given language (or dialect).' However, that merely shifts the issue to making the definition of a language (or of a dialect) also the definition of a speech community. If, as we saw in chapter 2 , it proves virtually impossible to define language and dialect clearly and unambiguously, then we have achieved nothing. It is really quite easy to demonstrate that a speech community is not coterminous with a language: while the English language is spoken in many places throughout the world, we must certainly recognize that it is also spoken in a wide variety of ways, in speech communities that are almost entirely isolated from one another, for example, in South Africa, in New Zealand, and among anglophone immigrants in China. We must ask ourselves in what sense does this modern lingua franca produce a speech community that might be of interest to us, that is, ask what else is shared other than the very language itself. Furthermore, if speech communities are defined solely by their linguistic characteristics, we must acknowledge the inherent circularity of any such definition in that language itself is a communal phenomenon. Language users do use linguistic characteristics to achieve group identity with, and group differentiation from, other language users, but they use other characteristics as well: social, cultural, political, and ethnic, to name a few. Our search must be for criteria other than, or at least in addition to, linguistic criteria if we are to gain a useful understanding of 'speech community.'

We should also note that a recognizable single speech community can employ more than one language, whether we use national boundaries to define it (e.g., Switzerland, Canada, Papua New Guinea, all countries with more than one official language), city (or city-state) designations (e.g., Berlin, Singapore, New York City, where multiple languages are used for everyday interactions, education, and commerce), or neighborhood boundaries (e.g., in Little Village in Chicago you can hear both Spanish and English and in San Francisco's Chinatown both Cantonese and English are commonly used). While these speech communities are all defined in terms of geographic areas, as we will see in the discussion below, there are other criteria besides language and region we can use to define speech communities.

Shared norms

One approach to defining a speech community often taken in sociolinguistics is to say that the language users in such a community share some kind of common feeling about linguistic behavior in that community, that is, they observe certain linguistic **norms** . Such an appeal to norms is an essential part of Labov's definition of speech community (1972, 120–121):

> The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.

This definition shifts the emphasis away from members of a speech community speaking the same to ascribing the same social meanings to particular ways of speaking. Milroy (1987 , 13) has indicated some consequences of such a view:

> Thus, all New York speakers from the highest to lowest status are said to constitute a single speech community because, for example, they agree in viewing presence of post vocalic [r] as prestigious. They also agree on the social value of a large number of other linguistic elements. Southern British English speakers cannot be said to belong to the same speech community as New Yorkers, since they do not attach the same social meanings to, for example, (r): on the contrary, the highest prestige accent in Southern England (RP) is non-rhotic. Yet, the Southern British speech community may be said to be united by a common evaluation of the variable (h); *h* -dropping is stigmatized in Southern England ... but is irrelevant in New York City or, for that matter, in Glasgow or Belfast.

Thus it is not so much how one speaks as how one evaluates ways of speaking that forms a speech community according to this definition. For the purpose of research, however, this is not a practical definition; values of particular ways of speaking are even less immediately apparent than linguistic patterns. Thus while this idea about shared norms is an important one, it does not easily lead to clearly demarcated speech communities.

Exploration 3.1 Acceptability Judgments

Consider whether you judge each of the following usages acceptable, unacceptable, or maybe acceptable. Then ask yourself why you respond that way, that is, what are you actually responding to? Do you associate these usages with particular groups of language users? Do you have a perception of regional or social-class difference? Have you been told that particular ways of speaking are ‘wrong’? In other words, try to figure out a basis for your judgment (and your willingness to judge). Discuss this with the other members of the class; do you share norms about these utterances, and assign them the same social meanings? Can you explain similarities and differences in judgments in terms of speech community membership?

1. He hurt hisself.
2. She done it.
3. The boy run away last week.
4. To whom did you give it?
5. They ain’t got no money left.
6. Can I leave the room now?
7. Just between you and I, I think he’s crazy.
8. There’s twenty people in the room.
9. Stand over there by them boys.
10. Sally dove in at the deep end.
11. That’ll learn you!
12. I’m going to buy me a car.

The concept of the speech community is also somewhat abstract because the particular norms that a community uses may or may not be exclusively linguistic in nature, and along with norms about particular linguistic variables and their social meanings and values, these norms involve evaluations of ways that language is used as well. In other words, we again are using the concept of communicative competence, that is, that language users within a speech community share a sense of social norms in discourse, along with ideas about the social group identities indexed by various varieties or features of language. One example of how discourse patterns may be significant within a speech community is found in Hymes (2004). He presents analyses of narratives from various Native American groups, showing how, even when they are produced in English, there are distinctive features which can be traced back to narrative structures in the Native American languages. These speakers use English in special ways to maintain their separate identities within the dominant English-speaking community (see chapter 5 for more on social dialects).

Gumperz (1971 , 114) expresses much the same view of the importance of shared norms, and also notes that the groups may be of various sizes and formed for various purposes:

> Most groups of any permanence, be they small bands bounded by face-to-face contact, modern nations divisible into smaller subregions, or even occupational associations or neighborhood gangs, may be treated as speech communities, provided they show linguistic peculiarities that warrant special study.

Thus the relationship between language and social structure is paramount in the development of the concept of the speech community, and this includes the idea that there are different levels of speech communities which correspond to different types of social groups. While we may be able to talk about a speech community of speakers of North American English, we can also identify smaller groups with their own norms for interaction related to specific regions, religious organizations, occupational groups, etc. within this larger speech community.

It is also possible for language users to share certain norms for language when they do not share linguistic systems. For example, in Central Europe many speakers of Czech, Austrian German, and Hungarian share rules about the proper forms of greetings, suitable topics for conversation, and how to pursue these, but no common language. They are united in a *Sprachbund* ('speech area'), not quite a speech community, but still a community defined in some way by speech (Kurzová 2019). As we can see, then, trying to define the concept of speech community requires us to come to grips with definitions of other concepts, principally group, language (or variety), and norm.

A single speech community also need not contain only a single language or single variety. Gumperz (1971 , 101) points out that 'there are no *a priori* grounds which force us to define speech communities so that all members speak the same language.' As we will see in chapter 8 , many societies exist in which bilingualism and multilingualism are the norm, and the use of multilingual discourse may be part of the speech community norms. It is such considerations as these that lead Gumperz to use the term linguistic community rather than speech community. He proceeds to define that term as follows:

> a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication. Linguistic communities may consist of small groups bound together by face-to-face contact or may cover large regions, depending on the level of abstraction we wish to achieve. (Gumperz 1971 , 101)

This brings out another aspect of our definition of speech communities: they are defined partly through their relationships with other communities. Internally, a community must have a certain social cohesiveness; externally, its members must find themselves cut off from other communities in certain ways. The factors that bring about cohesion and differentiation will vary considerably from occasion to occasion. You are a member of one speech community by virtue of the fact that on a particular occasion you identify with speakers of European French rather than Quebecois French; in another context you may distinguish between Parisian norms and those from the south of France. Thus, it is context and contrast that help us decide what level of speech community is relevant. This approach would suggest that there is a French speech community (because there are English and German ones), a Parisian speech community (because there are London and Bostonian ones), but also speech communities within the greater metropolitan area of Paris – we will return to this example below when we discuss language attitudes.

These examples based on geography bring up another aspect of speech communities – with increased media interaction, there are many communities comprised of people who are not in geographical proximity within online communities, WhatsApp groups, Twitter followers, etc. (Milburn 2015). This, then, raises the issue of practices and how they are part of community. Jacquemet (2019) argues that speech communities must be redefined to not only include multiple codes but also digital ways of communicating; while previous assumptions about the indexicality of codes need to be re-examined, a sense of belonging is a salient aspect of group membership. In the following sections, we will explore other ways of defining groups that take these ideas into account.

Communities of Practice

As indicated above, one possible definition of a speech community is simply a group of people who interact regularly. Such groups and communities themselves are ever changing, their boundaries are often porous, and internal relationships shift. They must constantly reinvent and recreate themselves. Today's middle class, youth, New Yorkers, women, immigrants, and so on, are not yesterday's nor will they be tomorrow's. The group chosen to identify with will also change according to situation: at one moment religion may be important; at another, regional origin; and at still another, perhaps membership in a particular profession or social class. An individual may also attempt to bond with others because all possess a set of characteristics, or even just a single characteristic (e.g., be of the same gender), or even because all lack a certain characteristic (e.g., are not categorized as 'White'). Language bonding appears to be no different. In one case, command of a particular language may be a potent marker and, therefore, help create a sense of community and solidarity with others (e.g., a group of Italian speakers abroad); in another case, where you speak a variety associated with Sardinia or Sicily may divide these same speakers. However, even sharing the same dialect might be of no significance: if the circumstances require you to discuss astrophysics, your knowledge of the terms and concepts of astrophysics may be more important than the regional or social dialect you speak. Alternatively, speakers of Yoruba may find themselves forming a community with speakers of Japanese and Arabic within an English-speaking foreign-student speech community at a North American or European university.

One way sociolinguists try to get at this dynamic view of social groups is with the idea that speakers participate in various **communities of practice** . Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1998 , 490) define a community of practice as 'an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagements in some common endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavor.' A community of practice is at the same time its members and what its members are doing to make them a community: a group of workers in a factory, an extended family, an adolescent friendship group, a women's fitness class, a Kindergarten classroom, and so on. They add (1998, 490): 'Rather than seeing the individual as some disconnected entity floating around in social space, or as a location in a network, or as a member of a particular group or set of groups, or as a bundle of social characteristics, we need to focus on communities of practice.' (See Meyerhoff and Strycharz 2013 for additional details.) It is such communities of practice that shape individuals, provide them with their identities, and often circumscribe what they can do. Eckert (1988 , 2000) used this concept in her research in a Detroit-area high school and Mendoza-Denton (2008) also used it in her work with groups of Latina girls in California. These variationist sociolinguistic studies will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5 .

One study which makes use of the community of practice construct for the study of language and identities is Bucholtz (1999), an investigation of the language of 'nerd girls' in a US high school. Bucholtz notes the following ways in which the concept of speech community is inadequate for research on language gender:

a. Its tendency to take language as central.
b. Its emphasis on consensus as the organizing principle of community.
c. Its preference for studying central members of the community over those at the margins.
d. Its focus on the group at the expense of individuals.
e. Its view of identity as a set of static categories.
f. Its valorization of researchers' interpretations over participants' own understandings of their practices. (1999, 207)

Bucholtz argues that within the community of practice framework, we can define a social group by all social practices, not just language. This concept can also incorporate the idea that there may be conflict within a group about these practices and norms, and thus marginal members of communities, as individuals, can be better included in the analysis. Further, as we will discuss below, this does not put speakers into pre-existing identity categories, but focuses instead on their own construction of identity. Finally, through ethnographic research, it allows for the analysis to focus on how the speakers themselves, not the researcher, enact group memberships.

In this study on nerd girls, Bucholtz notes how the girls both conform to the larger social order (i.e., by focusing on academic achievement) and also resist it (i.e., by rejecting traditional ideas of femininity in dress and appearance). The values of the members of this community of practice are not set norms which define them, but rather are negotiated through ongoing social practices, that is, their interactions serve to define what a nerd is and how the various members of their group fit in this category.

This concept of authenticity in an identity category can also be found in Jones (2011), who writes about the construction of an '(in)authentic lesbian' identity within a lesbian women's community of practice, in which 'girly' practices were deemed less authentic than 'dykey' ones.

There are also studies which seek to expand on the community of practice concept of conflict, not consensus, as part of interaction. Davies (2005 , 1) argues that the idea of legitimacy is central in community of practice analyses and power structures cannot be ignored: 'While practices may define the community, the community determines who has access to that practice.' Moore (2006) looks at narratives told among high school students in the northwest of England, noting that status inequalities can lead to inequitable allocation of control within a community of practice, and that such hierarchies must be taken into account in the study of community-building and identity construction. (See Gee 2005 for a further discussion of this issue and the usefulness of the community of practice approach for linguistic studies.)

The community of practice framework has also been used to study online communities (Angouri 2016). Early research explicitly focused on the development of norms; Herring (2001 , 622), in an article reviewing research on computer-mediated communication, writes: 'Over time, computer-mediated groups develop *norms* of practice regarding "how things are done" and what constitutes socially desirable behavior; these may then be codified in “Frequently Asked Question” documents (FAQs …) and netiquette guidelines.’ Other aspects of research which make reference to norm development are within the area of pragmatics, looking at how (im)politeness expectations are negotiated in online contexts (e.g., Graham 2007 ; Locher 2010 ; Kavanagh 2016). (See chapter 4 for further discussion of pragmatics and politeness theory.)

Another theme in research employing the community of practice framework and online contexts is the focus on the emergence of communities and the negotiation of individual identities with regard to community membership (Georgakopoulou 2006). For example, Cochrane (2017) examines how community-building takes place through blogs of wheelchair users. There is increasing focus on online communities for language learning purposes, including networks of language teachers; see England (2018) for an overview of this for TESOL. (See also Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2007 for a further discussion of this aspect of communities of practice, i.e., the positioning of their members with relation to the world beyond the community of practice.)

Social Networks

Another way of viewing how an individual relates to other individuals in society is to ask what **social networks** he or she participates in. That is, how and on what occasions does a specific individual A interact now with B, then with C, and then again with D? How intensive are the various relationships: does A interact more frequently with B than with C or D? How extensive is A’s relationship with B in the sense of how many other individuals interact with both A and B in whatever activity brings them together? In a situation in which A, B, C, D, and E are linked in a network, do they all have links to each other or are B, C, D, and E only linked to A but not each other? How people in a social network are linked to each other is one way of viewing social groups as defined by the kinds, frequency, and constellation of social interactions.

Research on social networks in sociolinguistics has proliferated in the last few decades, but is most directly linked to Milroy (1980, 1987; Milroy and Llamas 2013). This work adapted sociological social network theory to sociolinguistics and showed how it could be used in the study of language. Different types of social networks contribute to different pattern of language variation and change (a topic which will be addressed in more detail in chapter 5). You are said to be involved in a **dense social network** if the people you know and interact with also know and interact with one another. If they do not do so, the social network is a **loose** one. You are also said to be involved in a **multiplex social network** if the people within it are tied together in more than one way, that is, not just through work but also through other social activities. People who go to school together, marry each other's siblings, and work and play together participate in dense multiplex networks. (To see diagrams of these different types of networks, see the page for social network theory on *English Language and Linguistics Online* , http://www.ello.uos.de/).

In England multiplex social networks are said to be found at the extremes of the social-class structure. Such networks indicate strong social cohesion, produce feelings of solidarity, and encourage individuals to identify with others within the network. In terms of language use, this means that distinct features are often preserved. On the other hand, middle-class networks are likely to be loose and simplex; therefore, social cohesion is reduced and there are weaker feelings of solidarity and identity. Within such networks linguistic norms are less well enforced (Milroy 1980).

The social networks of particular individuals are not fixed; they can change, just as the ways in which people speak can change over their lifetimes. People also belong to different networks of different strengths. The availability of computers, smart phones, and other devices has produced entirely new types of social networking which many people now use extensively, and there is now a body of research which looks at how these virtual networks function as speech communities (see Androutsopoulos 2006 ; Aitchison and Lewis 2003 ; and Akkaya 2014 for overviews of this research).

Much linguistic behavior seems explicable in terms of network structure and we will see in chapter 5 how valuable the concept of 'social network' is when we consider matters of language variation and change (see Milroy and Llamas 2013 for additional details). One of the advantages of a social network approach to the study of social groups is that instead of dealing with abstract categories, it looks specifically at who interacts with whom, and how. In this way it is similar to community of practice research. As noted by Milroy and Gordon (2008 , 119), these two methods differ primarily in method and focus: social network approaches look at the ties that foster innovation or the maintenance of linguistic norms, while community of practice research examines how these features are used within group interaction. We will return to this topic and to a discussion of studies employing these frameworks in chapters 5 and 6 as we continue to develop our ideas on language variation and sociolinguistic methodologies.

Exploration 3.2 Social Networks

Draw a quick version of your own social network – yourself and ten close friends or family members (don't overthink this; this is not an actual social network analysis, merely an exercise to get us thinking about how these relationships work in our lives!). Use solid lines for strong ties, dotted lines for weak ties, and single and double lines for those you have infrequent versus frequent contact with.

How would you describe your social network – loose, dense, multiplex or simplex? Looking at your own network, what predictions would you make about who you share the most linguistic features with, and why? (And do you think this is accurate?)

Social Identities

Many of the ideas and issues involved in the study of speech communities, communities of practice, and social networks have been incorporated into the scholarship on language and identity. In chapter 1 , we introduced the concept of identity as 'the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories' (Kroskrity 2000 , 111). Much of the literature on language and identity is based on the post-structuralist idea that social practices (such as language use) produce and reproduce the social world, including speaker identities (Carter 2013). Thus, as Foucault (1980) has argued, the self is not fixed, but is something which is positioned and repositioned through discourse.

A framework for the study of language and identity has been presented by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). They spell out five key aspects of the relationship of language and identity, which we explain below with relevant examples.

(1) Identity is not something you *have* , it is something you *do* . Although we often think of identities as some

sort of ‘real self,’ within social theory this is not what is meant by identity. Instead, identities are constructed through social behavior. Thus, sexual identity is not seen as a fixed attribute of a person, but performed through references to partners, self-labeling (e.g., ‘gay’ or ‘straight’), or indirect indices which indicate sexuality within a particular culture (e.g., rainbows as a symbol of LGBTQ identification).

(2) There are multiple levels of identity. These include identification with enduring social categories such as ‘race’ but also situational roles such as ‘teacher’ and interactional stances of similarity and difference. So an African American teacher in a majority White school may see herself as a member of a community of practice with the other teachers at the elementary school where she works, but may also construct her identity as different from these colleagues in a discussion of race or White privilege.

(3) Various linguistic means can be used to construct identities. These include such means as explicit naming (e.g., ‘I’m Mexican’; see Shenk 2007), or the use of a particular language to index an identity (e.g., Spanish to index a Mexican or Latinx identity), along with many others. We will discuss this further in chapter 7 .

(4) Identities are constructed in relationship to other people. For example, an individual’s identity as a woman, with a focus on the physical attributes of womanhood, may be brought to the forefront in one interaction (e.g., in a discussion about mammograms), but in another situation this identity may be further defined with regard to professional identity (e.g., while participating in a women’s mentoring organization at work). In an online interaction, the gender identity of this same person may be completely irrelevant and unknown to the other participants in the dialogue. (See chapter 7 for further discussion of this aspect of identity construction through discourse.)

(5) There are multiple forces that play a role in the construction of identities. Much of our identity performance is unconscious, although we may also think

about our performances or even practice them in front of the bathroom mirror! Further, in some cases, identity categorizations may be imposed upon individuals by others (Kroskrity 2000 , 113) or they may be severely constrained by others' perceptions (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). For instance, Fuller (2012) reports about a girl in a German-English bilingual classroom in Berlin, Germany, who repeatedly attempted to establish her identity as a speaker of German by using this code with her classmates. However, by often replying to her in English, her peers constrained her construction of her bilingual identity.

The concept of identity we provide here is probably a very different meaning from how you might use this word in your everyday life; in sociolinguistics, and in social theory more generally, this term has a very specific meaning. So for the purpose of doing sociolinguistics, you will need to think of identity as something which is continually reconstructed and may be redefined through discourse; identities do not exist outside of discourse (see Baxter 2002 , drawing on the work of Foucault 1980).

Issues of identity are particularly salient in work by Rampton (1995a , 1995b , 1999 , 2001 , 2010) on what he calls **crossing** : 'Language crossing involves code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using (code switching into varieties that are not generally thought to belong to them)' (Rampton 1995a , 485). The participants in his research are London teenagers, some of whom come from families who came to England from Pakistan or Jamaica, and speak Panjabi or Jamaican Creole in addition to various varieties of English, for example, Asian English, working-class London English dialects, and Standard English varieties. Within multiethnic social networks the teens use all these codes in various ways to index various stances and identities. While these youths have their own speech community, they also participate in other communities which lay claim to them, particularly ethnic communities. They integrate repertoires and adopt (and mock) norms of speaking from these other communities in their youth networks.

Each individual is therefore a member of many different groups. It is in the best interests of most people to be able to identify themselves on one occasion as members of one group and on another as members of another group. Such groups also may or may not overlap. One of the consequences of the intersecting identifications is, of course, linguistic variation: all people do not speak alike, nor does any individual always speak in the same way on every occasion. The variation we see in language must partly reflect a need that people have to be seen as the same as certain other people on some occasions and as different from them on other occasions.

How identities are constructed and manifested is a pervasive issue in sociolinguistics. We will see its relevance to language use in the chapters that follow. In chapters 5 – 7 , we will address how the concept of identity is approached through different sociolinguistic methodologies. Chapter 8 will show how the study of identities is addressed in this study of multilingualism, and chapter 11 will include a discussion of research on gender and sexuality identities.

Beliefs about Language and Social Groups

A key aspect of the study of language and social groups is that how languages are evaluated usually has very little to do with their linguistic features, and much more to do with the social status of the groups associated with them. These beliefs about linguistic groups also influence how language users use particular features and varieties of languages and are thus central to our understandings of social groups and language use.

Many people hold strong beliefs on various issues having to do with language and are quite willing to offer their judgments on these issues (see Bauer and Trudgill 1998 ; Niedzielski and Preston 1999). They believe such things as certain languages lack grammar, that you can speak English without an accent, that French is more logical than English, that parents teach their children to speak, that primitive languages exist, that English is degenerating and language standards are slipping, that pronunciation should be based on spelling, and so on and so on. Much discussion of language matters in the media concerns such 'issues' and there are periodic attempts to 'clean up' various bits and pieces, attempts that Cameron (1995) calls 'verbal hygiene.' Unfortunately, often people who voice opinions on this do not have any background in linguistics, but it has proven difficult to educate them otherwise. (But we hope that, after reading this book, you will go on to try.)

While sociolinguistic research on language largely focuses on a descriptive, not prescriptive, approach, attitudes and ideologies about language influence language use, as well as being areas of study in their own right. In the next two sections, we will look at two strands of research that address how such lay beliefs about language and social groups are an important part of the study of sociolinguistics.

Language ideologies

Sociolinguists have increasingly been aware that how people feel about different ways of speaking, and how they evaluate particular linguistic features, plays a role in how they use language. Here we will review research on **language ideologies** , and in the next section we will discuss research on **language attitudes** . These two areas of study are generally distinguished in two ways: language attitude research looks at the ideas about specific varieties held by people from different sociolinguistic groups, while language ideology research looks at societal discourses and how they are reproduced in media as well as public and private speech. Language attitudes and ideologies clearly interact and influence each other, and the lines between them may become blurred. However, there are also methodological differences, with language ideology research focusing more exclusively on discourse analytic methods and traditional language attitude research employing methods which seek to elicit speakers' views, often via surveys.

Errington (2000 , 115) describes the study of language ideologies as 'a rubric for dealing with ideas about language structure and use relative to social contexts.' Particularly relevant here are ideologies which privilege certain ways of speaking as inherently 'better' than others. While there are many language ideologies (see Fuller 2019 for an overview), here we will introduce three commonly occurring language ideologies: the standard language ideology, the purist ideology, and the monoglot ideology.

The standard language ideology

The standard language ideology revolves around the belief that a particular variety of a given language (the standardized variety) is superior to other related varieties (which are often labeled as 'dialects,' as discussed in chapter 2). Inherent in this ideology is the belief that languages are internally homogeneous, bounded systems. The concept of **hegemony** is important here; hegemonic ideologies are dominant ideologies which achieve their dominance in society through broad consensus and acceptance of them as some sort of 'truth.' Although as linguists we know that there is nothing linguistically superior about the standard, belief in its superiority is so widespread that many people will come up with arguments about why certain nonstandard features of language are linguistically inferior (i.e., 'lazy' or 'illogical'). Here, even those who are disadvantaged by these ideologies believe in them – thus it is not uncommon for speakers of nonstandard varieties to consider their own language deficient because they have accepted the standardized language ideology as 'truth.' Lippi-Green (2012) exemplifies and refutes the standard language ideology in a chapter titled 'The Real Trouble with Black English,' saying that although criticisms of AAVE are often made on the basis of linguistic inferiority, linguistic analyses have shown that AAVE is a rule-governed, systematic language with every bit as much sophistication as any other variety of English. What bothers speakers of Standard English is that they feel that continued use of AAVE is a rejection of mainstream – often perceived as White – middle-class values.

The standard language ideology can also be used to discriminate against ‘ **non-native** ’ speakers of a language; the main principle is the same, that one way of speaking is inherently better than all others, but in this case the ways of speaking are linked to being a learner or second language speaker of a language. Lindemann and Moran (2017) discuss the use of the term ‘broken English’ in the US context. A major finding of their study is that this term is used to construct the ‘other’ in US society and is often used as a descriptor for people who are described negatively in other ways (e.g., criminals). In the cases in which ‘broken English’ is assigned to a person of high social status, it is used to portray their high status as problematic or perhaps undeserved.

The purist ideology

A second common ideology is a purist ideology, which rests on the idea that languages – again, as static, bounded systems – should not change but should retain a pure state. This attitude often stigmatizes youth speech as well as other innovations which are part of the natural development of language. Research by Albury and Carter (2018) illustrates this for Maori, the indigenous language of New Zealand. This language was once essentially outlawed by British colonialists, but is now being revitalized, and older speakers have negative attitudes about the Maori spoken by younger speakers who include innovative features; in other words, they have purist ideologies about language. However, this research illustrates an important aspect of hegemonic ideologies: despite dominance, hegemony is never complete (Woolard 1998). In this case, some of the youth who speak Maori are resistant to purist attitudes; for instance, they used loanwords from English and in surveys they gave responses noting that all languages borrow vocabulary. Further, the overwhelming majority of these youths did not feel that one needed to completely master the language in order to use it, but rather that using the language with learner errors was fine – indeed, desirable, as the alternative was allowing the language to die out. Thus the purist ideology, while not altogether absent in the discourse of these youths, was challenged.

Monoglossic ideologies

The final type of ideology we will discuss here is what are called monoglossic ideologies, which value monolingualism over multilingualism. We refer to this in the plural as there are different monoglossic ideologies – 'the one nation–one language' ideology, for example, which demands strict indexicality between a language and a nation. Monoglossic ideologies may also include purist attitudes about borrowing (i.e., that the language should remain 'pure' from the influence of other languages). Monoglossic ideologies stigmatize language mixing, a topic we will return to in chapter 8 .

Again, it is important to note that while hegemonic ideologies – for example the ideology that national belonging is indexed through the national language – do exist, this hegemony may be challenged. In a study about Ukrainian language ideologies Seals (2019) notes that some young Ukrainians in her study claimed that 'it doesn't matter what you speak,' and argued that speaking Russian did not make you less Ukrainian. This challenge to the monoglossic ideology of 'one nation–one language' illustrates another aspect of hegemony: although it can be challenged, the challenges must recognize (and thus reproduce) the hegemonic ideology. The protest that the link between the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian identity is not absolute must also acknowledge the pervasive ideology of an indexical relationship between language and national identity.

Exploration 3.3 Slang

Look at the definitions for ‘slang’ provided on Urban Dictionary, an online dictionary providing definitions posted by users. (Ignore those that have nothing to do with language use; this word can also be used to mean sex, drug dealing, and the past tense of *sling* by some speakers.) What are the ideologies about slang that appear in this forum? To what extent are they about language (and, often, language decay) and to what extent are they about the groups of people associated with the use of slang?

Iconicity, erasure, and recursivity

A framework for the study of language ideologies was proposed by Gal and Irvine (1995) in which they outline the concepts of iconicity, erasure, and recursivity. The relationship between language and social groups is seen as iconic: language does not just index a social group (as discussed in the last chapter) but is perceived as sharing features with it. For example, in Dickinson’s (2010) research in the Zakarpattia region, she notes that although this region was recognized as part of the Ukraine, it was also viewed as a wild and foreign ‘other.’ Descriptions of the dialect of this region by outsiders always included reference to indecipherable words for everyday objects, and in this way the ‘otherness’ of the language depicted the ‘otherness’ of the people.

Erasure occurs when certain information about languages is ignored in order to support a particular ideology. An interesting example of this is provided by Alfaraz (2018) in a study of language ideologies in the Cuban diaspora. She found that while Cuban Spanish had high prestige in the diaspora, Spanish spoken in Cuba was stigmatized. The study showed that the participants could not actually distinguish between the two varieties but assumed that speakers using nonstandard features were from Cuba. Further, if they were told that speakers were from Cuba and not the diaspora, they rated these voices as less standard, regardless of the actual features which were used in the sample. Thus, the linguistic reality was entirely erased by these speakers; they ignored the linguistic features and assumed standardized speech for the diaspora speakers. This erasure allowed them to maintain the ideology of the superiority of the Spanish spoken in the diaspora over that spoken in Cuba.

Finally, relationships between languages are recursive, meaning that they are repeated on different linguistic levels. For example, the hierarchical relationship between English and indigenous and immigrant languages in the US is replicated between dialects. That is, while English is seen as superior to other languages (supported by a monoglossic ideology), the standard language ideology reinforces this same hierarchical order with English varieties. Thus the standard – that is, some idealized standardized variety of English – is seen as superior to regional, ethnic, or social-class varieties.

Language attitudes

As mentioned above, the study of language attitudes overlaps with the study of language ideologies; both look at how people feel about languages, with language ideology research focusing more on larger societal discourses. The methodologies used to look at these phenomena are part of how we categorize research as being on ideologies or attitudes. This is not a clear distinction, however; although the analysis of discourse has traditionally led to research which talks about ideologies, Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2017) advocate interactional data in the study of language attitudes.

In this section we will focus on experimental methods more traditionally associated with attitude research. One of the issues involved in research methodology is whether the research participants reveal conscious or explicit language attitudes, or if the task seeks to elicit subconscious or implicit attitudes (see Rosseel and

Grondelaers 2019 ; Pharao and Kristiansen 2019 for an in-depth discussion of the complexity of these distinctions). While of course it is possible to directly ask research participants what they think of different ways of speaking, in surveys or interviews, a number of other methods have been devised to get at what have been called subconscious or implicit attitudes about language and their users. In the next section, we will discuss a method involving the use of maps to elicit descriptions and evaluations of regional varieties which is called **perceptual dialectology** . In the subsequent sections, we will also discuss a well-known indirect method of studying language attitudes, called **matched guise** or **verbal guise** technique, and the more recently developed **implicit association test** .

Perceptual dialectology

The study of nonlinguists' ideas about the regions, features, and values of dialects has come to be called perceptual dialectology (Preston 1989 , 1999 , 2002a , 2002b ; Niedzielski and Preston 1999 ; Long and Preston 2003). The methodology employed by Preston in his work involved giving people maps of the United States and asking them first to draw dialect regions, and then to label the dialects and describe them in terms of both correctness and pleasantness. What emerges from such work is an understanding of the attitudes people have about the ways of speaking associated with particular regions. It also reveals stereotypes concerning people who live in these regions. Among various interesting findings in these studies we see that speakers may not rate their own dialect highly, and that many dialects (including the speakers' own) are sometimes rated highly for pleasantness but as lacking in correctness, or vice versa. For instance, the findings in Preston (1999) show that respondents from Michigan consistently rated their own dialect as correct, and perpetuated the stereotype of southerners as speaking incorrect English. However, the Michiganders often rated southern speech as pleasant and friendly (often more friendly than their own regional variety).

One of the interesting findings in some research in perceptual dialectology is that regional differences are often intertwined with ideas about other social groups. For instance, Bucholtz et al. (2007) found in a study done among University of California–Santa Barbara students about perceptions of language in the state of California that although the southern California/northern California divide was prominent for most of the respondents, and stereotypes about the English spoken in these regions abounded, often other factors emerged as significant as well. Speakers of Spanish (mostly referred to as 'Mexicans') were often associated with Los Angeles and San Diego, and speakers of Chinese with the Bay Area. There were also certain areas associated with speakers of AAVE (the Bay Area and Compton, a largely African American suburb of Los Angeles), but this was less frequent than the references to speakers of Spanish. An interesting finding was that the most common social label was 'hicks,' or other synonymous terms such as 'hillbillies' or 'rednecks'; the authors note that earlier studies have not shown this category to be associated with California by non-Californians.

Further, a more recent study has shown that ethnicity may influence perceptions of dialect regions themselves. Alfaraz and Mason (2019) compared results in a perceptual dialectology study of the results from European American and Latinx students at a Midwestern University. While the identification of the South by the European American students aligned with previous studies, the Latinx students identified this region less frequently, and for those who did identify it, there was less agreement about its boundaries. This study indicates that members of different ethnic groups may not share attitudes about dialect regions, and thus may also have different ideas about the people who use particular dialects.

Not all perceptual dialectology research uses maps; in some cases participants are asked to evaluate different varieties simply based on a label of a way of speaking. Alfaraz (2002) asked respondents to rate the pleasantness and correctness of various Latin American varieties of Spanish, a variety referred to as Peninsular Spanish, and two varieties of Cuban Spanish, representing the Spanish spoken before and after the Cuban Revolution of 1959. These findings also illustrate the importance of other social factors intertwined with region in the evaluation of speakers of different social groups. Alfaraz found that association of a particular variety of Spanish with speakers who were of low socioeconomic class or were Black correlated with less positive evaluations of the variety. The pre-Revolution Cuban Spanish, the variety spoken by the respondents in this study, was evaluated the most positively.

Studies in perceptual dialectology show us that people have far more nuanced beliefs about dialects than simply that they are either 'good' or 'bad.' Further, most people have a more sophisticated understanding of social groups, incorporating information about region, social class, race/ethnicity, and many other levels of identity.

Matched/verbal guises

The matched guise technique was developed to elicit attitudes indirectly (Lambert et al. 1960); in this methodology, research participants hear the same person speaking in two different varieties and rate them on various personal traits, normally using a seven-point scale. These traits typically include descriptors related to solidarity such as kindness and attractiveness as well as characteristics related to prestige, such as ambitiousness or intelligence. Participants are not informed that they are hearing the same person in two different recordings; the idea is that differences in ratings reflect research participants' attitudes about the languages and the people who use them. A variant of this, the 'verbal guise' (Cooper 1975), uses different people for the different varieties.

A study on Paris French (Secova et al. 2018) used a mixture of direct and indirect methods to study attitudes among youths toward colloquial Parisian varieties. The research participants were themselves residents in the multiethnic, multicultural area of suburban Paris, and their evaluation of speech samples from this area showed not just affiliation and disaffiliation, but also a particular identity indexed by the linguistic features used in this variety: a streetwise, immigrant, or mixed-heritage persona. The attitudes of these language users to the speech of their ingroup showed that they did not embrace the positive attitudes about 'posh' varieties, but valued their own variety and the social identities it indexed. We return to this topic in chapter 8 in our discussion of multilingualism.

Implicit association task (IAT)

The IAT is a method which has been adapted from social psychology and is designed to measure the strength of associations between particular concepts and categories. The task presents questions in 'blocks,' that is, groups of questions where the left and right buttons are used to categorize stimuli as, for example, good/bad, or insects/flowers. The ease, and thus the speed, of the categorization indicates to what extent the research participant finds the concepts congruent; thus the data makes use of reaction times of responses to show implicit associations. Campbell-Kibler (2012 , 755) provides this example:

> Consider the task of sorting items into the two dichotomies insects/flowers and good/bad. Through the experimental procedure, some of the blocks involve the participant pressing the left hand button to select insects and bad and the right hand button to select flowers and good. In other blocks, they are asked to press the left hand button to select insects and good and the right hand button to select flowers and bad. To the extent that the participant prefers flowers over insects, flowers and good will resolve itself into a more coherent shared category, as will insects and bad, compared to the alternate arrangement. These shared categories allow for easier, and therefore faster (and less error-prone) responses in that condition. The difference in response times across the two combinations thus can be taken to represent a measure of implicit connection across the two dichotomies.

The stimuli for this task can vary and may include sound clips, as is relevant for sociolinguistic studies, and may be matched to categories or judgments such as ‘I like’ or ‘I don’t like’ (Rosseel et al. 2018). Thus this task can measure broad attitudes to varieties, or see how the linguistic stimuli correlate with other features such as region or occupation of the speaker.

Research within this paradigm can provide insights into implicit biases which research participants are unlikely to admit to, or even be aware of. For example, Pantos and Perkins (2013) did a task which showed that native speakers of English were aligned with ‘good’ while speakers of English with a foreign accent were aligned with ‘bad,’ although the research participants reported no bias when asked about their attitudes.

Other associations were also measured by Campbell-Kibler (2012) in research among US university students. This research showed associations between a particular variable and social factors. One variable examined was ING, that is, the variation in realization of the - *ing* ending on English words as (for example) *being* versus *bein’* . The results showed that the - *ing* form was associated with Northern states, white-collar professions, and network news anchors, while the - *in’* variable was associated with Southern states, blue-collar professions, and country singers. Further experiments also showed that this task could also examine associations between different linguistic variants. For example, the - *in’* variant was also associated with /ai/ monophthongization, a stereotypical Southern dialect feature. (As we will discuss further in chapter 5 , the ING variable is one which has been studied extensively.) Thus this task is promising for not just studying language attitudes, but sociolinguistic meaning of linguistic features more generally.

Given the clear patterns of attitudes in many of these studies, we must consider the consequences of such evaluative reactions to certain ways of speaking. While this topic has not been the focus of attitudes studies to date, a 2019 special issue in the *Journal of Language and Discrimination* centers on this theme (see Baumgartner and Du Bois 2019, in Further Reading). We will continue to address this issue in this text, with special focus on discrimination and social justice in Part IV.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we have grappled with how to define the social groups whose language we wish to describe and study in sociolinguistic research, noting that some of the same difficulties in defining a language surface in defining what a speech community might be. There is a tendency to look beyond the ways that people speak to define what makes them a community, and to focus on the presence of shared norms. Alternative ways of defining groups, for example, as a community of practice or a social network, are also presented as less abstract means of determining a social group for the purpose of research; both depend on linguistic interaction for their definitions. We also revisit the concept of identities, presenting a framework for the study of language and identity. Finally, we address language ideologies and attitudes, noting that these beliefs about linguistic varieties and their users influence how we use language as well as the everyday lives of those whose language we judge.

Exercises

1. Make a short (15–30 minutes) audio recording of a community of practice you participate in (be sure you have the permission of everyone in the group before you record!). This could be your roommates or family members you live with, some friends you often eat lunch with, a group of co-workers, members of a knitting group, your rugby teammates, and so on; the only criteria is that this must be a group that meets and interacts regularly. Listen to the recording and answer the following questions:
   - How can you describe the joint endeavor of this group? Do there seem to be common goals of the interaction?
   - In what ways are the varieties spoken by the individuals in the group different – that is, do they come from different areas or social groups

and have linguistic features that are associated with different varieties? Is there ever explicit mention made of speech differences?

- In what ways do you see the shared norms of the group – are there particular lexical items or nicknames that are used in this group? Inside jokes? Topics of conversation that recur? In short, try to ascertain what features of the conversation indicate that this is a group that interacts frequently and not a group of strangers.

2. Find a map of the country you live in which has major state or province boundaries but no labels for these regions, and ask ten people to draw dialect boundaries on the map, name the dialects, and rate them on scales of 1–10 in terms of correctness and pleasantness. Be sure to record relevant information about each of these research participants – for instance, age, sex category identification, nationality, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic class identification, occupation, location of residence, region of origin. Answer the following questions about your data:

    - Are similar dialect regions identified by all or most of the research participants? Provide an overview of these regions.
    - Are there accepted names for different dialects? If so, can you explain how this has come to be the case – are they discussed in popular media, or in school? If not, how can you explain the absence of terms for regional dialects?
    - How are different regional dialects evaluated in terms of their correctness and pleasantness?
    - How can you account for variation in your data? That is, do particular traits of the research participants (e.g., where they are from) seem to influence how they feel about particular dialects?

3. Find a YouTube video that is related to how a particular social group uses language – this may be intentionally about the language (e.g., a ‘tutorial’ or description of a particular dialect, a satire about how a certain group uses language) or a video in which users of a particular variety are talking about something else, but the comments and distribution of the video focus on the way they talk. What language ideologies are represented in this video? Do they represent ideologies that you, with your budding knowledge of sociolinguistics, would like to challenge?

Further Reading

Baumgartner, Nicole and Inke Du Bois (eds.) (2019). Special issue: Linguistic discrimination and cultural diversity in social spaces. *Journal of Language and Discrimination* 3(2).

Gal, Susan and Judith Irvine (1995). The boundaries of languages and disciplines: How ideologies construct difference. *Social Research* 62: 996–1001.

Long, Daniel and Dennis Preston (2002). *The Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* , vol. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Meyerhoff, Miriam and Anna Strycharz (2013). Communities of practice. In Jack K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 428–447.

Milroy, Lesley and Carmen Llamas (2013). Social networks. In Jack K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 409–427.

Preston, Dennis (1999). *The Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* , vol. 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tagg, C. and P. Seargeant (2016). Facebook and the discursive construction of the social network. In Alexandra Georgakopoulou and Tereza Spilioti (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Digital Communication* . London: Routledge, 339–353.

References

Aitchison, J. and D. Lewis (eds.) (2003). *New Media Language* . London: Routledge.

Akkaya, A. (2014). Language, discourse and new media: A linguistic anthropological perspective. *Language and Linguistic Compass* 8(7): 285–300.

Albury, N. J. and L. Carter (2018). 'An unrealistic expectation': Māori youth on indigenous language purism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 254: 121–138.

Alfaraz, G. (2002). Miami Cuban perceptions of varieties of Spanish. In Daniel Long and Dennis R. Preston (eds.), *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* , vol. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1–11.

Alfaraz, G. G. (2018). Framing the diaspora and the homeland: Language ideologies in the Cuban diaspora. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 254: 49–69.

Alfaraz, G. G. and A. Mason (2019). Ethnicity and perceptual dialectology: Latino awareness of US regional dialects. *American Speech* 94(3): 352–379.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2006). Introduction: Sociolinguistics and computer-mediated communication. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10: 419–438.

Angouri, J. (2016). Online communities and communities of practice. In Alexandra Georgakopoulou and Tereza Spilioti (eds.), *The*

Routledge Handbook of Language and Digital Communication . London: Routledge, 323–337.

Bauer, L. and P. Trudgill (eds.) (1998). *Language Myths . Harmondsworth* : Penguin Books.

Baxter, J. (2002). Competing discourses in the classroom: A post-structuralist discourse analysis of girls' and boys' speech in public contexts. *Discourse & Society* 13(6): 827–842.

Bucholtz, M. (1999). 'Why be normal?' Language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls. *Language in Society* 28: 203–223.

Bucholtz, M., N. Bermudez, V. Fung et al. (2007). Hella Nor Cal or Totally So Cal? The perceptual dialectology of California. *Journal of English Linguistics* 35(4): 325–352.

Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5): 585–614.

Cameron, D. (1995). *Verbal Hygiene* . London: Routledge.

Campbell-Kibler, K. (2012). The implicit association test and sociolinguistic meaning. *Lingua* 122(7): 753–763.

Carter, P. M. (2013). Poststructuralist theory and sociolinguistics: Mapping the linguistic turn in social theory. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7(11): 580–596.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* . Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cochrane, L. E. (2017). An imagined community of practice: Online discourse among wheelchair users. *Linguistik Online* 87: 8/17.

Cooper, R. L. (ed.) (1975). *Language Attitudes II , vol. 6.* The Hague: Mouton.

Davies, B. (2005). Communities of practice: Legitimacy not choice. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9: 557–581.

Dickinson, J. (2010). Language for the market, the nation, or the margin: Overlapping ideologies of language and identity in Zakarpattia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 201: 53–78.

Eckert, P. (1988). Adolescent social structure and the spread of linguistic change. *Language in Society* 17(2): 183–207.

Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice: The Linguistic Construction of Identity in Belten High* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, P. and S. McConnell-Ginet (1998). Communities of practice: Where language, gender, and power all live. In J. Coates (ed.), *Language and Gender: A Reader* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, P. and S. McConnell-Ginet (2007). Putting communities of practice in their place. *Gender & Language* 1: 27–37.

England, L. (2018). Communities of practice. In John I. Liontas et al. (eds.), *The TESOL Encyclopedia of English Language Teaching . Hoboken, NJ* : John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1–7.

Errington, J. (2000). Ideology. *Journal of Linguistics Anthropology* 9(1–2): 115–117.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* . New York: Pantheon.

Fuller, J. M. (2012). *Bilingual Pre-teens: Competing Ideologies and Multiple Identities in the U.S. and Germany* . New York: Routledge.

Fuller, J. M. (2019). Ideologies of language, bilingualism and monolingualism. In A. De Houwer and L. Ortega (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 119–134.

Gal, S. and J. Irvine (1995). The boundaries of languages and disciplines: How ideologies construct difference. *Social Research* 62: 996–1001.

Gee, J. P. (2005). Meaning making, communities of practice, and analytical toolkits. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9: 590–594.

Georgakopoulou, A. (2006). Postscript: Computer-mediated communication in sociolinguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10(4): 548–557.

Graham, Sage Lambert (2007). Disagreeing to agree: Conflict, (im)politeness and identity in a computer-mediated community. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 742–759.

Gumperz, J. J. (1971). *Language in Social Groups* . Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Herring, S. (2001). Computer-mediated communication. In Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton (eds.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* . Oxford: Blackwell, 612–634.

Hymes, D. (2004). *'In vain I tried to tell you': Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics* . Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Jacquemet, M. (2019). Beyond the speech community: On belonging to a multilingual, diasporic, and digital social network. *Language & Communication* 68: 46–56.

Jones, L. (2011). 'The only dykey one': Constructions of (in)authenticity in a lesbian community of practice. *Journal of Homosexuality* 58: 719–741.

Kavanagh, B. (2016). Emoticons as a medium for channeling politeness within American and Japanese online blogging communities. *Language & Communication* 48: 53.

Kroskrity, P. (2000). Identity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1–2): 111.

Kurzová, H. (2019). Defining the Central European convergence area. *Slavic on the Language Map of Europe: Historical and Areal-Typological Dimensions* 333: 261.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns* . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lambert, W. E., R. C. Hodgson, R. C. Gardner, and S. Fillenbaum (1960). Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 60(1): 44.

Liebscher, G. and J. Dailey-O'Cain (2017). Contextualizing language attitudes: An interactional perspective. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 11(9): e12250.

Lindemann, S. and K. Moran (2017). The role of the descriptor 'broken English' in ideologies about nonnative speech. *Language in Society* 46(5): 649–669.

Lippi-Green, Rosina (2012). *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States* . 2nd edn. New York: Routledge.

Locher, M. A. (2010). Introduction: Politeness and impoliteness in computer-mediated communication. *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, Behaviour , Culture* 6: 1–5.

Long, D. and D. R. Preston (eds.) (2003). *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology , vol. 2*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lyons, J. (ed.) (1970). *New Horizons in Linguistics* . *Harmondsworth* : Penguin Books.

Meadows, B. (2010). 'Like my tutor and stuff, people I would talk to': Laying claim to imagined national communities of practice in language learner discourse. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 7: 88–111.

Mendoza-Denton, N. (2008). *Homegirls* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Meyerhoff, M. and A. Strycharz (2013). Communities of practice. In J. K. Chambers and N. Schilling (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 428–447.

Milburn, T. (2015). Speech community. In Karen Tracy (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 1–5.

Milroy, L. (1980). Social network and language maintenance. In A. K. Pugh, V. J. Lee, and J. Swann (eds.), *Language and Language Use: A Reader* . London: Heinemann Educational.

Milroy, L. (1987). *Language and Social Networks* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, L. and M. Gordon (2008). *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Milroy, L. and C. Llamas (2013). Social networks. In Jack K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 409–427.

Moore, E. (2006). 'You tell all the stories': Using narrative to explore hierarchy within a community of practice. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10(5): 611–640.

Morgan, M. M. (2001). Community. In A. Duranti (ed.), *Key Terms in Language and Culture* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Morgan, M. M. (2004). Speech community. In A. Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* . Oxford: Blackwell, 3–33.

Niedzielski, N. and D. R. Preston (1999). *Folk Linguistics* . Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pantos, A. J. and A. W. Perkins (2013). Measuring implicit and explicit attitudes toward foreign accented speech. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 32(1): 3–20.

Patrick, P. L. (2002). The speech community. In Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Pharao, N. and T. Kristiansen (2019). Reflections on the relation between direct/indirect methods and explicit/implicit attitudes. *Linguistics Vanguard* 5(s1).

Preston, D. R. (1989). *Perceptual Dialectology* . Dordrecht: Foris.

Preston, D. R. (ed.) (1999). *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology , vol. 1.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Preston, D. R. (2002a). Language with an attitude. In Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Preston, D. R. (2002b). Perceptual dialectology: Aims, methods, findings. *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs* 137: 57–104.

Rampton, B. (1995a). Language crossing and the problematisation of ethnicity and socialisation. *Pragmatics* 5(4): 485–513.

Rampton, B. (1995b). *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents* . London: Longman.

Rampton, B. (1999). Deutsch in Inner London and the animation of an instructed foreign language. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3(4): 480–504.

Rampton, B. (2001). Crossing. In A. Duranti (ed.), *Key Terms in Language and Culture* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Rampton, B. (2010). Linguistic ethnography, interactional sociolinguistics and the study of identities. In C. Coffin et al. (eds.), *Applied Linguistics Methods: A Reader* . London: Routledge, 234–250.

Rosseel, L. and S. Grondelaers (2019). Implicitness and experimental methods in language variation research. *Linguistics Vanguard* 5(s1).

Rosseel, L., D. Speelman, and D. Geeraerts (2018). Measuring language attitudes using the personalized implicit association test: A case study on regional varieties of Dutch in Belgium. *Journal of Linguistic Geography* 6(1): 20–39.

Seals, C. A. (2019). *Choosing a Mother Tongue: The Politics of Language and Identity in Ukraine* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Secova, M., P. Gardner-Chloros, and F. Atangana (2018). 'Il parle normal, il parle comme nous': Self-reported usage and attitudes in a banlieue. *Journal of French Language Studies* 28(2): 235–263.

Shenk, P. S. (2007). 'I'm Mexican, remember?' Constructing ethnic identities via authenticating discourse 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(2): 194–220.

Wardhaugh, R. (1999). *Proper English: Myths and Misunderstandings about Language* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Woolard, K. A. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* 3(11).

4
Language in Context: Pragmatics

KEY TOPICS

- Form versus function in utterances
- How indirect speech works
- The linguistic means of saving or threatening ‘face’
- Establishing roles and relationships with language

The sub-field of linguistics called pragmatics, which looks at meanings of utterances in context, is often discussed in contrast with the sub-field called semantics, which is the study of meaning as part of the language system. Semantics focuses on the meanings of signs, and the relationship between these meanings, and includes the study of meanings of chunks of text. However, when these utterances are interpreted with reference to the context, including the setting, the participants, their background knowledge, and so on, this falls into the realm of pragmatics.

Pragmatics is perceived as being distinct from sociolinguistics, but there is some overlap, hence the inclusion of some topics in pragmatics in this textbook. In particular, we incorporate topics which involve how the identities and relationships of participants influence their linguistic choices and how they are interpreted. This chapter will address four such topics: speech act theory, implicature, politeness theory, and pronouns and address terms.

Speech Acts

We have talked in previous chapters about social constructionist theory, which is based on the idea that our social reality is not fixed but is brought into being through language. These ideas did not begin with Foucault, however; the idea that language is action – and that this action influences the world around us – can be traced back to Austin (1975 , originally published in 1962). This work – titled, not incidentally, *How to Do Things with Words* – noted that some utterances are not merely describing the way the world currently is but aim to change it. That is, language is action – hence the term 'speech acts.' Austin called such speech acts **performatives** , because they perform particular actions by being uttered.

Speech act theory as formulated by Austin and, later, Searle (1969) also addresses instances in which these speech acts are not performed/carried out directly but require interpretation based on contextual information, which we call **indirect speech acts** . Because of the focus on context, indirect speech is the aspect of speech act theory which is most clearly tied to sociolinguistics, and will receive the most attention in our discussion here.

Performatives

In using an utterance performatively, a person is not just saying something but is actually doing something if certain real-world conditions are met. To say 'I name this ship "Liberty Bell"' in certain circumstances is to christen a ship. To say 'I do' in other circumstances is to find oneself legally married – or a bigamist, if this speech act is performed more than once! To hear someone say to you, 'I sentence you to five years in jail' in still other circumstances is to look forward to a rather bleak future. Such utterances perform acts: the naming of ships, marrying, and sentencing to prison in these cases. A performative utterance thus creates a new reality in the world.

Austin pointed out that the 'circumstances' mentioned above can be prescribed. He mentions certain **felicity**

conditions that performatives must meet to be successful. First, a conventional procedure must exist for doing whatever is to be done, and that procedure must specify who must say and do what and in what circumstances. (For instance, for the utterance of 'I do' to commit a speaker to marriage, in most cases a marriage certificate must have been obtained, and there must be a person legally vested with the authority to perform marriages present.) Second, all participants must properly execute this procedure and carry it through to completion. Finally, the necessary thoughts, feelings, and intentions must be present in all parties. In general, the spoken part of the total act, the actual speech act, will take the grammatical form of having a first-person subject and a verb in the present tense; it may or may not also include the word *hereby* . Examples are 'I (hereby) name,' 'We decree,' and 'I swear.' This kind of utterance is explicitly performative when it is employed in a conventional framework, such as naming ships, making royal proclamations, and taking an oath in court. These are institutionalized speech acts.

However, there are also less explicit performatives. Declarations like 'I promise,' 'I apologize,' or 'I warn you' have many of the same characteristics as the previously mentioned utterances but lack the associated conventional procedure; for anyone can promise, apologize, and warn, and there is no way of specifying the circumstances quite so narrowly as in naming ships, proclaiming, or swearing an oath. It is also on occasion possible to use other grammatical forms than the combination of first person and present tense. 'Thin ice,' 'Savage dog,' 'Slippery when wet,' and 'Loitering is forbidden' are all very obviously warnings, so to that extent they are performatives. What we can observe, then, is that, in contrast to simple utterances of fact or belief, if they are used in the appropriate conditions, their very utterance is the doing of an action.

Searle's work (1969, 1975, 1999) has addressed what makes an utterance a particular type of speech act, talking about this in terms of **constitutive rules** . Using the speech act of promising as an example, what makes a promise a promise? Searle outlines four basic rules.

First, the propositional content must be that of a promise – the words must predicate a future action of the speaker (e.g., ‘I promise to be home in time to cook dinner’).

Second, the speaker must be in the position to fulfill the promise, and the hearer must want the promise to be fulfilled. If not, this is a threat, not a promise!

Third, there is a requirement of sincerity: the speaker must intend to perform the act.

Finally, both the speaker and hearer must recognize the speech act as a promise.

As noted in the second rule, the use of the verb ‘promise’ does not guarantee that the speech act is a promise. Searle notes that neither of the following is a promise: a teacher says to a lazy student, ‘If you don’t hand in your paper on time, I promise you I will give you a failing grade in the course’; a person accused of stealing money says, ‘No, I didn’t, I promise you I didn’t.’ The former is a threat, and the latter an assertion. Thus, use of the word ‘promise’ is neither required nor adequate to make a speech act a promise.

If this view is correct, it should be possible to state the necessary and sufficient conditions for every illocutionary act. Many of these require that the parties participating in these acts – that is, in spoken interaction, speakers and hearers – be aware of social obligations involved in certain relationships. Felicity conditions may also make reference to certain other kinds of knowledge we must assume the parties have if the act is to be successful. For example, a command such as ‘Stand up!’ from A to B can be felicitous only if B is not already standing up, can stand up, and has an obligation to stand up if A so requests, and if A has a valid reason to make B stand up. Both A and B must recognize the validity of all these conditions if ‘Stand up!’ is to be used and interpreted as a proper command. We should note that breaking any one of the conditions makes ‘Stand up!’ invalid: B is already standing up, is unable to stand because of injury or illness (and A is not a faith healer!), B outranks A, or is at least A's equal, or A has no reason that appears valid to B so that standing up appears unjustified, unnecessary, and uncalled for.

Once we begin to look at utterances from the point of view of what they do, it is possible to see every utterance as a speech act of one kind or other. This means that we can categorize speech acts according to their function, and not their form. For instance, although 'Shut the window' and 'It's cold in here' are quite different in terms of how they express the request to close the window, they are both requests (or can be, given the appropriate context). If we look at different ways we can perform the same act, we can, as Searle (1975) has indicated, categorize at least six ways in which we can make requests or give orders even indirectly. There are utterance types that focus on the hearer's capacity to do something ('Can you pass the salt?'; 'Have you got change for a dollar?'); those that focus on the speaker's wish or desire that the hearer will do something ('I would like you to go now'; 'I wish you wouldn't do that'); those that focus on the hearer's actually doing something ('Officers will henceforth wear ties at dinner'; 'Aren't you going to eat your cereal?'); those that focus on the hearer's willingness or desire to do something ('Would you be willing to write a letter of recommendation for me?'; 'Would you mind not making so much noise?'); those that focus on the reasons for doing something ('You're standing on my foot'; 'It might help if you shut up'); and, finally, those that embed one of the above types inside another ('I would appreciate it if you could make less noise'; 'Might I ask you to take off your hat?'). As Searle says (1999, 151), 'one can perform one speech act indirectly by performing another directly.' In the next section, we will focus on indirect speech and how it functions in conversation.

There is a large body of research on the forms of speech acts, and also how speech acts are performed by language learners; this is beyond the scope of sociolinguistics. However, there is also research which delves into sociolinguistic topics (please see the Further

Reading below!). One speech act pair which has lots of sociolinguistic consequences is thanking and thanking responses. Armostis and Terkourafi (2019) look at the speech act of thanking in terms of how different forms are interpreted, that is, the social and interactional consequences of linguistic variation. In an experimental study on thanking in Cypriot Greek, they found that intonation, a rarely examined feature in speech act research, plays a role: namely, non-rising intonation is interpreted as more sincere. In another experiment, they found that the borrowed English *thank you* is seen as less polite than the inherited form of *efxaristo* in contexts where there is a high imposition, i.e., a sincere thank you is expected. We will return to ideas about politeness in the third section of this chapter, and revisit the meanings of borrowed and codeswitched words in chapter 8 .

Other recent research looking at thanking practices includes responses to thanks. Although the stereotype is that when someone says 'thank you' the appropriate response is 'you're welcome,' in reality there is a great deal of variation in responses. In addition to the 'expressing appreciation' rubric of responses, which includes *you're welcome* , response strategies have been shown to include minimizers (e.g., *no problem* , *don't mention it*), expressing pleasure (e.g., *my pleasure*), saying 'thanks' in return, and verbal and nonverbal acknowledgment (e.g., *yeah* , nodding) (Staley 2018 , 127). Staley's research, based on interactions between servers and customers in Los Angeles, California restaurants, shows that responses vary according to the context of the thanking; when a customer thanks while paying, for example, the server is most likely to respond with *thanks* in return. Further, this research shows that there is variation according to the price range of restaurants, which were categorized as low-, mid-, and up-level by the prices. Servers at the mid- and up-level restaurants used *thanks* responses almost twice as frequently as those at the low-level restaurants.

Exploration 4.1 Form and Intent

What observations can you make about the relationship between grammatical form and speaker's intent for each of the following utterances?

1. Have you tidied up your room yet?
2. When do you plan to tidy up your room?
3. Don't you think your room's a mess?
4. Can you go upstairs and tidy up your room?
5. Would you mind tidying up your room?
6. Go and tidy up your room.
7. If you don't tidy up your room, you don't go out.
8. Tidy up your room and you can have some ice cream.
9. Kids who can't keep their room tidy don't get ice cream.

Each of the above also assumes the existence of an asymmetrical 'power' relationship between speaker and listener. How might you perform this same speech act if speaking to an 'equal,' that is, a roommate or partner you live with?

What we see in speech act research is a recognition that people use language to achieve a variety of objectives. If we want to understand what they hope to accomplish, we must be prepared to take into account factors that range far beyond the actual linguistic form of any particular utterance. Context is paramount, but we must also investigate intention – what is the person producing the utterance trying to say? In the next section, we will address one classic approach to the interpretation of indirect speech, focusing on how understanding context is an integral part of understanding language. Although this material is pragmatic in its content, this focus on context is a core aspect of sociolinguistics.

Implicature

Grice (1975 , 45) maintains that the overriding principle in conversation is one he calls the **cooperative principle** : 'Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.' Cooperation does not have the connotation here that it usually does, that people are working together in a pleasant manner. Instead, there is a bare bones meaning of cooperation: you act in conversation in accord with a general principle that you are trying to communicate. The communication may be rude or unhelpful, but there is a message being sent! The question is, how do we receive that message?

Maxims

Grice lists four maxims that follow from the cooperative principle: quantity, quality, relation, and manner. These are the maxims that are applied in order to interpret utterances. The maxim of quantity assumes that the contribution is as informative as is required. The maxim of quality assumes that the utterance is truthful: that it does not include information which the speaker believes to be false or for which they lack adequate evidence. Relation is the simple assumption that an utterance is relevant in its context. Manner focuses on the avoidance of obscurity of expression and ambiguity; speakers should attempt to be brief and orderly. This principle and these maxims characterize ideal exchanges. Grice points out (1975, 47) that these maxims do not apply to conversation alone. He says:

it may be worth noting that the specific expectations or presumptions connected with at least some of the foregoing maxims have their analogs in the sphere of transactions that are not talk exchanges. I list briefly one such analog for each conversational category.

1. *Quantity* . If you are assisting me to fix my car, I expect your contribution to be neither more nor less than is required; if, for example, at a particular stage I need four screws, I expect you to hand me four, rather than two or six.
2. *Quality* . I expect your contributions to be genuine and not spurious. If I need sugar as an ingredient in the cake you are assisting me to make, I do not expect you to hand me salt; if I need a spyou to hand me salt; if I need a spoon, I do not expect a trick spoon made of rubber.
3. *Relation* . I expect a partner's contribution to be appropriate to immediate needs at each stage of the transaction; if I am mixing ingredients for a cake, I do not expect to be handed a good book, or even an oven cloth (though this might be an appropriate contribution at a later stage).
4. *Manner* . I expect a partner to make it clear what contribution he is making, and to execute his performance with reasonable dispatch. That is, when I ask you for a wrench, I do not expect you to extend it to me as part of an interpretive dance.

However, these 'maxims' are not always adhered to in conversation – indeed, the whole point is that they are flouted to create what Grice termed **implicature** , or implied meaning; this is what occurs in indirect speech. That is, a literal interpretation of the words is not the intended meaning, but rather the hearer must make an inference based on context.

The following examples (adapted from Grice 1975 , 51–53) illustrate flouting of the maxim of relation. Although the responses from B take the form of statements, if the utterances are interpreted as if the answers are relevant, clear interpretations are available:

A: I am out of petrol.

B: There is a garage around the corner. (Interpretation: a suggestion that A go around the corner to buy petrol.)

A: Does Smith have a girlfriend these days?

B: He has been paying a lot of visits to New York lately. (Interpretation: the answer to the question is yes, Smith has a girlfriend in New York.)

These examples show that flouting of a maxim does not mean that the speaker does not apply the maxim, but that the hearer must use the maxim to interpret the utterances. That is, she must assume that the speaker's reply, although not a direct answer to her question, provides information that is relevant to what she asked. Here are examples for the other maxims:

Quantity: If I ask you where you are going, and you respond 'out,' you are flouting the maxim of quantity by not providing enough information. Thus you are not communicating the information I asked for, but the message is loud and clear: 'none of your business.'

Quality: This message can also be sent with an obviously false response. If I ask an obviously seriously ill person, 'How are you doing?' and they respond, 'I feel great,' I may be justified in interpreting this to mean, 'Obviously I feel awful (and you're stupid for asking).' This would be an example of irony or sarcasm.

Manner: If, instead of saying 'Miss X sang "Home Sweet Home,"' a speaker says 'Miss X produced a series of sounds that corresponded closely with the score of "Home Sweet Home,"' you will observe that the failure to be brief helps damn Miss X's performance (Grice's examples 1975, 55).

Thus, Grice's maxims provide a structure for interpreting indirect speech, that is, understanding implicature. It should be noted that criticisms have been made about the universality of these maxims, and other pragmatic theories have since been proposed to account for indirect speech; see for instance Wilson and Sperber (2002) in Further Reading, below. We present Gricean pragmatics here because it is foundational and also captures some elemental principles of this field; students wishing to focus on such topics should read further!

Exploration 4.2 Implicature

What are the different possible implicatures of the following utterance in the following contexts? What background information do you need to understand them? Are there different possible interpretations of what is meant that can be associated with different cultural backgrounds?

Utterance: 'I'm a vegetarian.'

Context 1: Upon receiving an invitation to dinner.

Context 2: When being offered a sample of beef teriyaki at the supermarket.

Context 3: As offered a portion of an unnamed dish at a potluck.

Context 4: While eating bacon.

Context 5: As part of an online profile.

Politeness

Research on politeness in conversation has been dominated by the framework of politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987). We will introduce the main concepts of this approach, present some research which has been carried out within this framework, and also address some of the challenges the theory faces, particularly from researchers working on non-Western languages such as Japanese and Korean.

Face

The concept of politeness within sociolinguistics owes a great deal to Goffman’s original work (1955, 1967) on **face** . In social interaction we present a face or self-image to others (that is, an image we project of ourselves) and are also aware of the self-images of others. We are obliged to protect both our own face and the faces of others to the extent that each time we interact with others we play out a kind of mini-drama, a kind of ritual in which each party is required to recognize the image that the other claims for himself or herself. As Scollon and Scollon (2001 , 48) tell us: ‘Any communication is a risk to face; it is a risk to one’s own face, at the same time it is a risk to the other person’s. We have to carefully project a face for ourselves and to respect the face rights and claims of other participants… . “There is no faceless communication.”’

In discussing the concept of politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987 , 61) define face as ‘the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself.’ They also distinguish between positive face and negative face. **Positive face** is the desire to gain the approval of others, ‘the positive consistent self-image or “personality” … claimed by interactants’ (1987, 61). It is the desire to act out the identity you are claiming for yourself on a particular occasion. **Negative face** is the desire to be unimpeded by others’ actions, ‘the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction … freedom of action and freedom from imposition’ (1987, 61). It might also require others to recognize your positive face, something they may be reluctant to do. Positive face looks to solidarity, but also takes status into account; negative face also acknowledges status as it takes into account the other’s right to be left alone to do as they choose.

How is this constructed in our language use? Requests may often show both positive and negative politeness. For instance, when students contact their professors asking for help with a project, they may acknowledge negative face wants with comments such as ‘I know you are very busy’ while also acknowledging the professor’s positive face by saying ‘Since you are an expert in this area, I could benefit from your advice.’ Every social encounter requires such **face work** . While the usually assumed goal is to maintain as much of each individual’s face as is possible, speaking always requires some amount of face work because, according to Brown and Levinson, all speech acts are potentially **face-threatening acts** , that is, speech acts which threaten the positive or negative face of the addressee. Requests are inherently threatening to an addressee’s negative face, as are insults to positive face; the study of politeness is how we mitigate such face threats – or perhaps maximize them! – in different contexts.

Positive and negative politeness

When we interact with others we must be aware of both kinds of face and therefore use different politeness strategies; Brown and Levinson termed these different ways of categorizing politeness strategies as positive and negative politeness. An obvious example of **positive politeness** , which serves to construct and maintain the positive face of addressees, is the use of compliments, which show appreciation. **Negative politeness** , which caters to the negative face wants of the addressee, is most typically displayed through apologizing for any possible imposition. But these are just the most straightforward connections between particular speech acts and different types of politeness; both positive and negative politeness can be constructed through a variety of linguistic means.

The mitigation of face threats is one aspect which influences the structure of what we say. Saying such things as ‘Do you think you might close the window a little?’ mitigates a threat to the addressee’s negative face more than ‘Close the window!’ as does ‘Excuse me, do you happen to have a minute or two to spare?’ rather than ‘Come here. We need to talk.’ It is also why we sometimes find it difficult to turn down an invitation gracefully as we attempt to preserve the faces of both inviter and invitee. In some languages and cultures, direct refusal is strongly dispreferred. A study by Félix-

Brasdefer (2006) on North American speakers of English and Latin American speakers of Spanish shows much more use of direct refusals by the English speakers, although for all speakers directness was conditioned by **social distance** ; that is, there is less need for mitigation with people with whom we have closer relationships.

Recent research has also connected politeness with social identity (Blitvich and Sifianou 2017 ; Chan et al. 2018 ; Holmes and Stubbe 2015 ; Mollin 2018). Chan et al. (2018), in a study of interactions in business meetings in Hong Kong, show how a potentially face-threatening act (disagreement with the boss) is mitigated by the identities of the speakers: although subordinate, those disagreeing with the business owner are doing so within their area of expertise (and outside of their boss's area of expertise), thus not challenging the leadership identity of the owner. Instead, such face threats are discussed as 'relationship maintaining' – the actors are all acting within their areas of responsibility within the company, thus this reinforced their identities – including the powerful identity of the business owner. This attention to identity helps to explain why unmitigated disagreement is not treated as face-threatening in this interaction.

Mollin (2018) examines face-threatening acts which are part of group identity construction among members of the British House of Commons. These interactions are inherently about establishing identity as member of a particular group, i.e., a political party. These data show that many face-threatening acts are used which accuse the target (a member of an opposing political party) of behaving unethically or stupidly. These comments serve to reproduce group boundaries through performances of opposition. Although the ingroup is in most cases not explicitly referenced, alignment against the outgroup is enough to establish ingroup identity.

Exploration 4.3 Politely Refusing an Invitation

If you are invited to dinner by a colleague but already have plans for that evening which you cannot change, what is the most polite way to refuse the invitation? Why? What role does saving the face of the person inviting you play in your answer? Do other identity factors also play a role – your relative status, gender, age, or prior relationship with this colleague? Here are some options:

1. Say ‘No, I already have plans.’ (Do you apologize? Explain why you can’t come? Preface this with ‘I would love to, but’?)
2. Say yes, but don’t go.
3. Say yes, and then call later and say you can’t go.
4. Say thank you but neither accept nor reject the invitation.

Beyond politeness theory

Brown and Levinson’s approach to politeness has been quite revealing when applied to many Western societies. However, Mills (2003) argues that it encapsulates stereotypical, White, middle-class (and largely female) language behavior. It may also not work so well in other cultures and languages. In particular, the focus in politeness theory is on the individual; other approaches to the study of politeness may focus more on the social context. And how we conceive of this social context is also a key aspect of our analysis. We might conceive of ‘culture’ as something outside of our selves which influences us; however, in keeping with current social theory, we can also see culture as something which our actions – including speech acts – construct in a dynamic, ongoing fashion (Culpeper et al. 2017 , 44ff.). Mills (2017 , 51–57) gives an interesting example of parenting advice that perpetuates certain views of societal roles. She analyzes a list of '25 Manners Every Kid Needs by Age 9' which was originally published in *Parents* magazine in 2011. She notes that some of the guidelines given in this list are the use of formulaic linguistic strategies (e.g., saying 'please' and 'thank you' in particular situations), but many are also strategies for controlling the behavior of children, in particular their speech. Children should not swear, should not express negative opinions, should listen quietly, should not interrupt adults, etc. Her point is not that it is inherently bad (or good) to have these rules for children, but that what is talked about as 'manners' – i.e., politeness – is in effect a hegemonic ideology about the legitimacy of adult control over child behavior. It must be recognized – and is apparent in comments on a version of this list which was posted online – that not all adults agree with these rules. Other work by Mills (2012) addresses this issue of diversity in politeness strategies, arguing that not only are there differences across cultures, languages, and regions, but also variation linked to gender and social class. In particular, the use of indirectness can be interpreted in many different ways, and we turn to this topic in the next section.

Politeness and indirectness

From our discussion of speech acts, we see that in some cases, indirect speech is perceived as more polite, particularly in speech acts such as requests. This is not always the case, of course, with instances of sarcasm being one example of how indirect speech acts may be less than polite, even insulting. So while not all indirect speech is polite, is polite speech necessarily indirect? Discussions of indirectness (Culpeper and Terkourafi 2017) note that indirect speech is itself multifunctional and thus cannot be said to be consistently polite or impolite. While it might be possible to explain that off-record requests (e.g., 'I've got a splitting headache' as a request for an aspirin) are more polite because they allow the addressee the option of interpreting the utterance as merely a request for information and not a request for action, this is not necessarily how speakers view such utterances. Blum-Kulka (1987), based on experimental research in which participants rated the politeness of requests, argues that on-record, conventionally indirect requests are considered more polite. Conventionally indirect requests include such linguistic forms as ‘want’ statements, for example, ‘I want you to move your car’ or ‘I would like you to clean the kitchen.’ Mild hints such as ‘We don’t want any crowding’ as a request to move your car were not seen as equally polite, nor were bald imperatives such as ‘Move your car’ (examples from Blum-Kulka 1987 , 133). She suggests that conventionally indirect requests are interpreted as polite because they are mitigated, but also because they do not require the effort to interpret them that off-record requests require of the addressee.

We must also keep in mind that there are differences across linguistic communities in norms for polite speech. Research looking at requests in English, Hebrew, and Korean (Yu 2002) shows that while non-conventional indirectness is perceived as polite in English and Hebrew, this is not the case in Korean. This research notes that, as Blum-Kulka (1987) suggested, in some cases indirectness is perceived as less polite because it places the burden of interpretation on the addressee. Byon’s research on Korean (2006) also found that direct requests were used with great frequency and that the accompanying honorifics were essential to an interpretation of these utterances as being polite.

Terkourafi (2015) builds on this to outline how conventionalization is central in the study of politeness; utterances which we use habitually are easily understood and through frequent use begin to index particular speech acts. She gives the example of the American English expression *my bad* , which has come to be considered a stereotypical apology form and thus polite, despite the lack of elaboration in its form and its humble beginnings as a phrase used about urban players of streetball. What is important is that through exposure to this expression, hearers learn to interpret it as the enactment of an apology. Whether the phrase is direct or indirect speech has little bearing on its politeness; it is easy to interpret and expresses a face-appeasing act, an apology.

Politeness is, of course, more than simply about the structure of our speech acts; there are a myriad of linguistic elements which contribute to this, more than we can discuss in this volume. But one area of pragmatics which is closely tied to the theories and concepts we apply in sociolinguistics is the study of address forms. In the next sections, we will look at how we use pronouns, titles, names, and other terms, and how these practices are intertwined with the concept of politeness while simultaneously involving issues of power, solidarity, and social identification.

Pronouns

When we speak, we must constantly make choices which determine how we position ourselves in the interaction. One aspect of this positioning involves how we address others. In this section, we will look at the pronominal choice between what are called ***tu*** and ***vous* forms** in languages that require a choice and then, more generally, the use of names and address terms. In each case we will see that the linguistic choices made indicate the social relationship that the speaker perceives to exist between him- or herself and the listener or listeners. Moreover, in many cases it is impossible to avoid making such choices in the actual 'packaging' of messages. We will also see that languages vary considerably in this respect, but there are some general themes in the social meanings of pronouns.

Tu and *vous* : power and solidarity

There are many languages in the world with complex pronoun systems which denote differences in status, as well as other linguistic means for encoding politeness, formality, power, and solidarity. Here, we will only discuss how this works in a small range of European languages as an example of how such social relationships might be linguistically encoded.

There is a tradition to refer to the formal–informal pronoun distinction with reference to French, in which these pronouns are *tu–vous* . Grammatically, this is a ‘singular you’ *tu* (T) and a ‘formal you’ *vous* (V) (the latter often corresponding to, or derived from, a plural form). This is then often called the T/V distinction, although of course other languages have different pronouns. The T form is sometimes described as the ‘familiar’ form and the V form as the ‘polite’ or ‘formal’ one, although the social meanings of these forms are in reality much more complex than this. Other languages with a similar T/V distinction are Latin (*tu/vos*), Russian (*ty/vy*), Italian (*tu/Lei*), German (*du/Sie*), Swedish (*du/ni*), and Greek (*esi/esis*). English once had such a distinction, the *thou/you* distinction.

According to Brown and Gilman (1960), the T/V distinction began as a genuine difference between singular and plural. However, a complication arose, which they explain as follows (1960, 25):

> In the Latin of antiquity there was only *tu* in the singular. The plural *vos* as a form of address to one person was first directed to the emperor, and there are several theories … about how this may have come about. The use of the plural to the emperor began in the fourth century. By that time there were actually two emperors; the ruler of the eastern empire had his seat in Constantinople and the ruler of the west sat in Rome. Because of Diocletian's reforms the imperial office, although vested in two men, was administratively unified. Words addressed to one man were, by implication, addressed to both. The choice of *vos* as a form of address may have been in response to this implicit plurality. An emperor is also plural in another sense; he is the summation of his people and can speak as their representative. Royal persons sometimes say 'we' where an ordinary man would say 'I.' The Roman emperor sometimes spoke of himself as *nos* , and the reverential *vos* is the simple reciprocal of this.

The consequence of this usage was that by medieval times the upper classes apparently began to use V forms with each other to show mutual respect and politeness. However, T forms persisted, so that the upper classes used mutual V, the lower classes used mutual T, and the upper classes addressed the lower classes with T but received V. This latter asymmetrical T/V usage therefore came to symbolize a power relationship. It was extended to such situations as people to animals, master or mistress to servants, parents to children, priest to penitent, officer to soldier, and even God to angels, with, in each case, the first mentioned giving T but receiving V.

Symmetrical V usage became 'polite' usage. This polite usage spread downward in society, but not all the way down, so that in certain classes, but never the lowest, it became expected between close friends and family members. Symmetrical T usage was always available to show intimacy, and its use for that purpose also spread to situations in which two people agreed they had strong common interests, that is, a feeling of solidarity. This mutual T for solidarity gradually came to replace the mutual V of politeness, since solidarity is often more important than politeness in personal relationships. Moreover, the use of the asymmetrical T/V to express power decreased and mutual V was often used in its place, as between officer and soldier. Today we can still find asymmetrical T/V uses, but solidarity has tended to replace power, so that now mutual T is found quite often in relationships which previously had asymmetrical usage, for example, father and son, and employer and employee.

This framework of looking at pronouns in terms of power and solidarity can also be used in modern-day languages. Ager (1990 , 209) points out that in an advertising agency in Paris everybody uses *tu* except to the owner and the cleaning woman. He adds that in general *tu* is used with intimate acquaintances and people considered to be extremely subordinate, commenting that, 'There is nothing intimate or friendly in the *tu* used by the policeman who is checking the papers of a young person or an immigrant worker.' However, upper-class social leaders still use *vous* widely with intimates: President Giscard d'Estaing in the 1970s used *vous* in talking to everybody in his household – wife, children, and dogs included – and at a later date the well-connected wife of President Chirac addressed her husband with *vous* but he used *tu* to almost everyone.

Examining pronoun use through a critical lens can also reveal forms of discrimination. In Bolivia, although Spanish is the most widespread language, two-thirds of its inhabitants are of indigenous descent, mainly Aymara and Quechua. In the city of La Paz, although Spanish is commonly spoken, many inhabitants prefer to dress in ways that show their indigenous affiliation. Placencia (2001) looked at what happened when such people participated in a variety of service encounters in public institutions, such as hospitals, a government agency, and a city hall, with the service providers being either Whites or indigenous people (White mestizos) who had adopted a Spanish identity in order 'to move up the social ladder' (2001, 199). She was particularly interested in the use of the familiar *tú* and *vos* , and the formal *Usted* and

Ustedes . Across a variety of different encounters, such as making requests for information and receiving instructions or requests for payment or to move up in a waiting line, she found that, in contrast to White mestizos seeking similar services, 'indigenous persons were generally addressed with the familiar form *tú* or *vos* , were not the recipients of titles or politeness formulas, and, in certain interactions were asked for information or were directed to perform actions with more directness than were their white-mestizo counterparts' (2001, 211–212). Placencia says that social discrimination was quite obviously at work. She adds that 'the use of the familiar form in address to indigenous persons seems to be so ingrained in the linguistic behavior of white-mestizos that they are not even aware of it' (2001, 123). While they thought they were being polite, actual observations showed they addressed indigenous people less respectfully. Inequality was ingrained beyond the reach of social consciousness.

Another study focusing on how pronouns are used to enact power and solidarity can be found in Ostermann (2003), a study of the use of pronouns in interactions in two institutional settings in Brazil: a police station with an all-female staff, and a feminist crisis intervention center. In this setting, there were fluctuations in the use of the formal and informal pronouns (*você* and *a senhora*) within interactions. The data show that the police officers primarily use the pronouns to enact their institutional power, which often entailed a lack of tolerance for the actions of the crime victims. The workers at the feminist crisis intervention center, in contrast, often employed pronoun switches to align themselves with the female victims without evaluating their behavior. Such positioning will be the focus of the next section.

Gender and solidarity are also seen in the pronoun use of Korean married women in a study by Kim (2015). It is traditional in Korean to address the woman with her children's name, e.g., 'Ken's mom,' but these data show the emergent practice of use of the term *caki* 'you (female, informal)' (Kim 2015 , 552). This term focuses on the relationship between the women and while it indexes solidarity between speakers, it also is part of the development of a powerful network referred to as the 'Married Women's Network' (Kim 2015 , 555) which holds a socially recognized position of power in Korean society. This network is used to share information about children's education which is valuable in navigating the competitive educational system in Korea; see discussion of the role of English in this in chapter 12 .

Pronouns and positioning

Norrby and Warren (2012) present a review of literature on personal pronoun usage in Europe since the 1960s, focusing on French, German, and Swedish. They argue that the concepts of **common ground** and social distance are central to the analysis of pronoun usage. Common ground is the focus on sameness; social distance allows us to focus on difference as well. Social distance is a multidimensional concept that relies on affect (i.e., how much you like a person), solidarity (how much you feel you have in common with that person), and familiarity (how well you know the person). Both common ground and social distance are negotiated in interactions; the choice of T or V in a conversation is not dictated through a formula of common ground and social distance; rather, speakers use pronouns to construct their identities and their relationships with their interlocutors.

Bresin et al. (2019) looked at the development of rapport, as evidenced by pronoun use, through an analysis of customers' reports of pronoun usage in Italian restaurants. Transition from the formal to informal pronoun during the course of the meal was found to be a commonly reported practice. They also note, however, that while this may superficially seem to be a display of solidarity or familiarity, who initiates the transition between a customer and server may be part of complex power dynamics.

In a study of pronouns in Swedish language service encounters in Sweden and Finland, Norrby et al. (2018) look at a variety of factors which influence pronoun usage, including microlevel situational factors as well as demographic factors – region, role in the interaction, and age. Although use of the informal pronoun was the dominant pattern, it was noted that younger speakers used the strategy of not using pronominal address at all much more frequently. This might mean that a change is underway, and that more direct focus on the goal of the interaction and not the interpersonal aspects is becoming a new communicative norm. It may be, however, that younger speakers have simply not yet developed linguistic practices which focus on developing interpersonal relationships. We will return to this topic of how to interpret differences between age groups in the next chapter on variationist methodology.

The interactional nature of pronoun choice is also illustrated in a study of youth language in Indonesia. Djenar et al. (2018) discuss the complex address forms in Indonesian, noting that these forms are never neutral and thus each pronoun choice is indexical of the relationship between speakers. Looking at language use from different sources (conversation, online media and interactions, teen literature), they note that some pronouns index the private self and others a public persona. Further, however, address is not solely done through pronouns: kinship terms, in some cases borrowed from heritage languages, are also used for pronominal reference (e.g., the equivalent of 'why is older sister [= you] taking that?' (Djenar et al. 2018 , 51)). This example leads us to another area of address where there is much ambiguity in terms of social meaning: naming and titles.

Naming and Titles

How do you name or address another? By title (T), by first name (FN), by last name (LN), by a nickname, by some combination of these, or by nothing at all, so deliberately avoiding the problem? What factors govern the choice you make? Is the address process asymmetrical; that is, if I call you *Mr. Jones* , do you call me *John* ? Or is it symmetrical, so that *Mr. Jones* leads to *Mr. Smith* and *John* to *Fred* ? All kinds of combinations are possible in English: *Dr. Smith* , *John Smith* , *Smith* , *John* , *Johnnie* , *Doc* , *Sir* , *Mack* , and so on. Dr. Smith himself might also expect *Doctor* from a patient, *Dad* from his son, *John* from his brother, *Dear* from his wife, and *Sir* from a police officer who stops him if he drives too fast, and he might be rather surprised if any one of these is substituted for any other, for example, 'Excuse me, dear, can I see your license?' from the police officer.

In looking at some of the issues involved in naming and addressing, we will first distance ourselves somewhat from English and look elsewhere for what is done. This should allow us to gain a more neutral perspective on what we ourselves do in our own language and culture.

A classic study of the Nuer, a Sudanese people, done almost a hundred years ago, showed some very different naming practices from those with which we are likely to be familiar (Evans-Pritchard 1948). This research showed that every Nuer had a personal or birth name, which was a name given to the child by the parents shortly after birth and retained for life. A personal name could also be handed down, particularly to sons, for a son might be called something equivalent to 'son of [personal name].' Nuer personal names were interesting in what they named, for example, *Reath* 'drought,' *Nhial* 'rain,' *Pun* 'wild rice,' *Cuol* 'to compensate,' *Mun* 'earth,' and *Met* 'to deceive.' Sometimes the maternal grandparents gave a child a second personal name. The consequence was that a child's paternal kin might address the child by one personal name and the child's maternal kin by another. There were also special personal names for twins and children who were born after twins. Males were addressed by their personal names in their paternal villages during boyhood, but this usage shifted in later years when senior males were addressed as *Gwa* 'father' by less senior males, who themselves received *Gwa* from much younger males. Children, however, called everyone in the village by their personal names, older people and parents included.

Every Nuer child also had a clan name, but this name was largely ceremonial so that its use was confined to such events as weddings and initiations. Use of the clan name between females expressed considerable formality, as when a woman used it to address her son's wife. The clan name could also be used by mothers to their small children to express approval and pleasure. Clan names were also used when one was addressed outside one's local tribal area by people from other tribes.

In addition to personal names, which are given, and clan names, which are inherited, the Nuer also had ox names, that is, names derived from a favored ox. A man could choose his own ox name. This was a name which a man used in the triumphs of sport, hunting, and war, and it was the name used among age-mates for purposes of address. Women's ox names came from the bulls calved by the cows they milked. Women's ox names were used mainly among women. Occasionally, young men would address young girls by their ox names as part of flirting behavior or their sisters by these names if they were pleased with them. Married women replaced the ox names with cow names taken from the family herds, and men did not use these names at all. Evans-Pritchard pointed out a number of further complications in naming and addressing, having to do with the complicated social arrangements found in Nuer life. A person's name varied with circumstances, for each person had a number of names which he or she could use. In addressing another, the choice of name depended both on your knowledge of exactly who that other was (e.g., his or her age and lineage) and on the circumstances of the meeting.

Having taken this brief glance at Nuer name and addressing practices, we can now turn our attention to English usage. Brown and Ford's study (1961) of naming practices in English was based on an analysis of modern plays, the naming practices observed in a business in Boston, and the reported usage of business executives and children in the Midwestern United States. They report that the asymmetric use of title plus last name and first name (TLN/FN) indicated inequality in power, that mutual TLN indicated inequality and unfamiliarity, and that mutual FN indicated equality and familiarity. The switch from mutual TLN to FN is also usually initiated by the more powerful member of the relationship. Other options exist too in addressing another: title alone (T), for example, *Professor* or *Doctor* ; last name alone (LN), for example, *Smith* ; or multiple naming, for example, variation between *Mr. Smith* and *Fred* . We should note that in such a classification, titles like *Sir* or *Madam* are generalized variants of the T(itle) category, that is, generic titles, and forms like *buddy* or *mate* function as generic first names (FN), as in 'What's up, mate?' or 'Hey, buddy, I wouldn't do that if I were you.'

Address by title alone is the least intimate form of address in that titles usually designate ranks or occupations, as in *Colonel* , *Doctor* , or *Waiter* . They are devoid of 'personal' content. We can argue therefore that *Doctor Smith* is more intimate than *Doctor* alone, acknowledging as it does that the other person's name is known and can be mentioned. Knowing and using another's first name is, of course, a sign of familiarity or at least of a desire for such familiarity. Using a nickname or pet name shows an even greater intimacy. When someone uses your first name alone in addressing you, you may feel on occasion that that person is presuming an intimacy you do not recognize or, alternatively, is trying to assert some power over you. Note that a mother's use of *John Smith* (or, for a greater offense, *John Matthew Smith*) to a misbehaving son reduces the intimacy of first name alone, or first name with diminutive (*Johnny*), or pet name (*Honey*), and consequently serves to signal a rebuke.

Research on news interviews shows how these differences might play out in the public sphere. Both Rendle-Short (2007) and Clayman (2010) show how address terms in news interviews are used to indicate the stances of the speakers. In these politically charged and often combative interactions, the use of a first name by a politician to a journalist may well be a power move as opposed to a friendly overture. In the next section, we will explore other instances of asymmetrical use of terms of address in the enactment of power relationships.

Fluidity and change in address terms

A society undergoing social change is also likely to show certain indications of such change if the language in use in that society has (or had) a complex system of address. One such society is modern China. We will first summarize some research on this carried out in the 1980s (Scotton and Wanjin 1983 ; Fang and Heng 1983), and then add updated information about changes in the use of the same terms since that time.

Research from the 1980s showed that the Communist Party of China promoted the use of *tóngzhì* 'comrade' to replace titles for owners and employers, for example, *la ˇoba ˇn* 'proprietor,' and also honorific titles, for example, *xiān · sheng* 'mister.' The party aimed to put everyone on an equal footing through encouraging the use of an address form that implies no social or economic differences and unites all politically. Titles, however, did not entirely disappear from use. Professional titles were still used, for example, *la ˇoshī* 'teacher' and *dài-fu* 'doctor,' and skilled workers preferred to be addressed as *shī-fu* 'master.' Table 4.1 shows that *tóngzhì* can be used in a variety of ways (Scotton and Wanjin 1983 , 484–485). However, there are clear differences among the choices. *Tóngzhì* is used in situations that are somewhat neutral, that is, when there are no clear indications of power or solidarity and no familiarity between the parties, for example, to an unknown stranger or to someone whose occupation carries with it no title. *Tóngzhì* can also be used deliberately to keep another at arm's length, so to speak. For example, a superior may use *tóngzhì* rather than an inferior's title before offering a rebuke. It can also be used in the opposite direction, from inferior to superior, to remind the superior of shared interests, or between equals who wish to stress their solidarity.

Table 4.1 Uses of *tóngzhì* in 1980s China

Source: Scotton and Wanjin (1983 , 484–485). © 1983, Cambridge University Press.

Ø + Title	*Tóngzhì* 'Comrade'
Given name + Title	*Wéigúo Tóngzhì* 'Comrade Weiguo'
Modifier + Title	*Laˇo Tóngzhì* 'Old Comrade'
	Xiaˇo Tóngzhì 'Young Comrade'
Ø + Title + Title	*Zhuˇrèn Tóngzhì* 'Comrade Director'
Family name + Title	*Wáng Tóngzhì* 'Comrade Wang'
Family name + Given name + Title	*Wáng Wéigúo Tóngzhì* 'Comrade Wang Weiguo'
Modifier + Family name + Title	*Laˇo Wáng Tóngzhì* 'Old Comrade Wang'

However, many Chinese still preferred the use of a title to the use of *tóngzhì* , for example, *zhuˇrèn* 'director' or *zhaˇng* 'chief.' There was also widespread use of *laˇo* 'old' and *xiaˇo* 'little' in conjunction with last names as polite forms not only between intimates but also to mark social distinctions between non-intimates. An inferior could therefore address a superior by either *Laˇo* + LN or LN + title, with practice varying according to location (Fang and Heng 1983 , 499), the first variant being preferred in big cities like Beijing and Shanghai, the second in less egalitarian venues and small towns. Still another form of address used to elderly officials and scholars and showing great deference was LN + *Laˇo* , for example, *Wáng Laˇo* . Some old titles were still used but mainly to accommodate non-Chinese, for example, *tàitai* 'Mrs.' The Chinese address form for a spouse was usually *àiren* 'lover.' The old *xiānsheng* 'Mr.' was now applied only to certain older scholars; young teachers were called *laˇoshī* or, if they were professors, *jiàoshòu* . Fang and Heng conclude as follows (1983, 506): 'The address norms in China are indeed extremely complicated… . What we have discussed … [are] … some of the changes in address norms brought about by the

Revolution. Taken as a whole, changes in address modes in today's China are unique and drastic. Few countries in the world, we believe, have been undergoing such drastic changes in this respect.'

In a later report on the same phenomenon, Ju (1991) points out that *shī-fu* 'master' has become somewhat devalued through overextension to those not originally deserving it and that *xiānsheng* ('Mr.') has lost its previous derogatory connotations, especially among young people. He concludes (1991, 390): 'China is changing as are its political and cultural systems. Predictably, there will be further changes in its use of its address terms.'

This prediction is indeed borne out; more recent research shows that the use of *tóngzhì* has been rapidly decreasing due to the lack of compatibility between the revolutionary ideology and the contemporary emphasis on a free market economy (Wong 1994). The term was also appropriated by sexual minority rights activists and has also taken on the meaning of 'gay' among younger speakers (Zhang 2011 ; Wong 2004 , 2005 , 2006). It is interesting to note that although the term has fallen into disfavor because of its connection to ideologies which are no longer hegemonic in Chinese society, in Hong Kong it is exactly these indices of respect, equality, and resistance which have prompted its adoption for use by and for sexual minorities; it has been further reappropriated by journalists to parody and mock the gay rights movement (Wong 2005).

More recently, He and Ren (2016) provide an update of research on address forms in China. They report that *tóngzhì* and *shī-fu* have both largely fallen out of use, and they have to some extent been replaced by the use of the family name plus the first word of the job title. Luchkina (2015) also reports on the lack of use of *tóngzhì* and the development of novel forms.

In less formal contexts, there are also terms which are used for only men or only women. There has been a rise in the use of *xiansheng* ('gentleman'), both alone and in combination with the family name, and this can be used to address any adult male. *Shuiage* (‘handsome young man’) can be heard used by both men and women, and *pengyou* (‘friend’) and *gemen* (‘brother’) are also commonly heard when men are addressing other male strangers.

The term *nushi* is often used to address young women regardless of marital status; this has replaced *xiaojie* , a term which was previously popular to address young girls or women, but has come to refer to the profession of prostitutes and is thus avoided. The term *meinu* ‘pretty girl/woman’ has also become popular and is used regardless of the age of the speaker or addressee, and also by both men and women.

He and Ren (2016) also note that globalization and media usage have also influenced usage, and have expanded the use of informal terms such as *qin* (‘dear’); they report that this is more common among young women than men. Much of the development of these various terms is discussed as rooted in the decline in the use of *tóngzhì* and thus linked to sociopolitical developments in China.

The history and development of *tóngzhì* highlights the fact that the same term may be used in different ways and different contexts to create different relationships between speakers. Another example can be found in Rendle-Short’s (2010) discussion of the term *mate* in Australian English. She notes that while the usual interpretation of this address term is that it creates an attitude of open friendliness, it can be used in ways that seem to be antagonistic or hostile. Here the focus is on the variation in conversational structure, specifically, whether *mate* is used finally in a sentence, the more typical usage (‘how’s your day, mate’) or initially (‘Mate, I’m just doing my job’). In the latter, because of its positioning, *mate* serves to mark a transition or problematize speech that has come before the utterance it introduces.

Exploration 4.4 Naming and Family

What do you call different members of your family – who do you call by their first name, or by a kinship term (e.g, ‘Mum’), or something else entirely (e.g., a pet name, or a title)? What about in-laws, or more distant relatives? Do you use kinship terms for any people who are not related to you? What do these different forms of address mean about the relationships in terms of power and solidarity?

Chapter Summary

In this chapter we introduce three major theoretical frameworks in pragmatics: speech act theory, Grice's maxims, and politeness theory. These frameworks are all used to explore how language is used and understood in context. We discuss how each utterance is a speech act, that indirect speech acts can lead to implicature, and that we use language in different ways to protect our own and others' 'face.' We then turn to pronouns and other terms of address to explore how these aspects of language are used to position the speaker and addressee in the interaction.

Exercises

1. One aspect of naming is how various people are referred to in accounts in newspapers and magazines, and on radio and television, for example, 'John Smith, 53, a retired police officer,' 'Smith's daughter, Sarah, 21, a junior at Vassar,' 'bank vice-president Smith,' and so on. Examine such naming practices. Look at the various grammatical structures that occur and the kinds of characteristics that are deemed to be relevant concerning the person mentioned. Do any patterns emerge having to do with gender, age, occupation, social class, and so on? Is it possible that some of this reporting helps give the news item in which it is found a certain slant that it otherwise would not have?
2. Conduct some research on politeness and request forms by collecting examples of requests you hear. Note what is requested, the linguistic form of the request, what the response is, who the speakers are, and what their relationship is (or appears to be). Write a short analysis of these data, outlining the linguistic forms you heard and discussing in what cases the most direct and indirect requests are used.
3. Look at the following dialogue in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (retrieved from http://shakespeare.mit.edu/romeo_juliet/full.html

), taken from the scene in which Romeo and Juliet meet for the first time and the scene in which Juliet calls for Romeo from her balcony. (If you have never read this play, consult some resources to familiarize yourself with it; some knowledge about the characters will be necessary to complete this exercise.) Look at the use of the formal (you, your) and informal (thou, thy, thee) pronouns in these two scenes and discuss how they are used to construct the identities of and the relationship between these two speakers.

REMEO

[To juliet] If I profane with my unworthiest hand

This holy shrine, the gentle fine is this:

My lips, two blushing pilgrims, ready stand

To smooth that rough touch with a tender kiss.

JULIET

Good pilgrim, you do wrong your hand too much,

Which mannerly devotion shows in this;

For saints have hands that pilgrims' hands do touch,

And palm to palm is holy palmers' kiss.

REMEO

Have not saints lips, and holy palmers too?

JULIET

Ay, pilgrim, lips that they must use in prayer.

REMEO

O, then, dear saint, let lips do what hands do;

They pray, grant thou, lest faith turn to despair.

JULIET

Saints do not move, though grant for prayers' sake.

REMEO

Then move not, while my prayer's effect I take.

Thus from my lips, by yours, my sin is purged. {kisses Juliet}

JULIET

Then have my lips the sin that they have took.

REMEO

Sin from thy lips? O trespass sweetly urged!

Give me my sin again. {kisses Juliet again}

JULIET

You kiss by the book.

JULIET

O Romeo, Romeo! wherefore art thou Romeo?

Deny thy father and refuse thy name;

Or, if thou wilt not, be but sworn my love,

And I’ll no longer be a Capulet.

REMEO

[Aside] Shall I hear more, or shall I speak at this?

JULIET

’Tis but thy name that is my enemy;

Thou art thyself, though not a Montague. What’s Montague? it is nor hand, nor foot,

Nor arm, nor face, nor any other part

Belonging to a man. O, be some other name!

What’s in a name? that which we call a rose

By any other name would smell as sweet;

So Romeo would, were he not Romeo call’d,

Retain that dear perfection which he owes

Without that title. Romeo, doff thy name,

And for that name which is no part of thee

Take all myself.

REMEO

I take thee at thy word:

Call me but love, and I’ll be new baptized;

Henceforth I never will be Romeo.

JULIET

What man art thou that thus bescreen’d in night

So stumblest on my counsel?

REMEO

By a name
I know not how to tell thee who I am:
My name, dear saint, is hateful to myself,
Because it is an enemy to thee;
Had I it written, I would tear the word.

JULIET

My ears have not yet drunk a hundred words
Of that tongue's utterance, yet I know the sound:
Art thou not Romeo and a Montague?

REMEO

Neither, fair saint, if either thee dislike.

JULIET

How camest thou hither, tell me, and wherefore?
The orchard walls are high and hard to climb,
And the place death, considering who thou art,
If any of my kinsmen find thee here.

REMEO

With love's light wings did I o'er-perch these walls;
For stony limits cannot hold love out,
And what love can do that dares love attempt;
Therefore thy kinsmen are no let to me.

Further Reading

Culpeper, J., M. Haugh, and D. Z. Kádár (eds.) (2017). *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* . London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grainger, K. and S. Mills (2016). *Directness and Indirectness Across Cultures* . London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Huang, Y. (ed.) (2017). *The Oxford Handbook of Pragmatics* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kluge, B., Moyna María Irene, Horst J. Simon, and Jane Warren (eds.) (2019). *It's Not All About You: New Perspectives on Address Research* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Michno, J. (2017). Greeting and leave-taking in Texas: Perception of politeness norms by Mexican-Americans across sociolinguistic divides. *Spanish in Context* 14(1): 1–27.

Placencia, M. E. and C. Garcia-Fernandez (2017). *Research on Politeness in the Spanish-Speaking World* . New York: Routledge.

Said, F. and H. Zhu (2017). The strategic use of address terms in multilingual interactions during family mealtimes. In Anna De Fina, Didem Ikizoglu, and Jeremy Wegner (eds.), *Diversity and Super-Diversity: Sociocultural Linguistic Perspectives* . Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 81–96.

Wilson, D. and D. Sperber (2002). Truthfulness and relevance. *Mind* 111: 583–632.

References

Ager, D. E. (1990). *Sociolinguistics and Contemporary French* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Armostis, S. and M. Terkourafi (2019). Not all positive: On the landscape of thanking items in Cypriot Greek. In E. Ogiermann and P. Blitvich (eds.), *From Speech Acts to Lay Understandings of Politeness: Multilingual and Multicultural Perspectives* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 117–145.

Austin, J. L. (1975). *How to Do Things with Words* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Blitvich, P. G. C. and M. Sifianou (2017). (Im)politeness and identity. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh, and D. Z. Kádár (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 227–256.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1987). Indirectness and politeness in requests: Same or different? *Journal of Pragmatics* 11(2): 131–146.

Bresin, A., J. Hajek, and H. L. Kretzenbacher (2019). Transition from V to Taddress among restaurant customers and waiters in Italy. In B. Kluge, Moyna María Irene, Horst J. Simon, and Jane Warren (eds.), *It's Not All About You: New Perspectives on Address Research* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 221.

Brown, P. and S. C. Levinson (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals of Language Use* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, R. and M. Ford (1961). Address in American English. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 62: 375–385. Reprinted in J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (eds.) (1972), *Communication in Face to Face Interaction* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Brown, R. and A. Gilman (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In T. A. Sebeok (ed.), *Style in Language* , New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Reprinted in J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (eds.) (1972), *Communication in Face to Face Interaction* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Byon, A. S. (2006). The role of linguistic indirectness and honorifics in achieving linguistic politeness in Korean requests. *Journal of Politeness Research* 2: 247–276.

Chan, A., S. Schnurr, and O. Zayts (2018). Exploring face, identity and relationship management in disagreements in business meetings in Hong Kong. *Journal of Politeness Research* 14(2): 279–306.

Clayman, S. E. (2010). Address terms in the service of other actions: The case of news interview talk. *Discourse & Communication* 4(2): 161.

Culpeper, J., M. Haugh, and D. Z. Kádár (eds.) (2017). *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* . London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Culpeper, J. and M. Terkourafi (2017). Pragmatic approaches to (im)politeness. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh, and D. Z. Kádár (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 11–39.

Djenar, D. N., M. Ewing, and H. Manns (2018). *Style and Intersubjectivity in Youth Interaction* , vol. 108. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1948). Nuer modes of address. *The Uganda Journal* 12: 166–171. Reprinted in D. H. Hymes (ed.) (1964), *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* . New York: Harper & Row.

Fang, H. and J. H. Heng (1983). Social changes and changing address norms in China. *Language in Society* 12: 495–507.

Félix-Brasdefer, J. César (2006). Declining an invitation: A cross-cultural study of pragmatic strategies in American English and Latin American Spanish. *Multilingua – Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 22(3): 225–255.

Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry* 18: 213–231. Reprinted in J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (eds.) (1972), *Communication in Face to Face Interaction* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior* . New York: Anchor Books.

Grainger, K., S. Mills, and M. Sibanda (2010). 'Just tell us what to do': Southern African face and its relevance to intercultural communication. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(8): 2158–2171.

Grice, H. P. (1975). *Logic and Conversation* . In P. Cole and J. L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics , vol. 3: Speech Acts* . New York: Academic Press.

He, Z. and W. Ren (2016). Current address behaviour in China. *East Asian Pragmatics* 1(2): 163–180.

Holmes, J. and M. Stubbe (2015). *Power and Politeness in the Workplace: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Talk at Work* . London: Routledge.

Ju, Z. (1991). The 'depreciation' and 'appreciation' of some address terms in China. *Language in Society* 20: 387–390.

Kim, M. (2015). Women's talk, mothers' work: Korean mothers' address terms, solidarity, and power. *Discourse Studies* 17(5): 551–582.

Luchkina, T. (2015). Social deixis in motion: The case of 'comrade' in Russian and Mandarin Chinese. In M. Terkourafi (ed.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Im/politeness* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 7–40.

Mills, S. (2003). *Gender and Politeness* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mills, S. (2012). *Gender Matters: Feminist Linguistics Analysis* . London: Equinox Publishing.

Mills, S. (2017). Sociocultural approaches to (im)politeness. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh, and D. Z. Kádár (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* . London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mollin, S. (2018). The use of face-threatening acts in the construction of in- and out-group identities in British parliamentary debates. In Birte Bös, Sonja Kleinke, Sandra Mollin, and Nuria Hernández (eds.), *The*

Discursive Construction of Identities On- and Offline . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 205–226.

Norrby, C. and J. Warren (2012). Address practices and social relationships in European languages. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 6(4): 225–235.

Norrby, C., C. Wide, J. Nilsson, and J. Lindström (2018). Positioning through address practice in Finland–Swedish and Sweden–Swedish service encounters. In Kate Beeching, Chiara Ghezzi, and Piera Molinelli (eds.), *Positioning the Self and Others: Linguistic Perspectives* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 19–49.

Ostermann, A. C. (2003). Localizing power and solidarity: Pronoun alternation at an all-female police station and a feminist crisis intervention center in Brazil. *Language in Society* 32(3): 351–381.

Placencia, M. E. (2001). Inequality in address behavior at public institutions in La Paz, *Bolivia*. *Anthropological Linguistics* 43(2): 198–217.

Rendle-Short, J. (2007). ‘Catherine, you’re wasting your time’: Address terms within the Australian political interview. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 1503–1525.

Rendle-Short, J. (2010). ‘Mate’ as a term of address in ordinary interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(5): 1201–1218.

Scollon, R. and S. W. Scollon (2001). *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Scotton, C. M. and Z. Wanjin (1983). *Tóngzhi* in China: Language change and its conversational consequences. *Language in Society* 12: 477–494.

Searle, J. (1969). *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J. (1975). Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole and J. L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics , vol. 3: Speech*

Acts . New York: Academic Press.

Searle, J. (1999). *Mind, Language and Society: Doing Philosophy in the Real World* . London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Staley, L. (2018). *Socioeconomic Pragmatic Variation: Speech Acts and Address Forms in Context* , vol. 291. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Terkourafi, M. (2015). Conventionalization: A new agenda for im/politeness research. *Journal of Pragmatics* 86: 11–18.

Wong, A. D. (2004). Language, cultural authenticity, and the Tongzhi movement. In Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Symposium about Language and Society – Austin. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 48: 209–215.

Wong, A. D. (2005). The reappropriation of Tongzhi. *Language in Society* 34(5): 763–793.

Wong, A. D. (2006). Tongzhi, ideologies, and semantic change. *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 42(1): 303–317.

Wong, L. (1994). Address forms in modern China: Changing ideologies and shifting semantics. *Linguistics* 32(2): 299–324.

Yu, K. A. (2002). Culture-specific concepts of politeness. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 8(3): 385–409.

Zhang, X. (2011). A comparative study of Sino-American address terms from an intercultural communication perspective. *International Journal of English Linguistics* 1(1): 54–61.

Part II
Theory and Methods

5
Language Variation and Change

KEY TOPICS

- Linguistic variables and social meaning
- Data collection: goals and methods
- What correlations can tell us
- Drawing boundaries: regional variation and dialects
- Defining social class categories and membership
- First wave: correlations
- Second wave: ethnographic information
- Third wave: agency
- The role of language users in language change
- Gender and language change; assumptions about gender roles
- Changes in an individual's speech over a lifetime – age-grading

The kind of sociolinguistic investigation we will discuss in this chapter is often called **variationist sociolinguistics** and it is, for some sociolinguists, the 'heart of sociolinguistics' (Chambers 2003 , xix). This approach to sociolinguistics is quantitative in nature and we will discuss matters of sampling and the process of analysis in this chapter. But before that, let's start at the beginning: what is it that we want to study? Because this is *socio* linguistics, we will look at language variation in terms of what social factors might influence it. This chapter will also trace the development of ideas about language and language users within variationist sociolinguistic research, in what has been described as three 'waves' of variation studies.

Variables and Correlations

A basic premise in variationist sociolinguistics is inherent variability: as discussed in chapter 1 , all languages contain variability, and no language user speaks the same all the time. Studies employing variationist methodologies are essentially correlational in nature: that is, they attempt to show how the variants of a linguistic variable are related to social variation in much the same way that we can show how children's ages, heights, and weights are related to one another. However, a word of caution is necessary: correlation is not the same as causation. It is quite possible for two characteristics in a population to covary without one being the cause of the other. If A and B appear to be related, it may be because either A causes B or B causes A. However, it is also possible that some third factor C causes both A and B. The relationship could even be a matter of chance.

To arrive at our correlations, we must distinguish between **dependent variables** and **independent variables** . The linguistic variable is a dependent variable, the one we measure. For instance, the pronunciation of -ing endings on English words (which we'll refer to as the **(ng) variable** from now on) may have two variants, or two ways of being produced – [in] and [iŋ]. Each use may be dependent on another factor, which we call the independent variable. This can be a social factor, such as social class, age, etc., or a linguistic context, as we'll discuss more in this chapter. The question research addresses is, when the independent variable changes, what happens to the dependent variable? As Chambers (2003 , 26) expresses it, 'socially significant linguistic variation requires correlation: the dependent (linguistic) variable must change when some independent variable changes. It also requires that the change be orderly: the dependent variable must stratify the subjects in ways that are socially or stylistically coherent.'

Types of linguistic variables

Sociolinguists who have studied variation in this way have used a number of linguistic variables, many of which have been phonological. The (ng) variable, mentioned above, has been widely used; Labov (2006 , 259) says it 'has been found to have the greatest generality over the English-speaking world, and has been the subject of the most fruitful study.' Other examples of phonological variables in English are the (h) variable in words like *house* and *hospital* , that is, (h): [h] or Ø; or the (t) variable in *bet* and *better* , that is, [t], [ɾ] or [ʔ]. Vowel variables used have included the vowel (e) in words like *pen* and *men* ; the (o) in *dog* , *caught* , and *coffee* ; the (e) in *beg* ; the (a) in *back* , *bag* , *bad* , and *half* ; and the (u) in *pull* . We will return to vowel variation in our discussion of ongoing changes such as the Northern Cities Vowel Shift below.

However, studies of linguistic variation are of course not confined solely to phonological matters. Investigators have looked at morphological variables such as the (s) of the third-person singular, as in *he talks* versus *he talk* ; the occurrence or non-occurrence of *be* (and of its various inflected forms) in sentences such as *He's happy* , *He be happy* , and *He happy* ; the occurrence or non-occurrence of the negative particle *ne* in French; various aspects of the phenomenon of multiple negation in English, for example, *He don't mean no harm to nobody* . Structural variation in language contact situations is also a mainstay of variationist research; see Poplack (1993), Poplack et al. (1989) for examples of earlier work, and Rodríguez-Ordóñez's (2017) work on variation in differential object marking in Basque as an example of more recent research in this area. We will return to such analyses in chapters 8 and 9 .

One can, of course, also look at lexical variation; regional dialect studies have long focused on this, for example, distribution of words like 'soda' and 'pop' (see Wolfram and Schilling 2015 , 135 for a discussion of this in American English studies). Another example from recent research, and connected to our discussion of address terms in the last chapter, is research on 'brocatives' – i.e., masculine nominal vocatives such as 'man,' dude,' and several variants of 'bro' (Urichuk and Loureiro-Rodríguez 2019). In keeping with third-wave variationist studies (see discussion of this below), this study examines how these forms construct solidarity, but also looks at how their use correlates with demographic factors such as gender, age, and race/ethnicity. Unsurprisingly, these 'brocatives' are used much more among male speakers, with younger speakers using 'bro' more and variation among the variants 'bro' and 'brah/bruh' correlating with ethnic group members, with young, non-Caucasian men using 'brah/bruh' at the highest rates.

The study of pragmatic variation has also become more prominent in the last decade; Staley (2018) addresses the difference between pragmatic variation and variation on other linguistic levels, and notes that for pragmatic variables function, communicative activity and position in the discourse sequence act as parameters which much be taken into account when determining variants. Examples of this research include work on discourse markers such as *you know?* and *right?* (Denis and Tagliamonte 2016) or negative polarity interrogative tags such as *innit?* (Pichler 2016).

Indicators, markers, and stereotypes

Labov (1972) has also distinguished among what he calls indicators, markers, and stereotypes. An **indicator** is a linguistic variable to which little or no social import is attached. Most people who are not linguistically trained are not aware of indicators. For example, some speakers in North America distinguish the vowels in *cot* and *caught* and others do not; this is not salient to most nonlinguists.

On the other hand, a **marker** can be quite noticeable and potent carriers of social information. You do not always have to drop every *g* , that is, always say *singin* ' and never *singing* . Labov says that 'we observe listeners reacting in a discrete way. Up to a certain point they do not perceive the speaker "dropping his g's" at all; beyond a certain point, they perceive him as always doing so' (Labov 1972 , 226). G-dropping is a marker everywhere English is spoken. People are aware of markers, and the distribution of markers is clearly related to social groupings and to styles of speaking.

A **stereotype** is a popular and, therefore, conscious characterization of the speech of a particular group: New York *boid* for *bird* or *Toitytoid Street* for *33rd Street* ; a Northumbrian *Wot-cher* (What cheer?) greeting; the British use of *chap* ; or a Bostonian's *Pahk the cah in Hahvahd Yahd* . Often such stereotypes are stigmatized everywhere, and in at least one reported case (see Judges 12: 4–6 in the Old Testament) a stereotypical pronunciation of *shibboleth* had fatal consequences. A stereotype need not conform to reality; rather, it offers people a rough and ready categorization with all the attendant problems of such categorizations. Studies of variation tend therefore to focus on describing the distributions of linguistic variables which are markers. (Although see Johnstone 2004 for a discussion of stereotypes in Pittsburgh speech.)

Independent variables

As we said above, traditional variationist research focuses on correlations between dependent and independent variables. So what might correlate with particular linguistic features? In the sections below, we will discuss geographical region as a variable in what is usually called dialectology, and social variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, and social class.

Further, linguistic variables may correlate not only with social variables but also with other linguistic features, that is, there may be **linguistic constraints** too. A recent study (Forrest and Wolfram 2019) looking at the variation between - *ing* and - *in'* in African American Language in Washington, DC and Detroit at two points in time reveals that internal factors played a role. The lexical category influenced which variant was used (with verbs more likely to have the - *in* ' variant than adjectives). There was also some effect for the following place of articulation (i.e., **assimilation**), with - *ing* more likely preceding a **velar** and - *in'* more likely preceding a **coronal** sound, although this was not statistically significant. While the full picture of the findings is more complex, and intertwined with social variables such as social class and gender categories, this example illustrates how structural aspects of the linguistic feature being studied and the surrounding linguistic environment may also play a role in variation.

Data Collection and Analysis

Once an investigator has made a decision concerning which linguistic variable is of interest and which social variables must be taken into account, and has formed a hypothesis about a possible relationship between dependent and independent variables, the next task becomes one of collecting data that will either confirm or refute that hypothesis. In sociolinguistics, this task has two basic dimensions: devising some kind of plan for collecting relevant data, and then collecting such data from a representative sample of language users. As we will see, neither task is an easy one.

The observer's paradox

An immediate problem is one that we have previously referred to as the **observer's paradox** . How can you obtain objective data from the real world without injecting your own self into the data and thereby confounding the results before you even begin? How can you be sure that the data you have collected are uncontaminated by the process of investigation itself? This is a basic scientific quandary, particularly observable in the social sciences where, in almost every possible situation, there is one variable that cannot be controlled in every possible way, namely, the observers/recorders/analyst/investigators themselves. If language varies according to the social context, the presence of an observer will have some effect on that variation. Ethically, we cannot record people without their knowledge; although it is possible to ask people to record themselves, this does not remove the effect of the knowledge of being recorded. How can we minimize this effect?

The sociolinguistic interview

In dialect geography studies, speakers may be explicitly asked to provide linguistic information. However, methodology in sociolinguistics is geared toward having the research participants (the term preferred over 'informants' or 'subjects' in sociolinguistics today) provide speech in context, often in a conversation with the researcher. This approach addresses the issues of both non-categorical use and stylistic variation. That is, the interviewer manipulates the context to try to have interviewees focus more or less on how they are speaking. The traditional sociolinguistic interview involves a casual interview, which ideally resembles a conversation more than a formal question and answer session. In addition to trying to make the interviewee feel comfortable enough to talk in a casual speech style, Labov also introduced the 'danger of death' question, in which interviewees were asked to talk about situations in which they had felt themselves to be in serious danger. The idea behind this is that the interviewees would become emotionally involved in the narrative and forget about how they are talking in their involvement with what they are saying.

To get more formal styles of speech, investigators also ask research participants to do various reading tasks: read a story passage, lists of words, and **minimal pairs** . Each of these tasks requires an increased level of attention to speech. The texts are designed to contain words which illustrate important distinctions in the regional or social dialect being studied; for instance, if it is known that some speakers in the regional or social group of this speaker pronounce 'cot' and 'caught' with the same vowel, these words, or other words with these vowels, will be present in the reading materials, and be presented as a minimal pair in the final task. Speakers are obviously most likely to pronounce these words differently if they are reading them as a pair. This methodology assumes that if speakers are going to adjust their speaking style, they will use what they consider to be increasingly formal and correct speech in these elicitations.

While many researchers have followed this approach to sociolinguistic fieldwork, sociolinguists continue to rethink and develop data collection methods. For example, the idea that the conversation in a sociolinguistic interview can be described as 'natural' has been challenged, and many linguists recognize 'that there is no one single "genuine" vernacular for any one speaker, since speakers always shape their speech in some way to fit the situation or suit their purposes' (Schilling 2013 , 104). Mendoza-Denton (2008 , 222–225) also questions the naturalness of such interview-derived data and the usefulness of the danger of death question. She says that in her work using the latter would have been an 'outright *faux pas* … highly suspicious to gang members … very personal, and only to be told to trusted friends.' However, she does note that 'the sociolinguistic interview paradigm … has yielded replicable results that allow us to contextualize variation in a broader context.' Labov's own work (2001a) still distinguishes between casual and careful speech but provides for a more nuanced assessment of how the research participant views the speech situation.

Sampling

Another critical aspect of sociolinguistic research is sampling: finding a representative group of language users. The conclusions we draw about the behavior of any group are only as good as the sample on which we base our conclusions. If we choose the sample badly, we cannot generalize beyond the actual group that comprised the sample. If we intend to make claims about the characteristics of a population, we must either assess every member of that population for those characteristics or sample the whole population in some way. Sampling a population so as to generalize concerning its characteristics requires considerable skill. A genuine sample drawn from the population must be thoroughly representative and completely unbiased. All parts of the population must be adequately represented, and no part should be overrepresented or underrepresented, thereby creating bias of some kind.

The best sample of all is a **random sample** . In a random sample everyone in the population to be sampled has an equal chance of being selected. In contrast, in a **judgment sample** (also known as a **quota sample**) the investigator chooses the subjects according to a set of criteria, for example, age, gender, social class, education, and so on. The goal is to have a certain quota of research participants in each category; for example, if the study aims to look at age and social class, the goal is to include X number of people in each age group from each social class. Sometimes, too, it is the investigator who judges each of these categories, for example, to which social class a subject belongs. A judgment sample, although it does not allow for the same kind of generalization of findings as a random sample, is clearly more practical for a sociolinguist and it is the kind of sample preferred in most sociolinguistic studies (see Chambers 2003 , 44–45 and Milroy and Gordon 2008 , 30ff.).

It is actually possible to use a very small sample from a very large area and get good results. For their *Atlas of North American English* (ANAE) Labov and his co-workers sampled all North American cities with populations over 50,000. Labov (2006 , 396) reports that they did this through a telephone survey: ‘Names were selected from telephone directories, selecting by preference clusters of family names representing the majority ethnic groups in the area. The first two persons who answered the telephone and said that they had grown up in the city from the age of four or earlier, were accepted as representing that city (four or six persons for the largest cities). A total of 762 subjects were interviewed.' This sampling procedure proved to be effective to collect data which provided a general picture of differences in pronunciation across the US.

Apparent time and real time

Investigations may also have a 'time' dimension to them because one purpose of sociolinguistic studies is trying to understand language change, as we'll discuss in more detail below. They may be **apparent-time** studies in which the subjects are grouped by age, for example, people in their 20s, 40s, 60s, and so on. Any differences found in their behavior may then be associated with changes that are occurring in the language. **Real-time** studies elicit the same kind of data after an interval of say ten, twenty, or thirty years. If the same informants are involved, this would be in a **panel study** ; if different people are used it would be in a **trend study** . Obviously, real-time studies are difficult to do, therefore most studies of change in progress are apparent-time studies. An interesting example of a study which used both of these approaches can be found in Schilling (2017). This study made use of data collected on Smith Island, Maryland in 1985 and restudies in 2000 and then beginning again in 2015. These data provide both real-time and apparent-time comparisons and address the issue of the pathways of change in a dialect endangerment situation.

Doing Quantitative Research: What Do the Numbers Really Mean?

Two important concepts in this research methodology are **validity** and **reliability** Validity in research is that your research methods enable you to draw conclusions about what you intend to study. Think back to our discussion of language attitudes in chapter 3 . One reason for the development of methods such as the matched guise technique is that some people feel that there are problems with the validity of questionnaires or interviews; research participants may tell you what they think you want to hear, or what they think is the ‘right’ answer, so you cannot always be sure that the responses you get are their real attitudes. This is about validity; do comments people make when asked directly about how they feel about different ways of speaking reflect their language attitudes, or are they more reflective of broader societal norms?

Reliability is how objective and consistent the measurements of the actual linguistic data are. Data collection methodology is part of this issue; if only one person collected the data, how consistent was that person in the actual collection? If two or more were involved, how consistently and uniformly did they employ whatever criteria they were using? Bailey and Tillery (2004 , 27–28) have identified a cluster of such issues, for example, the effects of different interviewers, elicitation strategies, sampling procedures, and analytical strategies, and pointed out that these can produce significant effects on the data that are collected and, consequently, on any results that are reported.

Serious empirical studies also require experimental hypotheses to be stated *before* the data are collected, and suitable tests to be chosen to decide whether these hypotheses are confirmed or not and with what degree of confidence. (For more discussion of statistical analyses in sociolinguistics, see Bayley 2013 and Tagliamonte 2016 .)

Most social scientists employing statistical procedures regard the level of significance as a suitable test of a hypothesis. In other words, unless their statistical procedures indicate that the same results would occur by chance in less than one case in twenty, they will *not* say that two groups differ in some respect or on a particular characteristic; that is, they insist that their claims be significant at what they call the 0.05 level of significance. We are also much more likely to find two means to be significantly different if they are obtained from averaging a large number of observations than from a small number.

Milroy and Gordon (2008 , 168) provide another perspective on the use of statistics in the study of language, asking: 'should we equate failure to achieve statistical significance with sociolinguistic irrelevance?' Their answer is that 'statistical tests, like all quantitative procedures, are tools to provide insight into patterning in variation. They must be used critically.' Labov himself (1969, 731) has stated that statistical tests are not always necessary: 'We are not dealing here with effects which are so erratic or marginal that statistical tests are required to determine whether or not they might have been produced by chance.'

Regional Variation

The mapping of regional dialects has had a long history in linguistics (see Petyt 1980 ; Chambers and Trudgill 1998 ; and Wakelin 1977). In fact, it is a well-established part of the study of how languages change over time, that is, of **diachronic** or **historical linguistics** . Traditionally, **dialect geography** , as this area of linguistic study is known, has employed assumptions and methods drawn from historical linguistics, and many of its results have been used to confirm findings drawn from other historical sources, for example, archeological findings, population studies, and written records. In this view, languages differentiate internally as people distance themselves from one another over time and space; the changes result in the creation of dialects of the languages. Over sufficient time, the resulting dialects might become new languages as speakers of the resulting varieties become unintelligible to one another. So Latin became French, Spanish, Italian, and so on in different regions.

Mapping dialects

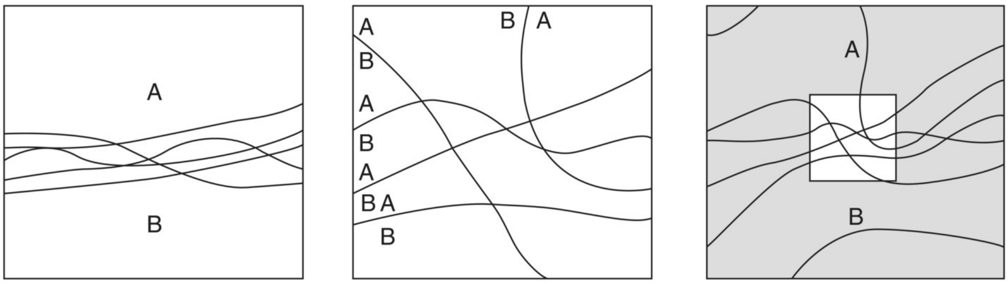
Dialect geographers have traditionally attempted to reproduce their findings on maps in what they call **dialect atlases** . They try to show the geographical boundaries of the distribution of a particular linguistic feature by drawing a line on a map. Such a line is called an **isogloss** : on one side of the line people say something one way, for example, pronounce *cot* and *caught* the same, and on the other side they use some other pronunciation, for example, distinguishing between the [ɑ] sound in ‘cot’ and the [ɔ] sound in ‘caught’ (see Figure 5.1 and the discussion of the Northern Cities Vowel Shift below).

Quite often, when the boundaries for different linguistic features are mapped in this way the isoglosses show a considerable amount of criss-crossing. On occasion, though, a number coincide; that is, there is a bundle of isoglosses. Such a bundle is often said to mark a **dialect boundary** . One such bundle crosses the south of France from east to west approximately at the 45th parallel (Grenoble to Bordeaux) with words like *chandelle* , *chanter* , and *chaud* beginning with a *sh* sound to the north and a *k* sound to the south.

Quite often, that dialect boundary coincides with some geographical or political factor, for example, a mountain ridge, a river, or the boundary of an old principality or diocese. Isoglosses can also show that a particular set of linguistic features appears to be spreading from one location, a **focal area** , into neighboring locations. In the 1930s and 1940s, Boston and Charleston were the two focal areas for the temporary spread of *r* -lessness in the eastern United States. (We’ll discuss *r* -lessness in New York City below.)

The main kinds of isogloss

Term	Separates	Examples
isolex	lexical items	*nunch* vs *nuncheon*
isomorph	morphological features	*dived* vs *dove*
isophone	phonological features	*put* / pʊt / vs / pʌt /
isoseme	semantic features	*dinner* (mid-day meal) vs (evening meal)



(a) **The expectation** isoglosses will form neat bundles, demarcating dialect A from dialect B.

(b) **The reality** isoglosses criss-cross an area, with no clear boundary between A and B.

(c) **Focal and transitional** On a larger scale, the isoglosses are seen to constitute a transitional area between the focal areas A and B.

Figure 5.1 Isoglosses.

Alternatively, a particular area, a **relic area** , may show characteristics of being unaffected by changes spreading out from one or more neighboring areas. Places like London and Boston are obviously focal areas; places like Martha's Vineyard in New England – it remained *r* -pronouncing in the 1930s and 1940s even as Boston dropped the pronunciation – and Devon in the extreme southwest of England are relic areas. Wolfram (2004) calls the dialect of such an area a **remnant dialect** and, in doing so, reminds us that not everything in such a dialect is a relic of the past for such areas also have their own innovations.

Very often the isoglosses for individual phonological features do not coincide with one another to give us clearly demarcated dialect areas. As shown in Figure 5.1 , while the ideal is that isoglosses coincide as in (a), in reality isoglosses may criss-cross as in (b); some examples of how different features of dialects might pattern can be seen in (c). Isoglosses do cross and bundles of them are rare. It is consequently extremely difficult to determine boundaries between dialects in this way and dialectologists acknowledge this fact. The postulated dialect areas show considerable internal variation and the actual areas proposed are often based on only a few key items (or linguistic variables in our terminology).

Methods in dialectology

There are methodological issues which have caused sociolinguists to question some dialect studies. One of these issues has to do with the **sample** used for the research. First, sampling methods were based on assumptions about who ‘representative’ users of dialects were. For example, the focus was almost exclusively on rural areas, which were regarded as ‘conservative’ in the sense that they were seen to preserve ‘older’ forms of the languages under investigation. Urban areas were acknowledged to be innovative, unstable linguistically, and difficult to approach using existing survey techniques. When the occasional approach was made, it was biased toward finding the most conservative variety of urban speech. Ignoring towns and cities may be defensible in an agrarian-based society; however, it is hardly defensible in the heavily urbanizing societies of today’s world.

Further, there was a circularity in how social class was addressed; in the data collection for the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* , the analysis was partly intended to find out how speech related to social class, but speech was itself used as one of the criteria for assigning membership in a social class. For example, the research participants chosen for the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* were of three types (Kurath 1939 , 44), chosen as follows:

> Type I: Little formal education, little reading, and restricted social contacts
>
> Type II: Better formal education (usually high school) and/or wider reading and social contacts
>
> Type III: Superior education (usually college), cultured background, wide reading, and/or extensive social contacts

Each of these three types was then sub-categorized as follows:

> Type A: Aged, and/or regarded by the field worker as old-fashioned
>
> Type B: Middle-aged or younger, and/or regarded by the field worker as more modern

We should also note that it was the field worker for the *Atlas* who decided exactly where each informant fitted in the above scheme of things. The field worker alone judged whether a particular informant should be used in the study, and Type IA informants were particularly prized as being most representative of local speech.

In England, the Survey of English Dialects carried out between 1950 and 1961 with informants from 313 localities in England and Wales employed similar criteria (Orton et al. 1978 , 3):

> The selection of informants was made with especial care. The fieldworkers were instructed to seek out elderly men and women – more often men, since women seemed in general to encourage the social upgrading of the speech of their families – who were themselves of the place and both of whose parents were preferably natives also. They were to be over 60 years of age, with good mouths, teeth and hearing and of the class of agricultural workers who would be familiar with the subject matter of the questionnaire and capable of responding perceptively and authoritatively.

Typically, both research participants and field workers were male. As Coates (2004 , 10–11) says, 'Dialectology … marginalized women speakers. Traditional dialectologists defined the true vernacular in terms of male informants, and organized their questionnaires around what was seen as the man's world.'

Another methodological issue involves basic ideas about language. The data collection methodology often used in earlier dialect geography studies assumes that individuals do not have variation in their speech; for instance, if they use the word ‘pop’ to talk about carbonated beverages they never use the term ‘soda’ to refer to the same thing, or if they merge the vowels in ‘pin’ and ‘pen,’ they always do this. This assumption has been called ‘ **the axiom of categoricity** ’ (Chambers 1995 : 25–33) as it treats linguistic variables as if they are categorical in the speech of an individual – and from there it is implied that they are categorical in regional dialects. As Gordon (2013 , 32–33) observes, not taking variation in the language use of an individual into account leads to an interpretation of the results which is misleading; presenting speakers as using variables categorically is ‘taken to represent how languages work rather than how linguists work.’

Furthermore, since most of us realize that it is not only where you come from that affects your speech but also your social and cultural background, age, gender, race, occupation, and group loyalty, the traditional bias toward geographic origin alone now appears to be a serious weakness. People from different regions certainly interact with one another; dialect breaks or boundaries are not ‘clean’; and change can be said to be ‘regular’ only if you are prepared to categorize certain kinds of irregularities as exceptions, relics, borrowings, ‘minor’ variations, and so on. (Remember the concept of ‘erasure’ in the study of language ideologies? Sociolinguists can be been guilty of this too; researchers are only human, after all.)

Dialect mixture and free variation

All of this is not to say that this kind of individual and social variation has gone unnoticed in the study of dialects. Linguists have long been aware of variation in the use of language: individuals do speak one way on one occasion and other ways on other occasions, and this kind of variation can be seen to occur within even the most localized groups. Such variation is often ascribed to **dialect mixture** , that is, the existence in one locality of two or more dialects which allow people to draw now on one dialect and then on the other. An alternative explanation is **free variation** , that is, variation of no social significance. However, no one has ever devised a suitable theory to explain either dialect mixture or free variation, and the latter turns out not to be so free after all because close analyses generally reveal that complex linguistic and social factors appear to explain much of the variation.

Exploration 5.1 Free Variation?

What vowel do you use in the first vowel in the word ‘data’ (/e/ or /a/), or the initial sound of the words ‘economic’ (/i/ or /ɛ/) or ‘either’ (/ai/ or /i/)? Is there any difference in social meaning between the two pronunciations?

Linguistic atlases

There have been some recent developments in linguistic atlas work which hold promise for future discoveries. They result largely from our growing ability to process and analyze large quantities of linguistic data. One, for example, is Kretzschmar’s work on the *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States* (LAMSAS). He shows (1996) how it is possible to use quantitative methods to demonstrate the probability of occurrence of specific words or sounds in specific areas. Another quantitative survey (Labov et al. 2005) used a very simple sampling technique to survey the whole of North American English in order to produce the *Atlas of North American English* (ANAE), a study of all the cities on the continent with populations of over 50,000. This study showed that ‘regional dialects are getting stronger and more diverse as language change is continuing and that the structural divisions between them are very sharp, with very tight bundling of the isoglosses’ (Labov et al. 2005 , 348). (See also links to dialect atlas projects in the US and the UK in the chapter 5 materials on our website companion to this text.)

This discussion of dialect geography raises a number of issues which are important to our concerns. One is the kind of variation that we should try to account for in language. Another has to do with sampling the population among which we believe there is variation. Still another is the collection, analysis, and treatment of the data that we consider relevant. And, finally, there are the overriding issues of what implications there are in our findings for theoretical matters concerning the nature of language, variation in language, the language-learning and language-using abilities of human beings, and the processes involved in language change. It is to these issues that we will now turn, and in doing so, focus on social rather than regional variation in language.

Social Variation

A major concern in early sociolinguistic research was what was called the **actuation problem** : why do particular changes occur at a given place and time while others don't? The premise is that for change to occur variation is necessary, but not all variation leads to changes. This requires us to examine linguistic variation as it is stratified within a particular space and how this variation may be shaped differently by different people. In order to evaluate how language changes, we must be able to relate the variants in some way to quantifiable factors in society, for example, social class membership, gender, age, ethnicity, and so on. As we will see, there are numerous difficulties in attempting this task, but considerable progress has been made in overcoming them, particularly as studies have built on those that have gone before in such a way as to strengthen the quality of the work done in this area of sociolinguistics.

Social class membership

One factor which has been prominent in sociolinguistic studies of variation is **social class** membership. If we consider 'social class' to be a useful concept to apply in stratifying society, we need a way to determine the social class of particular people. This raises various difficulties, as in many societies there are no strict guidelines, and terms such as ‘middle class’ may have many different meanings for the people themselves. Criteria that have been used in sociolinguistic studies to categorize people in social classes include income, level of education, occupation, and neighborhood. In his early work on linguistic variation in New York City, Labov (1966) used the three criteria of education, occupation, and income to set up ten social classes. In his later study (2001b) of variation in Philadelphia, he used a socioeconomic index based on occupation, education, and house value. In Shuy’s Detroit study (Shuy et al. 1968) research participants were assigned to a social class using three sets of criteria: amount of education, occupation, and place of residence.

In an early study of linguistic variation in Norwich, England, Trudgill (1974) distinguishes five social classes. The sixty research participants were classified on six factors: occupation, education, income, type of housing, locality, and father’s occupation. However, there was also a certain circularity in the additional use of linguistic criteria. His lower working class is defined as those who use certain linguistic features (e.g., *he go*) more than 80 percent of the time. Members of Trudgill’s middle class always use *he goes* . His study is an attempt to relate linguistic behavior to social class, but he uses linguistic behavior to assign membership in social class. What we can be sure of is that there is a difference in linguistic behavior between those at the top and bottom of these social class categories, but this difference is not one that has been established completely independently because of the underlying circularity.

Milroy and Gordon (2008) discuss two problematic issues inherent in the study of social class. First, as a concept it combines economic aspects with status ones; this creates particular difficulty when we try to make comparison across communities, as a university professor may have a very different type of status (as well as economic standing) in one community when compared to another. Another issue has to do with mobility between social classes; again we see variation in this across societies, with mobility being greater in, for example, the United States than in the United Kingdom. In short, any categorization of people into social class categories must be done with careful attention to the community norms and understandings of economic and status factors. Also, the factors used to determine social class may have different values at different points in time; graduating from college or university in the 1950s indicated something quite different from what it does today in many societies. Social class systems themselves also change. The social class system of England in the 1960s was different from what it is today and, presumably, it will be different again in another half century, and all these class systems were and are different from those existing contemporaneously in New York, Brazil, Japan, and so on. (Go to the online companion to the text for a link to a BBC study about social class in the UK which specifies seven social class categories.) The underlying question remains, what kind of category is social class, and what does it mean in terms of language use?

While the use of social class as a variable is commonplace in sociolinguistics, two problems with this have been raised. First, it is not a static characteristic and sociolinguists should keep in mind that social class standing is produced through social behavior, not the origin of it (Chun 2019). Further, we would do well to question the universality of class as a social category. Stanford (2016) notes the cultural bias inherent in using social class as a way of categorizing people and suggests that sociolinguists would benefit from studying more countries outside of the Western world and critically examining how such categories are brought into being.

Exploration 5.2 Social Class

How would you try to place individuals in the community in which you live into some kind of social class system? What factors would you consider to be relevant? How would you weigh each of these? What class designations would seem to be appropriate? Where would you place yourself? You might also compare the scale you have devised for your community with similar scales constructed by others to find out how much agreement exists.

We can also see how social class itself is a sociological construct; people probably do not classify themselves as members of groups defined by such criteria. Wolfram and Fasold (1974 , 44) point out that 'there are other objective approaches [to establishing social groupings] not exclusively dependent on socio-economic ranking… . An investigator may look at such things as church membership, leisure-time activities, or community organizations.' They admit that such alternative approaches are not at all simple to devise but argue that a classification so obtained is probably more directly related to social class than the simple measurement of economic factors. We should note that the concept of **lifestyle** has been introduced into classifying people in sociolinguistics, so obviously patterns of consumption of goods and appearance are important for a number of people in arriving at some kind of social classification. Coupland (2007 , 29–30) calls the current era 'late-modernity.' It is a time in which 'Social life seems increasingly to come packaged as a set of lifestyle options able to be picked up and dropped, though always against a social backdrop of economic possibilities and constraints… . Social class … membership in the West is not the straitjacket that it was. Within limits, some people can make choices in their patterns of consumption and take on the social attributes of different social classes… . the meaning of class is shifted.'

One of the major problems in talking about social class is that social space is multidimensional whereas systems of social classification are almost always one-dimensional. As we have seen, at any particular moment, individuals locate themselves in social space according to the factors that are relevant to them at that moment. While they may indeed have certain feelings about being a member of the lower middle class, at any moment it might be more important to be female, or to be a member of a particular church or ethnic group, or to be an in-patient in a hospital, or to be a sister-in-law. That is, creating an identity, role-playing, networking, and so on, may be far more important than a certain social class membership. This is the reason why some investigators find such concepts as social network and communities of practice attractive. Sometimes, too, experience tells the investigator that social class is not a factor in a particular situation and that something else is more important. For example, Rickford's work (1986) on language variation in a non-American, East Indian sugar-estate community in Cane Walk, Guyana, showed him that using a social class-based model of the community would be inappropriate. What was needed was a conflict model, one that recognized schisms, struggles, and clashes on certain issues. It was a somewhat similar perspective that Mendoza-Denton (2008) brought to her work among rival Latina groups in a California school where the main issue was Norteña–Sureña rivalry.

One of the problems in sociolinguistics, then, is the tension between the desire to accurately portray particular people and to make generalizations about groups of people. To the extent that the groups are real, that is, that the members actually feel that they do belong to a group, a description of a social dialect has validity; to the extent that they are not, it is just an artifact. In the extremely complex societies in which most of us live, there must always be some question as to the reality of any kind of social grouping: each of us experiences society differently, multiple-group membership is normal, and both change and stability seem to be natural conditions of our existence. We must therefore exercise a certain caution about interpreting any claims made about 'lower-working-class speech,' 'upper-middle-class speech,' or the speech of any other social group designated with a class label – or any label for that matter.

The First Wave of Variation Studies

Broadly speaking, the first wave of studies sought to establish correlations between predetermined macro-level social categories – socioeconomic class, age, race/ethnicity, and sex – and particular linguistic variables. The Labov (1966) study, and others carried out in the United States and Great Britain (e.g., Wolfram 1969 ; Trudgill 1974) showed socioeconomic stratification and 'greater regional and ethnic differentiation at the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy as well as greater use of more widespread nonstandard forms' (Eckert 2012 , 88). The focus in this research was on vernacular varieties and how users of these varieties moved increasingly toward the standard as they paid more and more attention to their speech. A key concept is that such individual stylistic repertoires mirror the hierarchy of varieties found in the larger society. Identity, a key theme in later waves of variation studies, is not theorized in this body of work (Drummond and Schleef 2016).

Early work on gender variation

One of the earliest studies which included a look at gender variation was Fischer's study (1958) of the /n/ variable we have discussed above, that is, pronunciations like *singing* [ŋ] versus *singin'* [n]. We should observe that there is a long history of both the [ŋ] and [n] variants in the language, with the [n] variant stigmatized, or at least associated with less lofty pursuits. The second author recalls a student in one of her sociolinguistics courses who claimed that he would use the two pronunciations to mean different things: the less formal *fishin'* meant going out in a boat with a simple fishing pole, whereas the more prestigious-sounding *fishing* meant going fly-fishing. While such a distinction in meaning is by no means widespread (and may have been limited to this individual), it is indicative of awareness of this variable being part of communicative competence of many speakers of English.

Fischer conducted interviews with young children in a New England community, twelve boys and twelve girls, aged 3–10. He noted their use of *-ing* ([ŋ]) and *-in'* ([n]) in a very formal situation during the administration of the Thematic Apperception Test, in a less formal interview, and in an informal situation in which the children discussed recent activities. In the most formal situation, 10/12 (83%) of the girls showed a preference for the *-ing* form, while only 5/12 (42%) of the boys did (Fischer 1958 , 48).

Fischer also compared the use of [ŋ] and [n] of a boy described by his teachers as a 'model' boy with that of a boy described as a 'typical' boy. The model boy worked well in school and was described as being popular, thoughtful, and considerate; the typical boy was described as being strong, mischievous, and apparently unafraid of being caught doing something he should not be doing. In the most formal situation, the model boy used far more of the more formal variant. However, Fischer further observed that the model boy also used *-in'* at a higher rate as the formality of the situation decreased. Fischer's conclusion (1958, 51) is that 'the choice between the - *ing* and the - *in'* variants appears to be related to sex, class, personality (aggressive/cooperative), and mood (tense/relaxed) of the speaker, to the formality of the conversation and to the specific verb spoken.'

In terms of its findings on gender, this study fit into a pattern of studies which showed that girls/women used more standardized variants than boys/men of their same social class in the same social contexts (Macaulay 1977 ; Trudgill 1972 , 1974 ; Wolfram 1969). We will return to this point below, and again in chapter 11 . Further, this research provides motivation for subsequent waves of research which look more at the role of identity.

The fourth floor

Another first-wave study, perhaps the most well known of all, is Labov's small-scale investigation of the (r) variable (Labov 1966). We should note that *r* -pronunciation has not always been highly valued in New York City. New York City was *r* -pronouncing in the eighteenth century but became *r* -less in the nineteenth, and *r* -lessness predominated until World War II. At that time *r* -pronunciation became prestigious again, possibly as a result of large population movements to the city; there was a shift in attitude toward *r* -pronunciation, from apparent indifference to a widespread desire to adopt such pronunciation. Labov believed that *r* -pronunciation after vowels was being reintroduced into New York speech from above, was a feature of the speech of younger people rather than of older people, was more likely to occur as the formality level in speech increased, and would be more likely at the ends of words (*floor*) than before consonants (*fourth*). He set out to test these hypotheses by walking around three New York City department stores (Saks, Macy's, and S. Klein), which were rather clearly demarcated by the social class groups to which they catered (high, middle, and low, respectively), and asking the location of departments he knew to be situated on the fourth floor. When the shop assistants answered, Labov would seek a careful repetition of *fourth floor* by pretending not to hear the initial response and asking them to repeat their answer.

Table 5.1 shows the incidence of *r* use that Labov found among individuals employed in the three stores (Labov 1972 , 51). The table shows that 32 and 31 percent of the personnel approached in Saks and Macy's respectively used *r* in all possible instances but only 17 percent did so in S. Klein; 79 percent of the seventy-one employees in S. Klein who were approached did not use *r* at all, but only 38 percent of the sixty-eight employees approached in

Saks and 49 percent of the 125 employees approached in Macy's were *r* -less.

So far as the position of occurrence of *r* -pronunciation was concerned (i.e., before consonant vs. word final, and first response vs. repeated response), Labov found that *r* -pronunciation was favored in Saks to a greater extent than in Macy's but much less so in S. Klein. Careful repetition of the utterance nearly always increased *r* -pronunciation, and pronunciation of the *r* was found more often in *floor* than in *fourth* in all circumstances. Labov did not test his findings for statistical significance but the data clearly reveal the patterns just mentioned. (See Figure 5.2 .)

A further analysis of the department store data showed that in Saks it was older people who used *r* -pronunciation less. However, the data from S. Klein on this point were quite inconclusive, and the results from Macy's pointed in a direction completely opposite to that predicted: *r* -pronunciation actually increased with age. This fact led Labov to conclude that members of the highest and lowest social groups tend not to change their pronunciation after it becomes fixed in adolescence but members of middle social groups sometimes do, possibly because of their social aspirations. He tested this last hypothesis later in a more comprehensive study of New York City speech and found good confirmation for it.

This desire to adopt a particular pronunciation is, according to Labov, influenced by social class standing. In another study in New York, Labov examined the pronunciation of *r* by people in various social classes in different styles of speech, from the most casual type of speech (e.g., telling about a narrow escape from death) to the most formal type (e.g., reading aloud a list of pairs of words like *bit* and *bid* and *pa* and *par*) (Labov 1966 , 240). The amount of *r* use increases by social class and by formality of style, as found in the fourth floor study. However, there is one noticeable exception: the lower-middle-class speakers use more *r* than the upper-middle-class speakers on word lists and pairs. Labov explains this as an instance of **hypercorrection** .

Hypercorrection occurs when individuals consciously try to speak like people they regard as socially superior but actually go too far and overdo the particular linguistic behavior they are attempting to match. Here, lower-middle-class speakers know how prestigious *r* -pronunciations are and, in reading word lists and lists of pairs, that is, when they are placed in situations which require them to monitor their speech closely, they outperform their reference group, in this case the next highest social class, the upper middle class.

Table 5.1 Percentage of [r] use in three New York City department stores

Source: based on Labov (1972 , 51).

	Saks (%)	Macy's (%)	S. Klein (%)
All [r]	32	31	17
Some [r]	30	20	4
No [r]	38	49	79
Number	68	125	71

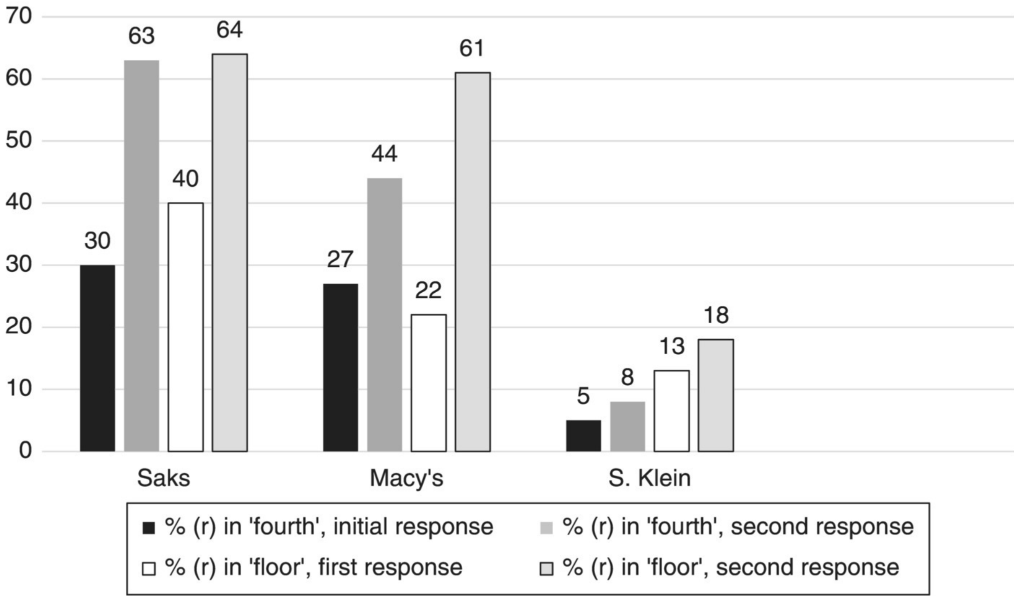


Figure 5.2 Use of *r* -pronunciation by department store (based on Labov 1972).

Exploration 5.3 Hypercorrection

There are two different phenomena which can be called ‘hypercorrection’ – one, as discussed in the context of the Labov study, is hyper-use of a prestigious form; the other is the use of structures which aim to be standard but instead use supposedly standard features in ways that are not prescriptively ‘correct.’ With this concept in mind, discuss the use of the phrase *between you and I* . Do you use this, hear it frequently, or consider it to be standard? What are the linguistic roots of this construction (contrast with *between you and me*) and why might it be considered a hypercorrection?

In more recent work on /r/ in New York City, Becker (2014) noted that while *r* -fulness is on the rise, only three of the five ethnic groups she included in her study are participating in this change. She found that people in the groups labeled as Chinese, Jewish, and White are participating in the move toward more rhoticity; the African American and Puerto Rican research participants were not part of this ongoing change.

Variation in Norwich

The aforementioned work by Trudgill (1974) is also a seminal work of the first wave in variation studies. Trudgill investigated sixteen different phonological variables in his work in Norwich, England. He demonstrates, in much the same way as Labov does in New York City, how use of the variants is related to social class and level of formality. Trudgill’s analysis of the variables (ng), (t), and (h) shows, for example, that the higher the social class the more frequent is the use of the [ŋ], [t], and [h] variants in words like *singing* , *butter* , and *hammer* rather than the corresponding [n], [ʔ], and Ø variants. However, whereas members of the lower working class almost invariably say *singin’* , they do not almost invariably say *’ammer* . The data also suggest that, so far as the (ng) variable is concerned, its variant use is related not only to social class but also to gender, with females showing a greater preference for [ŋ] than males, regardless of social class membership.

In later work, Trudgill (1995 , 93–94) demonstrates two very important points: First, when style is kept constant, the lower the social class the greater the incidence of the nonstandardized variant; for each group, the bars increase as the speech style goes from most to least formal. Second, when social class is kept constant, the less formal the style the greater the incidence of the nonstandardized variant.

Variation in Detroit

A Detroit study (Shuy et al. 1968) and Wolfram's follow-up to that study (1969) are other first-wave studies. The Detroit study investigated the use of **multiple negation** as a linguistic variable in that city. It showed that there is a very close relationship between the use of multiple negation and social class. Whereas upper-middle-class speakers used such negation on about 2 percent of possible occasions, the corresponding percentages for the other three social classes were as follows: lower middle class, 11 percent; upper working class, 38 percent; and lower working class, 70 percent (see Figure 5.3). From such figures we can make a further observation: it is not that members of the upper middle class *always* avoid multiple negation and members of the lower working class *always* employ it; it may be our impression that such is the case, but the facts do not confirm that impression. Speech within any social class, and for that matter within the speech of one person, therefore, is inherently variable, just as it is in society as a whole. However, there is nevertheless a pattern to that behavior: as the situation becomes more formal, an individual's linguistic usage comes closer to standardized usage, and the higher the social class of the speaker, the more standardized too is the speaker's behavior.

Wolfram's study was an attempt to show how the distribution of linguistic variables correlated with such factors as social class, gender, age, and racial category in Detroit. Wolfram wanted to identify varieties of speech which might be associated with specific social groups in the city. He investigated four phonological variables: word final consonant cluster simplification; medial and final *th* , as in *nothing* and *path* ; syllable final *d* ; and the occurrence of *r* after vowels. He also investigated four grammatical variables: the zero copula, as in *He tired* ; invariant *be* , as in *He be tired* ; the - *s* plural, possessive, and third-person singular verbal suffixes, as in *girls* , *boy's* , and *goes* ; and multiple negation. Wolfram's general findings in Detroit were that social status was the single most important variable correlating with linguistic differences, with the clearest boundary being between the lower middle and upper working classes, and that in each class females used more standardized-language forms than males. Further, older subjects also used fewer stigmatized forms than did younger subjects, and reading style showed the fewest deviations of all from standardized-language forms.

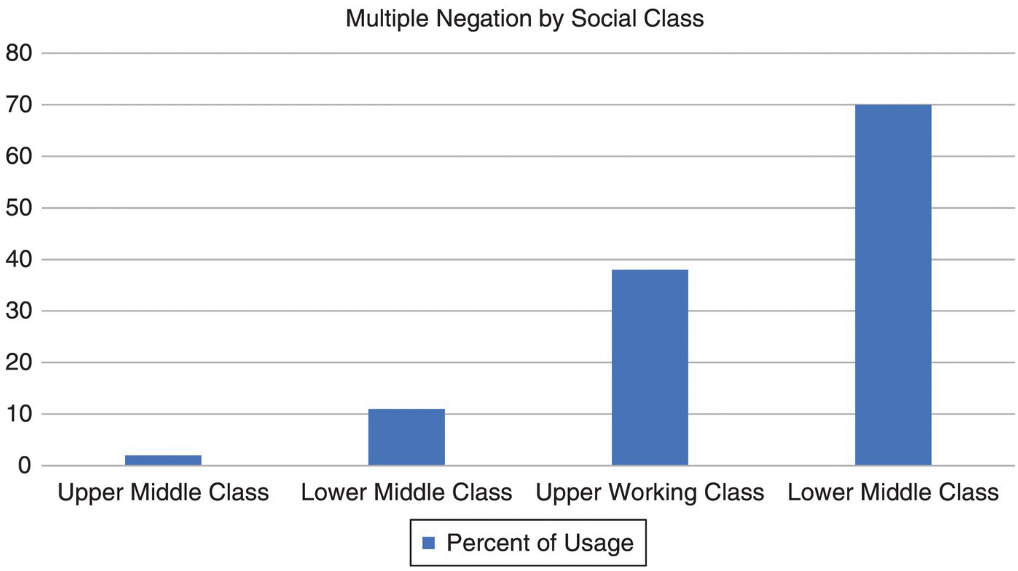


Figure 5.3 Multiple negation by social class in Detroit (based on Wolfram 1969).

Variation in Glasgow

So far we have mentioned several factors that correlate with linguistic variation: social class, age, and gender. Another study which looked at all of these is Macaulay's study (1977) of five variables in Glasgow: the vowels in words such as *hit* , *school* , *hat* , and *now* and the occurrence of glottal stops as replacements for [t] in words like *better* and *get* . Macaulay found a clear correlation between variation and social class, but in addition he found that when individual rather than group behavior was plotted for each variable, a continuum of behavior was exhibited in each case. That is, there was considerable variation within each of the four classes, with the behavior of certain individuals in each class overlapping the behavior of individuals in neighboring classes; however, the means for most classes, except the two lowest, were clearly different from each other.

We can conclude from Macaulay's study that the linguistic behavior of individuals forms a continuum in the same way that social organization is continuous. Social classes are constructs imposed on this continuum. If linguistic variation is correlated with the 'average' behavior of individuals in these classes, it will show class differences. However, the linguistic behavior of certain individuals in one class will overlap the linguistic behavior of certain individuals in neighboring classes. What is important in this view is that there is still a certain homogeneity of behavior within the classes. The members of each social class exhibit certain ranges of behavior on the linguistic variables and, even though the ranges overlap, each social class has a distinctive range for each variable.

Linguistic constraints on variation

Lest we leave the impression that first-wave studies were all focused on social class, and English, we will present here some findings on internally conditioned variation in French. Two studies of the French spoken in Montreal are of interest because they suggest some of the complexities we face in trying to describe the distribution of variants of a variable in one case and the persistence of a rare variant in another. The first study is by Sankoff and Cedergren (1971), who report on the (l) variable in Montreal French, that is, the presence or absence of [l] in expressions such as 'he does,' [il fɛ] or [i fɛ], and 'he is,' [il e] or [y e]. They found that in 94 percent of the cases when the (l) was followed by a consonant or a glide it was not produced phonetically, but it went phonetically unrealized in only 57 percent of the cases when it was followed by a vowel. Further, when the (l) is part of an impersonal pronoun, for example, the *l* in *il pleut* ('it's raining') or *il y a* ('there is/are'), that (l) is almost never realized before a consonant or glide; in contrast, a personal *il* ('he') in the same circumstances finds the (l) not realized phonetically about 80 percent of the time. What we find here is that the distribution of the variants of the (l) variable in Montreal French is related to phonological and grammatical factors as well as social ones. The (l) is affected by its relationship to the following phonological segment and whether it occurs in either a personal or impersonal pronoun, when these are even of identical form, that is, *il* .

The second example from Montreal French is variation in the use/non-use of the negative particle *ne* in verb phrases. Sankoff and Vincent (1977) found that *ne* is very rarely used at all in Montreal; in fact, it was not used in about 99.5 percent of the cases in which it would be required in written French. This same deletion is also found in Continental French with estimates from Paris, where the phenomenon is also advanced, running between 25 and 86 percent for deletions. However, *ne* has not disappeared entirely from Montreal French. Its use is characteristic of a more formal style, and it is used in writing. If you learn French as a foreign language, you learn to use *ne* . However, as you become increasingly skilled in listening to spoken French, you will find that you rarely hear *ne* . Your own *je ne sais pas* is likely to give way to *je sais pas* if you begin to speak like francophones around you. (See also Martineau and Mougeon 2003 for more research on this topic.)

The well-known first-wave studies cited above provided the basis for variationist work in sociolinguistics and the attention it gave to both social and linguistic factors in accounting for language variation. Further, it made clear that both of these types of factors played a role in variation and change. The following sections will show how this type of work evolved as it added other theoretical perspectives and methodologies.

Language Variation and Change

Work in sociolinguistics often looks at language change, based on the assumption that variation can be part of ongoing linguistic development. While work on variation and change continues in second- and third-wave variationist studies, much of the foundational work was done within the first wave, and we will thus introduce the main ideas about change before moving on to discuss the subsequent waves of research.

Not all variation is a sign of, or leads to, change; there is what Labov (2001a , 85) calls 'long-term **stable variation** ,' for example, the distribution of the (ng) variable previously discussed. Schools sometimes devote considerable time and effort – very often wasted – in attempts to eradicate nonstandardized variants of stable variables (see Wolfram and Schilling 2015 for examples from American English). As we've seen, in some cases socioeconomic class, age, and gender appear to be the factors that affect the distributions of these variables and they continue to operate over long periods of time.

Change from above and below

After conducting a number of investigations of sound changes in progress, Labov (1972 , 178–180) suggests that there are two basic kinds of change: **change from below** , that is, change from below conscious awareness, and **change from above** , that is, change brought about consciously. (Labov says (2006, 203) that in retrospect it might have been clearer for others if he had used the terms *change from within* for *change from below* , and *change from without* for *change from above* .) Change from below is systematic, unconscious change, whereas change from above is sporadic, conscious. We might expect this conscious change to involve movement toward prestigious norms, often those associated with standardized variants. Change from above may not actually be initiated within the highest social group in society, but rather this group is a kind of reference group for groups lower down in the social scale. It is among these groups, particularly slightly lower ones, that such change begins. Change from below is unconscious and away from existing norms, although such changes may come to be the new norm in the long run. Remember what we said about language change: today's stigmatized features may be the standard of the future.

Some changes in progress

In contrast with stable variation, change has a direction, being both progressive and linear. The problem is identifying changes that are occurring and then trying to account for them: what sets them in motion; how they spread; and how they are maintained.

For example, Chambers and Trudgill (1998 , 170–175) describe the spread of uvular *r* in western and northern Europe. All the languages of this part of the world once had either an apical (i.e., tongue-tip), trilled, or flap *r* , but from the seventeenth century on a uvular *r* spread from Paris to replace these other varieties. This new *r* crossed language boundaries so that it is now standardized in French, German, and Danish, and is also found in many varieties of Dutch, Swedish, and Norwegian. It did not cross the Channel into England, nor has it penetrated into Spain or Italy. What you find, however, when you plot the progress of uvular *r* , is the importance of cities in its spread. Uvular *r* seems to be adopted initially by city dwellers, for example, residents of Bergen and Kristiansand in Norway, The Hague in the Netherlands, Cologne and Berlin in Germany, and Copenhagen in Denmark, and then the new use diffuses outwards. Therefore, the strong internal links in the uvular *r* area are those between cities, which form a kind of network. Apparently, uvular *r* spreads from city to city and later into the countryside surrounding each city.

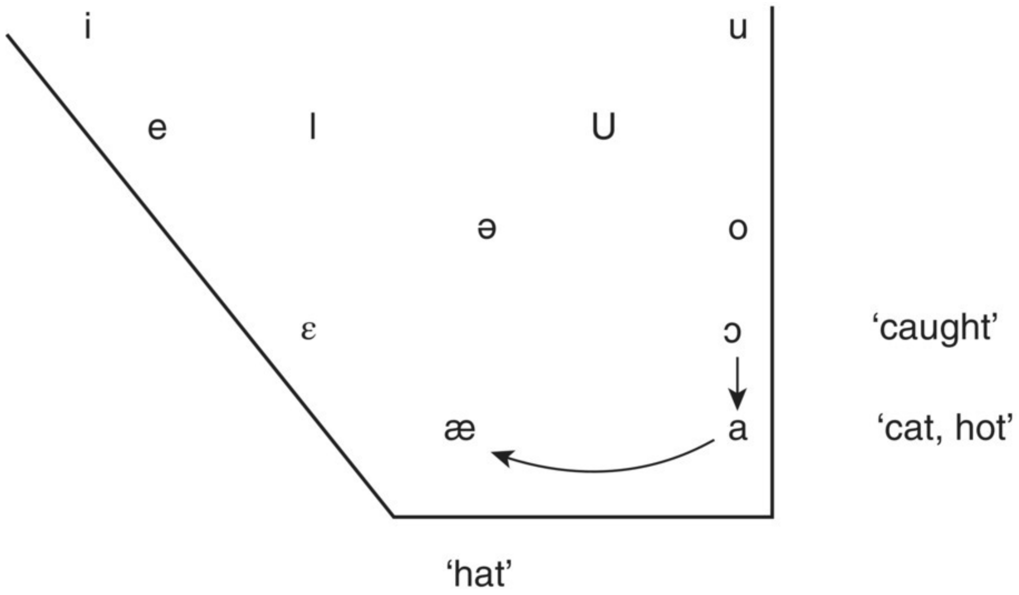


Figure 5.4 The Northern Cities Vowel Shift.

This spread from city to city can also be seen in a change in progress which has been widely studied, the **Northern Cities Vowel Shift** (NCVS) in the US. Bailey (1973 , 19) has pointed out that the long-standing distinction between the vowels in such pairs of words as *naughty* and *knotty* , *caught* and *cot* , and *Dawn* and *Don* is disappearing in the western United States. For many young speakers the vowel distinction is almost entirely gone, so that even *hawk* and *hock* are homophonous on many occasions. For older speakers, there may be complete loss of the vowel distinction before *t* followed by a vowel, but there is less likely to be such loss before a word final *t* or *n* , and most such speakers still preserve it in the *hawk–hock* pair, that is, before the velar *k* . There is good reason to believe that this merger is now widespread in North America. This vowel merger is part of the NCVS which has lasted several generations and shows no sign of weakening (see Gordon 2002 , 254–264).

The NCVS is a vowel change found in cities settled in a westward movement of people from New York State. It proceeds westward out of the state in a path that includes the cities of Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Madison. It involves a shift in vowels apparently set in motion by the raising of the vowel in words like *bag* to resemble the vowel in *beg* . The vowel in *hot* fronts to resemble the vowel in *hat* and the vowel in *caught* lowers to resemble the vowel in *cot* , as in Figure 5.4 , which shows a simplified vowel chart. (While this shift usually proceeds in a clockwise direction, some research has also shown they can be reversed; see D'Onofrio and Benheim 2019 . For more information on this shift, see the online materials for this chapter for a link to the *Do You Speak* American website, which discusses it.)

Change across space: urban centers and physical barriers

Above we have talked about change diffusing through space (see Britain 2002 for a general discussion). Density of population and the influence of large population centers appear to be important factors. This gravity model of diffusion holds that large, culturally important cities influence smaller cities they dominate and eventually changes filter down to surrounding rural areas through even smaller towns and communities. A change may even spread directly from one city to another, leapfrogging, as it were, for a while at least, smaller intervening communities. The actual scale may vary, for it is the relative densities of the various places that are important, not their absolute size, that is, city > town > village, with later filling of gaps. For example, Britain (2002 , 612–616) describes how in the Fens of England such a model explains the diffusion pattern in an area in which there are only two towns, King's Lynn and Wisbech, with populations over 20,000 and only fourteen miles apart. These towns influence the areas that surround them because of the road, rail, and waterway infrastructure and the social services they provide to rural residents. There is actually a dialect divide between the two areas because there are still physical barriers to prevent spatial diffusion.

A physical barrier such as a river or a range of hills can prevent diffusion. (Of course, a river can also become an axis for diffusion.) National boundaries may also act as barriers. The NCVS meets a national boundary in

Detroit; it does not cross the river to Windsor in Canada. Boberg has shown that so far as vowel systems are concerned, 'Windsor is just as Canadian as Toronto' (2000, 13). Chambers (2003) points to one very interesting consequence of a national border as a barrier to diffusion. He reports that even though children in southern Ontario (and Toronto) may call the final letter of the alphabet 'zee' for a while (influenced no doubt by pre-school television broadcasts originating in the United States), they give up this pronunciation for 'zed' by the time they reach adulthood and this 'declining use of "zee" as people grow older repeats itself in succeeding generations' (2003, 207). A triumph of Canadian identity over gravity!

Change over time or age-grading?

In some of the examples just cited the factor of age seems to be important: younger speakers are observed to use the language differently from older speakers. We might consider such differential use as offering us the key we seek if we want to understand how languages change. Surveys which show age-related differences are usually apparent-time studies. In such studies, the differences between older speakers and younger speakers is thought to indicate changes in progress. However, not all differences between older and younger speakers are necessarily the result of change. We must be sure that we are not dealing with the phenomenon of **age-grading** , that is, of using speech appropriate to your age group, features which you may no longer use when you are older. The just cited use of 'zee–zed' in Canada is clearly an instance of age-grading.

There are two possible ways of trying to answer the question 'Is this an instance of age-grading or one of a genuine change in progress?' The first way is to survey the same younger people twenty to thirty years later when they become middle-aged to see if they maintain the innovations and really stay quite unlike the present older people; this would be a real-time panel study. If there was no change in behavior we could be sure that we had eliminated age-grading as an explanation. The second way is to survey carefully chosen samples drawn from the same population at periods of twenty to thirty years to see if comparable groups have changed their behavior; this would be a real-time trend study. As Eckert (1997 , 153) says:

> Community studies of variation frequently show that increasing age correlates with increasing conservatism in speech. With just the evidence from apparent time, it is ambiguous whether the language patterns of the community are changing over the years or whether the speakers are becoming more conservative with age – or both. Without evidence in real time, there is no way of establishing whether or not age-stratified patterns of variation actually reflect change in progress.

Miller (2004) reports on a kind of age- and gender-specific speech, *kogyaru* , of certain Japanese adolescent girls called kogals. Used along with types of dress, hair styling, makeup, and behavior (largely antisocial), this way of speaking establishes group identity. Kogals use certain slang words (e.g., *bakkure* 'play innocent'), some special prefixes (e.g., *mecha kyûto na* 'awesomely cute'), truncated forms (e.g., *mendoi* from *mendokusai* 'pain in the ass' and *maku-ru* 'go to McDonalds') as well as Japanese-English hybrids like *ikemen* from *iketeru* ('cool') and *men* ('men'). They 'party,' are assertive, often denigrate boys and men, and are considered to be 'impertinent, vulgar or indecent, egocentric, lacking manners, absurd or devoid of common sense, garish, and without perseverance' (2004, 238). They are, therefore, entirely the opposite of the image of Japanese women as 'repositories of restraint, docility, modesty, and elegance' (2004, 242). The interesting issues here are whether kogals will persist in such behavior as they get into their 30s and 40s, and whether others adopt their ways, thus spreading *kogyaru* to other social groups.

The second set of examples involves an English usage, the quotative *like* , and there is considerable and growing literature on the topic (see, for example, Dailey-O'Cain

2000 ; Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2004 , 2007 ; Barbieri 2005 , 2008 ; and Buchstaller 2006 , 2008 , 2015). Examples of this construction are: ‘I’m *like* – give me a break!,’ ‘We’re *like* – can’t you do it for us?,’ ‘She’s *like* – you can’t do that!,’ and ‘It’s *like* – now I don’t know!’ This usage is now found beyond its putative origin in North America in other countries and varieties of English; see, for instance, studies of quotative *like* in the UK and New Zealand (Macaulay 2001 ; Buchstaller and D’Arcy 2009), Jamaican English (Bogetić 2014), and English spoken by learners and in **the outer and expanding circles** (Davydova 2019 ; Davydova and Buchstaller 2015). Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2007) looked at its use in Toronto. They found the greatest use and range of uses among adolescent girls but both men and women up to the age of 40 also provided instances. They concluded that although *like* usage in Toronto appears to be age-graded, the evidence suggests that *like* was adopted by people while they were adolescents and as the usage caught on these same people increased their own use of it. Those who later adopted *like* increased their range of uses. They suggest that this is an instance of a language change in progress rather than just merely one of age-grading. Buchstaller (2015), which involved a small-scale real-time panel study, also showed lifespan changes, indicating that this salient feature may be used differently by an individual over time.

Exploration 5.4 Youth Language

Are there certain ways of speaking (pronunciation, vocabulary, or grammatical constructions) that you associate with people older than you, or younger than you? Name some current slang expressions; what would you think if your parents used these expressions? Your professors? What about if your friends *don't* use them? Are these terms that you think you will continue to use as you grow older, so are they part of language change, or things you will abandon, that is, an instance of age-grading? Why?

Martha's Vineyard

One study which was able to make use of roughly comparable sets of data from two periods of time is an early study by Labov of certain sound changes in progress on Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963). In this work Labov found that the survey conducted for the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* thirty to forty years before provided him with rich sources of data about the phenomena in which he was interested. The data collection methods of the two surveys, the *Linguistic Atlas* survey and Labov's, differed, but it was possible for Labov to make allowances for these differences in order to achieve the necessary measure of comparability. Although Labov would have preferred to have worked with sound recordings, that possibility did not exist. (It does now, of course, and we'll discuss two studies that took advantage of this time depth of data below.)

Martha's Vineyard is a small island lying three miles off the coast of Massachusetts. At the time of Labov's investigation it had a small permanent population of about 6,000 people, but each summer many more thousands came to stay for varying periods of time. Labov concentrated his attention on the way those who had grown up on Martha's Vineyard (what we will call 'natives' to this location) pronounced the vowels in the two sets of words: *out* , *house* , and *trout* and *while* , *pie* , and *night* . He observed that the first parts of the diphthongs in such words were being centered: [aU] to [əU] and [aI] to [əI], with that centering more noticeable in the first set of words than in the second. He called the variable in the first set the (aw) variable ([aU] or [əU]) and the variable in the second set the (ay) variable ([aI] or [əI]). He recorded speakers and compared their speech to data from the survey conducted in the 1930s for the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* .

By age level, Labov (1972 , 22) found that the centralized variants were most obvious in the speech people in their 30s and early 40s who were fishermen. The explanation that Labov offers is that the change was merely an exaggeration of an existing tendency to centralize the first part of the diphthong. This exaggeration is particularly characteristic of those who identified most closely with the island. At the time of the survey for the *Linguistic Atlas* , it appeared that this centralizing tendency was being eliminated. It was virtually extinct in (aw) and in only moderate use in (ay). What had happened apparently was that, instead of eliminating the tendency, residents exaggerated it to show their solidarity and their difference from the summer population. The more you identified with the island, the more you centralized the first part of the diphthong.

As further evidence of this fact, Labov divided his informants into three groups according to their feelings about the island: positives, negatives, and neutrals. He found a very striking relationship between such feelings and centralization (1972, 39). This was especially pronounced in the 31–45 age group because at this age these speakers had decided to settle on the island – including some who had left and returned, who were some of the strongest centralizers. Here we can quite clearly see the social motivation of a sound change; in this case, the change is one motivated by a desire to show loyalty to a particular place and solidarity with the people who live there.

Blake and Josey (2003) replicated Labov's study forty years later and, in doing so, took 'into account recent methodological and theoretical developments, both acoustic and social, that have been incorporated into sociophonetic studies' (2003, 452): specifically, they measured formant frequencies and used the **VARBRUL** statistical package. They found that Martha's Vineyard had become an even more popular recreational destination so that the locals had become almost entirely dependent on tourism. Fishing had declined in importance. As they became wealthier, the locals no longer sought to separate themselves from tourists and /ay/ lost its earlier meaning as a local social identifier. Locals were willing to sound just like tourists.

Pope et al. (2007) also followed up Labov's study of speech on Martha's Vineyard, again some forty years after the original study. Their main purpose was to see the extent to which an apparent-time study which showed a change in progress could be interpreted as also showing a real change in progress. They concluded that 'for variables that lack any strong social index (normally because they are below the level of conscious awareness), inferences for change in progress that have been drawn on the basis of apparent-time data have proved very robust' (2007, 625). However, the actual rate of change may vary, as it did in this case, having speeded up over the forty-year period. (The article also includes a brief discussion of some of the issues involved in attempting to replicate such a study, that is, of trying to 'step into the same river twice.')

A situation similar to the one Labov found in Martha's Vineyard in the 1960s exists still on Ocracoke Island off the coast of North Carolina (Wolfram 1997 , 116–117; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995 , 1997). In this case, a local 'poker game network' consisting of a small, indigenous group of men who meet twice a week to play poker project their 'island' identity by employing largely symbolic choices such as *hoi toide* for *high tide* , words like *dingbatter* 'outsider' and *mommuck* 'to annoy,' and expressions like *She was a-fishing* . Not all islanders behave in this way. Middle-aged men, particularly those who socialize together on a daily basis, provide strongest evidence of this island 'brogue.' Women in this age group, the young, and even members of the older age group are less frequent users of these dialect features. Change is occurring and the dialect is being lost, but those with strong island identity resist the encroachment of the outside world by emphasizing use of the traditional 'brogue.' They mark themselves off in this way from tourists and all other outsiders. The difference here is that these speakers cling to traditional speech ways, sometimes even exaggerated, in order to resist changes being introduced from outside the older island community.

Gender and language change

We have noted above the generalization that girls and women tend to use more standardized variants; in language change, this may mean that changes toward the standard tend to be led by women (Romaine 2003). One early study which showed such a pattern is Trudgill's (1972) work in Norwich, England. He offers (1972, 182–183) several possible explanations for women using forms associated with the prestige standard more frequently than men.

- Women may be more status-conscious because they are less secure and have less well-developed social networks than men. Their social position is usually inferior to men and they are usually subordinate to them.
- Men are also judged by what they do, whereas women are rated on how they appear, and an important part of that appearance is their speech. Women have a much greater need to use language to signal their social status than do men.
- Working-class speech has connotations of 'masculinity' and women often want to dissociate themselves from it for that reason, preferring types

of speech which they consider to be markedly more refined.

Trudgill devoted a considerable part of his research effort to investigating working-class speech and what he calls the 'hidden values associated with non-standardized speech [which may be] particularly important in explaining the sex differentiation of linguistic variables' (1972, 183).

Trudgill employed a self-evaluation test to find out what residents of Norwich thought about speech in the city. He asked his informants whether or not they used certain pronunciations and compared the responses they gave him with the actual pronunciations that his informants used. He reports on three variables: (er) as in *ear* , *here* , *idea* ; (ō) as in *road* , *nose* , *moan* ; and (ā) as in *gate* , *face* , *name* . His findings are shown in Figures 5.5 and 5.6 . 'Overreporting' refers to informants claiming to use a prestige variant more often than they are actually observed to use it; 'underreporting' is, of course, the opposite. The percentages show that for two of the variables, (er) and (ā), speakers in Norwich overreport the use of the prestige variant; they underreport (ō). However, although the percentages differ for each variable, in all three cases men underreport more and women overreport more. That is, women report that they speak with more standardized features than they are shown to use, and men report that they use less standardized speech than they actually produce. A further analysis showed that both middle-class and working-class speakers produced very much the same levels of under- and overreporting, so the phenomenon appears to be gender-linked rather than social class-linked.

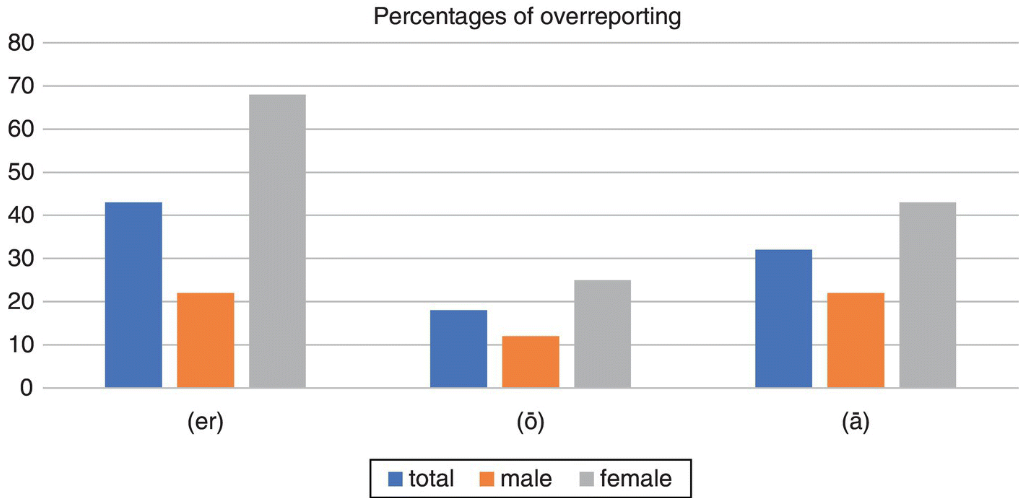


Figure 5.5 Percentages of overreporting by research participants (based on Trudgill 1972 , 187).

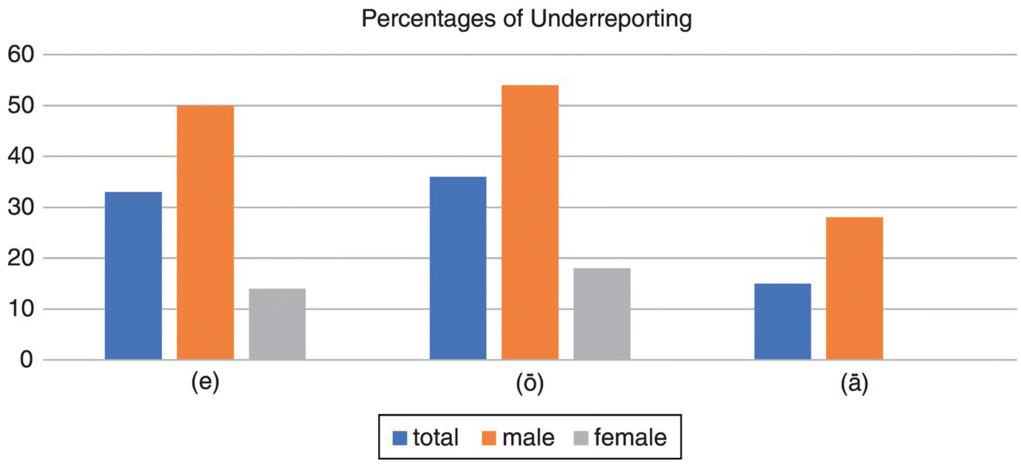


Figure 5.6 Percentages of underreporting by research participants (based on Trudgill 1972 , 187).

Trudgill maintains that linguistic changes in Norwich away from the standardized norms are led by men from the upper working class and middle working class. In the working class, too, young females aged 10–29 underreported their use in some cases, particularly on the (ō) variable. His general conclusion, therefore, is that nonstandard working-class speech forms are highly valued by males, and by females under 30, but these values are expressed covertly rather than overtly; that is, people may tell you they do one thing but they actually do something else. Trudgill emphasizes that, although it may be correct that in certain communities middle-aged middle-class women and the young are in the forefront of change toward the standard norm, ‘in Norwich, at least, there appears to be a considerable number of young WC [working-class] men marching resolutely in the other direction' (1972, 194). They find a certain **covert prestige** , their own form of solidarity, in such behavior. (For somewhat similar behavior among young people in Japan, see Haig 1991 .)

Another study which grapples with the intertwined issues of gender, language change, and standardized language use is Haeri (1994 , 1996), which looks at **palatalization** in Cairene Arabic. She distinguishes between weak palatalization in which dental stops are pronounced as **fricatives** , and strong palatalization, in which these sounds are pronounced as **affricates** . She shows evidence that this palatalization is a change in progress, and that women are very clearly leading the change. While upper-class and upper-middle-class women use more weak palatalization, which she believes was the first step of the changes in progress, middle-middle-class and lower-middle-class women have the highest rates of strong palatalization. When looked at in terms of the type of school attended, private versus public, there seems to be a strong tendency for this factor to trump class assignment, as those who attended private schools use more weak palatalization, while those who attended public school use more strong palatalization. Thus there are clear correlations of this linguistic feature with both gender and social class as defined by educational background.

However, another issue here is whether this represents the use of more standardized speech. As there is a **diglossic** situation in Egypt (see chapter 8 for the discussion of diglossia), Classical Arabic is seen as the high language and Egyptian Arabic as the low language. Palatalization is not a feature of Classical Arabic, so the use of palatalized dental stops is in some sense a change away from the standard language. However, there also exists Egyptian Arabic, and it is this variety that is spoken in Cairo, the nation's capital. Thus, while this innovation is less standard in terms of its relationship to Classical Arabic, it is at the same time part of the regional standard. Haeri does not discuss the specific reasons why women in this society would be the perpetrators of language change, but simply notes that this finding is in keeping with other studies showing women leading linguistic innovation.

There have been many criticisms of some of the interpretations of women's role in language variation and change. Eckert (1989b , 247) notes,

> ... there is no apparent reason to believe that there is a simple, constant relation between gender and variation. Despite increasingly complex data on sex differences in variation, there remains a tendency to seek a single social construction of sex that will explain all of its correlations with variation... . This perspective limits the kind of results that can be obtained, since it is restricted to confirming the thesis of a single type of sex effect or, worse, to indicating that there is no effect at all.

As pointed out by Romaine (2003), one basic criticism of generalizations about sex and language change is of the underlying premises about the nature of sex categories and the nature of language: 'This approach has limited explanatory power since it starts with the categories of male and female and social class as fixed and stable givens rather than as varying constructs themselves in need of explanation' (2003, 109). Other problems with assumptions about women's language as reflecting their desire for prestige noted by Romaine include:

1. they ignore the role of, and access to, education in the use of standardized language features;
2. there is a lack of focus on standardized language as something acquired and used in interactions with people outside one's own social (i.e., social class or ethnic) group;
3. they tend not to recognize that women may be norm-makers, that is, linguistic forms become more prestigious when they are used by women; and

4. they do not consider that women may not be seeking out prestigious forms as much as avoiding stigmatized ones.

In short, it is overly simplistic to simply attribute to women the motivation of wanting to achieve prestige through standardized language. She advocates the use of social networks instead of sex- or class-based categories, and paying attention to ideologies of masculinity and femininity when we attempt to interpret gender variation. In short, there is nothing inherent to women that makes them speak in more standardized ways or lead linguistic change; but to the extent that we can make generalizations about women's roles in society, these are a factor in language change.

Language change and the linguistic marketplace

The concept of the **linguistic marketplace** is relevant to our study of language change: what value do particular features have in certain societies? As the introduction to Bourdieu (1991 , 57) says:

> Linguistic utterances or expressions are always produced in particular contexts or markets, and the properties of these markets endow linguistic products with 'value.' On a given linguistic market, some products are valued more highly than others; and part of the practical competence of speakers is to know how, and to be able, to produce expressions which are highly valued on the markets concerned.

The linguistic marketplace refers to how language is used in the give-and-take of social interaction. Language is not just a neutral medium of exchange; its uses take on symbolic value. Some uses are highly valued and others are not. These values are assigned through the various power relationships that exist. Standard English (however that is defined in a particular location) is more highly valued than nonstandardized varieties, at least in many public domains; for ingroup interactions, nonstandardized ways of speaking may be more highly valued (see the above discussion of covert prestige). Traditionally, features associated with male language use have been valued more highly than those associated with female language use. As we will see in chapter 7 , proponents of critical discourse analysis question the legitimacy of the power relationships that exist in all of the above and argue that sociolinguists should do more than just report on them, as to do so is to offer them tacit support.

Labov (1981 , 184), in keeping with research mentioned above, points out that whenever there is stratification by style and class in linguistic usage, you can also expect differences between men and women, with women showing higher values for preferred variants than men, that is, a preference for forms that have more prestige in society. He adds the following corollary: '[it is] important to bear in mind that this shift of women toward higher prestige forms … is limited to those societies where women play a role in public life.' He points out that studies in Tehran and India showed a reverse tendency. Apparently, then, if a woman's status is fixed unalterably, she has no motivation to change linguistically; only in a society in which status can be changed does the necessary motivation exist. Returning to the just mentioned concept of the 'linguistic marketplace,' we can say that in such cases there are simply no market pressures to change so the status quo is maintained.

Eckert (1989b) suggests that instead of prestige, a better concept for addressing such trends is to look at power relations. She writes:

> So whereas economic explanations focus on the marketplace, they attribute gender differences in language to social forces that could presumably continue to operate on the individual speaker regardless of his or her personal relation to the economy. Since actual power relations between men and women can be expected to lag behind (indeed perhaps be orthogonal to) changes in relative positions in the marketplace, one can expect such a dynamic in language to outlive any number of economic changes. One might argue that the socioeconomic hierarchy, in this case, is the least of women's problems, since their powerless position is brought home to them, in a very real sense, in every interaction. Women's inequality is built into the family, and it continues in the workplace, where women are constantly confronted with a double bind, since neither stereotypic female nor stereotypic male behavior is acceptable. Thus, one might expect that some gender differences in language are more resistant to small-scale economic differences. In particular, the common claim that women are more expressive with language (Sattel, 1983) resides in deeper differences than the vagaries of the local economy. (Eckert 1989b , 255)

Another perspective on gender and language, in this case language choice and language shift, is given in a seminal study by Gal (1978 , 1979). This body of work focuses on how the inhabitants of Oberwart, a bilingual German-Hungarian enclave in Austria since 1921, shifted from a pattern of stable bilingualism in German and Hungarian to the sole use of German, with young women in the forefront of the change. German had become the language of social opportunity and social status, and it was the young women from the bilingual community who showed the most willingness to participate in social change. Hungarian was symbolic of peasant status, and most young people did not want to be peasants. Young peasant women preferred not to marry peasant men. They preferred non-peasant, German-speaking workers as spouses. However, the effect of this was that bilingual peasant men married German-speaking peasant women from neighboring villages. The offspring of both kinds of marriage were German-speaking children. It was, therefore, the young bilingual women's desire to participate in the social change occurring in Oberwart, and to seek the higher status which the use of German alone seemed to offer, that hastened the change from bilingualism to monolingualism in the community.

What we have seen in all of the above studies are attempts made to isolate the kinds of changes that appear to be occurring in specific places. A close examination of the social context of each change also reveals the particular segment of the community which is most involved in that change and possible motivation for the involvement. These motivations can be various: to try to be like a 'higher' social group or less like a 'lower' one; to mark yourself off from 'outsiders'; to achieve a feeling of 'solidarity' with others; or to react to the pressures of the 'linguistic marketplace.' These ideas about the motivations for changes in terms of the social positioning of the language user become more firmly a part of variationist studies in the second and third waves.

The Second Wave of Variation Studies

While first-wave studies focused primarily on attention to speech as a motivation for variation, the second-wave studies began to focus on the **agency** of language users. That is, while correlations between linguistic features and social factors exist, this does not imply causality – and thus the role of the language user in how they speak must also be examined. What is the language user attempting to do with their language? While maintaining the centrality of the use of particular vernacular features linked to specific groups, such studies sought to explain the variation using ethnographically determined social categories and cultural norms (Drummond and Schleef 2016).

Social networks

The work of the Milroys (Milroy and Milroy 1978 ; Milroy 1980 , 1987) is credited as the beginning of the second wave (Eckert 2012 , 91). This research employed social network analysis (look back at chapter 3 for our introduction to social network theory). This methodology looks at social networks instead of variables such as ‘social class’ to correlate with linguistic differences. In her work, Milroy found that it was the network of relationships that an individual belonged to that exerted the most powerful and interesting influences on that individual’s linguistic behavior. The people that someone associates with regularly may be more ‘real’ than any feeling they have of belonging to a rather arbitrarily defined social class.

The Milroys’ research looked at certain aspects of speech in three working-class areas in Belfast, Northern Ireland. The Milroys were able to show how a stable set of linguistic norms emerges and maintains itself in a community. Lesley Milroy calls these vernacular norms, norms which are ‘perceived as symbolizing values of solidarity and reciprocity rather than status, and are not publicly codified or recognized’ (1980, 35–36). These norms contrast with middle-class norms, the ones most of us would view as being characteristic of any wide social standard. Consequently, this research looked at working-class speech in three stable inner-city working-class communities in Belfast. The first was Ballymacarrett, in East Belfast, a Protestant area with little male unemployment (because of the stability provided by work in the local shipyard), close male relationships, and a sharp differentiation between men’s and women’s activities with men working within the area and women working outside. Second was the Hammer, in West Belfast, also a Protestant area. And, finally, the Clonard, also in West Belfast, a Catholic area. In both the Hammer and the Clonard there was considerable male unemployment (about 35 percent), male relationships were less close than in Ballymacarrett, and there was no sharp differentiation between men’s and women’s activities. Consequently, both the Hammer and the Clonard neighborhoods exhibited less strong social networks within them than did Ballymacarrett, particularly for males.

The Milroys used a modified **participant-observer** technique (see chapter 6 for further discussion of ethnography in sociolinguistics), that is, Lesley Milroy became part of the system she studied, being introduced into it as 'a friend of a friend,' and the analysis is based on data collected from forty-six working-class speakers of both sexes with approximately one-third from each community. Being interested in social networks, the Milroys created a system to categorize the network strength of each speakers, based on membership in a high-density, territorially based cluster; kinship in the immediate neighborhood; working with at least two people of the same sex from the same area; and voluntary leisure-time association with workmates.

The Milroys examined eight linguistic variables and found significant correlations between network strength and linguistic usage on five of these. The two strongest correlations were with the vowel in words like *hat* , *man* , and *grass* (with the vowel being pronounced rather like that of *father*) and the deletion of the fricative *th* [ð] in *mother* and *brother* .

However, a closer inspection of the results by community showed that, with one exception, it was only in Ballymacarrett that there was a significant correlation between the variables and network strength. The greater the network strength, the greater the incidence of the variants identified with the Belfast vernacular. There was also a significant difference in Ballymacarrett between men and women in their use of the vernacular, with men showing a much greater incidence of vernacular usage. The two other communities showed no similar significant differences between men's and women's usage, both ranking below those found in Ballymacarrett, with one exception: young women in the Clonard seemed to prefer certain vernacular variants and seemed to be in the vanguard of extending vernacular norms into that sub-group.

What we see in these working-class communities in Belfast, then, is that the stronger the social network, the greater the use of certain linguistic features of the vernacular. The results support Milroy's (1980 , 43) hypothesis that 'a closeknit network has the capacity to function as a norm enforcement mechanism; there is no reason to suppose that linguistic norms are exempted from this process. Moreover, a closeknit network structure appears to be very common … in low status communities.' She adds that 'the closeknit network may be seen as an important social mechanism of vernacular maintenance, capable of operating effectively in opposition to a publicly endorsed and status-oriented set of legitimized linguistic norms.' Once again, we see how low-status varieties of a language maintain themselves in the face of heavy competition from 'above': they enable those who use them to show their solidarity with one another and achieve some kind of group identity.

Social network theory and language change

Within social network theory, the key to change lies in network ties: with strong ties change is slow (or, put another way, features are maintained) but weak ties can lead to rapid change. New forms are adopted by innovators with weak ties to more than one group. Some of these innovations are taken up by core members of the groups, and this ultimately results in widespread change.

Marshall's work (2004) in northeast Scotland also showed that the most revealing factor in determining how individuals changed their speech behavior was the group to which they oriented: 'Those with the most positive orientation to the local rural group resist change.' He adds that those 'who have a higher degree of mental urbanisation, or an attitude of openness to supra-local norms, … are at the forefront of change' (2004, 217).

Work by Matsumoto (2010) applies the social network framework to a different kind of change – **language maintenance and shift** (see chapter 8 for further discussion of this topic) in a multilingual postcolonial Micronesian community. This research shows that the social network ties of the research participants influenced their language choices: 'To recap, the more former colonial Japanese links the speakers have kept in their social networks, the more Japanese is maintained; conversely, the further they have detached themselves from Japanese links, the more the language shift from Japanese to a more recent colonial language, English, progresses.' He found the same influence of strong and weak ties as noted by Milroy.

Exploration 5.5 Mobility and Language Change

If you have ever moved from one place to another, have you noticed differences in how people talk in one location compared to another? How do you orient yourself to these differences? If you adapt to a new way of speaking associated with a particular location, what are the advantages and disadvantages of changing your way of speaking?

Gender variation in the second wave

A second-wave study which exemplifies a focus on linguistic variables in gender variation is Cheshire (1978). This study focuses on the (s) variable in the speech boys and girls aged 9 to 17 in Reading, England. The (s) variable in this case is the extension of third-person singular verb marking to all other persons, for example, *I knows* , *you knows* , *we has* , and *they calls* . All of these speakers used nonstandardized forms with verbs like *know* and *call* on just over half of the possible occasions for use. They used the nonstandard *has* (e.g., *we has*) on about a third of the possible occasions and the nonstandard *does* on just under a quarter of the possible occasions for use. These uses showed some linguistic conditioning. For example, with *have* , Cheshire found that the *has* form occurred only as a full verb ('We has a muck around in there') or before an infinitive ('I has to stop in') but never as an auxiliary (i.e., 'I have got,' not 'I has got'). Further 'vernacular' verbs, that is, commonly used verbs, like *go* , *kill* , *boot* , and *learn* , were much more likely to take the - *s* ending in all forms than other verbs, to the extent that use of *goes* , *kills* , *boots* , and *learns* is almost mandatory with such verbs.

Some social factors operate, too, in the pattern of variation. Cheshire devised an index from boys based on ambition, degree of 'toughness' (as indicated by such things as ability to fight and steal), and peer-group status in order to assess the strength of an individual's membership in the boys' vernacular culture. She found that high frequencies of - *s* usage went with high index scores and low frequencies with low index scores. Girls' vernacular culture had to be defined differently because the girls had different interests from the boys. Girls used the - *s* ending as much as boys, but did not exhibit the same correlation between frequency of use and index scores. They also shifted their use of the (s) variable toward standard English norms in formal situations to a greater extent than the boys. Cheshire concluded (1978, 68) that 'variation is controlled by both social and linguistic factors. In boys' speech, variation is governed by norms that are central to the vernacular culture, and are transmitted through the peer group. Variation in the girls' speech appears to be a more personal process, and less rigidly controlled by vernacular norms.' Nonstandardized forms notoriously have covert prestige in contrast to the obvious overt prestige of standardized forms. They signal that those who use them have no hesitation in identifying with the local community through the use of forms that may be stigmatized in the wider society.

Kiesling's research (1998) on the use of the (ng) variable among a small group of fraternity men at a university in the United States shows how it might be possible to account for individual differences in usage. He recorded conversations in a variety of settings and found that the use of *-in'* was closely related to the type of activity: 75 percent in socializing, 53 percent in interviews, 47 percent in meetings, and 54 percent in reading aloud. The big difference here is between the first activity and the other three. Kiesling focused on the two extremes in his conversational data, socializing and meetings, and examined the language behavior of three participants who diverged from the usual pattern of decreasing their use of *-in'* as the social situation became more formal, that is, the difference between casual socializing on the one hand and a formal meeting on the other. He concluded that each of the individuals achieved a personal objective in using *-in'* so frequently: for 'Speed' the use of *-in'* symbolized, among other things, values such as hard work, practicality, and freedom as well as a certain rebelliousness and independence; for 'Waterson' its use was likewise emblematic of hard work but was also an appeal to camaraderie and a claim to shared physical power; for 'Mick' the use of *-in'* made the same claim to hard work but also served as an expression of authority and power. Kiesling says that the (ng) variable is here being used to construct identity. Although these men are college students, they look to working-class modes of behavior in order to express themselves as 'hard working,' 'rebellious,' 'casual,' or 'confrontational,' and they do this through their language choices.

Jocks and burnouts

Any discussion of the second wave of variationist studies would not be complete without the inclusion of Eckert's work on adolescents in a Detroit suburb (Eckert 1989a , 2000). The school where she did her research, which she calls 'Belton High,' was predominantly White, but stratified in terms of socioeconomic class. Her research showed how students' use of variants associated with suburban versus urban identities correlated with membership in the categories they labeled 'jocks' or 'burnouts,' respectively. Although not all of the students considered themselves as belonging to one group or the other, they still oriented themselves toward these categories, labeling themselves as ‘in-betweens.’ While these groups correlated to some extent with social class boundaries – with jocks being the college-bound middle class, and burnouts being the more working-class children destined for blue-collar employment after high school – this correlation did not always hold true. On the whole, girls made use of linguistic resources to construct their category membership more than boys: burnout girls used vowel systems which most strongly indicated an urban orientation, while jock girls used vowel systems which were most firmly associated with suburban norms. Eckert (1989a , 1998) discusses this finding in terms of the girls’ more limited ability to accumulate symbolic capital in other ways; for instance, there was less opportunity for them to show their jock status through participating in sports, or to show their burnout status by working on cars, which were activities boys dominated. This study shows the use of ethnography not only to ascertain the social categories to be used as variables in the study, but also to interpret the findings of the linguistic analysis.

This study also draws attention to the concept of lifestyle. What is important for jocks is less their social class status, but that they have middle-class aspirations; they were college-bound and saw themselves as pursuing white-color jobs. As teens, they willingly participated in the activities of the school (such as sports, hence their label). Burnouts oriented toward leaving school for the blue-collar workplace, and found activities in urban settings outside school more attractive. Thus these orientations, while linked to gender and social class, are indicative of a certain orientation to life, and here we find the agentive and not merely correlational aspect of this research.

Exploration 5.6 Social Categories in High School

Were there named social categories such as 'jocks' and 'burnouts' in your high school? If so, what were the terms used, and what were the criteria for being one or the other? Were there any linguistic practices linked to being in one group or the other?

The Third Wave of Variation Studies

What separates third-wave from second-wave studies is a shift in perspective from investigating how language *reflects* social identity (often articulated in terms of membership in particular social categories) to how linguistic practices *construct* social identity. That is, language is the means through which people position themselves with regard to these categories. A key question which emerges, then, is how do interlocutors link linguistic features to particular social meanings? These social meanings are not necessarily related to traditional macrosocial categories such as race, socioeconomic class, age, or gender; instead, they have less categorical social meanings which are interactionally produced (Drummond and Schleef 2016).

Further, there is also an increased focus on the mutability of indexical signs (Eckert 2018). A particular feature may have more than one social meaning and may be used to index membership in a particular community, mock members of that community, create alignment with or distance from an interlocutor, or position the language user with regard to a larger ideology, attitude, or belief.

Consequently, the social meanings of particular ways of speaking are best viewed as interactionally constructed rather than being directly associated with particular social groups. In keeping with more social constructionist ideas about language use, sociolinguists studying variation have noted that there are a range of factors which influence choices about what variants to use, and that variation is more than moving up and down the continuum from formal to informal registers (see Schilling 2013 , listed in the Further Reading section, for a more complete discussion of this).

Stance, style, and identity

Much recent research uses the concept of **stance** to look at sociolinguistic variation. Although it should be noted that some researchers focus primarily on stance as a means speakers use to position themselves with regard to the ongoing talk, Kiesling (2009) includes in this concept orientation to both talk and interlocutors. We can therefore conceptualize stancetaking as how interlocutors position themselves with regard to each other, the form and content of an utterance, ideologies and macrosocial identity categories (see Jaffe 2009). Variation in language use can thus be analyzed as part of stancetaking in addition to being correlated with social variables such as social class, race, and so on, or social networks.

Research by Podesva (2007) on the stylistic variation in the speech of a man called Heath in different settings is illustrative of such third-wave research. Features of Heath's speech (aspiration of intervocalic /t/ and falsetto) are analyzed with regard to their use in the construction of a 'diva' personality in one context, and a competent and educated medical student in another. While Podesva notes that the use of falsetto, in particular, may be part of the construction of a gay identity, the analysis focuses on how such features are used interactionally to position the language user. At different points in a conversation with friends, falsetto is part of the style Heath uses to position himself as someone who cares about fashion and grooming, but it is also part of his maneuvers to regain a powerful position in the conversation.

Another study which exemplifies how style and stancetaking work is Goodwin and Alim (2010). This study combines an analysis of stylistic variation with a multimodal approach to the study of communication, including nonverbal stylizations such as hand gestures and neck-rolling. The analyzed interaction among a group of pre-adolescent girls shows how members of a clique use all these modes of communication as acts of social aggression toward Angela, a girl who 'tags along' with their group but does not really 'belong.' Styles used include a combination of what is described as Valley Girl talk, which is used to make negative reference to hyperfeminine White girls, and Ghetto Girl gestures, which index Black working-class female identity. For example, Sarah, herself a marginal member of the clique, uses multimodal stylizations to ostracize Angela as an outsider based on her racial and social class categorizations. These depictions of Angela serve to push her further away from the group while propelling Sarah to a more central position, despite her own working-class background which contrasts with the higher socioeconomic class backgrounds of the other girls. This pattern of interaction, as Goodwin and Alim note, is not simply a fleeting insult, but part of the cumulative construction of identity.

While third-wave studies tend to move away from the sociolinguistic interview as a data source, work by Schilling-Estes (2004) illustrates that interview data also contains stylistic variation which shows stancetaking. In these data, a young African American man is interviewing a friend who is a Lumbee Indian, and their use of the /r/ variable varies considerably within the interview. Schilling-Estes' analysis shows that different rates of use can be linked to the speakers' orientation to the topic, their ethnic group membership, and their relationship at different points in the interaction. Similar findings were reported by Grieser (2019) for African American Language, who notes the agentive nature of this style shifting.

Another study which made use of interview data to look at stance (Burkette 2016) looks at how speakers of Appalachian English in western North Carolina intertwine the use of dialect features with discussion (and sometimes display) of physical artifacts that also illustrate their local connections. One speaker in this study discusses an artifact – a lock of hair of a murdered ancestor – the possession of which lends authenticity to her stance as a long-standing member of a local community. In telling the grisly tale, she also uses a salient feature of Appalachian English, ***a*-prefixing** , in talking about the woman who was killed: 'she was a-dating Tom Dooley, and they always thought it was another woman that really killed her and he took it, you know, because him and her been a-going together' (Burkette 2016 , 13).

Sharma (2018) provides an analysis of yet another type of data – media data, in this case broadcast recordings of a media personality. This analysis focuses on the speaker's use of American and Indian styles of English, illustrating the interplay between cognition and agency in style shifting. While the speaker may indeed strategically use these varieties based on the audience and the identity she wishes to construct at that moment, Sharma also argues that a speaker's dominant style may have cognitive primacy and may appear in moments of inattention.

In sum, third-wave studies move away from primarily describing the correlation between linguistic and social variables and instead focus on agency, that is, how people actively use variation to position themselves in conversation. Further, instead of focusing on such correlations as a consistent social meaning of a particular way of speaking, third-wave studies incorporate an awareness of the **mutability of style** ; although variationist studies never assumed that using a particular variant always meant the same thing, in the third wave an emphasis on the different interactional meanings of variation has emerged. This must continue to be balanced with the fact that these meanings are rooted in associations with social groups, speaker roles, and societal norms. Eckert (2008 , 472) says in this regard, ‘While the larger patterns of variation can profitably be seen in terms of a static social landscape, this is only a distant reflection of what is happening moment to moment on the ground.’ Thus while analyzing the interactionally motivated variation within a conversation, we must also continue to be aware of how language varieties and features index ideologies and social categories – not as fixed and static markers, but as social constructions which are just one path within a larger pattern of social norms and indexical relationships.

Change across the lifespan

We return now to an issue raised earlier, the actuation problem: why do particular changes occur at a given place and time while others don’t? This remains a key question in sociolinguistics, and this chapter has shown how the three waves of research in variationist sociolinguistics have addressed this problem. Research has moved to look more at individual variation (i.e., with focus on lifestyle and agency) and the social meanings of particular linguistic features or varieties.

Further, investigation on how the language of a particular language user changes over their lifetime has emerged as an important aspect in the study of change. Sankoff (2019) outlines three trajectory types for language change across the lifespan. Most common is stability, which is that a person’s language remains largely unchanged after adolescence. (This is the assumption in apparent-time studies, as discussed above.) The second most frequent pattern is found in adults who adopt patterns introduced by younger members of the community. Finally, there are also some instances of people who revert to an older pattern later in life, although this is relatively rare. In all cases, the sources and motivations for language change involve both societal norms – leading to indexical meanings for linguistic forms – and personal agency on the part of language users.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has summarized some major ideas and findings in the study of variationist sociolinguistics, including how the topics of power, solidarity, identity, gender, and social class can be linked to stance, style, dialect, and language development. Further, the role of these factors in language change was addressed, although we can come to no simple conclusions! In the following chapters, we will revisit all of these topics and present other ways of studying them within the field of sociolinguistics.

Exercises

1. The (ng) variable, realized as [n] or [ŋ], is generally a noticeable phonological variable throughout the English-speaking world. This task requires you to do some 'field work.' Devise a way of collecting instances of the use of (ng) in naturally occurring discourse. You may want to listen to song lyrics, recorded interviews, talk shows, news reports, etc. The key is to access both unmonitored speech, that is, talk that is focused on 'content' rather than on 'form,' and more conscious varieties, in which speakers are clearly trying to speak Standard English. After you have collected some data and analyzed what you have, try to figure out how you might improve your results if you were to repeat the task. (You could then repeat it to see what progress you made.) You can be sure that none of the research findings reported in this chapter and in the following two came from first attempts at data collection, but were preceded by such pilot studies!
2. In the following text, identify all of the contexts for the linguistic variable of the copula (the verb *to be*). What are the variants which appear here? (Hint: be sure to include the zero copula variant.) Can you describe the contexts in which they occur? (You may wish to consult the description of AAVE from

chapter 2 , as some usages are from that social dialect.)

> *Today movie prices are entirely too high. It doesn't make no sense to pay that much, because the picture the people be showing is not worth it. If you going to pay that much for a movie you should at least have a cut on the prices of the food. Not only the food is expensive, but you cannot sit in a nice clean place. But still you paying that very high price to get inside the place. Another reason you got against paying such a high price is that the people at the movies be throwing popcorn all in your head. You not paying that much money to come to a movie and get food stains all on your clothes and hair. So these prices too high, better to just be staying home!*

3. Make a questionnaire which looks at language variation in your region; some sample survey questions for US English are given below. Have a minimum of ten people complete the survey, including at least five in each of two distinct age groups. Are there any patterns that indicate that language change is in progress? If there are differences between the two age groups, what evidence might there be that this is not age-grading? If age is not the variable that explains variation in the answers you got, do you have hypotheses about what other social factors might correlate with different linguistic patterns?

   Questionnaire (thanks to Matthew J. Gordon for these questions)

   - What do you call drinks such as Coca-Cola, Sprite, Dr. Pepper?
   - Do you pronounce these two words the same, close, or different? Don, Dawn
   - Do you pronounce these two words the same, close, or different? Pen, Pin

- Is this sentence acceptable in your spoken dialect? ‘The car needs washed.’
- Is this sentence acceptable in your spoken dialect? ‘He may could arrive today.’
- Is this sentence acceptable in your spoken dialect? ‘It sure is hard to tell boys from girls anymore.’
- What do you call rubber sandals that are held on by a strap between your big toe and second toe?
- Is this sentence acceptable in your spoken dialect? ‘I did it on accident.’
- What do you call the evening meal?

Further Reading

Cukor-Avila, P. and G. Bailey (2013). Real time and apparent time. In Jack K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . 2nd edn. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 239–262.

Gordon, M. J. (2013). *Labov: A Guide for the Perplexed* . New York: Bloomsbury.

Horesh, U. and W. M. Cotter (2016). Current research on linguistic variation in the Arabic-speaking world. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 10(8): 370–381.

Keisanen, T. and E. Kärkkäinen (2014). 11. Stance. *Pragmatics of Discourse* 3, 295.

Labov, W., S. Fisher, D. Gylfadottir, A. Henderson, and B. Sneller (2016). Competing systems in Philadelphia phonology. *Language Variation and Change* 28(3): 273.

Rickford, J. R. and F. McNair-Knox (1994). Addressee- and topic-influenced style shift: A quantitative sociolinguistic study. In D. Biber and E. Finegan

(eds.), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 235–276.

Schilling, N. (2013). *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tagliamonte, Sali (2012). *Variationist Sociolinguistics: Change, Observation and Interpretation* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. This is a thorough treatment on research methodology in sociolinguistics, with special attention given to research on speech style, addressing practical, ethical, and theoretical issues.

References

Bailey, C.-J. N. (1973). *Variation and Linguistic Theory* . Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Bailey, G. and J. Tillery (2004). Some sources of divergent data in sociolinguistics. In C. Fought (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Barbieri, F. (2005). Quotative use in American English. *Journal of English Linguistics* 33(3): 222–256.

Barbieri, F. (2008). Patterns of age-based linguistic variation in American English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(1): 58–88.

Bayley, R. (2013) The quantitative paradigm. In Jack K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . 2nd edn. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 85–107.

Becker, K. (2014).(r) we there yet? The change to rhoticity in New York City English. *Language Variation and Change* 26(2): 141–168.

Blake, R. and M. Josey. (2003). The /ay/ diphthong in a Martha's Vineyard community: What can we say 40 years after Labov? *Language in Society* 32: 451–485.

Boberg, C. (2000). Geolinguistic diffusion and the US–Canada border. *Language Variation and Change* 12: 1–24.

Bogetić, K. (2014). Be like and the quotative system of Jamaican English: Linguistic trajectories of globalization and localization: How global linguistic innovations are spread into and adopted by local speech communities. *English Today* 30(3): 5–12.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power* . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Britain, D. (2002). Space and spatial diffusion. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Buchstaller, I. (2006). Social stereotypes, personality traits, and regional perception displaced: Attitudes towards the 'new' quotatives in the UK. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10(3): 362–381.

Buchstaller, I. (2008). The localization of global linguistic variants. *English World-Wide* 29(1): 15–44.

Buchstaller, I. (2015). Exploring linguistic malleability across the life span: Age-specific patterns in quotative use. *Language in Society* 44(4): 457–496.

Buchstaller, I. and A. D'Arcy (2009). Localized globalization: A multi-local, multivariate investigation of quotative be like 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 13(3): 291–331.

Burkette, A. (2016). Linguistic and object-based stance-taking in Appalachian interviews. *Language in Society* 45(3): 331.

Chambers, J. K. (1995). *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and its Social Significance* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Chambers, J. K. (2003). *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and its Social Significance* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Chambers, J. K. and P. Trudgill (1998). *Dialectology* . 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cheshire, J. (1978). Present tense verbs in Reading English. In P. Trudgill (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English* . London: Edward Arnold.

Chun, C. W. (2019). Language, discourse, and class: What's next for sociolinguistics? *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 23(4): 332–345.

Coates, J. (2004). *Women, Men and Language* . 3rd edn. London: Longman.

Coupland, N. (2007). *Style: Language Variation and Identity* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dailey-O'Cain, J. (2000). The sociolinguistic distribution and attitudes toward focuser *like* and quotative *like* . *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4(1): 60–80.

Davydova, J. (2019). Quotative like in the Englishes of the outer and expanding circles. *World Englishes* 38(4): 578–592.

Davydova, J. and I. Buchstaller (2015). Expanding the circle to learner English: Investigating quotative marking in a German student community. *American Speech* 90(4): 441–478.

Denis, D. and S. A. Tagliamonte (2016). Innovation, right? Change, you know? Utterance final tags in Canadian English. In Heike Pichler (ed.), *Discourse-Pragmatic Variation and Change in English: New Methods and Insights* . New York: Cambridge University Press, 86–112.

D'Onofrio, A. and J. Benheim (2019). Contextualizing reversal: Local dynamics of the Northern Cities Shift in a Chicago community. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* . https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12398

Drummond, R. and E. Schleef (2016). Identity in variationist sociolinguistics. In Siân Preece (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity* . London: Routledge, 50–65.

Eckert, P. (1988). Adolescent social structure and the spread of linguistic change. *Language in Society* 17: 183–207.

Eckert, P. (1989a). *Jocks and Burnouts: Social Categories and Identities in the High School* . New York: Teachers College Press.

Eckert, P. (1989b). The whole woman: Sex and gender differences in variation. *Language Variation and Change* 1: 245–267.

Eckert, P. (1991). Social polarization and the choice of linguistic variants. In P. Eckert (ed.), *New Ways of Analyzing Sound Change* . New York: Academic Press.

Eckert, P. (1997). Age as a sociolinguistic variable. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, P. (1998). Gender and sociolinguistic variation. In J. Coates (ed.), *Language and Gender: A Reader* . Oxford: Blackwell, 64–75.

Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice: The Linguistic Construction of Identity in Belten High* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, P. (2004). Variation and a sense of place. In C. Fought (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Eckert, P. (2008). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4): 453–476.

Eckert, P. (2012). Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 87–100.

Eckert, P. (2018). *Meaning and Linguistic Variation: The Third Wave in Sociolinguistics* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eckert, P. and S. McConnell-Ginet (1999). New generalizations and explanations in language and gender research. *Language in Society* 28: 185–201.

Fasold, R. W. (1972). *Tense Marking in Black English: A Linguistic and Social Analysis* . Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Fischer, J. L. (1958). Social influences in the choice of a linguistic variant. *Word* 14: 47–56. Reprinted in D. H. Hymes (ed.) (1964), *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* . New York: Harper & Row.

Forrest, J. and W. Wolfram (2019). The status of (ING) in African American Language: A quantitative analysis of social factors and internal constraints. *American Speech: A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage* 94(1): 72–90.

Gal, S. (1978). Peasant men can't find wives: Language change and sex roles in a bilingual community. *Language in Society* 7: 1–16.

Gal, S. (1979). *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria* . New York: Academic Press.

Goodwin, M. H. and H. S. Alim (2010). 'Whatever (neck roll, eye roll, teeth suck)': The situated coproduction of social categories and identities through stancetaking and transmodal stylization. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 20(1): 179–194.

Gordon, M. J. (2002). Investigating chain shifts and mergers. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Gordon, M. J. (2013) *Labov: A Guide for the Perplexed* . New York: Bloomsbury.

Grieser, J. A. (2019). Investigating topic-based style shifting in the classic sociolinguistic interview. *American Speech: A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage* 94(1): 54–71.

Haeri, N. (1994). A linguistic innovation of women in Cairo. *Language Variation and Change* 6(1): 87–112.

Haeri, N. (1996). *The Sociolinguistic Market of Cairo: Gender, Class, and Education* . London: Kegan Paul International.

Haig, J. H. (1991). A phonological difference in male–female speech among teenagers. In S. Ide and N. H. McGloin (eds.), *Aspects of Japanese Women's Language* . Tokyo: Kurosio.

Jaffe, A. (ed.) (2009). *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Stance* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnstone, B. (2004). Place, globalization, and linguistic variation. In C. Fought (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Kiesling, S. F. (1998). Men's identities and sociolinguistic variation: The case of fraternity men. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2(1): 69–99.

Kiesling, S. F. (2009). Style as stance: Can stance be the primary explanation for patterns of sociolinguistic variation? In A. Jaffe (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Stance* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 171–194.

Kretzschmar, W. A., Jr. (1996). Quantitative aerial analysis of dialect features. *Language Variation and Change* 8: 13–39.

Kurath, H. (1939). *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England* . Providence, RI: Brown University Press.

Labov, W. (1963). The social motivation of a sound change. *Word* 19: 273–309. Reprinted in W. Labov (1972), *Sociolinguistic Patterns* . Philaedelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1966). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* . Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. (1969). Contraction, deletion, and inherent variability of the English copula. *Language* 45: 715–762.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns* . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1981). What can be learned about change in progress from synchronic description? In D. Sankoff and H. Cedergren (eds.), *Variation Omnibus* . Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc.

Labov, W. (2001a). The anatomy of style shifting. In P. Eckert and J. R. Rickrods (eds.), *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 85–108.

Labov, W. (2001b). *Principles of Linguistic Change, II: Social Factors* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Labov, W. (2006). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* . 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, W., C. Boberg, and S. Ash (2005). *The Atlas of North American English* . Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Macaulay, R. K. S. (1977). *Language, Social Class, and Education: A Glasgow Study* . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Macaulay, R. (2001). You're like 'why not?' The quotative expressions of Glasgow adolescents. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(1): 3–21.

Marshall, J. (2004). *Language Change and Sociolinguistics: Rethinking Social Networks* . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Martineau, F. and R. Mougeon (2003). A sociolinguistic study of the origins of *ne* deletion in European and Quebec French. *Language* 79(1): 118–152.

Matsumoto, K. (2010). The role of social networks in the post-colonial multilingual island of Palau: Mechanisms of language maintenance and shift. *Multilingua* 29(2): 133–165.

Mendoza-Denton, N. (2008). *Homegirls* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Miller, L. (2004). Those naughty teenage girls: Japanese kogals, slang, and media assessments. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 14(2): 225–247.

Milroy, J. (1992). *Language Variation and Change* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, L. (1980). Social network and language maintenance. In A. K. Pugh, V. J. Lee, and J. Swann (eds.), *Language and Language Use: A Reader* . London: Heinemann Educational Publishers.

Milroy, Lesley (1987). *Language and Social Networks* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, Lesley and Matthew Gordon (2008). *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation , vol. 13*. 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Milroy, J. and L. Milroy (1978). Belfast: Change and variation in an urban vernacular. In P. Trudgill (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English* . London: Arnold.

Milroy, L. and J. Milroy (1992). Social networks and social class: Toward an integrated sociolinguistic model. *Language in Society* 21: 1–26.

Orton, H., S. Sanderson, and J. Widdowson (eds.) (1978). *The Linguistic Atlas of England* . London: Croom Helm.

Petyt, K. M. (1980). *The Study of Dialect: An Introduction to Dialectology* . London: André Deutsch.

Pichler, Heike (ed.) (2016). *Discourse-Pragmatic Variation and Change in English: New Methods and Insights* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Podesva, R. (2004). On constructing social meaning with stop release bursts. *Presented at Sociolinguistic Symposium 15* , Newcastle upon Tyne.

Podesva, R. (2007). Phonation type as a stylistic variable: The use of falsetto in constructing a persona. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(4): 478–504.

Pope, Jennifer, Miriam Meyerhoff, and D. Robert Ladd (2007). Forty years of language change on Martha's Vineyard. *Language* 83(3): 615–627.

Poplack, S. (1993). Variation theory and language contact. *American Dialect Research* , 251–286.

Poplack, S. and A. St-Amand (2007). A real-time window on 19th-century vernacular French: The *Récits du français québécois d'autrefois* . *Language in Society* 36: 707–734.

Poplack, S., S. Wheeler, and A. Westwood (1989). Distinguishing language contact phenomena: Evidence from Finnish–English bilingualism. *World Englishes* 8(3): 389–406.

Rickford, J. R. (1986). The need for new approaches to social class analysis in sociolinguistics. *Language & Communication* 6(3): 215–221.

Rodríguez-Ordóñez, I. (2017). Reexamining differential object marking as a linguistic contact-phenomenon in Gernika Basque. *Journal of Language Contact* 10(2): 318–352.

Romaine, S. (2003). Variation in language and gender. In J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff (eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Sankoff, G. (2019). Language change across the lifespan: Three trajectory types. *Language* 95(2): 197–229.

Sankoff, G. and H. Cedergren (1971). Some results of a sociolinguistic study of Montreal French. In R. Darnell (ed.), *Linguistic Diversity in Canadian Society* . Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc.

Sankoff, G. and D. Vincent (1977). L'emploi productif du ne dans le français parlé à Montréal. *Le Français Moderne* 45: 243–256.

Sattel, Jack W. (1983). Men, inexpressiveness, and power. In Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae, and Nancy Henley (eds.), *Language, Gender, and Society* . Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 119–124.

Schilling-Estes, N. (2004). Constructing ethnicity in interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(2): 163–195.

Schilling, Natalie (2013). *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schilling, Natalie (2017). Smith Island English: Past, present, and future – and what does it tell us about the regional, temporal, and social patterning of language variation and change? *American Speech* 92(2): 176–203.

Sharma, D. (2018). Style dominance: Attention, audience, and the 'real me.' *Language in Society* 47(1): 1–31.

Shuy, R. W., W. Wolfram, and W. K. Riley (1968). *Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study* . Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Staley, L. (2018). *Socioeconomic Pragmatic Variation: Speech Acts and Address Forms in Context* , vol. 291. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Stanford, J. (2016). A call for more diverse sources of data: Variationist approaches in non-English contexts. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 20(4): 525–541.

Tagliamonte, S. (2016). Quantitative analysis in language variation and change. *Spanish Language and Sociolinguistic Analysis* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 3–32.

Tagliamonte, S. and A. D’Arcy (2004). ‘He’s like, she’s like’: The quotative system in Canadian youth. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(4): 493–514.

Tagliamonte, S. and A. D’Arcy (2007). Frequency and variation in the community grammar: Tracking a new change through the generations. *Language Variation and Change* 19: 199–217.

Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language in Society* 1: 179–195.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, P. (1995). *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society* . 3rd edn. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Urichuk, M. and V. Loureiro-Rodríguez (2019). Self-reported use of masculine nominal vocatives in Manitoba (Canada). In Bettina Kluge, María Irene Moyna, Horst J. Simon, and Jane Warren (eds.), *It’s Not All About You: New Perspectives on Address Research* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 355.

Wakelin, M. F. (1977). *English Dialects: An Introduction* . Rev. edn. London: Athlone Press.

Wolfram, W. (1969). *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech* . Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Wolfram, W. (1991). The linguistic variable: Fact and fantasy. *American Speech* 66(1): 22–32.

Wolfram, W. (1997). Dialect in Society. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Wolfram, W. (2004). The sociolinguistic construction of remnant dialects. In C. Fought (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Wolfram, W. and R. W. Fasold (1974). *The Study of Social Dialects in American English* . Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Wolfram, W. and N. Schilling-Estes (1995). Moribund dialects and the endangerment canon: The case of the Ocracoke Brogue. *Language* 71: 696–721.

Wolfram, W. and N. Schilling-Estes (1997). *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks: The Story of Ocracoke Brogue* . Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Wolfram, W. and Schilling, N. (2015). *American English: Dialects and Variation* . Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Wolfram, W. and N. Schilling (2016). *American English: Dialects and Variation* . 3rd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

6
Ethnographic Approaches in Sociolinguistics

KEY TOPICS

- Participant observation
- Communicative competence and background knowledge
- Rules for everyday interactions
- The relationship between macro and micro in ethnographic analyses
- Ethnography in combination with other research methodologies
- Digital ethnography

As we have discussed in previous chapters, within contemporary social theory language use – as part of social behavior – serves to construct and sustain social reality. Thus, the goals of sociolinguistics are not merely to understand the tacit rules and norms of language use that are culturally specific, but should encompass understanding how societies use language to construct those very societies.

In this chapter, we will first outline the general principles of one method for researching language in society, ethnography, and then outline four ethnographic approaches which have been part of the field of sociolinguistics. The first, ethnography of communication, is by far the most long-standing use of ethnographic concepts and methodologies in the discipline of sociolinguistics. We will also briefly cover ethnomethodology, which we will then take up again in chapter 7 when we delve more deeply into a type of discourse analysis called conversation analysis, which is derived from ethnomethodology. Another type of ethnography which overlaps with discourse analytic approaches is called linguistic ethnography, which is generally used to look at institutional settings, and we provide an introduction to this research here. Further, we will look at how researchers use ethnographic methodologies in online communities for what has been called digital ethnography. Finally, we will address how ethnography is also part of other sociolinguistic research methods, such as variationist sociolinguistics, linguistic landscape research, and language policy studies.

Ethnography: Participant Observation

One broad approach to researching the rules, cultural norms, and values that are intertwined with language use is **ethnography** . Ethnographic research is generally carried out through participant observation. Ethnographies are based on first-hand observations of behavior in a group of people in their natural setting. Investigators report on what they see and hear as they observe what is going on around them, but also involve the researcher participating in cultural activities (Duranti 1997). Ethnographers ask themselves what is happening and they try to provide accounts which show how the behavior that is being observed makes sense within the community that is being observed. We call this an emic approach; instead of using the social categories which are salient and meaningful to the researcher (called an etic approach), the researcher's goal is to find out the understandings of social behavior – e.g., how people are categorized, what relationships are indexed through particular social behaviors – from the perspective of the ingroup members.

Canagarajah (2006 , 155) observes that: 'Ethnographers expect to live for an extensive period of time in the community they are studying in order to capture first-hand its language patterns and attitudes. As much as possible, they try not to alter the “natural” flow of life and social relationships of the community, but understand how language works in everyday life.’ They are participant-observers and must deal with the basic conundrum of participant observation, which Trusting and Maybin (2007 , 578–579) explain as follows: ‘Ethnographic work normally requires the researcher to be actively involved in the social action under study, suggesting that this generates insights which cannot be achieved in any other way. But the involvement of the researcher in social action inevitably changes the language practices under study.’ This issue may also become more and more important as differences increase between the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the observer and the observed. It is certainly one that must be confronted by both those who publish ethnographies and those who read them. Mendoza-Denton (2008 , 48) addresses this issue directly near the beginning of her ethnographic study of teenage Latina girl groups in a California high school:

> No ethnographer is a blank notepad just as no linguist is a tape recorder. The perceptual filters that we bring to fieldwork situations are powerful indeed, and not always conscious. You will read in the following chapters an account that is my interpretation of years of fieldwork and research with a group of young people who allowed me into their lives, and I will invite you to draw your own conclusions. I have been and will be providing guideposts to show where my ethnographic interpretation might be guided by factors such as my background, social class, and my own subjective and affective reactions to people around me and to events at the time.

She constantly reminds us in her report of the circumstances in which she collected her data and of her involvement in the process.

Another aspect to consider about the role of the researcher is their status with regard to the community, often talked about as being an ‘insider’ or ‘outsider.’ That is, is the researcher studying their ‘own’ community, or a community in which they are not a member? This is not always a clear-cut distinction. For instance, even if someone has grown up in a community, if they have been gone for a period of time they may be viewed as an outsider and/or may not have insider views on all cultural and linguistic practices, as these practices change over time. Davis (2018) provides a discussion of this, noting that the term ‘native ethnography… considers the subjectivity of the researcher as a member of a group historically relegated to fulfilling the role of the researched, rather than that of the researcher’ (2018, 48). However, this is too simplistic; as we have discussed, individuals have many different aspects to their identities and communities are also multifaceted in terms of their characteristics and practices. Thus how a researcher is seen varies across contexts, can be dependent on the topic of conversation, and may vary in the eyes of different community members. The status of a researcher in terms of their background, life experiences, and, of course, linguistic repertoire plays a role in how they are seen in the community, and thus what they see in the community.

When we talk about ethnography, we usually think about the results of lengthy and time-consuming projects. However, it is also possible to do smaller-scale studies using participant observation, focusing on very specific types of interactions in a group and particular linguistic features. For example, a seminal work by Frake (1964) focuses on how to ask for a drink; while this study makes uses of the author’s extensive knowledge of the culture, it is illustrative of how a narrowly focused question about linguistic behavior can lead to an insightful analysis of cultural norms. Another important early study by Mitchell-Kernan (1972) discusses particular ways of speaking among some African Americans referred to as ‘marking’ and ‘signifying,’ focusing on how cultural knowledge is needed to interpret certain types of implied meanings. A third study which shows this specific focus is Basso (1970), who discusses the meanings of silence in Western Apache. Students wishing to do ethnographic research should note that although a deep understanding of the culture is necessary for the interpretation of the data in all cases, focusing on very specific elements of communication helps to constrain the scope of these projects.

Exploration 6.1 Insider/Outsider

Think about possible research projects you might be interested in carrying out and how you would be viewed in terms of insider/outsider status. Are there communities or groups where your membership is assumed but you do not feel like you belong, or others where you feel a sense of belonging but your membership might be questioned? How does your behavior – and especially language – mark your membership or lack thereof? That is, what do you need to know and do in order to belong, and to what extent are you capable of, and willing to, follow these norms?

The Ethnography of Communication

As discussed in chapter 1 , the study of language involves more than just describing the syntactic composition of sentences or specifying their propositional content. Sociolinguists are interested in the various things that people *do* with that language. Within the ethnography of communication approach, as within ethnomethodology, discussed below, one of the basic assumptions is that communication exhibits systematic social organization. That is, there are social conventions which are relevant both for those producing utterances and those interpreting them; this is also part of the study of pragmatics, as discussed in chapter 4 . Another underlying assumption is that communication practices are deeply cultural; they are not only culturally specific but also integral to the formation of social organization. (See Carbaugh and Boromisza-Habashi 2015 for an overview of the history and developments of ethnography of communication within the field of communication studies and Keating 2001 for a more linguistic anthropological review of this approach.)

Communicative competence

The term **communicative competence** (introduced in chapter 1) is sometimes used to describe the knowledge of how to use language in culturally appropriate ways. This term was suggested by Hymes (1972) as a counter-concept to Chomsky's linguistic competence, which focused on an ideal hearer-speaker's knowledge of grammaticality of sentences in their native language. Hymes maintained that knowledge of a language involved much more than that. Gumperz (1972 , 205) explains the term as follows: 'Whereas linguistic competence covers the speaker's ability to produce grammatically correct sentences, communicative competence describes his ability to select, from the totality of grammatically correct expressions available to him, forms which appropriately reflect the social norms governing behavior in specific encounters.'

Working with an ethnographic approach, we may attempt to specify just what it means to be a competent user of a particular language. It is one thing to learn the language of the Subanun, but quite another to learn how to ask for a drink in Subanun (see Frake 1964 , mentioned above and discussed in more detail below). To do the first you need a certain linguistic competence; to do the latter you need communicative competence. As Saville-Troike (1996 , 363) says:

> Communicative competence extends to both knowledge and expectation of who may or may not speak in certain settings, when to speak and when to remain silent, whom one may speak to, how one may talk to persons of different statuses and roles, what nonverbal behaviors are appropriate in various contexts, what the routines for turn-taking are in conversation, how to ask for and give information, how to request, how to offer or decline assistance or cooperation, how to give commands, how to enforce discipline, and the like – in short, everything involving the use of language and other communicative dimensions in particular social settings.

In learning a language we are also learning to communicate in ways appropriate to the group in which we are doing that learning; this is sometimes called **language socialization** . These ways differ from group to group; consequently, as we move from one group to another or from one language to another, we must learn the new ways if we are to fit into that new group or to use that new language properly. Communicative competence is therefore a key component of social competence.

Frake's well-known study (1964) focuses on communicative competence in drinking encounters among the Subanun of the Philippines. Such encounters are very important for gaining prestige and for resolving disputes. Frake describes how conversation, what he calls 'drinking talk,' proceeds in such encounters, from the initial invitation to partake of drink, to the selection of the proper topics for discussion and problems for resolution as drinking proceeds competitively, and finally to the displays of verbal art that accompany heavy, 'successful' drinking. Each of these stages has its own characteristics. Those who are the most accomplished at drinking talk become the *de facto* leaders among the Subanun because successful talk during drinking may be used to claim or assert social leadership. Success gives one a certain right to manipulate others, because it is during such talk that important disputes are settled, for example, disputes which in other societies would have to be settled in the courts. Thus it is clearly not enough to merely be adept at the grammar of the language; you also have to understand the social appropriateness of different constructions. A framework for the systematic study of how talk is used in certain societies is presented in the next section.

In learning a language we are also learning to communicate in ways appropriate to the group in which we are doing that learning; this is sometimes called **language socialization** . Meek (2010) provides a unique ethnographic perspective on the transmission of social norms for language use in her work on language revitalization in Kaska, a Northern Athabaskan community. She notes that the development of an understanding of the connection between certain linguistic practices and their social meanings – that is, language socialization – is about creating continuity. A lack of this continuity creates awareness of the norms; in other words, we see norms for behavior more clearly when they are violated than when they are followed. Meek argues that the language revitalization process is an interdiscursive process; revitalization, in seeking to expand the domain in which the endangered language is spoken, inevitably creates new intertextual connections. What is being lost when a language is endangered is not simply vocabulary and grammar, but also ways of doing and being.

The communicative event and communicative acts

Central to ethnography of communication is the idea of the **communicative (or speech) event** , which is the analytical unit. This is 'a communicative sequence with cultural integrity' (Carbaugh and Boromisza-Habashi 2015 , 4). Such events, according to Keating (2001 , 9), are cultural routines which are often named (e.g., a ceremonial event such as a wedding, as discussed in Umeodinka and Okoye 2016, listed in Further Reading; or a linguistic event such as the telling of jokes; see

Kihara et al. 2015 in Further Reading) and for which there are generally recognized rules and norms for linguistic and nonlinguistic behavior. These communicative events are made up of communicative acts, which are based on the idea of speech acts as used in pragmatics (discussed in chapter 4) and expanded on to include a broader range of acts, including gestures and paralinguistic communication, which are part of the communicative act.

The SPEAKING device

Hymes (1974) has proposed an ethnographic framework which takes into account the various factors that are involved in language use. An ethnography of a communicative event is a description of all the factors that are relevant in understanding how that particular communicative event achieves its objectives. For convenience, Hymes uses the word SPEAKING as an acronym for the various factors he deems to be relevant. We will now consider these factors one by one (see also the link in our companion website to a short video explaining this acronym).

The setting and scene (S) of speech refers to the time and place, that is, the concrete physical circumstances in which speech takes place (setting), and the abstract psychological setting, or the cultural definition of the occasion (scene). The Queen of the United Kingdom's Christmas message has its own unique setting and scene, as has the President of the United States' annual State of the Union Address. A particular bit of speech may actually serve to define a scene, whereas another bit of speech may be deemed to be quite inappropriate in certain circumstances. Within a particular setting, of course, participants are free to change scenes, as they change the level of formality (e.g., go from serious to joyful) or as they change the kind of activity in which they are involved (e.g., begin to drink or to recite poetry).

The participants (P) include various combinations of speaker–listener, addressor– addressee, or sender–receiver. They generally fill certain socially specified roles. A two-person conversation involves a speaker and hearer whose roles change; a ‘dressing down’ involves a speaker and hearer with no role change; a political speech involves an addressor and addressees (the audience); and a telephone message involves a sender and a receiver. A prayer obviously makes a deity a participant. In a classroom, a teacher’s question and a student’s response involve not just those two as speaker and listener but also the rest of the class as audience, since they too are expected to benefit from the exchange.

Ends (E) refers to the conventionally recognized and expected outcomes of an exchange as well as to the personal goals that participants seek to accomplish on particular occasions. A trial in a courtroom has a recognizable social end in view, but the various participants, that is, the judge, jury, prosecution, defense, accused, and witnesses, have different personal goals. Likewise, a marriage ceremony serves a certain social end, but each of the various participants may have his or her own unique goals in getting married or in seeing a particular couple married.

Act sequence (A) refers to the actual form and content of what is said: the precise words used, how they are used, and the relationship of what is said to the actual topic at hand. This is one aspect of language in which linguists have long shown an interest, particularly those who study discourse and conversation, and it is one about which we will have more to say in the next two chapters. Public lectures, casual conversations, and cocktail party chatter are all different forms of speaking; with each go different kinds of language and things talked about.

Key (K), the fifth term, refers to the tone, manner, or spirit in which a particular message is conveyed: light-hearted, serious, precise, pedantic, mocking, sarcastic, pompous, and so on. The key may also be marked nonverbally by certain kinds of behavior, gesture, posture, or even deportment. When there is a lack of fit between what a person is actually saying and the key that the person is using, listeners are likely to pay more attention to the key than to the actual content, for example, to the burlesque of a ritual rather than to the ritual itself.

Instrumentalities (I) refers to the choice of channel, for example, oral, written, signed, or telegraphic, and to the actual forms of speech employed, such as the language, dialect, code, or register that is chosen. Formal, written, legal language is one instrumentality; spoken Newfoundland English is another, as is American Sign Language; codeswitching between English and Italian is a third; and the use of Pig Latin is still another. You may employ different instrumentalities in the course of a single verbal exchange of some length: first read something, then tell a dialect joke, then quote Shakespeare, then use an expression from another language, and so on. You also need not necessarily change topic to do any of these.

Norms of interaction and interpretation (N) refers to the specific behaviors and properties that attach to language and also to how these may be viewed by someone who does not share them (e.g., loudness, silence, gaze return, and so on). For example, there are certain norms of interaction with regard to church services and conversing with strangers. However, these norms vary from social group to social group, so the kind of behavior expected in congregations that practice ‘speaking in tongues’ or the group encouragement of a preacher in others would be deemed abnormal and unacceptable in a ‘high’ Anglican setting, where the congregation is expected to sit quietly unless it is their time to participate in group prayer or singing. Likewise, a Brazilian and an Anglo-Saxon meeting for the first time are unlikely to find a physical distance that each finds comfortable, as they may have different ideas about how close one stands when conversing with a stranger. (With Covid-19 regulations dictating 1.5 meters, or 6 feet, of distance between people to avoid spreading the virus, a number of jokes circulated about how in different cultures this ‘seems awfully close,’ reflecting this idea of different expectations of physical distance in interactions.)

Genre (G), the final term, refers to clearly demarcated types of utterance; such things as poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, prayers, lectures, and editorials. These are all marked in specific ways in contrast to casual speech. Of course, in the middle of a prayer, a casual aside would be marked too. While particular genres seem more appropriate on certain occasions than on others, for example, sermons inserted into church services, they can be independent: we can ask someone to stop 'sermonizing'; that is, we can recognize a genre of sermons when an instance of it, or something closely resembling an instance, occurs outside its usual setting.

What Hymes offers us in his SPEAKING formula is a very necessary reminder that talk is a complex activity, and that any particular bit of talk is actually a piece of 'skilled work.' It is skilled in the sense that, if it is to be successful, the language user must reveal a sensitivity to and awareness of each of the eight factors outlined above. Participants in the interaction must also work to see that nothing goes wrong. When communication does go wrong, as it sometimes does, that going-wrong is often clearly describable in terms of some neglect of one or more of the factors. Of course, individuals vary in their ability to manage and exploit the total array of factors; everyone in a society will not manage talk in the same way. Nonetheless, conversations can be analyzed in terms of how they fit with social norms for interaction.

Exploration 6.2 Defining Gossip

How can you define the communicative event of gossiping? Use Hymes' SPEAKING categories to discuss who participates in this type of communication with whom, the characteristic linguistic features, and the social goals.

Ethnography and beyond

In more recent studies, the description of underlying communicative competence and actual language use are combined with critical perspectives and other forms of discourse analysis. For example, Duff (2002) looks at classroom interactions in a multiethnic Canadian high school classroom through ethnography of communication research while also adopting critical and post-structuralist theoretical stances in her analysis. She describes her work as follows:

> This study employed EC [ethnography of communication] to consider how students' identities and interpersonal differences are created and manifested through interaction patterns during classroom discussions. Unlike many past EC studies, I did not provide an indepth structural analysis of the boundaries of the activities (beginning, middle and end) or explicit instruction provided by the teacher about how to participate in different phases of one activity, or explicit sanctions for non-compliance. Nor does the analysis focus on just one type of linguistic structure or framing device. Rather, I combined content and interaction analyses of turn-taking in discussions as parallel manifestations of how knowledge, identities, and differences are established and maintained by members of a classroom 'community.' (Duff 2002 , 315)

The analysis, which also includes information about student achievement and attitudes stated in interviews with the researcher, provides a picture of the classroom interaction which is much broader and more nuanced than a description of what occurred in the interactions. For example, some ESL (English as a second language) students, many of whom had Chinese parents or were themselves not born in Canada, participated less in classroom discourse, but were nevertheless high achieving and in many cases performed better academically than their classmates who were born in Canada and had English as their first language. The 'locals' were nonetheless the ones whose voices and perspectives were most often heard in class discussion.

Further, a simplistic analysis of turn-taking and the efforts of the teacher to include different students in the discussion fell short of recognizing that despite the good intent of this teacher, she had also contributed to the otherization of some students by calling on them to comment on issues of discrimination and exclusion. As Duff (2002 , 315) writes, 'Everyday interactions such as these positioned students within different communities – the very communities students may or may not have wished to venture out of.'

Other recent work that extends the reach of ethnography of communication is work by Webster (2010 , 2015) on Navajo poetry. This work relies on a decade of ethnographic research within the Navajo nation in order to understand the linguistic forms used by Navajo poets which are intended to evoke emotional attachment. These forms include words and structure from English, Navajo, and a mixture of the two, what Webster dubs 'intimate grammars.' Through ethnographic perspectives, Webster situates these linguistic choices within the Navajo culture and is able to interpret them as about belonging.

Such analyses draw both on ethnography of communication perspectives and on other types of discourse and content analysis; we will continue to address such issues in the section on linguistic ethnography, and in the sections on interactional sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis in chapter 7 . In the next section, we will look at what has been called 'ethnomethodology,' and conversation analytic methods that have been derived from it.

Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology is that branch of sociology which is concerned, among other things, with the idea that social routines are inherently orderly and recognizable to participants in society, and thus carry social meaning (Ten Have 2016). Ethnomethodologists are interested in the processes and techniques that people use to interpret the world around them and to interact with that world. They are interested in trying to discover the categories and systems that people use in making sense of the world. Therefore, they do not conduct large-scale surveys of populations, devise sophisticated theoretical models of social organization, or hypothesize that some social theory or other will adequately explain social organization. Instead, they focus on the phenomena of everyday existence, actually on various bits and pieces of it, in an attempt to show how those who must deal with such bits and pieces go about doing so. Their methods are entirely inductive.

Ethnomethodologists say that social order does not exist independently of individuals. People must constantly create that order as they use language to give sense to their own behavior and to respond to the behavior of others. The meaning of what one says or does depends entirely on the context of that saying or doing, and the parties understand what has been said or done because they know things about the circumstances of that saying or doing, about each other, about previous similar occurrences and relationships, and about the various possibilities that might follow. There is also the issue of **indexicality** : people are also aware that certain linguistic items (even whole languages) are associated with certain social characteristics so that A – an accent, word, phrase, tone of voice, dialect, and so on – means, or can be taken to mean, B – smartness, foreignness, masculinity, impoliteness, superiority, and so on. In this sense, no utterance is ever ‘neutral’: it always indexes some characteristic of the language user. As discussed in chapter 3 , there is no one-to-one correlation between a particular code and a social meaning; such meanings are dependent upon context. However, particular ways of using language may have salient meanings that are likely to emerge, especially among interlocutors from the same speech community.

Background knowledge as part of communication

We can use a simple linguistic example to show that we cannot hope to understand others if we do not share certain background assumptions with those others. Only when there is such sharing is communication possible. In unpublished work, Sacks gives the following example of a two-sentence sequence to illustrate this point: 'The baby cried. The mommy picked it up.' How do we understand these two sentences from a child? How do they communicate? We understand that *mommy* in the second sentence refers to the mother of *baby* in the first, but there is nothing in the structure of the sentences themselves to tell us this. All we have is a connection between *baby* and *mommy* achieved through mention in successive sentences. Sacks claims that in such cases there are what he calls **membership categorization devices** which allow us to assign certain meanings to words like *baby* and *mommy* . In this case, we put the words into a set like *baby* , *mommy* , *daddy* rather than one like *baby* , *child* , *adult* ; consequently, we understand that it is the baby's mother who is involved in the second sentence.

To interpret particular sentences or sets of sentences, we must have some knowledge of the categories that are socially relevant (Sacks 1972a , 1972b). This knowledge of membership categorization devices is socially acquired. It is also the kind of knowledge in which ethnomethodologists are interested.

We constantly use such categorizations. They are not unlike labels such as 'jocks' and 'burnouts' discussed in chapter 5 except that they tend to be covert rather than overt. We constantly label people, places, and events around us and come to rely on such labels to help us deal with what is going on. Such labeling systems must be learned. What exactly is a 'jock,' a 'convenience store,' or a 'tweet'? 'Correct' labeling enables us to negotiate our way in society; 'incorrect' labeling is likely to lead to misunderstanding or possibly even to psychiatric care. If X is indeed a jock and you have correctly identified him as such, you have some idea of what to expect of each other. Misidentification in either direction is likely to produce disorder. If both parties know what a convenience store is and how people usually ask for and give directions, you may be directed to the nearest one. Reference to a tweet is common in many circles, but for people who are not in touch with current media forms, this term may evoke the concept of birdlike noises instead of a type of message.

Commonsense knowledge and practical reasoning

Ethnomethodologists adopt what is called a phenomenological view of the world; that is, the social world is something that is constituted and maintained through people's everyday experiences. In this view, language plays a very significant role in that creating and sustaining. Ethnomethodologists regard 'meaning' and 'meaningful activity' as something people accomplish when they interact socially. They focus on what people must do to make sense of, and bring order to, the world around them, and not on what scientists do in trying to explain natural phenomena. Since much of human interaction is actually verbal interaction, they have focused much of their attention on how people use language in their relationships to one another. An important aspect of this is **reflexivity** : the notion that interactions are shaped in relation to the context, while the context is redefined by the ongoing interactions.

Exploration 6.3 Classroom Language

Teachers and students must cooperate to sustain the 'reality' of the classroom. What are some of the ways in which a teacher and a class cooperate, in your experience? What particular patterns of behavior and types of language recur? What comprises a 'violation'? What changes do you notice between the various levels of schooling, that is, primary, secondary, and college or university? And between types of class, that is, lecture, tutorial, laboratory, seminar, and so on?

Garfinkel and his students: studies in ethnomethodology

In an interesting series of studies, Garfinkel (1972) showed how we conduct our everyday existence in ways that clearly demonstrate how we do not question the kinds of assumptions mentioned above. He did this by creating situations in which his subjects, in this case his students, were not allowed to take certain things for granted; rather, they were required to violate or to question matters which they would normally accept ‘routinely.’ Needless to say, language was involved in every case.

For example, Garfinkel asked his students to report a conversation and state how the participants understood what they were talking about. To do so, it was necessary not only to interpret what was actually said but also to contrast the said with the unsaid, that is, that which was implied or that which could possibly be inferred, and to make hypotheses about how the various bits and pieces of the conversation fitted together as they did. Each party necessarily had to know a lot about the other party, about the topic, and about the kind of exchange the conversation was; each also had to tolerate considerable inexplicitness in what was actually said. In one instance, in part of one reported conversation between a husband and wife, the wife’s question, ‘Did you take him [our son] to the record store?’ leads to the following exchange with her husband (1972, 4), with the words actually spoken on the left and the husband’s interpretation of these words given on the right:

HUSBAND:	No, to the shoe repair shop.	No, I stopped at the record store on the way to get him and stopped at the shoe repair shop on the way home when he was with me.
WIFE:	What for?	I know of one reason why you might have stopped at the shoe repair shop. Why did you in fact?
HUSBAND:	I got	As you will remember, I broke a

	some new shoe laces for my shoes.	shoe lace on one of my brown oxfords the other day, so I stopped to get some new laces.
WIFE:	Your loafers need new heels badly.	Something else you could have gotten that I was thinking of. You could have taken in your black loafers which need heels badly. You'd better get them taken care of pretty soon.

Garfinkel points out that in such exchanges topics which are not mentioned or only partially mentioned are still understood, that understanding itself develops as the conversation develops, and that understanding depends on the willingness of each party to work with the other to develop a common scheme of interpretation for what is being talked about. There is common agreement that we have to 'make sense' of what we hear. The shared assumption is that the participants are engaged in a 'normal' social interaction; that assumption will hold until they find very strong contradictory evidence.

When subjects were asked to take part in conversations and to insist that others clarify casual remarks made in those circumstances, the usual reaction of those others was one of either suspicion or hostility. Garfinkel cites two cases that show these consequences quite clearly (1972, 6–7); one is given here:

S: Hi, Ray. How is your girlfriend feeling?

E: What do you mean, how is she feeling? Do you mean physical or mental?

S: I mean how is she feeling? What's the matter with you? (He looked peeved.)

E: Nothing. Just explain a little clearer what do you mean?

S: Skip it. How are your Med School applications coming?

E: What do you mean. How are they?

S: You know what I mean.

E: I really don't.

S: What's the matter with you? Are you sick?

Apparently, conversation proceeds on the assumption that a certain vagueness is normal, that ordinary talk does not require precision, and that many expressions that are used in conversation are not to be taken literally. This vague, imprecise, and nonliteral nature of ordinary talk is deemed to be entirely reasonable, and for someone to question it is to act unreasonably.

In another task, students were asked to perform as 'cultural dopes,' that is, to behave as if they were not aware of the social rules that pertained to specific situations; for example, they were asked to try to bargain for standard-priced merchandise. In this case, the greatest problem was that of making the initial move; since you do not bargain for such merchandise, it is difficult to begin the bargaining process because it involves violating a rule of normative behavior. What many students found, though, was that, once this norm was violated, it was possible to bargain in many cases, and that the actual bargaining could be both enjoyable and rewarding.

What is apparent from these various reports is that much of what we take for granted in our dealings with others depends on our accepting the appearances those others try to project. In other words, we accept the world for what it is, and most of what we hear we accept in good faith, and what we doubt we may find hard to confront openly. We accept certain norms; we realize that these vary from occasion to occasion so that different ones may apply in specific instances, but norms do apply. It is our job to find or negotiate the ones appropriate to an occasion – in fact, it is everyone's job!

Ethnomethodology and conversation analysis

Ethnomethodologists have found that naturally occurring conversations provide them with some of their most interesting data. Such conversations show how individuals achieve common purposes by doing and saying certain things and not doing and saying others. They obey certain rules of cooperation, trust, turn-taking, and so on. The type of discourse analysis which focuses on these rules for conversation is called conversation analysis; this will be discussed in more detail, and in relation to other approaches to discourse analysis, in chapter 7 . For the moment it suffices to say that people use language not only to communicate in a variety of ways, but also to create a sense of order in everyday life.

Critical Ethnography

In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a movement within the field of anthropology for ethnography to move beyond the descriptions of cultural norms and practices to an examination of how power structures and resultant inequalities were part of the societies and cultures studies (Foley 2002). While maintaining the methodology of ethnographic research, that is, participant observation, this research sought to work toward social change (May 1997). This shift was not specific to the study of language but influenced work being done in anthropology, communication studies, and sociology. Within linguistics, such perspectives often emerged in studies of language teaching (e.g., Pérez-Milans 2013 ; Stanley 2013). Heller (2011 , 31) has laid out the foundation of 'critical sociolinguistic ethnography,' which she uses to examine 'the role of language in the construction of social difference and social inequality in the globalized new economy.' In particular, she examines how francophone marginalization in Canada has emerged through societal discourses over time.

This critical perspective has, within the last two decades, become central to the study of sociolinguistics. The examination of language ideologies, for example, rests on ideas about power and hegemony surrounding linguistic practices. This will remain a thread throughout this text, with special consideration in the section on critical discourse analysis in chapter 7 , discussion of the sociolinguistics of nations, colonialism, and globalization in chapter 10 , and the focus on sociolinguistics and social justice in Part IV.

(Socio)linguistic Ethnography

Linguistic ethnography (LE; sometimes also called 'sociolinguistic ethnography') has emerged as a cover term for research which links ethnographic research on ideologies and wider societal norms with the analyses of specific language practices. Creese (2008 , 233) explains: 'An LE analysis then attempts to combine close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world.' Pérez-Milans (2016) notes the potential of this approach to the study of linguistic interaction to overcome the dichotomy of micro/macro and local/global by linking broader cultural norms and values with the analysis of specific interactions and particular linguistic forms. This approach builds on social constructionist approaches to the study of language and is based on the assumption that social realities are mutually constituted; instead of seeing social structure and human behavior as separate, human behavior (e.g., language use) is studied as socially situated practice (Copland and Creese 2018).

Much of this research has been done within the realm of education, and indeed, a major work describing this paradigm (Creese 2008) appears in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* . As we will discuss, however, this approach can be applied more broadly.

Rampton (2007) describes the methodological tenets of linguistic ethnography as follows:

i. the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically; and

ii. analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas,' and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain. (Rampton 2007 , 3)

A concept central to this work is that while we can identify **hegemonic ideologies** – for instance, the language ideology of normative monolingualism (see chapter 8) – our analysis must necessarily examine how language users position themselves with regard to such ideologies. That is, we must discover how these ideologies are not only reproduced through language practices but also challenged through the performances of individual language users or groups. As noted by Maybin (2009 , 76), 'researchers now also frequently draw on social theory which enables them to make important connections between the everyday experiences they are documenting, and societal patterns of power relations, beliefs and values. Students are shown as shaped and constrained by these broader social structures but also as expressing individual agency at a local level and drawing creatively on the cultural resources available.'

In a study of children in a German-English bilingual classroom in Berlin, Germany, Fuller (2012) notes that there is an explicit norm of separation of languages, referenced by everyone: the principal, the teachers, and the students. This norm should dictate that there would be no bilingual discourse in the classrooms, but that is not the reality. However, the children in this study do not simply violate the rule of monolingual discourse and take the consequences; as students in an elite program and speakers of two prestigious languages, they have a great deal to lose if they speak a stigmatized mixed variety. Instead, they often use flagged codeswitching, that is, switches from one language to the next that are marked by comment, laughter, or repair. These data, collected during English instruction, show that most of the switches occur as singly occurring German lexical items embedded in otherwise English utterances. The students construct themselves as English speakers while simultaneously, by ‘slipping’ into German, construct themselves as dominant in German. Thereby they access the cultural capital of being an English speaker while simultaneously enjoying the peer solidarity of being a German speaker. Through the flagging of the switches, they can also align themselves with the normative ideology of monolingualism. Such a practice serves to position these bilinguals as part of an educated elite, that is, as English speakers, without sacrificing all of the covert prestige of using the peer language, German.

Research by Snell (2015 , 2018) also examines ideologies about language in an educational setting, in this case the stigmatization of working-class vernaculars. In this research she situates particular linguistic practices within the broader social context – in one study (Snell 2015), a teacher’s public condemnation of the local Teesside (northeast England) dialect and the ensuing media discussion and in another (Snell 2018) language use by children in the school setting. In the 2015 study, she challenges the deficit account of dialect forms with an analysis of how one particular form, singular ‘us’ (e.g., *give us back my shoe* ; Snell 2015 , 325) is part of the negotiation of inclusion and exclusion among peers. The children are aware that this form is socially stigmatized, but its interactional usefulness gives it a different sort of social power (see discussion of covert prestige in chapter 5).

Building on this research, Snell (2018) pursues the analysis of how vernacular forms are part of stance and identity construction. She looks at how particular vernacular features – pronoun tags such as ‘him’ in the utterance *He’s mad, him* (Snell 2018 , 35) and the lexical item *hooway* (which can be glossed as something similar to ‘come on’) to negotiate hierarchy within the peer group. Contrary to the generalization that stigmatized dialects are used to construct ingroup solidarity, this research shows that they are part of the construction of difference within the group. This conclusion can only be reached with both an ethnographic study of wider societal norms and a detailed analysis of linguistic practices.

Other studies conducted within the linguistic ethnography paradigm include research in a variety of educational settings, for example, Copland (2011), a study on teacher training feedback sessions, and Pérez-Milans’ (2015) study of language education policy in the European Union (EU). Other institutions in which linguistic ethnography has been carried out include residential childcare institutions (Palomares and Poveda 2010) and historic societies dealing with the Gullah/Geechee language in the Low Country of South Carolina (Smalls 2012) and call centers (see Woydack and Rampton 2016, in Further Reading). Stæhr and Madsen (2015) also use a linguistic ethnographic approach to study the social meanings of the linguistic forms (in this case, standardized language forms) in Swedish hip-hop music, arguing that these choices can only be understood through ethnographically informed understandings of language ideologies. This research analyzes language in media within a critical ethnographic perspective. In the next section, we will examine a further extension of media communication in sociolinguistic research: digital ethnography.

Digital Ethnographies: Research in Online Communities

Early research (mostly in the 1990s) on what was originally dubbed 'computer mediated communication' focused on what linguistic features were specific to this medium, viewing it as a new register or genre of speech. However, by the 2000s there was a shift in perspective to examine what was often called 'new media' communication as socially situated and embedded in social and linguistic practices 'irl' (Akkaya 2014). Akkaya notes that the linguistic strategies used in new media are not formed in a vacuum; while there are of course digital resources not available in face-to-face communication (emoji, memes, photos, links, etc.) the social and societal aims of communication do not differ based on whether one is online or offline.

Arising from this perspective is digital ethnography. Androutsopoulos (2008) discusses the potential of what he calls 'discourse-centred' online ethnography, noting that a combination of online participant observation and interviews with participants can allow researchers insights into both practices and participant awareness of linguistic heterogeneity.

One issue in digital ethnography is the new types of contextualization which arise through technological resources (Varis 2016). Online communication is often archived and is thus persistent and searchable, leading to more opportunity for the intertextual use of past communication (see our discussion of memes in chapter 2). Such contextualization is in addition to the offline contexts which also continue to be present in new media interactions, creating a more complex context for the interpretation of language use.

The types of communities, and the features of language, studied through digital ethnographies vary widely. For example, Angouri and Tseliga (2010), using digital ethnography and a community of practice framework, examined how members of an online community of academics negotiated politeness practices. Akkaya (2011

) looked at lengthening practices (e.g., ‘waitinggg,’ ‘andddd’) in Facebook posts within a group of young Turkish women who live in the US, illustrating how language contact as well as group identity construction influenced their orthography. We will continue to look at the sociolinguistics of new media in the next chapter on discourse analysis.

Ethnography in Combination with Other Sociolinguistic Methods

We have already alluded to the fact that ethnographic approaches are often used in combination with other research methods, most saliently interviews and in combination with the micro-analysis of interactions in linguistic ethnography. For example, Kallmeyer and Keim’s (2003) research on immigrant youth groups in Germany also employed ethnographic research with an analysis of linguistic variation in code-mixing patterns (see chapter 8 for further discussion of this topic).

It is important to note that quantitative approaches to the study of language are also commonly combined with ethnography; for instance, variationist sociolinguists frequently are also ethnographers. A salient example of this is Eckert’s well-known work on jocks and burnouts (Eckert 1989), which is rooted in an emic understanding of the social categories in the high school she studied, but also includes variationist analyses of phonetic variables. Work by Lawson (2014) on social categories in a Glasgow high school similarly combines bottom-up perspectives to establish groups and labels and analyses of phonetic variation.

Sociolinguistic interviews (see previous chapter to review this method) are quite commonly embedded in participant observation in the communities being studied, such as in the long-term research project on the Outer Banks of North Carolina, USA, by Wolfram and his associates (e.g., Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2000 ; Wolfram et al. 1999).

In addition to variationist sociolinguistics, research on linguistic landscapes also includes ethnographic approaches to understanding these public displays of language. Blommaert and Maly (2014) discuss ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis (ELLA), outlining why a qualitative approach to the study of linguistic landscapes is useful in understanding the social meanings of signs. They note that public spaces are social arenas where norms are reproduced, and this is observable behavior. We can use ethnography to understand how power hierarchies, in the form of the language ideologies apparent in linguistic landscapes, are presented and responded to by members of a community. Signs can be interpreted as pointing to the past, present or future, and thus are embedded in the history of the community, the aspired future, and their relationship to other current practices and beliefs; these are aspects of their interpretation which can be addressed through ethnography. Their research on the Rabot neighborhood of Ghent, Belgium shows how ethnographic approaches enable them to see more than just what languages are used; through a more macro perspective they can also assess the linguistic choices in terms of history and demographic changes in the community, the hierarchical relationships between languages and linguistic groups, and what relationships exist between these groups. Further, it is also possible to recognize what they call 'identity aspiration' (Blommaert and Maly 2014 , 22), for example, the commodification of codes which are considered 'posh' to construct prestige for a business.

Another example of how ethnographic approaches were combined with linguistic landscape research can be found in Canakis (2016) in his work on three coastal towns in the Balkans. He illustrates how the influx of both tourists and refugees has influenced the linguistic landscape, noting that linguistic landscapes index the socioeconomic relationships in a population, but that these relationships require ethnographic inquiry to properly understand them.

Finally, there is also a growing use of ethnographic approaches in language policy and planning research. We will pick this up again in chapter 13 , so include just a brief mention here. Wodak and Savski (2018) note that the use of discourse-ethnographic methods essentially means situating language policy and planning within the larger societal context; this means recognizing the role of language policy in both controlling social behavior and reflecting ideological positionings. McCarty (2015) underlines this role of ethnography in language policy and planning research, emphasizing that it must be seen as part of the larger sociocultural system, which includes competing ideologies and practices.

Chapter Summary

This chapter returns to the idea of communicative competence which was introduced in chapter 1 and links it to ethnographic approaches to sociolinguistic research. We start by outlining the ethnography of communication framework, which is designed to identify how participants in particular cultural events themselves structure communicative practices, and what underlying assumptions are at work. We also look at ethnomethodology, which is used in conversation analysis; this methodology focuses on patterns in everyday interactions. An introduction to linguistic ethnography, a relatively new approach in sociolinguistics, is provided to show how this approach integrates the study of linguistic practices in a particular setting with ethnographically gained knowledge about societal norms and ideologies. Finally, in addition to these different methods involving ethnographic research, we also examine digital ethnography as a means of doing sociolinguistic research.

Exercises

1. What kind of cultural and linguistic know-how is necessary to perform the following tasks? Imagine you are explaining to someone from a different culture how to carry out these interactions.
    - Asking for a day off work (a) because you are sick; (b) to go to a ball game; (c) to interview for a job with a rival firm.
    - Asking someone you are romantically interested in to go on a date.
    - Asking someone you are not romantically interested in if they want to have dinner (does it matter if this person could interpret this as romantic interest?).
    - Calling a business to find out if they are hiring.

- Talking to a police officer who has pulled you over for speeding on the highway.

2. Building on the discussion in Exploration 6.3 , look at the transcript below and discuss the patterns of interaction in this classroom. This is a Spanish–English bilingual classroom in the USA. The teacher is a native speaker of English who speaks Spanish as her second language; the students are all advanced learners of English. This interaction happens within their English lesson. What are some norms for language choice and speaker roles that you can observe in this dialogue?

   T = the teacher, S1–S3 are the students

T:	ok. so let's go thru B wh-what's the answer?
S1:	um –
T:	who would you like to play- table tennis
S1:	no, I don't!
T:	you don't what! make a complete sentence.
S1:	/no! I don't like their xxx-/
S2:	/ *¿acaso, vete ¡qué te gusta!?/*
	'/perhaps, get lost, you like it!?/'
S1:	/ a *ya* ./ (.)
	/ oh yes./ (.)
T:	S3, does your best friend like football?
S3:	yeah (.) she does.
T:	she does what?
S1:	*yo le puse ¿no,?* No, he doesn't like football.
	'I put it on, no,? xxx'
S2:	*Yo sé lo hice ésa* .
	'I did that one'
T:	S1, what did you do last night?
S1:	watched (.) I watched a movie that was called (Pirates) (1) {lots of background noise during S1's turn}

T:	so S1 what did you do last night tell me again. I couldn't hear you.
S1:	I watched a movie that was called (Pirates) (.)
T:	huuummm what do you want to do next week S2?
S2:	humm eat a lot? I'm going to-
T:	/in a complete sentence/
S2:	*humm yo soy el único que voy ahg {laughs} yo creo que sí maestra* ! 'Hummm I'm the only one that will go ahg {laughs} I think so teacher!'
T:	So, S2, answering the question, what do you want to do next week? How can you say that?. boys (.) girls. *Niños*
	'... Children.'
S2:	umm.
T:	what would you say, if somebody asks you, what do you want to do next week? How can you answer that in a complete-
S2:	/Sentence?/
T:	/sentence/ (.) how can you say that?
S1:	go to a (.) movie?
T:	is that a complete sentence, though?
S1:	go to the movie, watch a movie?
T:	Next (.) week (.) I (.) would like –
S1:	to go to the theaters to watch
T:	/S2 do you/-
S1:	-/ new movie./
T:	do you remember when you make a complete sentence (.) from a question if somebody asked you a question and put almost all the words (.) from the 'question into your answer (.) remember how we talked about that? (.5) yeah.-
S1:	/ *más o menos/ (.) hay tengo hambre* !

	/‘more or less’/ (.) ‘Oh I’m hungry!’

3. Do a small participant observation study of greeting rituals, keeping track of how others greet you in either face-to-face or online interactions (or both) for several days. (Also keep track of your own greetings, as part of the context.) These rituals may include more than just language; also note if there are physical actions which accompany them (shaking hands, kissing, emojis). What norms can you observe? What social factors influence the form of greeting? How do larger local and global events, such as the spread of the coronavirus, influence such practices?

Further Reading

Fabian, J. and Vincent de Rooij. 2008. Ethnography. In T. Bennet and J. Frow (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* . Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 613–631.

Kihara, C. P., H. Schröder, D. Barasa, and C. N. Agoya-Wotsuna (2015). Mchongoano and the ethnography of communication. *University of Nairobi Journal of Language and Linguistics* 4: 1–19.

McCarty, T. L. (2014). Ethnography in educational linguistics. In Martha Bigelow and Johanna Ennser-Kananen (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Educational Linguistics* . New York: Routledge, 45–59.

McCarty, T. L. (2015). Ethnography in language planning and policy research. In Francis M. Hult and David Cassels Johnson (eds.), *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A Practical Guide* . Oxford: Blackwell, 81–93.

Rymes, B. and A. R. Leone (2014). Citizen sociolinguistics: A new media methodology for understanding language and social life. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)* 29(2): 4.

Umeodinka, A. U. and C. L. Okoye (2016). Ethnography of communication: The Igbo traditional marriage perspective. *Journal of Modern European Languages and Literatures (JMEL)* 5(1): 191–207.

Varis, P. and M. Hou (2018). Digital approaches in linguistic ethnography. In Karin Tusting (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistic Ethnography* . Abingdon: Routledge.

Woydack, J. and B. Rampton (2016). Text trajectories in a multilingual call centre: The linguistic ethnography of a calling script. *Language in Society* 45(5): 709–732.

References

Akkaya, A. (2011). Indexical and iconic use of vernacular lengthening practices: A study of young Turkish women's identity practices on Facebook. *Texas Linguistics Forum* 54: 102–111.

Akkaya, A. (2014). Language, discourse, and new media: A linguistic anthropological perspective. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 8(7): 285–300.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2008). Potentials and limitations of discourse-centred online ethnography. *Language@ internet* 5(8).

Angouri, J. and T. Tseliga (2010). 'You have no idea what you are talking about!': From e-disagreement to e-impoliteness in two online fora. *Journal of Politeness Research* 6(1): 57–82.

Basso, K. H. (1970). 'To give up on words': Silence in Western Apache culture. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26(3): 213–230.

Blommaert, J. and I. Maly (2014). Ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis and social change: A case study. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* 100: 1–27.

Canagarajah, S. (2006). Ethnographic methods in language policy. In T. Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Canakis, C. (2016). Snapshots of the Balkans through ethnographic investigation of the linguistic landscape. *Punctum* 2(2): 24–65.

Carbaugh, D. and D. Boromisza-Habashi (2015). Ethnography of communication. In Karen Tracy (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* . Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 1–16.

Copland, F. (2011). Negotiating face in feedback conferences: A linguistic ethnographic analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(15): 3832–3843.

Copland, F. and A. Creese (2018). Linguistic ethnography. *Research Methods in Linguistics* , 259.

Creese, A. (2008). Linguistic ethnography. In K. A. King and N. H. Hornberger (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* , vol. 10. 2nd edn. *Research Methods in Language and Education* . New York: Springer, 229–241.

Davis, J. (2018). *Talking Indian: Identity and Language Revitalization in the Chickasaw Renaissance* . Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Duff, P. A. (2002). The discursive co-construction of knowledge, identity, and difference: An ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics* 23(3): 289–322.

Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic Anthropology* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eckert, P. (1989). *Jocks and Burnouts: Social Categories and Identities in the High School* . New York: Teachers College Press.

Foley, D. E. (2002). Critical ethnography: The reflexive turn. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 15(4): 469–490.

Frake, C. O. (1964). How to ask for a drink in Subanun. *American Anthropologist* 66(6,2): 127–132. Reprinted in P. P. Giglioli (ed.) (1972), *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Fuller, J. M. (2012). *Bilingual Pre-Teens: Competing Ideologies and Multiple Identities in the U.S. and Germany* . New York: Routledge.

Garfinkel, H. (1972). Studies of the routine grounds of everyday activities. In D. Sudnow (ed.), *Studies in Social Interaction* . New York: Free Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1972). Sociolinguistics and communication in small groups. In J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Heller, M. (2011). *Paths to Post-Nationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hymes, D. H. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Hymes, D. H. (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Johnstone, B. (2004). Place, globalization, and linguistic variation. In C. Fought (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Kallmeyer, W. and I. Keim (2003). Linguistic variation and the construction of social identity in a German-Turkish setting. *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities* 110: 29.

Keating, E. (2001). The ethnography of communication. In Paul Atkinson et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Ethnography* . London: SAGE, 285–301.

Lawson, R. (ed.) (2014). *Sociolinguistics in Scotland* . London: Palgrave Macmillan.

May, S. (1997). Critical ethnography. In Nancy Hornberger and David Corson (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education: Research Methods in Language and Education* . Dordrecht: Springer.

Maybin, J. (2009). A broader view of language in school: Research from linguistic ethnography. *Children & Society* 23: 70–78.

McCarty, T. L. (2015). Ethnography in language planning and policy research. In Francis M. Hult and David Cassels Johnson (eds.), *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A Practical Guide* . Oxford: Blackwell, 81–93.

Meek, B. (2010). *We Are Our Language: An Ethnography of Language Revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan Community* . Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Mendoza-Denton, N. (2008). *Homegirls* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Mitchell-Kernan, C. (1972). Signifying and marking: Two Afro-American speech acts. In J. J. Gumperz and D. H. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* . New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 161–169.

Palomares, M. and D. Poveda (2010). Linguistic ethnography and the study of welfare institutions as a flow of social practices: The case of residential child care institutions as paradoxical institutions. *Text & Talk – An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse & Communication Studies* 30(2): 193–212.

Pérez-Milans, M. (2013). *Urban Schools and English Language Education in Late Modern China: A Critical Sociolinguistic Ethnography* . New York: Routledge.

Pérez-Milans, M. (2015). Language education policy in late modernity: (Socio)linguistic ethnographies in the European Union. *Language Policy* 14(2): 99–107.

Pérez-Milans, M. (2016). Language and identity in linguistic ethnography. In Siân Preece (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity* . New York: Routledge, 109–123.

Rampton, B. (2007) Linguistic ethnography, interactional sociolinguistics and the study of identities. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies* 43: 1–14.

Sacks, H. (1972a). An initial investigation of the usability of conversational data for doing sociology. In D. Sudnow (ed.), *Studies in Social Interaction* . New York: Free Press.

Sacks, H. (1972b). On the analyzability of stories by children. In J. J. Gumperz and D. H. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* . New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Saville-Troike, M. (1996). The ethnography of communication. In S. L. McKay and N. H. Hornberger (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sherzer, J. (1983). *Kuna Ways of Speaking* . Austin: University of Texas Press.

Smalls, K. A. (2012). 'We had lighter tongues': Making and mediating Gullah/Geechee personhood in the South Carolina Lowcountry. *Language & Communication* 32(2): 147–159.

Snell, J. (2015). Linguistic ethnographic perspectives on working-class children's speech: Challenging discourses of deficit. In *Linguistic Ethnography* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 225–245.

Snell, J. (2018). Solidarity, stance, and class identities. *Language in Society* 47(5): 665–691.

Stæhr, A. and L. M. Madsen (2015). Standard language in urban rap: Social media, linguistic practice and ethnographic context. *Language & Communication* 40: 67–81.

Stanley, P. (2013). *A Critical Ethnography of 'Westerners' teaching English in China: Shanghaied in Shanghai* . New York: Routledge.

Ten Have, P. (2016). Ethnomethodology. In Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Robert T. Craig (eds. in chief), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 1–12.

Trusting, K. and J. Maybin (2007). Linguistic ethnography and interdisciplinarity: Opening the discussion. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(5): 575–583.

Varis, P. (2016). Digital ethnography. In Alexandra Georgakopoulou and Tereza Spilioti (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Digital Communication* . New York: Routledge, 55–68.

Webster, A. K. (2010). On intimate grammars with examples from Navajo English, Navlish, and Navajo. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 66(2): 187–208.

Webster, A. K. (2015). *Intimate Grammars: An Ethnography of Navajo Poetry* . Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Wodak, R. and K. Savski (2018). Critical discourse-ethnographic approaches to language policy. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . New York: Oxford University Press, 93–112.

Wolfram, W., K. Hazen, and N. Schilling-Estes (1999). Dialect maintenance and change on the Outer Banks.

Publications of the American Dialect Society 81.

Wolfram, W. and N. Schilling-Estes (1996). Dialect change and maintenance in a post-insular island community. *Focus on the USA* 16: 103.

Wolfram, W. and N. Schilling-Estes (2000). *Hoi Toide on the Outer Banks: The Story of the Ocracoke Brogue* . Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

7
Discourse Analysis

KEY TOPICS

- Organization of conversation
- The role of context in analysis of discourse
- Stances and identities
- Digital data
- What it means to be critical in discourse analysis

In chapter 4 we discussed how the linguistic sub-field of pragmatics is concerned with how utterances are produced and interpreted in context. The current chapter builds on these pragmatic concerns, and also brings in the social and linguistic factors that influence language use. As a broad definition, we can say that discourse analysis looks at texts and interaction to see how people use language to achieve their goals. While all discourse analysis is not necessarily sociolinguistic, the approaches to the study of discourse we discuss here have clear connections to the other topics and approaches dealt with in this textbook.

In chapter 5 , we traced the development of variationist sociolinguistics and noted that third-wave variationist studies focus on agency of the language user. This is a strong theme in the discourse analytic studies we will discuss here: what is it that people are trying to do with language? While in pragmatics this 'doing' has to do with the performance of a speech act, and in variationist studies 'doing' is often conceptualized as the use of particular variants, in the studies we'll address here we look at patterns in larger segments of interaction. Nonetheless, some of the underlying questions remain the same: What social factors, structures and norms play a role in how language is used? What linguistic features are linked to particular social categories, and how is this connection established? How does the language used contribute to the social identities of the language user, other interlocutors, and other members of the society?

Although there are more approaches to discourse analysis than the four to be discussed here, these four have the closest ties to these sociolinguistic questions. But there are also significant differences between these approaches, an important one being what is considered 'discourse' and what is taken into consideration as the 'context.' In the first section, we will continue in our discussion of ethnomethodology begun in chapter 6 and outline the main tenets of conversation analysis (CA). In this method, traditionally only the linguistic context is considered. Information about the participants or the setting is not considered unless it is made apparent in the data, and the focus of analysis is conversational structure.

In the second section, we will look at research labeled interactional sociolinguistics. While this is a less clearly defined term, it contrasts with CA in its attention to known information about the language users. Both background information about the participants and their patterns of interaction outside of the specific interaction being studied (often gained through participant observation) are part of the context used by the researcher to interpret intended social meanings.

In the third section, we introduce critical discourse analysis (CDA), in which 'discourse' is more than just language but refers to cultural models. CDA addresses how language is part of the reproduction of particular ideologies and power structures. Here, as with interactional sociolinguistics, social and cultural context beyond the discourse is a critical component of the analysis. This section foreshadows issues of social justice and equity, topics that are more thoroughly examined in the last part of the book.

Finally, we look at corpus linguistics, within which large databases are used and analyzed quantitatively. Here we have far less information about individual language users – in some cases none – and the analysis focuses on patterns across speakers which can be linked to larger societal ideologies. It should be stressed here that not all corpus linguistics is sociolinguistic, so this description is specific to this overlap in sub-fields.

Despite these different approaches which use vastly different kinds of data and methods, all of these approaches to discourse analysis share the view that through conversation we establish and maintain relationships with others while at the same time both reflecting and creating our social reality. Thus the attention to both language and society discussed in the first part of this text remains a focus when we move to the level of discourse.

Conversation Analysis

Some speech is planned; for example, if we have to give a speech at a public event, we may often write out the text and practice the speech. This is rarely true of other types of communicative events, although many of us may be willing to admit that before an important personal conversation, we have rehearsed what we want to say ahead of time. However, anyone who has done this knows the conversation then rarely proceeds as planned. Further, the syntax of unplanned conversation is also not at all that of formal, edited, written prose (see Quaglio and Biber 2006).

Unplanned speech, however, is not unorganized speech. Unorganized speech would be speech in which anything goes. We may not be aware of it, but in every conversation we are following norms and using our vast knowledge of these norms to interpret the speech of others.

In this section we will look at conversation within the ethnomethodological tradition, its gurus being Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (e.g., Jefferson 1988 ; Sacks

1992 ; Schegloff 2007a ; Sacks et al. 1974). Work within this tradition is referred to as **conversation analysis** (CA). This approach is an inductive one and requires a close analysis of data, usually tape- and video-recorded naturalistic data. In CA, unlike in linguistic ethnography (discussed in the last chapter) or in interactional sociolinguistics (discussed in the next section), the focus is solely on the recorded data and transcripts; any conclusions investigators draw must emerge exclusively from these data.

The primary goal of CA is to unveil conversational structure and its underlying principles. Conversations are locally managed, that is, in Liddicoat's words (2007, 7): 'What participants say is shaped by and for the context in which it occurs and each next bit of talk is understood in the light of what has preceded it… . Each turn at talk is the response to some previous talk and, by its utterance, provides a context in which the next turn at talk will be heard.'

An example of this from Dutch conversation can be found in Seuren et al. (2016), in a study comparing responses with an initial *oh ja* ('oh yes') versus simply *oh* . They note that declaratives prefaced with *oh ja* illustrate remembering; they are responding to the previous utterance as something they recognize. This creates a different context than *oh* , which indicates that the speaker has understood new information, which creates a different context for ongoing talk. For example, in a conversation in which one speaker is telling about a week she spent visiting a school in Germany, she discusses the great quantity of food she was given for breakfast. In the middle of her listing of all the different sorts of food available, her interlocutor breaks in with *oh had je echt zo'n hotelontbijt* ('oh did you really have like a hotel breakfast'), indicating that this new information was at odds with what she would expect at a school. This utterance both responds to the previous utterance and creates a new contest for the next one.

Adjacency pairs

One particularly important principle used in CA is the **adjacency pair** . Utterance types of certain kinds are found to co-occur: a greeting leads to a return of greeting; a question leads to an answer; an offer leads to an acceptance or refusal; a compliment leads to acceptance or rejection; a farewell leads to a farewell; and so on. Some of the pairings provide a choice, for example, you can either accept or reject a compliment. However, not all second parts are equally desirable. Certain types of responses are preferred, for example, in the case of an offer, acceptances over refusals. A dispreferred choice is a marked choice and may cause disruption to the conversational flow. These **dispreferred responses** tend to require explanations. For example, if a friend asks you, 'Want to go out for a drink tonight?' you might mark your dispreferred rejection of the invitation with a discourse marker, along with an excuse, and provide an indirect refusal: 'Oh, I'd love to, but I have to study for a test.' Schegloff (2007a , 61) observes that 'It is important throughout this discussion of preference and dispreference to keep clearly in focus that this is a social/interactional feature of sequences and of orientations to them, *not a psychological one* … "Preferred" and "dispreferred" … refer to a structural relationship of sequence parts.'

This basic pairing relationship may lead to a kind of chaining effect. A question can lead to an answer, which can lead to a comment, which can lead to an acknowledgment, and so on. These are purely linear chains. But there can be other types of chains, as when one adjacency pair is embedded within another, as shown in the following example. Here, the first and last turns are a question and answer adjacency pair, with an additional question and answer pair embedded within this sequence:

A: Are you going to Ashok's party Saturday?

B: Are you?

A: Yes.

B: I wasn't sure, but if you're going, I'll go.

These adjacency pairs are important because they are linked to our conversational expectations. People are considered rude if they do not respond appropriately to a greeting, for instance. In classroom interaction, teachers expect that students will respond to their questions: lack of response may be penalized in some way.

However, there is some controversy over whether there is such a basic two-part exchange. Another view holds that a basic 'exchange' has three parts: **initiation** , **response** , and **feedback** (IRF). In this view, unless some form of feedback occurs the total exchange is incomplete (see Stubbs 1983 ; also, see discussion below on CA in classroom settings). Tsui (1989 , 561) also argues for such a three-part exchange in which a following move of some kind closes out the sequence: 'a potentially three-part exchange, which may contain nonverbal component parts, is more adequate than an adjacency pair as a basic unit of conversational organization.'

Openings

The beginning of a conversation, or **opening** , will generally involve an exchange of greetings (see Schegloff 1986). Telephone conversations are often opened with each party saying 'hello,' whereas a meeting between strangers might require a more formal sequence, for example, 'I'm X, nice to meet you' – 'A pleasure, my name is Y.' A meeting between close friends may have its own special ritualistic beginning. Much of this preliminary part of a conversation is highly prescribed by cultural setting: how you answer the telephone varies in different languages and societies; greeting exchanges involving the use of names or address terms vary enormously, etc.

To return to the subject of answering the telephone, we can illustrate a little of the variety we find. As we'll discuss, these conversational templates have changed with technology. Schegloff (1968 , 1986) described a template for telephone openings in American English in terms of four adjacency pairs. First there is the summons and response (the phone ringing and picking up the phone and giving a brief greeting, often just ‘hello’). Next comes the identification sequence, which could be something like *Is that Janet? – Yeah* . The third part is an exchange of greeting tokens (*hi / hi*) and finally ritualized inquiry after the other’s well-being (e.g., *How are you? Good, you?*). There is, of course, cross-linguistic and cross-cultural variation in the patterns of openings. In Japan, picking up the phone is seen as a ‘turn,’ and it is the caller who speaks first on the telephone, and, in doing so, identifies him- or herself. In the Netherlands and Sweden (Lindström 1994 ; Houtkoop-Steenstra 1991) people usually answer the telephone by identifying themselves. In France, a telephone call is an intrusion, so the caller feels some obligation to verify the number, identify himself, and be excused for intruding (Godard 1977).

Taleghani-Nikazm (2002) carried out research on openings of telephone conversations with three different constellations: (1) conversations between native speakers of German in Germany; (2) conversations between native speakers of Farsi in Iran; and (3) conversations between native speakers of German and Iranian non-native speakers of German in Germany. She found that the Iranian ‘how are you’ sequence tended to be more elaborate and include inquiries after the health of family members, while among native speakers in Germany the ritual inquiry about well-being was sometimes entirely absent; when it was present it was brief and relatively formulaic. When Iranian non-native speakers of German talk on the telephone with native German speakers, they often use the patterns from their native language and therefore inquired extensively after the health of the other’s family. Because of this lack of fit between expectations of the two interlocutors, these openings were in some cases less smooth than those between native speakers who spoke exclusively either German or Farsi. In other cases, the native German speakers interpreted the inquiries after family members not as ritualized parts of the opening, but as topic introductions, and provided detailed answers instead of a formulaic response.

It is important to remember that such generalizations, while useful in understanding intercultural communication, only represent general patterns; as with other aspects of language, there is always variation. For example, in speaking with a close friend, you might forgo politeness conventions. The relationship between interlocutors is always part of the context which influences the structure of the conversation. Also, such general patterns may change over time, an aspect of phone conversations we will ask you to address in Exploration 7.2 below.

Further, it is not only in telephone conversations that we have formulaic openings. Research on primary medical care interactions in Korea (Park 2017) shows that the set phrase *et-ka apha-se-yo?* (‘where does it hurt?’) is part of an adjacency pair which limits the scope of the patient’s answer to location of pain, which Park attributes to the desire of the physicians to get to the reason for the visit as quickly as possible, in order to facilitate rapid patient turnover. We will return to discussion of doctor–patient interactions in our discussion of CA research in institutional settings below.

Closings

Conversations must also be brought to a satisfactory close (see Aston 1995). An abrupt **closing** , for example, hanging up on someone during a phone call, may lead to dissatisfaction or bewilderment. Quite often the closing itself is ritualistic, for example, both parties simply saying ‘goodbye.’ But such rituals do not come unannounced: they are often preceded by clear indications that closings are about to occur. All topics have been exhausted and nothing more remains to be said, but it is not quite the time to exchange farewells. It is into such places that you fit **pre-closing signals** which serve to negotiate the actual closing. Such signals can involve an expression like ‘Well, I think that’s all,’ ‘I’ll let you go now,’ or they may include a personal exchange like ‘Give my regards to your family’ or ‘It was great meeting you.’ Alternatively, these signals may take the form of a gesture or a physical movement such as rising from a chair or adjusting physical posture in some way. Once conversationalists arrive at the pre-closing stage, specific acknowledgment of that fact must be made if somehow the conversation does not actually close: ‘Oh, by the way; I’ve just remembered,’ or ‘Something else has just occurred to me.’

An actual closing may involve several steps: the closing down of a topic, some kind of pre-closing, a possible further acknowledgment of the nature of the exchange, for example, ‘Good to see you,’ ‘Thanks again,’ or ‘See you soon’; and finally an exchange of farewells, for example, ‘Bye-Bye.’ The following is an example of such a closing:

A: So, that’s agreed?

B: Yep, agreed.

A: Thanks for the help.

B: Don’t mention it.

A: Okay, I’ll be back soon.

B: Okay, then. Bye. Take care.

A: Bye.

Exploration 7.1 Pre-Sequences

Closings are not the only speech acts that language users may feel the need to work up to; we also often use pre-invitations such as *Can I ask you for a favor?* or *Are you doing anything Saturday night?* In what circumstances – that is, with what interlocutors, and with what type of request or invitation – do you use these pre-sequences? How are these sequences related to the concept of ‘face’ discussed in the last chapter?

Raclaw (2008) examined closings in instant messaging exchange. He discovered two patterns which deviate somewhat from the patterns found in research on face-to-face interactions, both of which may be linked to the medium of communication. The first pattern is the expanded archetype sequence in which a reason for leaving the chat is introduced (and often evaluated by the other interlocutors), as shown in the excerpt below. This expansion of the pre-closing sequences makes sense in the absence of nonverbal cues that one might make use of in face-to-face interaction.

1. fishfood: so like, i love you and all, but i should probably start
2. my homework :/ (9.0)
3. granola: blech, thats stupid (13.0)
4. fishfood: haha homework IS stupid (5.)
5. granola: yet makes you unstupid (3.0)
6. granola: OR DOES IT (5.0)
7. fishfood: haha (3.0)
8. fishfood: okay, I'll see you tomrrow (6.0)
9. granola: ok see you then (3.0)
10. fishfood: later! (2.0)
11. granola: byeeeeeeeee
12. fishfood is away (Raclaw 2008 , 12)

The second pattern, partially automated closings, goes in the other direction. Instead of providing more elaboration, it makes use of the automated closing to do the work of the final closing statement, as in this example:

1. leetdood: hey, I should probably go to bed. (11.0)
2. paperdoll: Sweet dreams, hun (8.0)
3. leetdood has signed off (Raclaw 2008 , 159)

We can see how the medium of communication influences the patterns but the same principles of interaction are being followed: interlocutors provide notice that they are closing and a ritual reason for signing off just as they do in telephone conversations and in face-to-face exchanges. Spilioti (2011) looks at closing in Greek text messages, noting that this mode of interaction may incorporate closing from written as well as face-to-face routines. Further, texting also allows the complete absence of closing formulae. This research also draws on the concept of face and politeness in examining conversational structure, as well as the relational work which is done through different forms of closings. We will return to this focus in the section on interactional sociolinguistics.

Exploration 7.2 New Technology, Openings and Closings

Has developing technology – from caller ID to mobile phones to text messaging to Snapchat – changed openings and closings of conversations from the descriptions provided in research in the 1960s–1980s? If so, what differences do you see across these different modes of communication? Are there differences between language users according to age, as we might expect with change over time? Are there different conventions for different types of exchanges?

Turn-taking

There is another crucial aspect to conversation: the principles of **turn-taking** . Although we engage in turn-taking easily and skillfully in most cases, with not too much interruption and few awkward pauses, this coordination is much more complex than it might appear. There are, of course, cultural differences in how much overlap is deemed acceptable and the desirability of silence, but in many languages, usually only one person speaks at a time, and the gaps between utterances are minimal unless there are extenuating circumstances (e.g., being simultaneously engaged in another activity such as cooking, eating, watching television or reading a recently received message on your phone!). It seems that there must be some system of 'traffic rules' which we are aware of since we manage the taking of turns so well. It is very rare indeed to see turn-taking spelled out in advance, and this is limited to particular speech events, for example, in ceremonies or formal debates in which turns are pre-allocated. Ordinary conversation employs no such pre-allocation: the participants just 'naturally' take turns. We will see, however, that we can offer some account of what actually occurs.

In most conversations – Schegloff (2000 , 47–48) admits that there may be exceptions – only one person speaks at a time and that person is recognized to be the one whose turn it is to speak. At the conclusion of that turn another may speak, but there may also be slight overlapping of speaking during the transition between turns. The existence of adjacency pairing assures that there will be turns; however, it does not assure that these turns will be taken without overlap or pauses. How do we manage turn-taking?

Speakers may signal when they are about to give up a turn in any one of several ways, or by some combination (Duncan 1972 , 1974). The final syllable or final stressed syllable of an utterance may be prolonged. The pitch level of the voice may signal closure, for example, by dropping in level on the final syllable; or, alternatively, in a question, rising intonation. An utterance may be deliberately closed syntactically to achieve a sense of completeness. Words or expressions like 'you know' can also be used to indicate the end of a turn. Finally, the body itself, or part of it, may signal closure: a relaxing of posture; a gesture with a hand; or directing one's gaze at the listener. Such cues signal completion and allow the listener to take a turn. They signal what has been called a **transition relevant place** . When there are several listeners present, a speaker may attempt to address the cues to a specific listener so as to select that listener as next speaker. A speaker's use of gaze, that is, looking at a specific individual, or of a name ('honey,' 'John,' or 'coach') or even a plain 'you' may suffice, but such usage varies widely by group and situation (Lerner 2003). Sometimes, when there is no such selection, there is often an embarrassing pause, and, since conversationalists in many cultures abhor silence, someone will usually try to take up the turn as soon as possible.

The control over who speaks in a conversation is called **floor management** . Edelsky (1981) identified different 'floor types,' F1 being linear and hierarchical and F2 being collaborative and egalitarian; he maintained that the former had mostly male participants while the latter had both male and female participants. Itakura and Tsui (2004) present another perspective on this. They used conversations produced by eight mixed-gender pairs of Japanese university students to look at issues of turn-taking and dominance, that is, who gets to control the floor in conversation. They found that 'male speakers' self-oriented conversational style and female speakers' other-oriented conversational style are complementary and mutually reinforcing rather than competing. In other words, male dominance is not something predetermined and imposed on female speakers. It is instead mutually constructed by the two parties (2004, 244).

Turn-taking norms may vary depending on the speech event, as argued by Heritage (2017). For example, turn-taking in news interviews has a set pattern, and this reflects a distinct goal of such interactions – the primary audience for the interviewee's responses is not the interviewer but the audience of the news program, and the interviewer usually is required to take a neutral stance. Thus the rules for turn-taking in such instances reflect the specific goals of this institutional talk. (See the online companion for some links to newspaper articles about interruptions in the 2020 US presidential candidate debates.)

Repair

As we have noted above, conversation in real life is not like the dialogues we see in books; there are false starts, stammers, errors, and corrections, that is, what we will call repairs. Repairs occur when some kind of 'trouble' arises during the course of conversation. An interjection by a listener (e.g., 'Excuse me' or 'what?') may be an attempt to seek some kind of clarification: this is other-initiated repair. Self-repair occurs when the speaker seeks to clarify in some way what is being said and not being understood, or correct or further elaborate on what has been said. But in what circumstances do these repairs tend to be initiated? A study on English as a lingua franca (i.e., the language of communication among people who have other first languages; in chapter 8 we will discuss this further) in the workplace notes that in this setting, most repair interactions focused on understanding and not the acceptability of utterances; thus it was accessibility of content and not form of the utterance which was the focus of repair (Tsuchiya and Handford 2014). Despite the potentially face-threatening nature of other-initiated repair, such repair interactions were frequently initiated in this setting. The researchers explain this as an exception to the usual politeness norms because of safety issues in the workplace (in this case, a construction project). Thus the conversational structure was influenced by extralinguistic factors.

Egbert (1996) reports on another example of other-initiated repair, the use of *bitte* 'pardon' in German. *Bitte* initiates repair but only when there is no mutual gaze between the parties. This use of *bitte* carries over to the telephone where there can be no such mutual gaze. Egbert (2004) looks at how repair can also serve to create membership categorizations among speakers of German. For example, in one conversation she analyzes, a speaker named Tina uses an English phrase, *frat guys* , which is not understood by her interlocutor, although it is unclear if this is because the addressee did not hear what she said or did not understand the term. Tina's response to the request for repair is to translate the phrase into German, thereby positioning herself as possessing language and culture-specific information (about English and college fraternities) that her interlocutor does not have. In another conversation, Tina's pronunciation of the German word *zäh* 'tough' is at first not understood and then repaired, and Tina immediately uses this opportunity to create a different membership categorization for herself: *ja ich komm aus ostfriesland* ('yes i come from east frisia'). This utterance diagnoses the difficulty in comprehension as rooted in Tina's identity as a speaker of a particular German dialect. This research shows that the organization of talk is not just geared solely toward transmitting propositional content, but also integral to our presentations of self and others, that is, our identities.

Institutional talk

A great deal of CA research has been done on institutional interactions. Research on these settings shows that in certain circumstances some of the principles we customarily use in conversation are not used at all, or are used in special ways, or are used in an 'abnormal' manner. Here we will briefly discuss two such settings, classrooms and doctor's offices.

Teachers and students play different roles in classroom settings and their language choices relate to those roles, as Gardner (2012 , 594) explains:

> There appears to be a set of underlying normative practices for turn-taking (teacher dominates next speaker selection, students have limited rights for next speaker selection), sequence organization (teacher produces first-pair parts and has special rights to talk in third position, students predominantly produce second-pair parts), and repair (teachers dominate other initiations of repair, typically following a student answer to their question). However, some research indicates that other conversational resources are exploited in specific ways in classrooms, and teachers appear to have greater access to these than students as a result of their role as teachers.

Overall, the picture that emerges of classroom talk is one in which teachers wield a great deal of power. In traditional, teacher-centered classrooms, the teacher gets to ask most of the questions, and, on the whole, these questions are of a very special kind: they are usually questions to which the teacher already has the answer. The format usually associated with this style of teaching is the above-mentioned IRF sequence (i.e., initiation – response – feedback); the teacher asks a question, a student responds, and the teacher provides feedback on the answer (in some cases, judging the answer to be 'right' or 'wrong'). There are also other characteristics of questioning in the classroom setting which differ from everyday conversation. The questions are quite often addressed to a whole group of listeners and individuals in that group are required to bid for the right to answer. Furthermore, when someone is chosen to answer the question, the whole answering ritual is gone through for the benefit of all participants, not just for the benefit of the one who asked the question. Finally, the questioner actually evaluates the answer as one which is not only right in providing the information that was sought but also right in relation to how the teacher is seeking to develop the topic. However, research on mathematics classrooms in Finland (Tainio and Laine 2015) addresses how such evaluative statements influence the attitudes of pupils toward the subject. There is evidence that on the whole, students' belief in their ability in math deteriorates during basic education, resulting in negative attitudes about the subject matter as a whole. This study seeks to address this, and notes that in the feedback part of IRF sequences, teachers could also attempt to destigmatize incorrect answers by noting that they are part of the learning process. Such practical intervention is one direction for future research in CA.

Another institutional context which has been studied within the CA framework is doctor–patient interaction. Such conversations are also full of questioning behavior, but in this case the questions are asked for the purposes of eliciting information about symptoms to decide on a diagnosis and treatment. Conversation is directed toward establishing relevant 'facts' at a level of certainty that one would never tolerate in ordinary discussion of what happened or is happening (see discussion of opening in Korean doctor–patient interactions above).

There is a body of research which looks at how doctors interact with patients and seeks to illustrate how the power differential and conversational structure can influence the effectiveness of medical care. Drew et al. (2001 , 67) note that 'the opportunities which patients have to participate and the nature and extent of that participation are closely bound up, in systematic ways, with the design of what doctors say during the interaction. Hence, patient participation should be understood as at least partially the interactional product of doctors' communicative practices and choices – in ways which go beyond what is known already about the differential opportunities which open and closed questions offer patients to contribute and fully to describe their experiences.' This type of research clearly has practical applications, and it is worth noting that Maynard and Heritage (2005) have published an introduction to conversation analysis for medical educators, aimed at helping equip doctors in training to better communicate and understand their interactions with patients, in particular during medical interviews. For example, patients, when describing their symptoms, often provide an explanation of what is called the ‘doctorabililty’ of their problems, that is, they seek to establish their justification for seeking medical attention. It is important for doctors to understand that patients seek to legitimate their actions as part of their presentation of their symptoms. Maynard and Heritage suggest CA-based reviews of doctor–patient interactions so medical students can learn to identify critical moments in these interviews. Barnes (2019) reiterates this and offers a review of the literature on CA analyses of medical interactions, noting the potential for improvement of patient care.

Membership categorization

A specific type of analysis which has grown out of ethnomethodology and Sacks’ (1992) *Lectures on Conversation* is often called membership categorization analysis (MCA). (See Schegloff 2007b for an overview of the approach, and Stokoe 2012 for a discussion of the relationship of CA to MCA.) The Egbert article referred to above (Egbert 1996) makes reference to this approach, noting that certain statements, for example reference to where the speaker comes from, are part of placing oneself in a particular category. Land and Kitzinger (2005) is another well-known study where membership categorization in terms of sexuality is addressed. In this study of institutional phone calls, they note that a ‘heterosexist presumption’ persists and lesbian speakers must elect to either ignore the assumption of a male partner or correct it either explicitly or discreetly (e.g., if asked ‘what is your husband’s name,’ providing a reply such as ‘her name is Sandra’). Either way, membership categorization according to sexuality categories is constructed in these dialogues.

Recent research has connected CA with the analysis of social identity construction (Benwell and Stokoe 2016), which will be discussed in more detail in the next section. For example, Gordon and İkizoğlu (2017) look at interactions on an online nutrition discussion board in which a woman performs ‘asking for another’ by requesting information on behalf of her boyfriend.

Subsequent posts position her as a particular kind of woman – a nagging, controlling one who is treating her boyfriend like a child. Another study which also constructs 'kinds of women' is Sandhu (2019), which looks at interview data of women in Dehrudan, India surrounding arranged marriages, and their construction of the category of 'the desirable bride.' We will return to such matters both in our discussion of identity in the next section and in our discussion of language, gender, and sexuality in chapter 12 . We see that while different approaches to the study of conversation can be identified, they often have overlapping foci and research agendas.

Interactional Sociolinguistics

Gumperz is considered the founder of an approach to analyzing interactions called **interactional sociolinguistics** , which he defines as 'the search for replicable methods of qualitative analysis that account for our ability to interpret what participants intend to convey in everyday communicative practice' (2003, 4). He maintains that interactive sociolinguistics has its origin in the ethnography of communication, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, Goffman's work on face, and Grice's principles of conversational cooperation. The focus is on diversity and intercultural communication; much of Gumperz's own work focused on how differences in communicative practices can contribute to discrimination (see also Tannen 2005 on the relationship between interactional sociolinguistics and intercultural pragmatics).

Rampton (2007) says that interactional sociolinguistics is one strand of linguistic ethnography (discussed in the last chapter) because it looks at a wider context than just the particular interaction being studied. Whereas in CA only the information gleaned from the interaction being analyzed is considered relevant, in interactional sociolinguistics information about the speakers and societal norms or ideologies from ethnographic research or interviews with research participants is also incorporated into the analysis. (This is also the case in CDA and corpus methodologies.)

One example of landmark research in this tradition is found in Rampton's work on youths in multicultural London (Rampton 1999 , 2014 ; Rampton and Charalambous 2012). In this body of research he introduced the term 'crossing,' which we discussed in chapter 3 . In Rampton (2007), he addresses the issue of social class positioning among teenagers at a multiethnic comprehensive school in London. He looked at how the speakers' use of what he describes as 'traditional posh/upper class voices or … Cockney/vernacular London accents' (2007, 6) indicates how social class is relevant in their worlds. Although the analysis involves a close analysis of the data to identify the features of particular styles, the knowledge of the social meanings of these styles comes from outside of the interactions being studied, that is, from the researcher's own knowledge about ideologies concerning social class and the particular linguistic varieties that exist in London. The researcher's ethnographic research also provides data about the individual speakers and their social and linguistic backgrounds which also informs the analysis. In this case, one of the pupils in the classroom, Hanif, frequently performs stylizations of nonstandardized English dialects (Cockney and a quasi-Caribbean accent) as well as a 'posh' accent. Teachers do not censor such performances; indeed, they are apparently a receptive audience for many of them. Further, Hanif is not the only student who uses such stylized utterances. Because of his ethnographic research and his understanding of the relationships that exist in the classroom, Rampton (2007 , 9) is able to make some generalizations about how these styles are used: 'Cockney seemed to be associated with vigour, passion and bodily laxity, while posh got linked to physical weakness, social distance, constraint and sexual inhibition.' He is also able to make a detailed analysis of particular usages; for example, he is able to show how Hanif, a strong student, uses 'cockneyization' when helping his peers with an assignment. These stylizations do not disrupt work on academic tasks; rather, 'it would be more accurate to describe Hanif as making school knowledge more vernacular and accessible, bringing the science worksheet to life with non-standard accents and a popular TV format' (Rampton 2007 , 8). Rampton discusses associations between Cockney and posh speech and different types of power, noting that Cockney speech is linked to a nonconformist power whereas posh speech is more often associated with institutional power (and sometimes mockery of such); however, in all cases the social class associations are key elements in any interpretation of stylistic variation. He summarizes: 'What the analysis shows, in short, is that these kids' everyday practical consciousness was deeply impregnated with the sensibilities that we traditionally associate with social class in Britain' (Rampton 2007 , 10). Ethnographically gained knowledge about the school, the repertoires of the pupils, and the values of the various ways of speaking in the wider community is essential to interpreting specific utterances and interactions.

Data and methodologies

Work within the interactional sociolinguistics approach is primarily **qualitative** . In most cases, much of the analysis uses data which has been recorded and transcribed, as with CA research. However, interactional sociolinguistic research also draws on data about the wider context in which the conversation takes place and requires the researcher to interpret specific utterance meaning with reference to cultural norms. Thus, in addition to recording and transcribing conversational data, investigators must necessarily include qualitative methods which allow them to gain knowledge of the speech community norms, the repertoires of particular individuals, and the relationships among speakers. Such methods can include ethnographies, interviews, and surveys about language use and attitudes.

Traditionally there has been a focus in sociolinguistics on what has been called 'naturally occurring data,' for example, recordings of people having conversations that they would supposedly have had whether or not they were being recorded. However, many other types of data can be used in discourse studies. Wortham et al. (2011) argue that even interviews which are done in order to gain propositional information from the interviewees contain interactional positionings, and these positionings necessarily involve issues of categorization, power relationships, and identification of selves and others. Their study of interviews about payday muggings in the Latino Diaspora in the United States shows how the people interviewed constructed social categories of muggers and victims, assigned individuals to these categories, and positioned themselves with respect to them. Although the major focus of these interviews is racial/ethnic categories (i.e., stories about African Americans mugging Mexican immigrants, with stereotypes about the violent tendencies of the former and the latter taking jobs that should go to US citizens), other categories also emerge. One interview includes a narrative by a young Mexican man who characterizes victims as older Mexicans, while youths like himself are capable of defending themselves. The various stances reflect ideas about social structure and stratification and how speakers see themselves with regard to their constructed social realities. The authors conclude: 'Whatever the value of the propositional descriptions they offer, interviewees also position themselves interactionally and evaluate aspects of the social world through the same discourse that they use to refer to and predicate about the topic. By attending to interactional texts, interviewers can sometimes learn about habitual positions that people take in everyday life' (Wortham et al. 2011 , 49). Interview data are frequently used in analyses within the interactional sociolinguistics paradigm.

Further, data from computer-mediated discourse and other new media are also increasingly a focus of discourse analytic research, as we discussed in the context of digital ethnography in the last chapter. While this research employs the same theoretical underpinnings as research based on face-to-face conversational or interview data, in some cases different linguistic resources are the focus of study. We have already discussed memes in chapter 2 , which are one salient example of multimodal resources in communication. Research has also looked at issues of orthography; for example, Androutsopoulos (2000) looked at nonstandardized spellings in German fanzines to construct belonging in a punk subculture (see further discussion of this research below). Vaisman (2014) looks at how a community of Israeli girls perform being ‘girly girls’ through a particular style of Hebrew orthography and digital typography, a feature of language not available in spoken communication.

Quantitative analyses also have a place within the interactional sociolinguistics paradigm. For example, quantitative work within the framework of audience design (Bell 1984 , 2001) clearly represents the spirit of interactional sociolinguistics in the incorporation of social meanings of particular ways of speaking (e.g., their association with particular ethnic groups) and their use in interactions. Schilling-Estes’ work on stylistic variation also exemplifies this productive combination of quantitative and qualitative perspectives in bringing macro-level factors into discourse analysis (Schilling-Estes 2004).

Exploration 7.3 What is Natural?

If we say that we want to get at ‘natural’ speech, what does that mean? (Look back at the discussion of the observer’s paradox in chapter 5 for one perspective on this.) Is the way you speak to your family and close friends the natural way for you to speak in all situations? If you use different languages, dialects, or styles in different contexts, is one or the other more natural than the others? What is the role of context in determining what natural speech is?

Contextualization and stance

Gumperz (1992) uses the term **contextualization** to discuss how we use our background knowledge to navigate through conversations. Verbal contextualization cues can include a wide variety of linguistic features; Gumperz mentions prosody, pauses, and tempo in conversation, and also code and lexical choices. (As we will discuss further in chapter 8 , Gumperz has argued that switching from one code to another can be a signal of a switch in the situation, for example, the transition from informal chat between colleagues to addressing a work issue might be marked by a switch in code.)

Androutsopoulos (2000) looks at regiolectal and interlingual spellings in German punk fanzines (i.e., fan magazines). In this context, spellings which index regional dialects are used to indicate a lack of subcultural knowledge (knowledge about punk music) of the person being portrayed. Although a spelling indicating a Germanized pronunciation of English loanwords can have a similar function, that is, it can mark the person attributed with the utterance as being ignorant of punk culture and the (American) English culture it draws on, such a usage can also be a marker of how the concept has been taken into the heart of punk culture: 'the Germanized spelling indicates that a culturally relevant referent has "gone native," is a part of the writer's life-world' (Androutsopoulos 2000 , 525). This is the classic understanding of a contextualization cue; it provides the addressees with information that enables them to properly understand how the utterance should be interpreted. As can be seen from these examples, there are various linguistic features, along with extralinguistic cues, which can provide such contextualization.

Contextualization cues are also seen as the basic tools for **stancetaking** . Although some of the recent work on stance has come out of variationist work on style, work on stance also fits well within the interactional sociolinguistics paradigm. In any interaction, people use language to position themselves in multiple ways. They take a stance toward their own utterances and those of others, toward ideologies referenced in these utterances and toward the interlocutors themselves.

In her work on language choice by teachers in a Corsican school, Jaffe (2007 , 2009) shows how the use of French or Corsican positions the teachers with regard to both the content and the form of their utterances, that is, such language choices are stancetaking devices. As Jaffe shows, in order to interpret these stances we must understand the historical and cultural context of the languages and also have information about people's attitudes, repertoires, and practices. The children in these schools are largely dominant in French, and consequently instruction in and through Corsican has a language revitalization goal. Jaffe claims that teachers strive to construct Corsican as a legitimate language for education and literacy practices, using their positions of authority to lend weight to this stance. A further conversational strategy which creates this stance regarding Corsican is the use of that language for evaluative comments (e.g., within the initiation – response – feedback format for classroom discourse discussed above):

> So, the fact that the teacher uses Corsican for expansions confers on that language the authority embedded in the modeling function of teacher speech, at the same time as it performatively links the child (through his or her expanded utterances) to the code (Corsican) used by the teacher. It too suggests the child should and could have the relationship with Corsican that the teacher does. (Jaffe 2007 , 75)

However, the relationship between Corsican and French which is constructed within the school – a relationship of equality – is not the relationship that these languages have in the wider society, where French is clearly dominant and Corsican has little practical value. It is also important to note that few of the children come to school proficient in Corsican, so to some extent the teachers' use of Corsican was intertwined with students' positions as non-native speakers and language learners. In the next section, we will focus more on this aspect of sociolinguistic research, that is, on interactions between speakers with linguistically and culturally different backgrounds.

Stancetaking can of course involve levels of language performance other than language choice, and often involves features linked to particular speech styles. Slobe (2018) looks at various media performances of what she calls ‘mock white girl’ and the stances which are taken. She illustrates that through the use of the same linguistic features (**creaky voice** , **uptalk**) different stances toward this social category are taken: they are depicted as childish, or racist, or superficial. Often, these ways of speaking are presented as (self-inflicted) barriers to success in a male-dominated society, but they are also linked to racial entitlement. Thus different stances can be taken with the use of similar linguistic resources.

Work on stance is linked to work on identity construction; as Jaffe (2009 , 11) writes: ‘Social identity can thus be seen as the culmination of stances taken over time.’ There are particular conventional associations of particular ways of speaking in certain contexts, and speakers make use of these to take stances, and through these stances to construct social identities. For instance, using hedges can be linked to a stance of deference, and deference may be linked to femininity (Johnstone 2007). However, such interpretations are not fixed, but emerge through dialogical interaction. Consequently, stance is not just subjective but intersubjective; that is, it is not constructed only by one language user but is a joint construction (Kärkkäinen 2006). In the next sub-section, we will turn to research on the linguistic construction of social identities.

Identities

We presented the basic framework for the linguistic construction of social identity, *à la* Bucholtz and Hall (2005), in chapter 3 . Here, we will further focus on three particular relationships outlined in their framework which are often inherent in identity construction: similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy, giving examples of each from recent research.

Groff et al. (2016) is a study of ten linguistic minority youth in the French-dominant city of Quebec City. They find a persistent discourse of difference between francophones and anglophones or allophones (the term used to refer to anyone whose dominant language is neither French nor English, although because they may use English as their lingua franca, all of these linguistic minorities are sometimes lumped together in the polemic discourses). The discourse of difference is often portrayed by the linguistic minority youth as francophones resenting those who speak English, voiced by one research participant as 'Those darn English speakers, they ruin everything … They only speak English' (Groff et al. 2016 , 83). The anglophone and allophone minority is, however, a powerful minority, and there is a clear discourse about their linguistic diversity as being superior. A story told by the same research participant illustrates this:

> Like, for some reason, two people started fighting during la fête de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, and one said: 'Well, you don't speak French like we do … you're not a Quebecker,' and the other yelled: 'I'm going to get a better job than you!' It was so childish. (Groff et al. 2016 , 83)

This quote illustrates how identity categories are based on similarity and difference – the similarity among the 'us' who speaks Quebec French, and the different values of the linguistic differences (i.e., not belonging but also superiority).

However, these differences are themselves socially constructed. It would be possible for the speakers in Groff's data to position themselves along different lines of similarity and difference – in terms of gender, or race/ethnicity, for instance. Thus the processes of adequation and distinction are at work here. Similarity and difference are not inherent but socially constructed, and how we categorize and position ourselves with regard to others can change from one moment to the next.

The construction of difference is often called **othering** . It is this perspective that leads some people to object to the question *Where are you from?* directed at people who, perhaps because of an accent or their phenotype, are viewed as not being 'native' to a place. While those asking this question often feel it is simply a friendly inquiry based on their interest in the person they are asking, those who are frequently asked this feel that this is othering – they are constantly reminded that they do not belong. Çelik (2015) discusses the long-term effects of this for Turkish-background Germans who feel that their belonging in Germany is always questioned. The result is a vicious cycle which he describes as reactive ethnicity: because these Turkish-background people feel they are not accepted as being German, they react by claiming Turkish identity, which leads to them being further excluded from belonging in Germany. This is clearly an interactional construction of difference.

Authenticity is another salient aspect in identity construction. This is illustrated in a study mentioned in chapter 3 , Shenk (2007), which analyzes conversation among three Latinx college students. Each of them claims different criteria for being authentically 'Mexican' – linguistic proficiency, both parents being Mexican, or having been born in Mexico. Another view of authenticity is shown by Rubino (2019), a study which examines the discourses about identity in an interview with a married couple who had emigrated from Sicily to Australia in the 1990s. They narrate themselves as mobile and successful migrants, which includes proficiency in English. However, they also emphasize their identities as authentic Italians, also based largely on linguistic criteria. The importance of similarity and difference is intertwined with this construction of authenticity, as to construct their Italian-ness they contrast themselves with other Italian immigrants or Italian-Australians who only speak English, mix Italian and English, or only speak a regional dialect and not Standard Italian.

Finally, the construction of identities can be affirmed – or disputed – through reference to institutional power structures, that is, through the process of legitimation. For example, work by Greenbank (2020) looks at how former refugees construct ‘employable identities’ through narratives which position them as possessing the relevant **social and cultural capital** to be considered worthy of jobs in their new environment. While this relies on their own agency, it is also subject to the affirmation of potential employers.

Another relevant example of this is research on identity in Catalonia (Woolard 2016); although this work was published before the events of the Catalan independence referendum of 2017, this research provides a backdrop to contemporary political issues in Catalonia with an examination of the construction of Catalan identity. Her research illustrates how the discourses about Catalan shifted from a focus on authenticity to include the legitimacy of Catalan as the language of Catalonia after it was recognized as an official language by the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the Catalan Statute of Autonomy of 1979. This was further strengthened by a 1983 law ‘of linguistic normalization’ that elaborated language policy for ‘Catalanizing the public sphere.’ Research on language ideologies and choices in Catalonia illustrates how both ideas of authenticity and legitimacy continue to influence linguistic practices in a variety of contexts for speakers of diverse linguistic backgrounds (see Corona and Kelsall 2016 ; Ferrer and Castells 2017 ; Garrido and Moore 2016 ; Iveson 2017).

Kleinke et al. (2018) build on this framework for linguistic construction of social identity by delineating three strands of identity. The first, **personal identity** , is the construction of the individual with a focus on what makes them unique; this can be the construction of self-identity but also the construction of the identities of others. The second strand is **group identity** . The construction of group membership necessarily involves the negotiation of group boundaries. These two aspects of identity are not always easily separable; for example, in the Shenk (2007) article discussed above, the speakers stress their own identity characteristics (e.g., illustrating their own Spanish proficiency by criticizing the Spanish of another speaker) but at the same time are constructing the group identity for the category 'Mexican.' In general, research on othering involves the construction of group identity, as the project of othering is establishing inclusion and exclusion (Dervin 2015).

The final identity strand is **collective identity** , which involves long-term, socially established social groups, for example, political parties. From a top-down perspective, this involves self-identifying communities with clearly outlined beliefs and values. From a bottom-up perspective, collective identity also involves an individual's sense of belonging to this community and how this is performed. Mollin (2018), discussed in chapter 4 , illustrates this by looking at face-threatening acts between members of different parties in the British Parliament, which serves to reify group boundaries and collective identities.

Although these studies often involve power relationships and social critiques, this is not a defining characteristic of research within the interactional sociolinguistics rubric. In the next section we will discuss an approach to the study of discourse which is so defined; the main tenet is addressing the dimension of power and resulting inequalities.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an approach which aims to analyze relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control in text and talk (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000 ; Fairclough 1995 , 2013 ; Wodak and Meyer 2001 ; van Dijk 1993b , 2003). Although our focus here is how this approach has been used in linguistics, it is important to note that this term and the approach to research can also be found in literary studies, sociology, anthropology, and education (Bloor and Bloor 2014).

The focus of CDA is the study of power in society, focusing on inequality and **hegemony** (defined below). The term **Discourse** in this context means more than just text or talk. We use this term to mean how certain ways of speaking are combined with certain cultural models to produce and reproduce social meanings and structures (see Gee 2014). Gee has called this ‘capital “D” Discourse,’ to distinguish it from the use of ‘discourse’ to mean the equivalent of ‘conversation.’ This term can be used in the plural, for example, we may refer to ‘discourses against migrants,’ meaning the various ways in which migration is framed negatively. (This particular topic will be taken up in more detail in chapter 10 .)

In cases in which relationships between different social groups are openly acknowledged (e.g., in discussion of gender differences), it is the role of CDA to point out that they are not natural and inevitable but socially constructed and naturalized. In other instances, asymmetrical social structures may not be explicitly referenced, but are indirectly manifested in language use; for example, articles in parenting magazines may subtly assume an audience of mothers. In these cases, CDA seeks to make these ideologies visible in order to question their validity. Thus CDA, while focused on language, has a social goal. Fairclough (2013 , 10) writes:

> Some versions of critiques are only normative or moral, but I take the (Marxist) view that changing the world for the better depends on being able to explain how it has come to be the way it is. It is one thing to critique people’s language and practices on the grounds that they are racist, but another to explain why and how racism emerges or becomes virulent amongst certain people in certain circumstances.

The concept of social power in CDA is often defined in terms of the ability of a social group or institution to control the actions and the worldview of other groups. Such power can be based on military support, economic resources, or persuasiveness. Integral to this view of power is the concept of hegemony. Hegemony refers to power that is achieved through consent; certain groups of people or ways of being are granted social prestige (and thus power) because there is a consensus that they are somehow superior and inherently more valuable. For instance, we can talk about standardized languages as being hegemonic, as even users of nonstandardized varieties have often internalized and naturalized the idea that the standard is superior. The access to and control over public discourse is a main focus of CDA.

Contrasts and critiques

A major difference between CA and CDA is the role that information external to the text plays in the analysis, and also how the analysis is empirically supported. An exchange between researchers in these respective areas (Schegloff and Billig) was featured in *Discourse & Society* in 1999 (Billig 1999) and addressed in particular the issue of the centrality of the textual analysis. As noted in his introduction by the journal editor van Dijk, a researcher who is himself associated with CDA, a debate between scholars who employ different approaches does not imply incompatibility of goals between the two approaches; both are concerned with naturally occurring text or talk, both see a detailed analysis of the text itself as part of the process, and both are potentially relevant for looking at the social dimensions of discourse. Of course, one difference is that there are CA researchers who do *not* see such societal critiques as part of their research agenda, and therein lies a key difference: CDA is necessarily aimed at addressing social injustices and discrimination, while CA can, but need not, be.

Methodologies and connections

CDA is not a method *per se* , but a way of viewing the world which influences how text and talk are analyzed. Van Dijk (2001 , 352) writes, ‘CDA is not so much a direction, school, or specialization next to the many other “approaches” in discourse studies. Rather, it aims to offer a different “mode” or “perspective” of theorizing, analysis, and application throughout the whole field. We may find a more or less critical perspective in such diverse areas as pragmatics, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, rhetoric, stylistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography, or media analysis, among others.'

One way of doing CDA is what is called the discourse historical approach (Wodak and Meyer 2001 ; Wodak 2015). This approach looks at discourse with a focus on how it is embedded in the social historical context, and takes into account four levels of context:

1. the immediate, language or text internal co-text;
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
3. the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation' (middle range theories);
4. the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to ('grand' theories). (Wodak and Meyer 2001 , 67)

In her study of the construction of an anti-Semitic stereotyped *Feindbild* ('image of the enemy') in Austria, Wodak focuses on particular discourse events in the 1986 presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim, historical events referenced through intertextuality, and interdiscursive relationships of these discourses with other texts. Wodak (2007) also shows how a pragmatic analysis can be incorporated into CDA in her research on propaganda slogans and rhetoric in the regional election campaign in Vienna in 2001. This study illustrates how pragmatics can help us understand how implicature, allusion, and presupposition work in ideological Discourses. Wodak shows how comments within culturally embedded phrases made by a politician about the president of the Jewish community in Vienna serve to imply criminality and collusion with an international Jewish community and a lack of authentic Austrian identity.

More recent research by Wodak and Boukala (2015) looks at the construction of European identity in speeches by Dutch and UK politicians. They note that especially since the financial crisis in 2008, the themes which appear in discourses of European identities evoke ideas about 'real Europeans,' using racialized ideas about belonging and portraying the racial other as a threat to economic security. (Note that these themes overlap with other research discussed above, not explicitly within the CDA framework, which looks at 'othering.')

Van Dijk (2003 , 2008 , 2009 , 2014) focuses on not just social aspects of discourse but also cognitive ones in his sociocognitive approach to CDA. This includes 'mental representations and the processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in the knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups' (van Dijk 2009 , 64). He notes that his focus is not to imply that analysis should be limited to social and cognitive dimensions of discourse, but proposes these as fruitful for better understanding the relationships between mind, discursive interactions, and society, as well as for understanding particular ideological discourses, such as the discourse of racism (van Dijk 1991 , 1992 , 1993a). For example, van Dijk (1992) looks at how, in everyday conversations as well as in institutional text and talk, the denial of racism is an essential part of discourses that perpetuate racial prejudices, especially among social elites. As van Dijk notes, 'such discourse signals group membership, white ingroup allegiances and, more generally, the various conditions for the reproduction of the white group and their dominance in virtually all social, political, and cultural domains' (van Dijk 1992 , 88).

Exploration 7.4 'All Lives Matter'

The Black Lives Matter movement sought justice and remedies for the killing of, in particular, unarmed Black men and women in the US, and people of color around the world more generally. There were objections to this focus on Black lives, however, and thus the slogan 'All Lives Matter' was used in response. How does the #AllLivesMatter slogan position those who use it with regard to race and racism? What competing discourses about race and racism are reproduced with 'Black Lives Matter' and 'All Lives Matter'?

Lazar (2005 , 2007 , 2009 , 2011 , 2014 , 2017) presents a version of CDA she calls feminist critical discourse analysis. The key principles of this approach are feminist analytical activism; recognizing gender as an ideological, practice-based structure (which can thus be socially deconstructed as well as constructed); examining the complexity of gender and power; and attention to critical reflexive practices (Lazar 2014). For example, in an examination of a 'Family Life' advertising campaign in Singapore (Lazar 2005), she shows how a discourse of egalitarian gender roles in the family is appropriated within the hegemonic discourse of conservative, asymmetrical gender roles. While being an active, involved father is made acceptable in these advertisements, the underlying ideology in which men are the major breadwinners and women are primarily responsible for childcare is not seriously challenged. Another analysis of advertisements directed at women (Lazar 2009) shows how what at first glance appears to be 'pro-women' sentiments – telling women that they should indulge and pamper themselves, because they are worth it! – presents the concerns of women as trivial and, inevitably, related to improving their appearance (e.g., makeup, bath products, and slimming treatments). Far from challenging any discourses about the low social value of women, this type of advertising reinforces the view of women as being primarily valuable because of their appearances. Lazar discusses how this ideology fits within a putative 'post-feminist discourse,' in which women are presented as having 'arrived' in terms of equality and thus any concerns about their social position are seen as fanatical and old-fashioned; modern women can be concerned with reclaiming femininity through cosmetics, wearing pink, and anointing themselves with floral scents.

In the next section we will discuss some studies which combine CDA with quantitative analysis of large corpora; but CDA analyses on newspaper data may also be largely qualitative. Teo (2000) analyzes nine news reports from two Australian newspapers which discuss a Vietnamese gang in Sydney. His analysis includes a general characterization of the newspaper discourse and illustrates how it serves to 'otherize' members of the Vietnamese community. A more detailed analysis of two reports reveals a power discourse in the depiction of the (Vietnamese-background) lawbreakers and the (White Australian) police officers. This critique is not merely a critique of journalistic practices, but also of the larger structure of oppression within which such practices occur. Fuller (2018 , 2019) looks at articles and reader comments about immigration and integration in the German newspaper *Die Zeit Online* . These analyses show competing discourses; while traditional ethnonational discourses persist, they are also more inclusive discourses which define national belonging in terms of cultural behavior and often directly challenge ethnonational stances. We will pick up this topic in chapter 10 in our discussion of language and the nation.

CDA has also developed a connection to ethnographic research. Krzyżanowski (2011 , 2017) discusses the productive relationship between CDA and ethnography, claiming that bringing ethnographic perspectives to CDA research has emphasized the need to examine the relationship between context and text. Further, it has broadened the notion of context to include not just physical or linguistic context but also societal context, including social, cognitive, and linguistic aspects and a focus on the producers of the text or speech being studied. Papen (2018) also discusses the contribution of ethnographic research to various types of discourse analysis, noting that ethnographic research can help analysts to move beyond their own perspectives to interpret what different texts mean to their creators and audiences. We see an example of this in the work by Thurlow and Jaworski (2017) on the discursive production of class privilege. Through a combination of ethnography and text analysis, they examine hegemonic discourses which privilege the elite and are a ubiquitous part of everyday life from London to Dubai and through the world via product labeling. Advertisers take advantage of the average consumer's desire for elite status by marketing all sorts of mundane products and services (toilet paper, condoms, nail salons and roofing companies) as 'elite' to attract buyers.

Research which combines texts and talk from different sources has brought about inclusion of concepts such as interdiscursivity (see Wodak 2000 ; Wodak and Meyer 2001). Interdiscursivity involves using discourses from one context in another involving processes of **decontextualization** and **recontextualization** . Such analyses involve recognizing how features of one genre of speech are incorporated into new discursive contexts. Fairclough (2001 , 127–136) gives an example of this in an analysis of the foreword written by the British Prime Minister Tony Blair to the Department of Trade and Industry's White Paper on competitiveness in 1998. Although this is a political text, Blair uses development economic language (such as what might be found in an analysis by the World Bank), combined with political discourse, to represent the 'new global economy' as an inevitable process which is not driven by social agents but is merely part of a world-wide development to which 'we' must respond.

The studies discussed up until now have been qualitative analyses, but of course it is quite possible to look at features of discourse in quantitative ways as well. In the next section we'll look at one such method.

Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is a relatively new approach to the study of language, enabled by technological advances. The term 'corpus' is this context means a large collection of computer-readable texts. These may be corpora which are made up of written texts, such as newspaper articles, novels, student essays or text messages, but may also include transcripts of spoken language (Mahlberg 2014). Using these large corpora, the researcher can look at patterns in language. There is a general distinction between corpus-based analyses, in which the corpus is used to empirically support a priori theoretical claims about language, or corpus-driven analyses, where linguistic categories are inductively derived from the linguistic patterns and frequency distributions that appear in the corpus (Tognini-Bonelli 2001).

Early corpus-based research in the field of sociolinguistics has shown how particular linguistic features pattern in different **registers** ; for instance, the present progressive is more commonly used in conversation than in fiction, newspapers, or academic writing, but the simple present is the mostly commonly used **verb aspect** in conversation (Biber 2012). Such empirically based generalizations provide us with the ability to describe and explain linguistic variation.

An important issue in corpus linguistics is the construction of the corpus so that it is representative of the linguistic variety, type of text, or category of speaker/writer being studied (Baker 2010 ; Biber 2012). However, in this regard corpus linguistics is not different from other approaches to discourse analysis – in all cases, we must be careful to assess where data come from and what they represent.

What is searched for in the corpus can, of course, vary. Eberhardt (2017) used the *Harry Potter* novels as a corpus and searched for all instances of direct speech attributed to Harry's two sidekicks in the series, Hermione Granger and Ronald Weasley, with an eye to gendered depictions of these characters. These two characters are found to be overwhelmingly similar in how they are depicted as speaking, but subtle patterning does reveal some common tropes about gender – girls are quiet and cooperative, boys are loud and competitive.

Such work illustrates the natural affinity between corpus linguistics and CDA, and there is a great deal of research done within this intersection of methods (see Nartey and Mwinlaaru 2019 for an overview). Another study which addresses gender and sexuality through this approach is Motschenbacher (2019) in his analysis of news reports about Latino pop star Ricky Martin before and after he came out as gay. A keyword analysis (that is, using corpus methods to find the most commonly occurring words in the 'before' and 'after' corpora) shows that keywords linked to his ethnicity were more common before his coming out, while in the reports after his coming out there are more overt references to non-heterosexual identities. The picture which emerges is thus that while he was assumed by the press to be heterosexual, his ethnic identity was paramount, but this ethnic identity was backgrounded and his sexuality foregrounded once he identified as gay.

Corpus linguistics is also often combined with CDA to address political themes. Orpin (2005) looked at how words about political corruption were used in a corpus of British newspapers. She noted a drastic growth of such terms since 1985 and was also able to make some generalizations about what words were used to describe activities in particular countries. The more negative terms ('bribery,' 'graft'), which were common in articles about other countries, were increasingly also used to describe the British context. However, certain terms which less clearly indicated criminal behavior, such as 'impropriety' or 'sleaze,' were rarely used to describe Italy, and never to talk about events in Pakistan, China, South Korea, India, and Malaysia. These milder terms continued to be used primarily to talk about Britain, while other countries' corruption was described as clearly illegal.

Baker et al. (2008) is another article combining CDA with corpus linguistics for an analysis of British newspapers. The authors examined news articles about refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants and how certain collocations are used to create particular representations of people in these categories. By using both of these approaches, they found categories of reference and supported them through a quantitative analysis. Illustrative of the results of such an analysis is the observation, 'A common strategy was to quantify RAS [refugees and asylum seekers] in terms of water metaphors (POUR, FLOOD, STREAM), which tend to dehumanize RAS, constructing them as an out-of-control, agentless, unwanted natural disaster' (Baker et al. 2008 , 287).

More recently, O'Regan and Riordan (2018) looked at the representation of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in the Irish and UK press in September–November 2015. Their findings indicate that the UK press has more use of these terms, and more polarized discussion, as demonstrated by the more frequent use of 'they' to refer to people in these groups. There is also a greater tendency in the UK press to refer to these groups as invaders, while in the Irish press they are more commonly depicted as victims. These findings reflect the different positionings of Ireland and the UK with regard to Europe and the refugee crisis in 2015.

Twitter corpora are also becoming increasingly popular in corpus linguistics. One recent study which picks up the theme of intertextuality and situated meaning is an analysis of tweets with hashtags starting with *#jesuis* (De Cock and Pedraza 2018). This research shows the evolution in use and meaning of this hashtag, from expressing condolence to terrorist attacks, to a broader use of expressing condolence in general, to a generalized expression of solidarity. However, such hashtags have also come to be used to express disalignment, both to mock those who use it in solidarity and to express lack of solidarity with particular causes. Although relying on computer-based corpora, this analysis employs qualitative research methods for the analysis of stance and alignment.

As the field of corpus linguistics develops, more publicly accessible corpora are available and more tools for analyzing these corpora become available (see https://corpus-analysis.com/ for an overview of corpus linguistic tools). Further, many different linguistic features are examined. For example, a project on multilingualism in Switzerland (see Ueberwasser and Stark 2017 for a general discussion) has led to corpus linguistic studies of multilingualism – the topic of the next two chapters – and a publicly available corpus of WhatsApp messages. Such data sharing, especially of new media corpora, is an innovative and increasingly integral part of the study of sociolinguistics.

Chapter Summary

This chapter introduces four approaches to the analysis of discourse: conversation analysis (CA), which has grown out of ethnomethodology (discussed in chapter 6); interactional sociolinguistics, an umbrella term for ways of analyzing conversations which incorporate the larger societal norms and values within which they are situated; critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is a method designed to show how social inequality is reproduced through language use; and corpus linguistics, which uses large computer-searchable corpora for a variety of research agendas. However, it is important to note that there is overlap and synergy among these methods, with productive use of a combination of approaches to the study of discourse.

Exercises

1. Record some openings and closings of telephone calls on a call-in radio show and transcribe them. What are the patterns in these exchanges, and how are they different from and similar to openings and closings in conversations between friends, in your experience and in the literature cited in this chapter? That is, how does the relationship between the interlocutors influence the structure of the conversation?
2. The following transcript is a conversation between two White, US American, female college students; they have just returned to campus after a break for Thanksgiving, a major US holiday. Hooters, Show Me's, and Stix are all bar/restaurants that are known for having female servers who wear revealing clothes. What Discourses about gender are evident in this conversation? What stances do these speakers adopt with regard to the gender norms they discuss? What linguistic features are used to do this stancetaking?
    1. A: oh. Where'd you stay over Thanksgiving?

2. B: I went to Chicago
3. A: oh, fun
4. B: my aunt lives there, and then I, my friend Chelsea, I went and saw her, and then we came back here early, like Saturday night?
5. A: uh-oh, there's trouble
6. B: oh, we, it was absolutely out of control
7. A: ah!
8. B: we were cra:zy. We went to Hooters and ate
9. A: mmm. I love their Buffalo wings
10. B: oh my gosh, we got those? And uhm, but there are these sick girls working there, they were so ugly, I'm like, why are you girls working here? They were just ugly. And they weren't very tan, like they were real pale, and like they were so not cute
11. A: oh
12. B: and we were all like, ew
13. A: pale makes you look bigger, too, if you're gonna run around in little shirts and shorts like that, you'd better be tanned and toned
14. B: what do they have to wear at Show-Me's?
15. A: I think the same kind of outfits just different colors
16. B: really
17. A: I think their colors are like black and purple or something?
18. B: really
19. A: and they have to wear like little tiny shorts and tight little tops
20. B: I wanna work there {laughs}
21. A: I could see you workin' there

22. B: cause I need, it'd be good tips, it'd be good money
23. A: would your house be mad, though, if you like left lookin' like that all the time?
24. B: no, because, there's this one girl that works at Stix, and she wears like, it's like a bra and underwear to work, it's what it looks like
25. A: I hate xxxx
26. B: I hate Stix outfits, I hate 'em, they are so degrading
27. A: they're so trashy looking, like, you walk in and see girls running around like that? And you think, I don't want a hair in my drink, I'm not, it just, it looks trashy
28. B: it's degrading, it's like, ew. I hate it. I absolutely hate going there

3. Discourse analysis in real life: in 2019, US President Donald Trump was recorded talking to Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskiy and said *I would like you to do us a favor, though* . Ultimately, it was this pre-sequence which led to his impeachment. Discuss why, within the broader political context, as well as the direct conversational context, this led to be interpreted as a demand. (For more information, see news stories such as the one at this link: https://www.cnbc.com/2019/10/12/i-would-like-you-to-do-us-a-favor-the-30-minute-phone-call-that-changed-trumps-presidency.html.)

Further Reading

Farina, M. (2018). *Facebook and Conversation Analysis: The Structure and Organization of Comment Threads* . London: Bloomsbury.

Holler, J., K. H. Kendrick, M. Casillas, and S. C. Levinson (2016). *Turn-Taking in Human Communicative Interaction* . Lausanne: Frontiers Media.

Huth, Thorsten (2011). Conversation analysis and language classroom discourse. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 5(5): 297–309.

Musolff, A. (2017). Introduction: Language aggression in public debates on immigration. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict* 5(2): 175–177.

Paulus, T., A. Warren, and J. N. Lester (2016). Applying conversation analysis methods to online talk: A literature review. *Discourse, Context & Media* 12: 1–10.

Rickford, J. R. (2016). *Raciolinguistics: How Language Shapes Our Ideas About Race* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Unger, J., R. Wodak, and Khosravinik, M. (2016). Critical discourse studies and social media data. In David Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative Research* . London: SAGE, 277–293.

Walton, S. and A. Jaffe (2011). 'Stuff white people like': Stance, class, race, and internet commentary. In Crispin Thurlow and Kristine Mroczek (eds.), *Digital Discourse: Language in the New Media* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 199–219.

References

Androutsopoulos, J. K. (2000). Non-standard spellings in media texts: The case of German fanzines. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4(4): 514–533.

Aston, G. (1995). Say 'thank you': Some pragmatic constraints on conversational closings. *Applied Linguistics* 16(1): 57–86.

Baker, P. (2010). *Sociolinguistics and Corpus Linguistics* . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Baker, P., C. Gabrielatos, M. Khosravinik et al. (2008). A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press. *Discourse & Society* 19(3): 273–306.

Barnes, R. K. (2019). Conversation analysis of communication in medical care: Description and beyond. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 52(3): 300–315.

Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* 13: 145–204.

Bell, A. (2001). Back in style: Reworking audience design. In P. Eckert and J. R. Rickford (eds.), *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benwell, B. and E. Stokoe (2016). Ethnomethodological and conversation analytic approaches to identity. In Siân Preece (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity* . New York: Routledge, 92–108.

Biber, D. E. (2012). Corpus-based and corpus-driven analyses of language variation and use. In Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Billig, M. (1999). Critical discourse analysis and conversation analysis: An exchange between Michael Billig and Emanuel A. Schegloff. *Discourse & Society* 10(4): 543.

Blommaert, J. and C. Bulcaen (2000). Critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 447–466.

Bloor, M. and T. Bloor (2014). Critical discourse analysis. In Klaus P. Schneider and Anne Barron (eds.), *Pragmatics in Discourse* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 189–213.

Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5): 585–614.

Çelik, Ç. (2015). 'Having a German passport will not make me German': Reactive ethnicity and oppositional identity among disadvantaged male Turkish second-generation youth in Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38(9): 1646–1662.

Corona, V. and S. Kelsall (2016). Latino rap in Barcelona: Diaspora, languages and identities. *Linguistics and Education* 36: 5–15.

De Cock, B. and A. P. Pedraza (2018). From expressing solidarity to mocking on Twitter: Pragmatic functions of hashtags starting with #jesuis across languages. *Language in Society* 47(2): 197–217.

Dervin, F. (2015). Discourses of othering. In Karen Tracy (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* . Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 1–9.

Drew, P., J. Chatwin, and S. Collins (2001). Conversation analysis: A method for research into interactions between patients and health-care professionals. *Health Expectations* 4(1): 58–70.

Duncan, S. (1972). Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in conversation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 23: 283–292.

Duncan, S. (1974). On the structure of speaker–auditor interaction during speaking turns. *Language in Society* 2: 161–180.

Eberhardt, M. (2017). Gendered representations through speech: The case of the *Harry Potter* series. *Language and Literature* 26(3): 227–246.

Edelsky, C. (1981). Who's got the floor? *Language in Society* 10(03): 383–421.

Egbert, M. M. (1996). Context-sensitivity in conversation: Eye gaze and the German repair initiator. *Language in Society* 25: 587–612.

Egbert, M. M. (2004). Other-initiated repair and membership categorization: Some conversational events that trigger linguistic and regional membership categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36: 1467–1498.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis* . London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2001). Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds.), *Methods in Critical Discourse Analysis* . London: SAGE, 121–138.

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* . New York: Routledge.

Ferrer, R. C. and J. À. M. Castells (2017). Ideology and language choice: Catalan-speaking university students. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 11(1): 107–129.

Fuller, J. M. (2018). Immigration, integration and Leitkultur in German newspapers: Competing discourses about national belonging. *Studii de Lingvistică* 8.

Fuller, J. M. (2019). Discourses of immigration and integration in German newspaper comments. In Lorella Viola and Andreas Musolff (eds.), *Migration and Media: Discourses about Identities in Crisis* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 317–338.

Gardner, R. (2012). Conversation analysis in the classroom. In Jack Sidnell and Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 593–611.

Garrido, M. R. and E. Moore (2016). 'We can speak we do it our way': Linguistic ideologies in Catalan adolescents' language biography raps. *Linguistics and Education* 36: 35–44.

Gee, J. P. (2014). *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses* . New York: Routledge.

Godard, D. (1977). Same setting, different norms: Phone call beginnings in France and the United States. *Language in Society* 6: 209–219.

Gordon, C. and D. İkizoğlu (2017). ‘Asking for another’ online: Membership categorization and identity construction on a food and nutrition discussion board. *Discourse Studies* 19(3): 253–271.

Greenbank, E. (2020). *Discursive Navigation of Employable Identities in the Narratives of Former Refugees* , vol. 27. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Groff, C., A. Pilote, and K. Vieux-Fort (2016). ‘I am not a francophone’: Identity choices and discourses of youth associating with a powerful minority. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 15(2): 83–99.

Gumperz, J. J. (1992). Contextualization and understanding. In A. Duranti and C. Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 229–252.

Gumperz, J. J. (2003). On the development of interactional sociolinguistics. *Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies* 1: 1–10.

Heritage, J. (2017). Conversation analysis and institutional talk: Analyzing distinctive turn-taking. *Dialoganalyse* VI(2): 3–18.

Houtkoop-Steenstra, Hanneke (1991). Opening sequences in Dutch telephone conversations. In Deirdre Boden and Don Zimmerman (eds.), *Talk and Social Structure* . Berkeley: University of California Press, 232–250.

Itakura, H. and A. B. M. Tsui (2004). Gender and conversational dominance in Japanese conversation. *Language in Society* 33: 223–248.

Iveson, M. (2017). Gendered dimensions of Catalan nationalism and identity construction on Twitter.

Discourse & Communication 11(1): 51–68.

Jaffe, A. (2007). Codeswitching and stance: Issues in interpretation. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 6(1): 53–77.

Jaffe, A. (ed.) (2009). *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Stance* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jefferson, G. (1988). On the sequential organization of troubles-talk in ordinary conversation. *Social Problems* 418–441.

Johnstone, B. (2007). Linking identity and dialect through stancetaking. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 49–68.

Kärkkäinen, Elise (2006). Stance taking in conversation: From subjectivity to intersubjectivity. *Text and Talk* 26(6): 699–731.

Kleinke, S., N. Hernández, and B. Bös (2018). Introduction: Identity construction in complex discourse contexts. In Birte Bös, Sonja Kleinke, Sandra Mollin, and Nuria Hernández (eds.), *The Discursive Construction of Identities On- and Offline* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1–12.

Krzyżanowski, M. (2011). Ethnography and critical discourse analysis: Towards a problem-oriented research dialogue. *Critical Discourse Studies* 8(4): 231–238.

Krzyżanowski, M. (2017). Ethnography and critical discourse studies. In John Flowerdew and John E. Richardson (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* . New York: Routledge, 179–194.

Land, V. and C. Kitzinger (2005). Speaking as a lesbian: Correcting the heterosexist presumption. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 38(4): 371–416.

Lazar, M. M. (2005). Performing the state fatherhood: The remaking of hegemony. In Michelle Lazar (ed.), *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 139–163.

Lazar, M. M. (2007). Feminist critical discourse analysis: Articulating a feminist discourse praxis. *Critical Discourse Studies* 4(2): 141–164.

Lazar, M. M. (2009). Entitled to consume: Postfeminist femininity and a culture of post-critique. *Discourse & Communication* 3(4): 371–400.

Lazar, M. M. (2011). The RIGHT to be beautiful: Postfeminist identity and consumer beauty advertising. In Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff (eds.), *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 31–51.

Lazar, M. M. (2014). Feminist critical discourse analysis. In Susan Ehrlich, Miriam Meyerhoff, and Janet Holmes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language, Gender, and Sexuality* . Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 180.

Lazar, M. M. (2017). Feminist critical discourse analysis. In John Flowerdew and John E. Richardson (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* . New York: Routledge, 372–387.

Lerner, G. H. (2003). Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in Society* 32: 177–201.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2007). *An Introduction to Conversation Analysis* . London: Continuum.

Lindström, A. (1994). Identification and recognition in Swedish telephone conversation openings. *Language in Society* 23: 231–252.

Mahlberg, M. (2014). Corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. *Pragmatics of Discourse: Handbooks of Pragmatics* 3: 215–238.

Maynard, D. W. and J. Heritage (2005). Conversation analysis, doctor–patient interaction and medical communication. *Medical Education* 39(4): 428–435.

Mollin, S. (2018). The use of face-threatening acts in the construction of in- and out-group identities in British parliamentary debates. In Birte Bös, Sonja Kleinke, Sandra Mollin, and Nuria Hernández (eds.), *The Discursive Construction of Identities On- and Offline*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 205–226.

Motschenbacher, H. (2019). Discursive shifts associated with coming out: A corpus-based analysis of news reports about Ricky Martin. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 23(3): 284–302.

Nartey, M. and I. N. Mwinlaaru (2019). Towards a decade of synergising corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis: A meta-analysis. *Corpora* 14(2): 203–235.

O'Regan, V. and E. Riordan (2018). Comparing the representation of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in the Irish and UK press: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis. *Journal of Language and Politics* 17(6): 744–768.

Orpin, D. (2005). Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis: Examining the ideology of sleaze. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 10(1): 37–61.

Papen, U. (2018). 12. Discourse analysis and ethnographic fieldwork. *Handbuch Diskurs* 6.

Park, Y. (2017). A closing-implicative practice in Korean primary medical care openings. *Journal of Pragmatics* 108: 1–16.

Quaglio, P. and D. Biber (2006). The grammar of conversation. In B. Aartsand and A. McMahon (eds.), *The Handbook of English Linguistics* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Raclaw, J. (2008). Two patterns for conversational closings in instant message discourse. *Colorado Research in Linguistics* 21(June): 1–21.

Rampton, B. (1999). Crossing. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1/2): 54–56.

Rampton, B. (2007). Linguistic ethnography, interactional sociolinguistics and the study of identities. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies Paper* 43: 1–14.

Rampton, B. (2014). *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents* . New York: Routledge.

Rampton, B. and C. Charalambous (2012). Crossing. In Marilyn Martin-Jones, Adrian Blackledge, and Angela Creese (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* . New York: Routledge, 494–510.

Rogers, R. and M. Mosley (2008). A critical discourse analysis of racial literacy in teacher education. *Linguistics and Education* 19(2): 107–131.

Rubino, A. (2019). Authenticity, agency and mobility in the discourse of Italian migrants in Australia. In Kristine Horner and Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain (eds.), *Multilingualism, (Im)mobilities and Spaces of Belonging* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 95.

Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on Conversation* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Sacks, H., E. A. Schegloff, and G. Jefferson (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language* 50: 696–735.

Sandhu, P. (2019). Constructing desirable brides: Membership categorization, medium of education, and arranged marriages. *Pragmatics and Society* 10(3): 399–422.

Schegloff, E. A. (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist* 70(6): 1075–1095. Reprinted in D. H. Hymes and J. J. Gumperz (eds.) (1972), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* . New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 346–380.

Schegloff, E. A. (1986). The routine as achievement. *Human Studies* 9: 111–152.

Schegloff, E. A. (2000). Overlapping talk and the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language in Society* 29: 1–63.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007a). *Sequence Organization in Interaction* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007b). A tutorial on membership categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(3): 462–482.

Schilling-Estes, N. (2004). Constructing ethnicity in interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(2): 163–195.

Seuren, L. M., M. Huiskes, and T. Koole (2016). Remembering and understanding with oh-prefaced yes/no declaratives in Dutch. *Journal of Pragmatics* 104: 180–192.

Shenk, P. S. (2007). 'I'm Mexican, remember?' Constructing ethnic identities via authenticating discourse 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(2): 194–220.

Slobe, T. (2018). Style, stance, and social meaning in mock white girl. *Language in Society* 47(4): 541–567.

Spilioti, T. (2011). Beyond genre: Closings and relational work in text messaging. In Crispin Thurlow and Kristine Mroczek (eds.), *Digital Discourse: Language in the New Media* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 67–128.

Stokoe, E. (2012). Moving forward with membership categorization analysis: Methods for systematic analysis. *Discourse Studies* 14(3): 277–303.

Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language* . Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tainio, L. and A. Laine (2015). Emotion work and affective stance in the mathematics classroom: The case of IRE sequences in Finnish classroom interaction. *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 89(1): 67–87.

Taleghani-Nikazm, C. (2002). A conversation analytical study of telephone conversation openings between native and nonnative speakers. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34(12): 1807–1832.

Tannen, D. (2005). Interactional sociolinguistics as a resource for intercultural pragmatics. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 2(2): 205–208.

Teo, P. (2000). Racism in the news: A critical discourse analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers. *Discourse & Society* 11(1): 7–49.

Thurlow, C. and A. Jaworski (2017). The discursive production and maintenance of class privilege: Permeable geographies, slippery rhetorics. *Discourse & Society* 28(5): 535–558.

Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2001). *Corpus Linguistics at Work* , vol. 6. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tsuchiya, K. and M. Handford (2014). A corpus-driven analysis of repair in a professional ELF meeting: Not 'letting it pass.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 64: 117–131.

Tsui, A. B. M. (1989). Beyond the adjacency pair. *Language in Society* 18: 545–564.

Ueberwasser, S. and E. Stark (2017). What's up, Switzerland? A corpus-based research project in a multilingual country. *Linguistik Online* 84(5).

Vaisman, C. L. (2014). Beautiful script, cute spelling and glamorous words: Doing girlhood through language playfulness on Israeli blogs. *Language & Communication* 34: 69–80.

van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the Press* . New York: Routledge.

van Dijk, T. A. (1992). Discourse and the denial of racism. *Discourse & Society* 3(1): 87–118.

van Dijk, T. A. (1993a). *Elite Discourse and Racism* . Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

van Dijk, T. A. (1993b). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society* 4: 249–283. Reprinted in P. Trudgill and J. Cheshire (eds.) (1998), *The Sociolinguistics Reader* , vol. 1: *Multilingualism and Variation* . London: Arnold.

van Dijk, T. A. (1999). Critical discourse analysis and conversation analysis. *Discourse & Society* 10(4): 459–460.

van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Multidisciplinary CDA: A plan for diversity. In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* . London: SAGE.

van Dijk, T. A. (2003). The discourse-knowledge interface. In Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* . Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 85–109.

van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van Dijk, T. A. (2009). Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* 2: 62–86.

van Dijk, T. A. (2014). *Discourse and Knowledge: A Sociocognitive Approach* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wodak, R. (2000). Recontextualization and transformation of meanings: A critical discourse analysis of decision making in EU-meetings about employment. In S. Sarangi and M. Coulthard (eds.), *Discourse and Social Life* . London: Pearson Education, 185–206.

Wodak, R. (2007). Pragmatics and critical discourse analysis: A cross-disciplinary inquiry. *Pragmatics & Cognition* 15(1): 203–225.

Wodak, R. (2015). Critical discourse analysis, discourse-historical approach. In Karen Tracy (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* . Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 1–14.

Wodak, R. and S. Boukala (2015). (Supra)national identity and language: Rethinking national and European migration policies and the linguistic integration of migrants. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 35: 253.

Wodak, R. and M. Meyer (eds.) (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* . London: SAGE.

Woolard, K. A. (2016). *Singular and Plural: Ideologies of Linguistic Authority in 21st Century Catalonia* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wortham, S., K. Mortimer, K. Lee, E. Allard, and K. Daniel White (2011). Interviews as interactional data. *Language in Society* 40(1): 39–50.

Part III
Multilingual Matters

8
Languages in Contact: Multilingual Societies and Multilingual Discourse

KEY TOPICS

- Multilingualism is the new black
- Ethnolinguistic vitality
- Language domains
- Multilingual discourse shapes interactions, relationships, and social identities

This and the subsequent chapter will address what happens when multiple languages, or more accurately the users of multiple languages, come into contact. In this chapter, we provide a general overview of the societal aspects of multilingualism, and then zoom in to focus on what happens within interactions between multilinguals. The next chapter will then take up the topic of the development of new codes in language contact situations. Chapter 10 , a new chapter in this edition of *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* , looks at more political aspects of multilingualism, examining the role of language in nation-building, migration, colonialization, and globalization.

However, it is important to keep in mind that these topics cannot be clearly separated. The constellations of language users and the societal norms for what languages are spoken when and where have a direct impact on the codes which emerge, and this all occurs within the sociopolitical context. In terms of language structure (as discussed in chapters 8 and 9), many linguists view language contact as a sort of continuum, with the multilingual discourse of individuals leading, in some cases, to the development of new contact varieties. Such developments are also often specifically linked to societal norms and political divisions, also contributing to linkage across these three chapters.

Further, multilingual language development and use incorporates many of the themes we have discussed with regard to variation, change, and use of non-contact varieties. Language ideologies and attitudes are integral to the study of multilingual contexts, and multilingual discourse involves the same types of structures, performances of identity, and underlying power imbalances. There is also a long tradition of variationist sociolinguistic work on language contact and change, which we will also touch on in these two chapters. Thus in terms of key concepts and methodology, this work is a continuation of previous topics in this text.

Multilingualism as a Societal Phenomenon

Multilingualism is common in societies across the world, despite the perception by many monolinguals that speaking only one language is the norm (see Fuller 2018 for an overview of language ideology research addressing this). In many cases, groups of people who speak different languages live near each other; sometimes there are political boundaries that divide them and sometimes they identify as being part of the same nation or state, but in all such cases they have contact and must communicate. (An example of the former situation is the neighboring nations of France and Germany; of the latter, the German and French-speaking regions of Switzerland.) In other cases, there is movement of speakers of one language into an area where another language is spoken – this is the case for immigration, colonialization, and various scenarios of conquest. We will use the term **multilingual** to refer to all situations in which there are people who use more than one language.

In many parts of the world it is just a normal requirement of daily living that people speak several languages: perhaps one or more at home, another in the village, still another for purposes of trade, and yet another for contact with the outside world of wider social or political organization. Coulmas (2018) cites the estimate that roughly half of the world's population speak at least two languages in their daily lives. These various languages are often acquired through simple exposure to the language, although one language or more in a person's repertoire may be learned through schooling or in an instructional setting.

One example of a varied multilingual society is present-day India. Mohanty, an Indian sociolinguist, gives the following description:

> I use Oriya in my home, English in my work place, Hindi for television viewing, Bengali to communicate with my domestic helper, a variety of Hindi-Punjabi-Urdu in market places in Delhi, Sanskrit for my prayer and religious activities, and some conversational Kui with the Konds for my research in their community. These languages fit in a mutually complementary and non-competing relationship in my life. (Mohanty 2006 , 263)

It is unusual in urban Indian society for someone not to use a variety of codes in different contexts and with different interlocutors, and children learn at a young age not only to master several languages but also to master the art of knowing the appropriate language for each social context. Maintaining multiple languages over generations is less common in some other societies and often much less valued. Multilingualism has nonetheless become an expected and increasingly prestigious part of urban cultures across the world. Fuller (2012), in her work in a German–English bilingual classroom in the urban center of Berlin, Germany, notes that many of the children speak two languages at home, sometimes German and English but in some cases English and Spanish, or German and Russian, Hindi, or Setswana. They consider it advantageous to master more languages, often claiming competence in languages to which they have had limited exposure (e.g., one boy reported that he could speak Polish because he had been there for two weeks on vacation). They were also interested in their classmates' proficiency in their home languages, such as Serbian or Farsi, asking them to produce utterances in these languages so they could hear how they sounded. This is, of course, not the case everywhere. Fuller notes that the Mexican American children in her research in rural southern Illinois, USA, who spoke indigenous languages from Mexico as well as Spanish, were often hesitant to admit this, and were sometimes teased for their association with these languages. The status of these languages in Mexico was low and there was not a general sense of the value of linguistic diversity in the rural US community in which they lived. Thus while multilingualism can be found almost anywhere, it does not always have positive associations.

Language competencies in multilingual societies

Most people who are multilingual do not necessarily have exactly the same abilities in all the languages (or varieties) they speak; in fact, that kind of parity may be exceptional. As Sridhar (1996 , 50) says,

> Multilingualism involving balanced, native-like command of all the languages in the repertoire is rather uncommon. Typically, multilinguals have varying degrees of command of the different repertoires. The differences in competence in the various languages might range from command of a few lexical items, formulaic expressions such as greetings, and rudimentary conversational skills all the way to excellent command of the grammar and vocabulary and specialized register and styles.

Relevant for the study of the role of language competence in multilingualism is research on new speakers, which has emerged as an important field of study in sociolinguistics. This term is used to denote those who do not learn a language through intergenerational transmission but learn it through instruction or immersion as either children or adults (O'Rourke et al. 2015). Jaffe (2015) notes that for Corsican, this includes **heritage speakers** as well as non-Corsicans who have moved to the island and learned the language. Such speakers clearly play a role in language maintenance and revitalization (which we'll address further below), although their production of the language differs from that of so-called 'native speakers' (see Nance et al. 2016 on Scottish Gaelic; Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2015 ; Rodríguez-Ordóñez and Sainzmaza-Lecanda 2018 ; and Ortega et al. 2015 on Basque).

This body of research, which will also be addressed in chapter 13 on language policy, challenges the idea that so-called 'native speakers' are the sole rightful owners of languages and thus the representatives worth studying (O'Rourke and Pujolar 2013). Within sociolinguistics, their language has been studied using variationist methods (Kasstan 2017 ; Kasstan and Rodríguez-Ordóñez forthcoming) as well as within social constructionist frameworks for the study of identity (Joubert 2019 ; Nance et al. 2016 ; Ortega et al. 2015); we will return to this latter topic below.

Language ideologies surrounding multilingualism

Many language ideologies are **monoglossic** , meaning that they take monolingualism as a norm and value it above multilingualism. For example, as will be addressed further in chapter 10 , there is a 'one nation–one language' ideology that supports monolingual language policies and practices within a political region. Part of this normative monolingualism is also the stigmatization of multilingual discourse. There is a long history in certain Western societies of people actually 'looking down' on those who are multilingual. In many of these societies, prestige is attached to only a few classical languages (e.g., Classical Greek and Latin) or modern standardized languages of high culture (e.g., English, French, Italian, and German). You generally get little credit for speaking Swahili and, until recently at least, not much more for speaking Russian, Japanese, Arabic, or Chinese. (Clearly, political shifts in relationships with countries where these languages are spoken influence their importance!) Multilingualism in such societies is often associated with immigrant status, and thus with groups who tend to occupy rather low positions in society. Thus, multilingualism becomes associated with 'inferiority.' One unfortunate consequence of this is that some Western societies go to great lengths to downgrade, even eradicate, the languages that immigrants bring with them while at the same time trying to teach foreign languages in schools. What is more, they have had much more success in doing the former than the latter. We will return to this issue in chapters 12 and 13 on the sociolinguistics of education and language planning and policy.

There are also **pluralist** ideologies, which frame multilingualism as a positive thing for both individuals and societies. However, some pluralist ideologies continue to stigmatize language mixing, or adhere to hierarchical positionings of different languages. In more recent work than cited above, Mohanty (2018) illustrates this juxtapositioning of pluralist ideologies. He first writes about his own experience growing up with multiple languages:

> I grew up in a beautifully multilingual world, moving naturally and spontaneously between people and languages, unconcerned by any boundaries and infringement. I did not have to bother about my own inadequacies in the languages I encountered, nor did I have to count the languages I knew or did not know. Levels of my competence in languages around me did not have to be judged. The binaries between knowing or not knowing the language and the borders between them did not matter. (Mohanty 2018 , 1)

However, he then goes on to chronicle his growing awareness that this was not the case in everyone's experience. He notes that people may become uncomfortable when asked to name the languages they know, for example for the purpose of a census, illustrating that there is an outside world which does not allow the flexibility or harmony in multilingual repertoires which he encountered growing up. He also notes that exposure to Western ideologies about language reinforced this sense of competing discourses about multilingualism, and then his professional engagement with multilingualism revealed some harsh realities. He writes:

> Looking closer into linguistic diversity, I realised that all is not well, that an idealised and somewhat romantic view of multilingualism is perhaps just that: romantic but not real. (Mohanty 2018 , 2)

As Mohanty's work illustrates, ideologies about multilingualism are also part of the development of contact linguistics as a field of study, and this influences the terms we use to refer to various contact phenomena. In chapter 2 we used the term 'variety' as a neutral term in referring to ways of speaking, and here we will also use another term, **code** , that, like variety, seeks to avoid the language versus dialect issue. Much of the research on discourse in multilingual contexts uses the term **codeswitching** to avoid the issue of whether people are speaking multiple languages or dialects, and theoretical approaches can be applied to all codes.

However, there is also a growing discussion about the fluidity of codes, supporting viewpoints of language exemplified in the description of Mohanty's childhood. This body of research maintains that codes are better described from an ideological perspective than from a linguistic one (e.g., Bailey 2007 ; Jaspers and Madsen 2019). That is, speakers may themselves not perceive of the way they speak as being made of up elements of different codes, but simply the way that is spoken around them. There have been various terms used to discuss such situations in recent sociolinguistic literature, the three most popular being **translanguaging** (García and Wei 2012), **polylanguaging** (Jørgensen and Møller 2014), and **metrolingualism** (Otsuji and Pennycook

2011 , 2012 ; for a more exhaustive discussion of these terms and their meaning, see Jaspers and Madsen 2019 , 3ff.). This body of research has been productive in expanding the types of communities and linguistic practices that sociolinguists find valuable to study, moving away from the bias for looking at 'native speakers' and 'naturally occurring conversation' as the only things worth studying. However, as Jaspers and Madsen (2019) note, such challenges to the idea of languages as clearly bounded systems go back at least to the 1970s. While recent research has linked this idea to the development and study of **superdiversity** (a topic we'll discuss more in chapter 10), it is not a new idea but rather an idea which has been ignored because it challenges elite viewpoints from particular regions of the world (Creese and Blackledge 2010).

Thus, while recognizing the flaws of all the possible terms, we will use the term **multilingual discourse** in our discussion. We recognize the lack of discrete boundaries between languages and indeed, a great deal of the discussion in the next chapter is a focus on how we can linguistically describe the permeability of these boundaries. In the next section, we will look at research on multilingual **linguistic landscapes** , bringing together some of the ideas about language ideologies and also the merging of languages we have introduced in this section.

Linguistic landscapes

In the last two decades, research in multilingual societies on linguistic landscapes – that is, analyses of language displays in public spaces, including signs, billboards, advertisements, and graffiti – has proliferated. A linguistic landscape is not a straightforward reflection of the official statuses of the languages used, the linguistic diversity present in the city, nor the relationship between languages. Rather, how languages appear in public space provides evidence about underlying ideologies concerning particular codes and those who use them (Hélot et al. 2012). The ways in which languages are used both reflects and impacts their perceived values (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009).

In Berlin, Germany, although German is, of course, the dominant language seen in the linguistic landscape, many languages are used for names and slogans in commercial signs, including immigrant languages. While these immigrant languages often index identities associated with the immigrant culture, there are also languages which have broader associations; for instance, languages associated with good food (e.g., Italian and French) or cosmopolitanism (e.g., English). English is frequently used as a lingua franca for speakers of various linguistic backgrounds, for example, in signs in the subways instructing passengers what to do in case of emergency (these are provided in German, English, and French) or in translations of information in tourist attractions (usually only in German and English). However, what is more interesting is the use of English in the names of businesses which are aimed at a primarily German-speaking audience. A German airline is called *German Wings* , a café has the name *Café Happy Day* , an auto rental agency is named *My Car* , a hairdresser's shop advertises with the slogan *Pimp My Hair* , and a club advertises evening entertainment aimed at a female audience with the wording *Zugang zum Mainfloor for ladies only* ('access to the main floor for ladies only'). In most of these cases, the use of English is linked to its status as a prestigious global language which plays an important role in popular culture (Fuller 2019a , 2019b).

Turkish, an immigrant language, is used quite differently. In some cases, it appears in contexts in which a Turkish-speaking, as well as a German-speaking, audience is targeted, for example, the use of signs with 'welcome' in both German and Turkish (*Willkommen – Hoşgeldinez*). These uses are found exclusively in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Turkish-background residents, unlike the English signs, which can be seen in all districts. Further, Turkish words are often used to sell things that are considered part of Turkish culture, especially food. In Figure 8.1 , we can see how a Turkish grocery store advertises with the words *Helâl et Pazari* ; *helâl* (literally, ‘lawful’) is readily understood by non-Turkish speakers as meaning food prepared in accordance with Islamic rules. Despite the fact that *pazari* (‘market’) may not have this same transparency of meaning, this business is clearly using Turkish strategically to attract a varied Berlin clientele, i.e., both those who understand the Turkish language and those who associate the Turkish language with authentic Turkish cuisine.

Further, however, this sign indexes belonging in Berlin, as well as an association with Turkey. The sign includes a drawing of the Brandenburg Gate – a famous Berlin landmark – and the German description *Ihr multikultereller Frischemarkt* (‘Your multicultural fresh market’). Thus the use of Turkish here is not solely, or perhaps not even primarily, a means of appealing to Turkish-speaking customers, but instead advertising the Turkish nature of the products sold. Thus Turkish is aimed at a particular audience and/or references a specific culture and cuisine. This again contrasts with the use of English in the linguistic landscape of Berlin. English is mostly used without intent to make an association with a specific English-speaking culture; instead, it creates a modern, globalized image for the business.

Figure 8.1 Linguistic landscapes in Berlin, Germany: ‘Your multicultural fresh market.’

This research illustrates a theme that abounds in linguistic landscape research, that of the

commodification of language. Leeman and Modan (2010) discuss this for Chinatown in Washington, DC, where many of the signs written in Chinese are aimed at people who cannot read them; the Chinese characters function to lend a sense of authenticity to attract patrons. Similarly, Ferguson and Sidorova (2018) discuss the commodification of Sakha, a language spoken in Russia's Far Eastern Federal District, along with references to Sakha history and culture, to market local authenticity.

However, we also see resistance to stereotypes in linguistic landscapes. Moriarty (2014) discusses the linguistic landscape in Dingle, a tourist town in Ireland, where the state constructs a 'one nation–one language' ideology with signage in Irish, but local businesses use both Irish and English to construct everyday multilingualism as part of their identities. In Figure 8.2 we see another Berlin example which parallels this, with the use of Turkish for authenticity (*çiğköfte* are a popular Turkish dish) and English for everyday multilingualism in cosmopolitan Berlin.

Linguistic landscape research can also be part of critical discourse studies and examine discriminatory practices and social exclusion. Angermeyer (2017) looks at the use of 'Google Hungarian' in signs in Toronto, noting the use of ungrammatical Hungarian, produced ostensibly through the use of Google translate, for public order signs containing warnings and prohibitions. Ethnographic research among Hungarian-speaking Roma in Toronto reveals their interpretation of these signs to exhibit prejudicial attitudes against their group, presupposing deviant behavior. Also, the lack of attention to linguistic accuracy is seen as a way of further distancing the Roma from the mainstream society. A study by Buckingham (2018) on linguistic landscapes in urban centers in a province in Costa Rica also focuses on how language can be used to discriminate, but in this case with the absence of particular languages. Although signs in English were found in all of these urban centers, and signs indexing two official minority groups, Afro-Caribbean and Chinese, were found in contexts where a local audience was the target, use of indigenous languages was almost completely absent.

Figure 8.2 Linguistic landscapes in Berlin, Germany: 'King of Çiğköfte.'

Such aspects of the linguistic landscape bring us to the next topic we wish to explore with regard to multilingualism – attitudes about particular languages and the people who use them. As we will see, the choice of a code is often associated with particular characteristics for the language user (see also our earlier discussion of this in chapter 3 in our section on language attitudes).

Language attitudes in multilingual settings

Before turning to models which address how multiple languages are used in discourse, we must address the issue of attitudes about particular codes. Code choices can influence how the language user is perceived. This is apparent from various **matched-guise** experiments (a method introduced in chapter 3) that certain social psychologists have conducted. If person A is fluently bilingual in languages X and Y, how are they judged as a person when speaking X? How do the same judges evaluate A when A is speaking Y? In matched-guise experiments the judges are unaware that they are judging the same person speaking a different language (that is, in different ‘guises’). Their judgments are therefore seen as a reflection of their feelings about users of X and Y, feelings about such matters as their competence, integrity, and attractiveness.

Lambert, a Canadian social psychologist, developed this technique in order to explore how listeners react to various characteristics in speech. Listeners were asked to judge particular speech samples recorded by bilingual or bidialectal speakers using one language or dialect (one guise) on one occasion and the other language or dialect (the other guise) in identical circumstances. The judgments sought are of such qualities as intelligence, kindness, dependability, ambition, leadership, sincerity, and sense of humor. Since the only factor that is varied is the language or dialect used, the responses provide group evaluations of speakers of these languages and dialects and therefore tap social stereotypes. In one such study, Lambert (1967) reported the reactions of Canadian men and women, referred to as English Canadian and French Canadian according to their dominant language, to subjects who spoke English on one occasion and French on another. Both English Canadian and French Canadian listeners reacted more positively to English guises than French guises. Among eighty English Canadian (EC) and ninety-two French Canadian (FC) first-year college-age students from Montreal, he found (1967, 95–97) that:

- The EC judges rated the female speakers more favorable in their French guises; in particular, they were rated as more intelligent, ambitious, self-confident, dependable, courageous, and sincere than when speaking English.
- Male speakers were rated more favorable in their English guises by EC speakers: they were rated as taller, kinder, more dependable, and more entertaining by the EC male judges, and as taller,

more likable, affectionate, sincere, and conscientious, and as possessing more character and a greater sense of humor by the female EC judges.

- In contrast, FC male speakers were rated lower in integrity and social attractiveness.

The judges were also given the opportunity to compare Continental French (CF) speakers with FC speakers, and Lambert (1967 , 7) reports that 'EC judges appear to be less concerned about European French people in general than they are about the local French people; the European French are neither down-graded nor taken as potential social models to any great extent.'

What was most surprising, however, was that the FC judges rated members of their own group less favorably on the whole, apparently viewing their own linguistic and cultural group as somewhat inferior to both the English Canadian and the Continental French groups, with this preference stronger in French Canadian males than females.

Research done thirty years later (Kircher 2012) shows that Quebec French was evaluated more positively on the solidarity, but remained equally stigmatized in terms of social prestige. Research on a comparison of francophones and anglophones in Quebec (Kircher 2016) indicates that the social status of English remains higher than that of French. This finding can be tied into our discussion in chapter 2 on hegemony; part of this concept is that the dominant group is accepted as rightfully dominant even by members of the groups it dominates.

Not only are particular languages stereotyped, but the mixture of two or more languages is often stigmatized. Many people have a monoglossic ideology, that is, they believe that languages should be kept strictly separate, and this is true of monolinguals and multilinguals alike. They may even use derogatory terms to describe what they hear, for example, *Franglais* (French and English in Quebec), *Fragnol* (French and Spanish in Argentina), and *Spanglish* or *Tex-Mex* (Spanish and English in the

USA). There has been a number of attitudinal studies on this last topic. Montes-Alcalá (2000) looked at attitudes toward codeswitching among Latinx in the US and found that there was a somewhat positive view of language mixing, with 60 percent responding that oral codeswitching ‘sounds pretty’ (although 60 percent disagreed with this for written codeswitching). However, the stigmatization of multilingual discourse was recognized in the finding that 80 percent disagreed with the statement that codeswitching earns respect. Another more recent study carried out in two Texas border towns (Rangel et al. 2015) had more negative findings, with codeswitching guises given the lowest rating for status, solidarity, and personal appeal. However, in their monolingual guises, Spanish and English received equally high ratings for status, with Spanish receiving higher ratings for solidarity. In this study we see that while the ‘no mixing’ tenet of normative monolingualism holds, Spanish is nonetheless perceived as having social prestige in some contexts.

We have mentioned the status of English as a global language in this chapter, in particular in linguistic landscapes, indicating that it generally has high status and is used to create cosmopolitan associations. However, there is also research that shows that the use of English is also policed, and not all ways of speaking English are equally prestigious. In particular, non-native varieties in particular are condemned. Wang and Fang (2019) look at Chinese netizens’ online comments about a Chinese reporter’s English language skills in an interview which appeared on a Chinese Central Television news channel, illustrating the adoption of the standard language ideology and denigrating non-native renditions of English. Similarly Sharma (2014) reports on online criticism of the Nepalese Prime Minister’s use of English, connecting the lack of ‘correct’ English to disgrace for the nation. We will continue to further problematize ideas about global English in chapters 10 and 13 .

Exploration 8.1 Everyday Multilingualism

View the video at the link below and discuss the language indexicalities and ideologies portrayed by the different speakers. That is, do the different codes discussed index particular identities? In what ways are these associations challenged? What language ideologies are portrayed by the different participants in this interaction? (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8IEpAkKTRjA)

Language Maintenance and Shift

When languages come in contact, there is likely to be one language which has social dominance, and in this situation **language shift** may occur, that is, people shift to speaking the dominant language. In situations of immigration, it is a common pattern that within three generations, members of the minority group shift to the dominant language. In some scenarios, we have what is called **language maintenance** , that is, both languages continue to be spoken. Giles et al. (1977) proposed a framework within which to assess a language's **ethnolinguistic vitality** , that is, how likely it is to be maintained. They say that we must consider three things about any threatened language: (1) its status: economic, social, and historical; (2) its territorial distribution and concentration together with its population demographics, for example, absolute numbers, birth rates, marriage patterns, and migrations in and out; and (3) its institutional support or lack thereof, both formally, as in the media, education, and government services, and less formally, as in the workplace and in religious, social, and cultural activities. This is the objective vitality; there is also subjective vitality, which is the perceptions of the group members about these factors. To measure this, Bourhis et al. (1981) propose a subjective vitality questionnaire. (See Bourhis et al. 2019 ; Ehala 2015 ; and Smith et al. 2017 for further discussion of the history and development of these concepts and methods.)

Research within this framework has shown how both objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality varies across but also within societies. A study on Albanian immigrants in Greece shows that low perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality are found across the sample, which is unsurprisingly coupled with a high value of integration into the host society both culturally and linguistically (Gogonas and Michail 2015). In contrast, research by Ehala and Vedernikova (2015) shows that ethnolinguistic vitality may not be uniform even with a minoritized language group. In their study of Russian speakers in Estonia, they note that there are subgroups which have different attitudes toward language maintenance or assimilation.

Studies of language maintenance and shift may also approach this topic through other frameworks for study. Research by Gafaranga (2010) on a Rwandan community in Belgium links specific interactional practices to the macrosocial process of language shift. He focuses on a practice of 'medium request,' in which younger speakers will ask someone from an older generation to speak French rather than Kinyarwanda. This request is usually not an explicit request, but rather one made through a code choice, that is, through speaking French. The overall pattern shows that although in many aspects of social life children are expected to conform to adult norms for interaction, in this case adults, who are categorized as bilingual, accommodate to children, who are known to prefer French (we'll discuss code choice in more detail below). Consequently, the members of this community 'talk language shift into being' (Gafaranga 2010 , 249). We see in this research not just an analysis of how speakers use their particular codes, but also information about the sociohistorical context in which their interactions are situated that allows us to understand the social meanings and impact of particular ways of speaking.

In many of these studies, language is shown to be spoken in particular **domains** – for example, in the studies cited above, Albanian was largely limited to the home domain in Greece, while Russian is also present in some public domains in Estonia, and the home domain was the site of code choice negotiation in the Rwandan community in Belgium. In general in multilingual societies, it is quite common for more than one language to be used in any particular domain. For instance, the younger generation may speak the dominant language in the home while the older generation speaks the minoritized language, there may be bilingual education promoting two languages at school, media interactions may be multilingual, and so forth. We will return to the dynamics of such interactions in our section of multilingual discourse. First, however, we turn to an approach to societal multilingualism that focuses not on the intertwining of languages, but on their separation.

Diglossia

Diglossia is the term used to describe a situation in which there are two distinct codes with clear functional separation; that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set. Ferguson (1959 , 336) has defined diglossia as follows:

> DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

In the same article he identifies four language situations which show the major characteristics of the diglossic phenomenon; in each situation there is a ‘high’ variety

(H) of language and a 'low' variety (L). Each variety has its own specialized functions, and each is viewed differently by those who are aware of both.

The first situation is in Arabic-speaking countries, in which the two varieties are Classical Arabic (H) and the various regional colloquial varieties (L). The second example is Standard German (H) and Swiss German (L) in Switzerland. Third, Ferguson cites the language situation in Haiti, where the varieties are Standard French (H) and Haitian Creole (L). The fourth is found in Greece with Katharévousa (H) and Dhimotiki or Demotic (L) varieties of Greek. In each case the two varieties coexisted for a long period, sometimes, as with Arabic and Greek, for many centuries. In this section, we will address the main concepts involved in the discussion of diglossia, but also challenges to this view of language use.

Domains

A key defining characteristic of diglossia is that the two varieties are kept quite separate in their functions. One is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set; these circumstances are called domains, as mentioned above. For example, the H varieties may be used for delivering sermons and formal lectures, especially in a parliament or legislative body, for giving political speeches, for broadcasting the news on radio and television, and for writing poetry, fine literature, and editorials in newspapers. In contrast, the L varieties may be used in giving instructions to workers in low-prestige occupations or to household servants, in conversation with familiars, in 'soap operas' and popular programs on the radio, in captions on political cartoons in newspapers, and in 'folk literature.' On occasion, a person may lecture in an H variety but answer questions about its contents or explain parts of it in an L variety so as to ensure understanding. The underlying assumption in the diglossia framework is that the two languages are not mixed but remain separate, and with clearly distinct social functions.

Language attitudes and ideologies

The H variety is the prestigious, powerful variety; the L variety lacks prestige and power. In fact, there may be so little prestige attached to the L variety that people may even deny that they know it although they may be observed to use it far more frequently than the H variety. Associated with this prestige valuation for the H variety, there is likely to be a strong feeling that the prestige is deserved because the H variety is more 'beautiful,' 'logical,' and 'expressive' than the L variety. That is why it is deemed appropriate for literary use, for religious purposes, and so on. We see here the standard language ideology in a very strong form, and can contribute to language shift from the H variety to the L variety.

Language learning

Another important difference between the H and L varieties is that all children learn the L variety; it is generally the home language. The H variety is likely to be learned in some kind of formal setting, for example, in classrooms or as part of a religious or cultural indoctrination. To that extent, the H variety is 'taught,' whereas the L variety is 'learned.' Teaching requires the availability of grammars, dictionaries, and standardized texts, which may not exist for the L variety.

Recent research on new speakers of minority languages has shown that revitalization projects challenge these traditional ways of learning H and L varieties. When the L variety is taught in the classroom, it reveals and denounces monoglossic and diglossic ideologies simultaneously. While such revitalization projects do, as noted above, suffer from the lack of reference grammars or teacher training, they also challenge the idea that the L variety is not or should not be taught and with it the basic structure of diglossia.

The statuses of the H and L varieties

A diglossic situation has by definition prescribed statuses for the H and L varieties. Unlike other types of societal multilingualism, such as situations in which there is a standard variety and regional dialects or immigrant or minoritized languages, with diglossia no one learns the H variety as their first language in the home. However, in non-diglossic situations, many people learn what is considered the standard variety as their first language. Further, in diglossia the varieties do not overlap in their functions because of their status differences. In other types of bilingualism, it is possible that either language, or both languages, can be used in a particular domain.

A diglossic pattern of language use can contribute to societal problems if there is a growth of literacy, or when there is a desire to decrease regional and/or social barriers, or when a need is seen for a unified 'national' language. One situation in which we see some of the social issues associated with diglossia is in Haiti. Haitian Creole was eventually recognized as a national language in 1987, alongside |French. There has been an ongoing debate about the most appropriate orthography (spelling system) for Haitian Creole: about the use of certain letters and accents, and about whether the differences between French and Haitian Creole should be minimized in the orthography for Haitian Creole or whether that orthography should be as transparent as possible in relating letters to sounds, particularly the sounds of the most widespread variety of Haitian Creole. French, though not widely used, has such prestige that, according to Schieffelin and Doucet (1998 , 306), virtually any proposal for an orthography for kreyòl has created 'resistance both to the adoption of the orthography and to the use of kreyòl as a medium of instruction in school. The double resistance comes from both the masses and the educated elite minority. The masses see the officialization of written and spoken kreyòl in school as limiting their access to French and, consequently, their social and economic mobility. The elites, who already know kreyòl, do not see the point of teaching it, in any form, in school.'

The linguistic situation in Haiti is intimately tied to power relationships among social groups; this is typical of diglossic situations. Traditionally, the H variety has been associated with an elite and the L variety with everyone else. Diglossia reinforces social distinctions. It is used to assert social position and to keep people in their place, particularly those at the lower end of the social hierarchy. Any move to extend the L variety, even, in the case of Haiti, to make the population literate in any variety, is likely to be perceived to be a direct threat to those who want to maintain traditional relationships and the existing power structure.

The Arabic situation is somewhat different. Many Arabic speakers acknowledge the highly restricted uses of the H variety, but also revere it for certain characteristics that they ascribe to it: its beauty, logic, and richness. Classical Arabic is also the language of the Qur'an and thus important for religious reasons. Ferguson has pointed out that choosing one colloquial variety of Arabic to elevate above all others poses a number of problems, so communication between speakers of different varieties of colloquial Arabic requires some mutually intelligible variety. What is commonly referred to as Modern Standard Arabic has emerged, and this variety is described as fairly uniform across countries (Abdelali 2004 ; Ryding 2005). In some ways, Modern Standard Arabic has taken over the role as the H variety. It is similar to Classical Arabic in structure but differs in style and vocabulary, although both varieties are referred to in Arabic as *al-lugha al-fushâ* 'the most eloquent language' (Ryding 2005 , 4).

Extended diglossia and language maintenance

What Ferguson describes are 'narrow' or 'classic' diglossic situations. They require the use of very divergent varieties of the same language and there are few good examples. Fishman (1980) broadened or extended the term to include a wider variety of language situations. For Fishman (1980 , 3) diglossia is 'an enduring societal arrangement,' extending at least beyond a three-generation period, such that two varieties each have their secure, phenomenologically legitimate, and widely implemented functions. Without diglossia, according to Fishman, language shift within three generations will occur as the languages compete for dominance in various domains. Fishman includes Ferguson's examples, in which the H and L varieties are seen as dialects of the same language, but stipulates that in such cases, the varieties must be 'sufficiently different from one another that, without schooling, the elevated variety cannot be understood by speakers of the vernacular' (1980, 4). Fishman's proposal extends the concept of diglossia to include multilingual situations in which one language is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set, and such difference is felt to be normal and proper. Fishman gives examples such as Biblical Hebrew and Yiddish for many Jews, Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay, and Standard English and Caribbean Creoles.

Rubin (1968) provided a detailed description of the bilingual situation of Paraguay in the middle of the last century. Spanish and Guaraní existed in a relationship that Fishman (1980) calls 'extended diglossic' in which Spanish was the H variety and Guaraní the L variety. Spanish was the language used on formal occasions; it was always used in government business, in conversations with well-dressed strangers, with foreigners, and in most business transactions. People used Guaraní, however, with friends, servants, and poorly dressed strangers, in the confessional, when they told jokes or made love, and on most casual occasions. Spanish was the preferred language of the cities, but Guaraní was preferred in the countryside, and the lower classes almost always used it for just about every purpose in rural areas. Rubin presents a decision tree to depict the factors involved in language choice in this society, identifying a variety of factors: location (city or country), formality, gender, status, intimacy, seriousness, and type of activity.

Choi (2005) presents data from a questionnaire similar to that used by Rubin and administered to seventy-one residents of the same city in which Rubin did her study, Luque. While Choi's work shows that many of the same factors are at play today in the choices to speak Spanish and Guaraní, some changes can be seen. Overall, more bilingual discourse is reported, and Spanish is used much more in all contexts. The only exception to the latter point is in talking to teachers; more people reported using Guaraní to speak with their teachers in Choi's survey than in Rubin's. This change is undoubtedly due to the increase in the use of Guaraní in education as part of language maintenance efforts. On a national level, it appears that Guaraní is becoming more firmly part of rural life and Spanish more dominant in urban areas. Thus, the language situation in Paraguay appears to become less and less diglossic.

Questioning diglossia

Although the concept of diglossia has been important in the study of multilingualism in a diverse range of societies, the validity of it as a language practice has also been questioned. Brustad (2017 , 41) writes: 'The split in registers between *fussha* [classical Arabic] and *ammiyya* [colloquial or spoken Arabic] is real for Arabic speakers as an idea about what Arabic is or should be. However, diglossia does not serve us well as a tool of linguistic analysis.'

One major issue is the strict compartmentalization of languages which diglossia requires. A growing number of studies shows the use of colloquial varieties of Arabic mixed with Standard Modern or Classical Arabic (Albirini 2011 , 2016 ; Boussofara-Omar 2003 ; Soliman 2009 ; Bassiouney 2020). This challenges a basic tenet of diglossia. Managan (2003) also reports that although the relationship between French and French-based creoles in the Caribbean is often assumed to be diglossic, in Guadeloupe, there is frequent codeswitching and nothing resembling diglossia in terms of functional distribution of languages. She also reports that this is a situation of stable bilingualism, which is another challenge to the tenets of the diglossia paradigm, as the claim is that such stable bilingualism can be found only with diglossia.

Further, the relative statuses of the languages may not be exactly as Ferguson depicts; for example, Stępkowska (

2012) notes that in Switzerland, Swiss German has long had high prestige and this fact would contradict the usual assumptions about the L code in a diglossic situation. Studler (2017) reinforces this with findings in her attitudinal study, also noting that the functional distribution between High German and Swiss German has become blurred.

Even if we embrace the idea of diglossia, it is a concept which fits only a narrow range of social situations. There are many more examples of multilingualism which are clearly not diglossic and we will look at some of these in the pages that follow.

Exploration 8.2 A Diglossic Situation?

How strict are the boundaries between language domains in your repertoire? Do you experience any diglossia in your own repertoire – that is, are there certain ways of speaking that you use only in certain circumstances? Think about not just distinct languages but also dialects and styles of language. Are there formal features that you might use in educational, religious, or political contexts that you do not use in casual interactions? Are there colloquial ways of speaking which you would not use in front of a teacher, religious leader, or community elders? If so, what would the consequences be for using one code in the domain where another is expected? And might you do this in a joking manner, despite these expectations?

Multilingual Discourse

In most multilingual settings, there are no strict or explicit guidelines for what language to speak. People must select a particular code whenever they choose to speak, and they may also decide to switch from that code to another or to mix codes even within sometimes very short utterances. Take, for instance, the following example of English–German multilingual discourse between two pre-teen girls:

1. I: **Iii** , you **knabber** on your finger.

   ‘Ick, you chew on your finger[nail].’
2. K: No, I don’t, this one is broke off.
3. I: **Ekelig** .

   ‘Gross.’

Until recently, the most common term used in sociolinguistics to refer to this phenomenon was codeswitching. However, this term is losing currency, and we choose the term multilingual discourse as a cover term for a number of different linguistic patterns. We will, however, continue to use the term codeswitching, or other terms such as translanguaging (see discussion above) in the context of the discussion of particular studies that use that term. In the next sections we’ll provide an overview of the development of ideas about multilingual discourse, looking at such factors as social and political norms, the linguistic marketplace, social identity and emotions.

Although we will not provide an overview of research on **codeswitching constraints** , that is, the structural features of multilingual discourse, a brief mention of this topic is warranted here. There has been a great deal of research in this vein and it is not always completely separate from the discussion of social factors. Research on codeswitching constraints focuses on switches within a single sentence (called intra-sentential codeswitching), such as in the following example with English and German. Here we see a noun and adjective from German embedded in a sentence otherwise in English, which is a common pattern in codeswitching.

> *Look this **blaue Fleck** is very (1) you know when you push it (.) it’s ow ‘bruise’*

Various researchers have proposed models and made predictions about how two languages can be combined.

Some of the more popular of these at this time include the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) and 4M models (Myers-Scotton 1993 , 2002 ; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2017) and work within the Minimalist Program (MacSwan 2014). Most of this research seeks to find universal constraints that apply to all language pairs, but approaches differ. For example, the MLF model is based on the assumption that one of the languages is dominant and provides the grammatical frame, and that only certain types of morphemes can be switched. Work within the Minimalist Program is based on generative syntactic theory and concerns issues such as the union of the two lexicons (MacSwan 2014 , 5). Our focus in the rest of this chapter will be the social meanings of such grammatical phenomena.

Metaphorical and situational codeswitching

An early seminal work on multilingual discourse is Blom and Gumperz (1972), in which the concepts of situational and metaphorical codeswitching are introduced. Although this distinction is no longer used as a framework for analyses of multilingual discourse, the underlying ideas about the meanings of language choices provide the basis for subsequent theories, and are thus introduced here.

Situational codeswitching occurs when the languages used change according to the situations: one language is used in one situation and another in a different one. What we observe is that one variety is used in a certain set of situations and another in an entirely different set. This kind of codeswitching differs from diglossia. In diglossic communities the situation also dictates the choice of variety but the choice is much more rigidly defined by the particular activity and by the relationship between the participants. Diglossia reinforces differences, whereas codeswitching tends to reduce them.

As the term itself suggests, **metaphorical codeswitching** has an affective dimension to it: the choice of code carries symbolic meaning, that is, the language fits the message. This is illustrated in a quote attributed to Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, which indicates attitudes about certain languages being holy, the language of love or male solidarity, or crude or bestial: ‘I speak Spanish to God, Italian to women, French to men, and German to my horse.’

Blom and Gumperz’s early work set the stage for continued research addressing the question of why speakers switched between languages when and how they did. While many studies have created taxonomies of functions of codeswitching (e.g., emphasis, elaboration, and so on), we will focus instead on broader frameworks which seek to provide principles underlying the use of multiple codes in conversation.

Communication accommodation theory

Another framework which has informed current ideas about language choice is speech accommodation theory, later called communication accommodation theory (Giles et al. 1987 , 1991 ; Giles and Ogay 2007 ; Gallois and Giles 2015), although this framework is most commonly used to analyze variation within a code. Language users sometimes try to accommodate to the expectations that others have of them when they speak, and they may do this consciously and deliberately or be quite unaware of what they are doing. **Accommodation** is one way of explaining how individuals and groups may be seen to relate to each other. One individual can try to induce another to judge him or her more favorably by reducing differences between the two. An individual may even be prepared to sacrifice something to gain social approval of some kind, for example, shift in behavior to become more like the other. This is **convergence** behavior. Alternatively, if you desire to distance yourself from other interlocutors, the shift in behavior will be away from the behavior of another or others. This is **divergence** behavior. Vincze and Gasiorek (2018) discuss such behaviors in a study of Swedish-speaking Finns and when and why they would converge to the language of their Finnish-speaking peers. Unsurprisingly, the respective competence of the speakers in the two languages played a large role in these linguistic choices. Such reasons for code choices lead us to the next model, which addresses how speakers position themselves with regard to norms for particular social interactions.

The markedness model

Another theory in the study of language choice is the markedness model (Myers-Scotton 1983 , 1993 , 1998). The main idea of this model is that, for a given interaction, there is an **unmarked choice** , that is, a code which is expected in the specific context. The relative markedness of a code varies by situation. It is an unmarked choice for a citizen to address an inquiry to an official in Bokmål in Hemnesberget, for a teacher to speak Standard German to a visitor in a school in the Gail Valley, Austria, and for a police officer to speak English to someone in a good car in Nigeria. Corresponding marked choices for initial encounters between people who do not know each other in each of the above encounters would be Ranamål, Slovenian, or one of the other languages spoken widely in Nigeria such as Hausa or Yoruba. These languages are then the unmarked choices when locals converse socially in each of these places. Thus markedness is linked to the specific situation and interlocutors.

The markedness model does not predict that people always use the unmarked code, but rather employs the concept of markedness as a means to analyze codeswitching. For example, in a Spanish–English bilingual classroom, the unmarked code in an English lesson is clearly and often explicitly English. Using this unmarked code reinforces the status quo relationship between the teacher and the students. If a student switches to Spanish, this marked choice could indicate the student's lack of cooperation in the lesson, or her Spanish utterance could be directed at a peer and thus indicate that this turn is seen as outside of the frame of the lesson. The essential point is that all language choices, marked and unmarked, contribute to the relationship between the interlocutors.

This model is exemplified in a study of a Malawian family living in the United States and the switches between English and Chicheŵa (Myers-Scotton 2002). Everyone in the family (father, mother, and two sons, ages ten and seven – there is also a baby in the family, but he was too young to speak at the time of this recording) speaks both languages fluently. They have lived in the United States for three years. Although English is one of the official languages of their home country, the parents in this family are also invested in having their children learn and maintain Chicheŵa. A quantitative analysis shows that the parents use Chicheŵa as their unmarked code choice, while the children use English. Further, the data show how the children use English to show opposition to their parents (e.g., when one of the sons is objecting to changing the baby) and Chicheŵa to show deference and garner support from their parents. For example, there is a stark contrast between one boy's use of Chicheŵa to address the parents and his switch to English to argue with his younger brother. Similarly, the parents use English to step out of their parental roles, as shown in the following example in which the mother is leaving for work in the English-speaking public sphere, and her language switch parallels her switch in roles.

(Context: Mother is leaving for work; M is Mother, P(eter) is the oldest son; English is in all caps and Chichewâ is in regular script)

M [to Peter] OK, *ukangoyang'ana ma* -DRINK *amene ali mu* -FRIDGE- *mo* .

'Ok, just go and look at [the] drinks that are in [the] fridge.'

P WHAT COLOR?

M *Upange kaye* CHECK DRINK *usanathile* ...

'You should first check [the] drink before you pour [it].'

M ... [now on her way out]

Ukachape uyu , AND THEN I'M OUT OF HERE.

'Go and wash this one, and then I'm out of here.' (Myers-Scotton 2002 , 217)

The markedness model was originally designed to explain the social motivations of alternation between two distinct languages in spoken conversation, but has also been applied to switching between different varieties of the same language (see the collection of articles in Myers-Scotton 1998) and also literary codeswitching (Gross 2000), advertising (Wei-Yu Chen 2006 ; Micu and Coulter 2010), poetry (Barnes 2011), and film (Barnes 2012).

Exploration 8.3 The Unmarked Code in the Classroom

When you come into a classroom at your university, what linguistic variety do you expect to hear? (Is this different in foreign language classrooms?) What does it mean if the professor or students speak a different language, a nonstandardized dialect, or either more or less formally than you consider 'unmarked'? Compare your expectations with those of your classmates.

Multilingual identities

In chapters 1 , 3 , and 7 , we have already discussed the social constructionist approach to social identity. An important aspect of this approach is that identities are not seen as fixed but as fluid, multiple, and culturally constructed. Identities might align with pre-existent categories such as gender, occupation, ethnicity, and so on, but should be thought of as being brought into being through the interaction with others. Furthermore, and of particular importance when looking at multilingual discourse, there is no one-to-one correspondence between language choice and social identity, that is, speaking Spanish in the USA does not necessarily construct the speaker as Latinx. Speaking Spanish might serve to construct any number of other aspects of identity – age, gender, or other levels of identity, for example, that of a father, someone with a good sense of humor, or a humble person. Yet another level of identity involves the relationship between interlocutors, so a language choice may be part of the construction of a close friendship, a boss–employee relationship, or a flirtation.

Thus despite the ideology of 'one nation–one language' discussed above, we often see the construction of national identity accomplished through the use of multilingual discourse, as national identity is intertwined with other aspects of identity. In a study of multimodal communication on football communities on Facebook, Pérez-Sabater and Moffo (2019) examine how participants from two countries – Cameroon and Spain – construct their identities. They note that both national and local belonging is constructed through code choices. In Spain, while Spanish is the most prevalent language, the use of English is linked to global aspirations, and Catalan to local identity for the supporters of F.C. Barcelona. In Cameroon, there is overall more multilingual discourse in the posts, reflecting the highly multilingual nature of the country. Although French is the dominant language in these posts, it is mixed with English, Cameroonian Pidgin English, and indigenous languages such as Basaa. These examples of public written use of indigenous Cameroonian languages represent a departure from usual practices which exclude these languages; the uses here are limited to individual words and phrases, but illustrate how multilingualism brings together different aspects of identity – not just global, national, and local belonging, but also aspects of identity linked to education, ethnicity, and football team allegiance.

Another example of how global, national, and local languages are combined to construct identity is found in an ethnographic study of hip-hop spaces in Cape Town, South Africa. Williams (2017) describes how the uses of multiple varieties of English (e.g., African American English, Black South African English), Afrikaans and Kaaps (a racialized local Afrikaans variety), Sabela (described as a 'secret' prison language), and isiXhosa (a Bantu language spoken in the region) are used to index different types of linguistic citizenship. In particular, these performances draw on both global and local codes and their associations to index both local belonging and allegiance to a wider hip-hop community.

The identities in these studies are rooted in place, but other research notes that this is not always the case. A study by Tannenbaum and Tseng (2015) of 'third culture kids' notes that their experiences of a high level of mobility as children resulted in strong identifications with languages as opposed to locations. In contrast to studies of more traditional migrants, they did not necessarily identify primarily with their first language (which was usually the dominant language of their parents), but instead were dominant in English. Although they had multilingual repertoires, they often reported using English across domains and interlocutors, including in the home and with others for whom English was not the dominant language. This effect of globalization will be a continued topic in chapter 10 .

Many investigations of multilingual discourse look at media discourse, which is the site for identity construction for individuals and groups. Wentker (2018

) examines how a group of six German university students use codeswitching (primarily between German and English) to construct a group identity in a WhatsApp group. Using a community of practice framework, this study shows that multilingual discourse, and specifically the use of certain phrases (e.g., *what have you* , *splendid*) become part of the community code and the construction of ingroup belonging. These phrases are 'legendary phrases coined by professors,' and thus examples of intertextuality in the construction of identity.

This example of 'legendary phrases,' or the use of phrases that evoke the voice of another, raises the issue of mocking of others in identity construction. There is a body of research on mocking practices – especially Mock Spanish (Hill 2007), but also other varieties of English (Slobe 2018 for Mock White Girl; Fuller 2009 for Mock non-Standard English; Chun 2004 for Mock Asian English). Such 'stylized' ways of speaking are a less well-developed topic in research on multilingualism, but also lend themselves to mocking portrayals of the other (Higgins 2015). Vidal (2015) illustrates this with an analysis of an interaction between the author, her sisters, and their grandfather and how they use Spanish and English to construct their identities as a multilingual family. While there is a clear element of group identity construction, there are also moments of mocking of the lower proficiency of Spanish of the youngest sister, and the lower proficiency of English of the grandfather.

One of the reasons why such mocking performances arise involves the aspect of authenticity, which is a key theme in multilingual studies of identity construction. Shulist (2016) discusses what she calls 'graduated authenticity' in a study of members of indigenous language groups in the Northwest Amazon of Brazil. While language is a primary means of constructing legitimacy as a member of a particular group, arguments for belonging are also made on the basis of ethnic identity and ancestry, creating multiple ways of defining group membership.

Ideas about authenticity can also involve standardization, and the standardized variety can be viewed as embodying the authentic speaker or as the antithesis of authenticity. Hornsby (2015) discusses authenticity as a double-edged sword in language revitalization contexts, as the different ways of being 'authentic' create divides between traditional and new speakers. In Breton (a Celtic language spoken in the area of France called Brittany), modern literature is written in a standardized variety by the educated elite who rarely have Breton as their first language. Revitalization projects in this language focus on standardized features which alienate heritage speakers, leading to a situation where new speakers have little contact with the traditional speakers of the language they are seeking to revitalize, both groups seeing the other as lacking in authenticity.

Authenticity is also often an issue for immigrant background people; recall that linguistic proficiency was the main focus of authentic identity among Italian immigrants in Australia in the Rubino (2019) study discussed in the last chapter. This is also the case for Cantonese–English bilinguals in Toronto, Canada, who report that codeswitching practices index their identities as Chinese individuals born and raised overseas which de-authenticates their Chinese group membership (Yim and Clément 2019). Bloch and Hirsch (2017) also discuss this for Tamil and Kurdish refugees in the UK, noting that those in their sample who did not speak their heritage languages often felt shame and loss. Two of the Tamil-background research participants reported being called a 'coconut' because they did not speak Tamil. This metaphor (brown on the outside, white on the inside) is a clear accusation of lack of authenticity.

The theme of language as indexical of racial or ethnic belonging can be seen in Bailey's well-known work on Dominican Americans and their use of different varieties of Spanish and English (Bailey 2001 , 2005). He describes how Dominican American high school students in Providence, Rhode Island, negotiate their way among other students of different language backgrounds, mainly other Hispanics and African Americans. They share a language with the former and racial categorization and social class characteristics with the latter. However, they seek to assert their own separate identity. Consequently, they have developed a code that 'includes distinctive alternation of forms indexing a Dominican American identity. Most salient of these, perhaps, is the alternation between English and Spanish in codeswitching' (2005, 259). The Dominican American students also use some speech characteristics of the African American students but such use does not make them 'Black' since their ability to use Spanish, that is, their Spanish ethnolinguistic identity, triumphs over any common identity derived from African descent (2005, 263). While they continue to speak their varieties of Spanish and English, they maintain, at least for now, their separate identity. However, Bailey adds (2005, 270–271) that if succeeding generations of students fail to continue to do so, this could have serious consequences for maintaining a separate Dominican American identity. Such studies also provide evidence for 'race' as a cultural construct rather than a simple biological reality, as racial group membership is sometimes fluid, contested, or challenged.

Exploration 8.4 Accommodation or Mockery?

The concept of accommodation can be used for all levels of language variation, that is, for convergence/divergence in not just distinct languages but also dialects or styles. Think about your own language use; are there instances in which you alter the way you speak to sound more or less like the person to whom you are talking? If you shift your way of speaking to sound more like someone else, where is the line between convergence to show solidarity and mocking? How do you feel if you perceive that someone is imitating how *you* speak? Is this flattery, or mockery?

Bricolage

Before closing this chapter on multilingualism, we would like to return to a point made in the beginning of the chapter, and one which we will continue in the next: multilingual discourse is not necessarily made up of easily distinguishable codes, and the language users themselves often do not recognize the way they speak as containing elements from different linguistic systems (Jørgensen et al. 2015 ; Jørgensen and Møller 2014).

Albury (2017) also notes, based on his research in Malaysia, that 'languaging' – that is, fluid linguistic practices which blur boundaries between languages both linguistically and ideologically – may occur alongside other linguistic practices and ideologies, for instance a robust set of categories and repertoires which revolve around the concept of 'mother tongue.' As we will discuss further in chapter 13 , language policies in Malaysia are rooted in mother tongue designations, and this remains a strong theme in society, but at the same time languaging in 'Bahasa Rojak' (the term used for communication across ethnolinguistic divides) is a commonly reported practice.

Further, the transglossic framework focuses on another aspect of multilingual fluidity: in some contexts, the indexical connections between a code and an identity category is disrupted, challenged, or rearranged (Dovchin et al. 2018 ; Pennycook and Otsuji 2016 , 2019). Even when people do have labels for the ways that they speak, these labels may not have the same meanings in all contexts. For example, Otsuji and Pennycook give the example of the label 'Lebanese' being used at a market at Sydney to include people of Turkish, Pakistani, Moroccan, Sudanese-Egyptian, Somalian, and Filipino backgrounds. The term 'Lebanese' had been adopted as a way of denoting the 'default Arabic' community (Pennycook and Otsuji 2016 , 272), clearly a different understanding of the term than the denotation of a specific national group.

Such ideas are also part of the work on **crossing** , as discussed in chapter 3 . This practice is defined as using a language associated with a (usually ethnolinguistic) group to which one does not belong (Rampton 1995 , 2001 ; Rampton and Charalambous 2012). While in this case the code usage does draw on indexical associations between languages and social groups, the speakers are not vying for membership in other groups but instead forming their own multiethnic youth culture norms.

Such research makes it clear that multilingualism is not simply the use of one language or the other, based on factors such as language proficiency and preference of the speaker and addressee, or as a simple index of belonging in an ethnic, national, or linguistic group. This is our point of departure in the next chapter, where we will look at how different societal configurations lead to a variety of structural developments.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 8 explores what happens when users of different languages come into contact: they become multilingual. There are many different paths to multilingualism, and many different ways of using multiple languages. One pattern of language use we explore is diglossia, in which the two languages differ in terms of their status in society; one is considered more prestigious and is used in more formal contexts, the other is reserved for more casual events and interactions. In most multilingual societies, however, code choice is not so clear, and there is multilingual discourse. Often, the attitudes people have about multilingualism, or about particular languages, influence how the languages are used. We look at three main theoretical approaches to the study of multilingual discourse – communication accommodation theory, the markedness model, and the study of language choice as part of the social construction of identity. In this final section, we see how the study of multilingualism and the study of the uses of different styles and dialects of the same language revolve around the same principles.

Exercises

1. The trend in academia has gone from viewing bilingualism as a disadvantage to learning and linguistic ability to claims that it is an advantage in cognitive development (see the websites listed in the links in the online material for this chapter for some background information on this with a focus on bilingualism and cognition). But what about social advantages and disadvantages? Talk to someone who grew up with two languages and see what they have to say about whether they consider it an advantage or a disadvantage. Here is a preliminary list of questions you might want to ask:
   - Are you glad to be multilingual?
   - Do you continue to use all/both of the languages you know? Describe how and when

you use them. Are they used in separate domains or do you use multilingual discourse?

- Have you ever been ashamed of speaking more than one language, or of being a speaker of a particular language?
- Do you have different emotional attachments to your different languages?
- Are there situations when it is very good to be multilingual, and others where it is less good? What are these situations, and what influences how you feel about your language background?
- If you had children, would you raise them multilingually? Why or why not?

2. Look at the transcript below for a conversation between two young speakers in Berlin, Germany. First read the background information about these speakers, and then, if you would like to hear the conversation, go to the website and click on the link to play the sound file and follow along as you listen. Write a short analysis of the language use by the speakers, using one of the approaches outlined in the chapter.

   Sarah and Hans: New Glasses

   Sarah and Hans are a heterosexual couple in their early to mid-twenties. They have been together for about two years; they are currently living together temporarily while Sarah looks for a new apartment. Sarah has a German mother but grew up in the United States; she spoke some German growing up but her dominant language is English. She has lived in Germany for about three years. Hans has always lived in Germany and German is his dominant language; he speaks English as a foreign language, having learned it in school. Up until recently, Sarah and Hans almost always spoke German together, but at the time of this recording, Hans was going to be leaving soon for a semester as an exchange student in the United States, and Sarah had been speaking English to him because, as she told the researcher who collected these data, she felt he needed to work on his English.

This segment of the conversation is about halfway through an hour-long recording, during which they have been preparing their evening meal, chatting, and eating.

German words are in **bold** , English in plain font.

1. S: Oh, you know what I had, what I did, I got my eyes checked –
2. H: Oh, where?
3. S: – and my eyes are worse, now, in the last few years, they've gotten worse, especially the right eye. So my right eye has gotten much worse. And um, I need a new, new **Gläser** . Right?

   'lenses'
4. H: M-hmm.
5. S: And it's the same man that I know from 1990, 1989.
6. H: **Wo warst Du, Du warst bei der –**

   'Where were you, you were at the –'
7. S: **Brillenwerkstatt, wo ich meine Brille, wo ich die habe, eigentlich.**

   And um, ja, er sagte, ja, das kostet 300 Mark mit

   Krankenversicherung. Und ich muss 300 Mark bezahlen.

   'The Brillenwerkstatt [name of the optician], where I [got] my glasses, where I got these, actually. And um, yeah, he said, yeah, that costs 300 marks with health insurance. And I have to pay 300 marks.'
8. H: **Was kostet mit Krankenversicherung 300 Mark.**

   'What costs 300 marks?'

9. S: **Die neue Gläser für diese Brille.**

   'The new lenses for my glasses.'

10. H: **Echt? Hat er gesagt?**

    'Really? He said that?'

11. S: **Ja ja, wir haben alles aufgerechnet. Alle, ich war da mindesten anderthalb Stunden, er hat alles geprüft, meine Augen, mit die alle verschienden Machinen, die Stigmatismus, die … alle Sachen.**

    'Yeah, yeah, we calculated it all. Everything, I was there at least one and a half hours, he checked everything, my eyes, with all the different machines, my stigmatism, the … everything.'

12. H: **Du musst, du musst trotzdem zum Augenarzt gehen, oder? Weil er dass verschreiben muss, wenn Du was von der Krankenkasse haben willst?**

    'You have to, you have to go to the eye doctor anyway, don't you? So he can prescribe it, if you want to get something from the health insurance?'

13. S: **Um-umm.** {meaning no}

14. H: **Geht nicht Du lasst nur der Optiker machen.**

    'That can't be, that just the optician does it.'

15. S: **Doch. Das is so, auch so wie ich meine Brille gekriegt habe. Ist genau so.**

    'Yes it is. That's how, the way I got my glasses too. Just like that.'

16. H: **Du warst nicht beim Augenarzt.**

    'You didn't go to an eye doctor.'

17. S: **Nee, nie. Nie, Du musst nie da. Er prüft alles da, die haben alles da. Es ist ganz**

super, der Laden, echt. Ich war da schon ein Paar mal.

'No, never. You never have to go there. He checks everything, they have everything there. It's really great, the shop, really. I've been there a couple of times.'

18. H: **Brillenladen in Kreuzberg.**

'Glasses shop in Kreuzberg [a nearby district of their city].'

19. S: **Ich kenne die auch. Ich kenne den Typ.**

'I know them too. I knew this guy.'

20. H: **Ich werde irgendwie skeptisch, also.**

'I'd be skeptical, though.'

21. S: No.

22. **H: Weil der Augenarzt der hat eine Medizinische Ausbildung.**

'Because a doctor has medical training.'

23. S: **Ich war bei Augenarzt, ich kenne das auch, und die, die machen nichts anders. Die machen die selben Tests und so.**

'I've been to an eye doctor, and I know that too, and they, they don't do anything different. They do the same tests and so on.'

24. H: Uh-huh.

25. S: **Aber das Problem ist, ich brauche 300 Mark nächtsten Montag. Kannst Du mir das ausleihen?**

'But the problem is, I need 300 Marks next Monday. Can you lend it to me?'

26. H: **Du kriegst eine neue Brille jetzt, oder was?**

'You're getting a new pair of glasses, or what?'

27. S: **Ja.**

28. H: **Uh-huh.**

29. S: **Ich habe die bestellt.**

    'I ordered them.'

30. H: **Tatsaechlich?**

    'Really?'

31. S: **Ja, Hans, meine Augen sind schlecter, was soll ich tun, ich renne blind durch die Gegend** !

    'Yeah, Hans, my eyes have gotten worse, what should I do, I'm running around blind!'

32. H: **Aber du siehst, du sagst du siehst immer so viel mit der Brille.**

    'But you see, you say you see so much with those glasses.'

33. S: No, can you loan me 300 Marks. Do you have it?

34. H: **Natürlich, klar.**

    'Of course, certainly.'

35. S: Do you have that? I thought you had nothing in, on your **Konto.**

    'account'

36. H: **Ja, ich nehme das von meinem Sparkonto.**

    'Yeah, I'll take it from my savings account.'

37. S: **Geht das? Ist das kein Problem?**

    'Will that work? Is that a problem?'

38. H: **Kein Problem.**

    'No problem.'

39. S: Okay. That's what I wanna know. All your other comments are unnecessary.

40. H: Blah-blah-blah.

41. S: So anyway, it's a good thing to go, because I've been having headaches a lot lately. And I knew that there was something wrong so I went to my xxx
42. H: **Ja, Dein rechtes Auge seiht immer ein bisschen anders aus.**

    'Yeah, your right eye looks a little different.'
43. S: Shut up! It does not.
44. H: **Doch**

    'yes it does.'
45. S: **Nicht wie bei dir.**

    'Not like yours.'
46. H: **Hängt schon fast heraus.**

    'It's almost hanging out.'
47. S: No way. Shut up (laughs)
48. H: (laughs) **Irgendwie dachte ich der fehlt irgendwas an deinem Augen.**

    'Somehow I thought there was something wrong with your eye.'
49. S: **Arschloch!**

    'Asshole!'
50. H: **Na na na.**

3. Codeswitching and borrowing are said to be different phenomena. Try to distinguish between the two, using examples from two languages you know. What criteria do the various scholars who have discussed this issue rely on most? What disagreements do you find? Is there possibly a continuum here, that is, no clear division between the two? You might begin your search for answers by consulting Myers-Scotton (2006 , 253ff.).

Further Reading

Angermeyer, P. S. (2015). *Speak English or What? Codeswitching and Interpreter Use in New York City Courts* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dyers, C. (2015). Multilingualism in late-modern Africa: Identity, mobility and multivocality. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 19(2): 226–235.

Järlehed, Johan (2019) KILL BILBO: Metrolingual play in Galician and Basque t-shirts. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 16(1): 59–78.

Lee, C. (2016). Multilingual resources and practices in digital communication. In Alexandra Georgakopoulou and Tereza Spilioti (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Digital Communication* . New York: Routledge, 118–132.

Moore, E., J. Bradley, and J. Simpson (eds.) (2020). *Translanguaging as Transformation: The Collaborative Construction of New Linguistic Realities* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Noels, K. A., H. Kil, and Y. Fang (2014). Ethnolinguistic orientation and language variation: Measuring and archiving ethnolinguistic vitality, attitudes, and identity. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 8(11): 618–628.

Rampton, B., C. Charalambous, and P. Charalambous (2019). Crossing of a different kind. *Language in Society* 48(5): 629–655.

Snow, D. (2013). Revisiting Ferguson's defining cases of diglossia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34(1): 61–76.

Zappettini, F. (2014). 'A badge of Europeanness': Shaping identity through the European Union's institutional discourse on multilingualism. *Journal of Language and Politics* 13(3): 375–402.

References

Abdelali, A. (2004). Localization in Modern Standard Arabic. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 55(1): 23–28.

Albirini, A. (2011). The sociolinguistic functions of codeswitching between Standard Arabic and dialectal Arabic. *Language in Society* 40(5): 537–562.

Albirini, A. (2016). *Modern Arabic Sociolinguistics: Diglossia, Variation, Codeswitching, Attitudes and Identity* . New York: Routledge.

Albury, N. J. (2017). Mother tongues and languaging in Malaysia: Critical linguistics under critical examination. *Language in Society* 46(4): 567–589.

Angermeyer, P. S. (2017). Controlling Roma refugees with 'Google Hungarian': Indexing deviance, contempt, and belonging in Toronto's linguistic landscape. *Language in Society* 46(2): 159.

Bailey, B. (2001). Dominican-American ethnic/racial identities and United States social categories. *International Migration Review* 35(3): 677–708.

Bailey, B. (2005). The language of multiple identities among Dominican Americans. In S. F. Kiesling and C. B. Paulston (eds.), *Intercultural Discourse and Communication* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Bailey, B. (2007). Heteroglossia and boundaries. In Monica Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: Social and Political Approaches* . New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 257–274.

Barnes, L. (2011). The function and significance of bilingual codeswitching in English poetry with a special focus on the work of Eliot and Pound. *English Academy Review* 28(1): 23–38.

Barnes, L. (2012). The role of codeswitching in the creation of an outsider identity in the bilingual film. *Communication* 8(3): 247–260.

Bassiouney, R. (2020). *Arabic Sociolinguistics: Topics in Diglossia, Gender, Identity, and Politics* . Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Bloch, A. and S. Hirsch (2017). ‘Second generation’ refugees and multilingualism: Identity, race and language transmission. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(14): 2444–2462.

Blom, J. and J. J. Gumperz (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structure: Codeswitching in Norway. In John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics* . *New York* : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 407–434.

Bourhis, R. Y., H. Giles, and D. Rosenthal (1981). Notes on the construction of a ‘subjective vitality questionnaire’ for ethnolinguistic groups. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 2(2): 145–155.

Bourhis, R. Y., I. Sachdev, M. Ehala, and H. Giles (2019). Assessing 40 years of group vitality research and future directions. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 38(4): 409–422.

Boussofara-Omar, N. (2003). Revisiting Arabic diglossic switching in light of the MLF model and its sub-models: The 4-M model and the abstract level model. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 6(1): 33–46.

Brustad, K. (2017). Diglossia as ideology. In Jacob Høigilt and Gunvor Mejdell (eds.), *The Politics of Written Language in the Arab World: Writing Change* . Leiden: Brill, 41–67.

Buckingham, L. (2018). Race, space and commerce in multi-ethnic Costa Rica: A linguistic landscape inquiry. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 254: 1–27.

Choi, J. K. (2005). Bilingualism in Paraguay: Forty years after Rubin’s study. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26(3): 233–248.

Chun, E. W. (2004). Ideologies of legitimate mockery: Margaret Cho's revoicings of mock Asian. *Pragmatics* 14(2–3): 263–289.

Coulmas, F. (2018). *An Introduction to Multilingualism: Language in a Changing World* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Creese, A. and A. Blackledge (2010). Towards a sociolinguistics of superdiversity. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 13(4): 549–572.

Dovchin, S., A. Pennycook, and S. Sultana (2018). Transglossia: From translanguaging to transglossia. In *Popular Culture, Voice and Linguistic Diversity: Young Adults On- and Offline* . Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 27–56.

Ehala, M. (2015). Ethnolinguistic vitality. In Karen Tracy (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* . Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 1–7.

Ehala, M. and E. Vedernikova (2015). Subjective vitality and patterns of acculturation: Four cases. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 36(7): 711–728.

Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *Word* 15: 325–340. Reprinted in P. P. Giglioli (ed.) (1972), *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Ferguson, J. and L. Sidorova (2018). What language advertises: Ethnographic branding in the linguistic landscape of Yakutsk. *Language Policy* 17(1): 23–54.

Fishman, J. A. (1980). Bilingualism and biculturism as individual and as societal phenomena. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 1(1): 3–15.

Fuller, J. M. (2009). 'Sam need gun go war': Performances of non-Standard English in the construction of identity 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 13(5): 659–669.

Fuller, J. M. (2012). *Bilingual Pre-teens: Competing Ideologies and Multiple Identities in the U.S. and Germany* . New York: Routledge.

Fuller, J. M. (2018). Ideologies of language, bilingualism and monolingualism. In A. De Houwer and L. Ortega (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fuller, J. M. (2019a). Linguistic landscapes and the making of an imagined community. In Theresa Heyd, Ferdinand von Mengden, and Britta Schneider (eds.), *The Sociolinguistic Economy of Berlin: Cosmopolitan Perspectives on Language, Diversity and Social Space* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 279.

Fuller, J. M. (2019b). English in the German-speaking world: Immigration and integration. In R. Hickey (ed.), *English in the German-Speaking World* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 165–184.

Gafaranga, J. (2010). Medium request: Talking language shift into being. *Language in Society* , 241–270.

Gallois, C. and H. Giles (2015). Communication accommodation theory. In Karen Tracy (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* . Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 1–18.

García, O. and L. Wei (2012). Translanguaging. In Carol A. Chapelle (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* . Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 1–7.

Giles, H., R. Bourhis, and D. M. Taylor (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations* . London: Academic Press.

Giles, H., N. Coupland, and J. Coupland (1991). Accommodation theory: Communication, context, and consequences. In H. Giles, N. Coupland, and J.

Coupland (eds.), *Contexts of Accommodation: Developments in Applied Sociolinguistics* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–68.

Giles, H., A. Mulac, J. J. Braodac, and P Johnson (1987). Speech accommodation theory: The first decade and beyond. In Margaret McLaughlin (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 10* . Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE, 13–48.

Giles, H., and T. Ogay (2007). Communication accommodation theory. In B. B. Whaley and W. Samter (eds.), *Explaining Communication: Contemporary Theories and Exemplars* . Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 325–344.

Gogonas, N. and D. Michail (2015). Ethnolinguistic vitality, language use and social integration amongst Albanian immigrants in Greece. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 36(2): 198–211.

Gross, S. (2000). Intentionality and the markedness model in literary codeswitching. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32(9): 1283–1303.

Hélot, C., M. Barni, R. Jannssens, and C. Bagna (eds.) (2012). *Linguistic Landscapes ,* Multilingualism and Social Change. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Higgins, C. (2015). Insults or acts of identity? The role of stylization in multilingual discourse. *Multilingua* 34(2): 135–158.

Hill, J. (2007). Mock Spanish: A site for the indexical reproduction of racism in American English. In Joseph F. Healey and Eileen O'Brien (eds.), *Race, Ethnicity, and Gender: Selected Readings* . 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 270–284.

Hornsby, M. (2015). The 'new' and 'traditional' speaker dichotomy: Bridging the gap. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (231): 107–125.

Jaffe, A. (2015). Defining the new speaker: Theoretical perspectives and learner trajectories. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 21–44.

Jaspers, J. and L. M. Madsen (2019). Fixity and fluidity in sociolinguistic theory and practice. In J. Jaspers and L. M. Madsen (eds.), *Critical Perspectives on Linguistic Fixity and Fluidity: Languagised Lives* . New York: Routledge.

Jaworski, Adam (2014). Metrolingual art: Multilingualism and heteroglossia. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 18: 134–158.

Jørgensen, J. N. (2008). Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5(3): 161–176.

Jørgensen, J. N., M. S. Karrebæk, L. M. Madsen, and J. S. Møller (2015). Polylanguaging in superdiversity. In Karel Arnaut, Jan Blommaert, Ben Rampton, and Massimiliano Spotti (eds.), *Language and Superdiversity* . New York: Routledge, 147–164.

Jørgensen, J. N. and J. S. Møller (2014). Polylingualism and languaging. In Constant Leung and Brian V. Street (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to English Studies* . New York: Routledge, 97–113.

Joubert, A. (2019). Evolution of linguistic identity in a super-region: The case of Catalans and Occitans in Occitanie. In M. A. Harrison and A. Joubert (eds.), *French Language Policies and the Revitalisation of Regional Languages in the 21st Century* . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 107–128.

Kallmeyer, W. and I. Keim (2003). Linguistic variation and the construction of social identity in a German-Turkish setting. In J. K. Androutsopoulos and A. Georgakopoulou (eds.), *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 29–46.

Kasstan, J. (2017). New speakers: Challenges and opportunities for variationist sociolinguistics. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 11(8): e12249.

Kasstan, J. and I. Rodríguez-Ordóñez (Forthcoming). New speakers and their heritage languages. In Y. Asahi, A. D'Arcy, and P. Kerswill (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Variationist Sociolinguistics* . London: Routledge.

Kircher, R. (2012). How pluricentric is the French language? An investigation of attitudes towards Quebec French compared to European French. *Journal of French Language Studies* 22(3): 345–370.

Kircher, R. (2016). Language attitudes among adolescents in Montreal: Potential lessons for language planning in Quebec. *Nottingham French Studies* 55(2): 239–259.

Lambert, W. E. (1967). A social psychology of bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23: 91–109. Reprinted in J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds.) (1972), *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Leeman, J. and G. Modan (2010). Selling the city: Language, ethnicity and commodified space. In Elana Shohamy, Eliezer Ben-Rafael, and Monica Barni (eds.), *Linguistic Landscape in the City* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 197.

MacSwan, J. (2014). *A Minimalist Approach to Intrasentential Code Switching* . New York: Routledge.

Managan, K. (2003). Diglossia reconsidered: Language choice and codeswitching in Guadeloupean voluntary organizations. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 47: 251–261.

Micu, C. C. and R. A. Coulter (2010). Advertising in English in nonnative English-speaking markets: The effect of language and self-referencing in advertising in Romania on ad attitudes. *Journal of East–West Business* 16(1): 67–84.

Mohanty, A. K. (2006). Multilingualism of the unequals and predicaments of education in India: Mother tongue or other tongue? In O. García, T. Skutnabb-Kangas, and M. E. Torres-Guzmán (eds.), *Imagining Multilingual Schools* . Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Mohanty, A. K. (2018). *The Multilingual Reality: Living with Languages* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Montes-Alcalá, C. (2000). Attitudes towards oral and written codeswitching in Spanish-English bilingual youths. In Ana Roca (ed.), *Research on Spanish in the United States: Linguistics Issues and Challenges* . Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 218–227.

Morales, E. (2002). *Living in Spanglish: The Search for Latino Identity in America* . New York: St. Martin's Press.

Moriarty, M. (2014). Contesting language ideologies in the linguistic landscape of an Irish tourist town. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 18(5): 464–477.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1983). The negotiation of identities in conversation: A theory of markedness and code choice. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 44: 115–136.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social Motivation for Codeswitching* . Oxford: Clarendon.

Myers-Scotton, C. (ed.) (1998). *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). Frequency and intentionality in (un)marked choices in codeswitching: 'This is a 24-hour country.' *International Journal of Bilingualism* 6(2): 205–219.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2006). *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Myers-Scotton, C. M. and J. L. Jake (2017). Revisiting the 4M model: Codeswitching and morpheme election at the abstract level. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 21(3): 340–366.

Nance, C., W. McLeod, B. O'Rourke, and S. Dunmore (2016). Identity, accent aim, and motivation in second language users: New Scottish Gaelic speakers' use of phonetic variation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 20(2): 164–191.

O'Rourke, B. and J. Pujolar (2013). From native speakers to 'new speakers': Problematizing nativeness in language revitalization contexts. *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 35(2): 47–67.

O'Rourke, B., J. Pujolar, and F. Ramallo (2015). New speakers of minority languages: The challenging opportunity. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 1–20.

Ortega, A., J. Urla, E. Amorrortu, J. Goirigolzarri, and B. Uranga (2015). Linguistic identity among new speakers of Basque. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 85–105.

Otsuji, E. and A. Pennycook (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 7(3): 240–254.

Otsuji, E. and A. Pennycook (2011). Social inclusion and metrolingual practices. *Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* 14: 413–426.

Otsuji, E. and A. Pennycook (2012). Unremarkable hybridities and metrolingual practices. In Rani Rubdy and Lubna Alsagoff (eds.), *The Global-Local Interface and Hybridity: Exploring Language and Identity* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 83–99.

Pennycook, A. and E. Otsuji (2016). Lingoing, language labels and metrolingual practices. *Applied Linguistics Review* 7(3): 259–277.

Pennycook, A. and E. Otsuji (2019). Lingoing and everyday metrolingual metalanguage. In Jürgen Jaspers and Lian Malai Madsen (eds.), *Critical Perspectives on Linguistic Fixity and Fluidity: Languagised Lives* . New York: Routledge, 76–96.

Pérez-Sabater, C. and G. M. Moffo (2019). Managing identity in football communities on Facebook: Language preference and language mixing strategies. *Lingua* 225: 32–49.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents* . London: Longman.

Rampton, B. (2001). Crossing. In A. Duranti (ed.), *Key Terms in Language and Culture* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Rampton, B. and C. Charalambous (2012). Crossing. In Marilyn Martin-Jones, Adrian Blackledge, and Angela Creese (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* . New York: Routledge, 494–510.

Rangel, N., V. Loureiro-Rodríguez, and M. I. Moyna (2015). 'Is that what I sound like when I speak?': Attitudes towards Spanish, English, and codeswitching in two Texas border towns. *Spanish in Context* 12(2): 177–198.

Rodríguez-Ordóñez, I. (2015). The acquisition of nominal and verbal inflectional morphology: Evidence from Basque ergativity in adult L2 speakers. In *BUCLD 39: Supplement to Proceedings of the 39th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development* .

Rodríguez-Ordóñez, I. and L. Sainzmaza-Lecanda (2018). Bilingualism effects in Basque subject pronoun expression: Evidence from L2 Basque. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* 8(5): 523–560.

Rubin, J. (1968). *National Bilingualism in Paraguay* . The Hague: Mouton. Excerpted in J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds.) (1972), *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Rubino, A. (2019). Authenticity, agency and mobility in the discourse of Italian migrants in Australia. In Kristine Horner and Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain (eds.), *Multilingualism, (Im)mobilities and Spaces of Belonging* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 95.

Ryding, K. C. (2005). *A Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schieffelin, B. B. and R. C. Doucet (1998). The 'real' Haitian Creole. In B. B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard, and P. V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sharma, B. K. (2014). On high horses: Transnational Nepalis and language ideologies on YouTube. *Discourse, Context & Media* 4: 19–28.

Shulist, S. (2016). 'Graduated authenticity': Multilingualism, revitalization, and identity in the Northwest Amazon. *Language & Communication* 47: 112–123.

Slobe, T. (2018). Style, stance, and social meaning in mock white girl. *Language in Society* 47(4): 541–567.

Smith, B. K., M. Ehala, and H. Giles (2017). Vitality theory. In Jon F. Nussbaum (ed. in chief), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication* . https://oxfordre.com/communication/

Soliman, A. (2009). The changing role of Arabic in religious discourse: A sociolinguistic study of Egyptian Arabic. PhD dissertation.

Sridhar, K. K. (1996). Societal multilingualism. In S. L. McKay and N. H. Hornberger (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stępkowska, A. (2012). Diglossia: A critical overview of the Swiss example. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 129: 199–209.

Stroud, Christopher and Sibonile Mpendukana (2009). Towards a material ethnography of linguistic landscape: Multilingualism, mobility and space in a South African township. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 13(3): 363–386.

Studler, R. (2017). Diglossia and bilingualism: High German in German-speaking Switzerland from a folk linguistic perspective. *Revue transatlantique d'études suisses* , 6–7.

Tannenbaum, M. and J. Tseng (2015). Which one is Ithaca? Multilingualism and sense of identity among third culture kids. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 12(3): 276–297.

Vidal, M. (2015). Talking with Abuelo: Performing authenticity in a multicultural, multisited family. *Multilingua* 34(2): 187–210.

Vincze, L. and J. Gasiorek (2018). My competence, your competence, and the language we use: The moderating effect of interlocutor language constraint in bilingual accommodation. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 21(1): 70–78.

Wang, W. and F. G. Fang (2019). Chinese netizens' reactions to the use of English as a lingua franca. *English Today* 35(4): 3–12.

Wei-Yu Chen, Cheryl (2006). The mixing of English in magazine advertisements in Taiwan. *World Englishes* 25(3–4): 467–478.

Wentker, M. (2018). Codeswitching and identity construction in WhatsApp. In Birte Bös, Sonja Kleinke, Sandra Mollin, and Nuria Hernández (eds.), *The Discursive Construction of Identities On- and Offline* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 109.

Williams, Q. (2017). *Remix Multilingualism: Hip Hop, Ethnography and Performing Marginalized Voices* . London: Bloomsbury.

Yim, O. and R. Clément (2019). ‘You’re a juksing’: Examining Cantonese–English codeswitching as an index of identity. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 38(4): 479–495.

9
Contact Varieties: Structural Consequences of Social Factors

KEY TOPICS

- Language contact phenomena from codeswitching to convergence
- (Multi)ethnic dialects in the context of language contact
- Mixed languages
- Lingua francas
- Elaboration and nativization in creole formation
- Multiple influences in creole genesis

In this chapter we build on the concepts of chapter 8 to look more in depth at the linguistic structures of languages in contact. We present a short overview of structural studies of codeswitching and other language contact phenomena often talked about as 'convergence.' We then look at varieties which are commonly referred to as 'contact varieties,' revisiting the phenomena of social and ethnic dialects discussed in chapter 2 and also including what are called mixed languages. Finally, we examine what happens when one language is used by people of many different language backgrounds, and present an overview of research on lingua francas, pidgins, and creole languages.

A major issue in contact linguistics today is the status of such languages, an issue which we will return to below in our discussion of creole languages. At the center of this controversy is the issue of how different contact languages really are from other languages, since it is widely recognized that most, if not all, languages have been influenced at some point in their history by contact with other languages. For example, English (which is a Germanic language) is notorious for having loanwords from Romance languages which were borrowed during different periods of its development; it clearly changed considerably through language contact. Thus, although we have certain categories of types of contact languages, they also share similarities with each other, and also exhibit variation and change in the same ways as other languages not labeled contact varieties.

The Structure of Codeswitching

In the last chapter we talked about social aspects of language choice – what social meanings and interactional positionings are constructed in multilingual discourse. There is also a large body of literature about what has been called codeswitching constraints, that is, the structural features of multilingual discourse. These two aspects of language contact are not wholly separate; that is, interactional and societal factors clearly influence how the languages are used together (see Yakpo 2015 for a volume addressing this). Indeed, as we discussed in the last chapter, in some cases multilingual speech is seen as simply a 'normal' way of speaking and is not recognized as a mixture of different linguistic systems. The use of the term translanguaging (discussed in the last chapter) reflects this normalcy and fluidity of the use of linguistic elements from different languages. In other instances, the source languages are recognized and carry social meaning. Our focus on language structure will not ignore that these structures are produced by language users in specific social contexts. However, Bhatt and Bolonyai (2019 , 2020) point out that the concept of translanguaging has little to offer in this discussion of the structure of multilingual discourse; while the idea of hybridity and the lack of speaker focus on the borders between languages may be significant in how we frame language use socially, it does not contribute to our understanding of how linguistic systems fit together and change through language contact.

Research on codeswitching constraints focuses on switches within a single sentence (called intra-sentential codeswitching), such as in the following examples with English and Spanish. These examples show sentences primarily in one language which contain nouns and verbs from another language; these are some of the most common patterns in multilingual discourse.

(While setting up a chess board):

D: Me faltan mi **king** y mi **queen** .

'I am missing my king and my queen.'

(As an explanation for his argument with another student)

S: es que **kick** ó, maestra.

'what happened is that he kicked me, teacher.'

Various researchers have proposed models and made predictions about how two languages can be combined. Currently some of the more popular of these include the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) and 4M models (Myers-Scotton 1993 , 2002 ; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2017) and work within the Minimalist Program (MacSwan 2014). Most of this research seeks to find universal constraints that apply to all language pairs, but their approaches differ in many ways. For instance, the MLF model is based on the assumption that one of the languages is dominant and provides the grammatical frame, and that only certain types of morphemes can come from the other ('embedded') language. In contrast, work within the Minimalist Program is based on generative syntactic theory and concerns issues such as the union of the two lexicons (MacSwan 2014 , 5).

Thus one of the issues in this body of research has been the role of the languages in contact; do they contribute equally to the structure, or is one language dominant? We will look at various constellations of language intertwining in this chapter and show that researchers vary in their views on this matter. Throughout, however, we maintain that the issue of the role of the languages is rooted in societal factors and displayed in structural outcomes of different types.

Loanwords and Calques

In Haugen's (1950) landmark work, he defines various types of language contact phenomena. One of the simplest is what has been called borrowing, or the use of loanwords from one language in another. The language that incorporates an element from another language is called the **recipient language** , and the language from which the element is taken is the **donor language** . In some cases, a loanword is pronounced according to the phonological rules of the recipient language, rather than the donor language. In this case, we say the word is **phonologically integrated** . For example, the German word *gips* (literally 'plaster,' but used to refer to a cast used for a broken bone) has been borrowed into Japanese, which does not have consonant clusters, and is thus rendered as *gipusu* (ギプス).

On the other hand, if the pronunciation from the donor language is preserved, the word can be seen as part of the donor language (and thus a case of codeswitching and not borrowing). But this is not a clear criterion; it is not always a straightforward matter to say if a word is phonologically integrated or not. One of the issues is the sound correspondences between the two languages; if the languages have similar phonological systems, integration is easier but also less detectable. However, phonological integration also depends on what is commonly thought of as 'accent' of the individual speakers. If a speaker always has a French accent when speaking German, does this mean that all German-origin words they use are phonologically integrated borrowings and never codeswitching? Surely not, but it is difficult to draw the line.

In other language contact phenomena, it is not the words themselves that are transferred from one language to the other, but the way they are used. This is the case for **syntactic calques** , also known as **loan translations**

(Haugen 1950 , 214; Myers-Scotton 2006 , 218; Otheguy 1993). These calques are usually word-for-word translations, often of idiomatic phrases. Haugen (1950) gives the example of the English term ‘skyscraper’ which has been translated literally into several languages to refer to tall buildings (cf. Spanish *rascacielos*).

A similar phenomenon is what are called **semantic loans** or **loanshifts** (Haugen 1950 , 214, 219; Myers-Scotton 2006 , 218). These are words in the recipient language which take on a new meaning because of their phonological similarity to words from the donor language. Haugen (1950 , 209) cites the example of Portuguese *grosseria* ‘a rude remark’ being used to mean ‘grocery store’ among US speakers of Portuguese.

It is generally believed that these language contact phenomena first appear in the speech of multilinguals, with individuals using their languages in new and creative ways that can eventually spread to monolinguals as well. Research on such linguistic developments is the topic of the next section.

Exploration 9.1 Mixed-up Labels

There are many words used to describe contact varieties – for example, Spanglish (Spanish and English), Denglish (German [*Deutsch*] and English), or Singlish (Singapore English). Look up these terms (and/or others you are familiar with) to see how they are used; you will find that they often refer to different types of language contact. Compare and contrast these different labels in terms of the structures they refer to, but also the social status of the speakers that they imply!

Convergence

The word ‘convergence’ is used when one language takes on structural features of another, i.e., converges toward it. This phenomenon has been observed in such areas as the Balkans, the south of India, and Sri Lanka. An early landmark study which examined this is Gumperz and Wilson (1971). They reported that in Kupwar, a small village of about 3,000 inhabitants in Maharashtra, India, there was convergence among the four languages spoken: Marathi and Urdu (both of which are Indo-European), Kannada (a non-Indo-European language), and Telugu (also a non-Indo-European language spoken by only a few people in the village). The languages were distributed mainly by caste. The highest caste, the Jains, spoke Kannada, and the lowest caste, the untouchables, spoke Marathi. People in different castes also needed to speak to one another and to the Telugu-speaking rope-makers, and the Urdu-speaking Muslims also needed to communicate with their Hindu neighbors. Bilingualism or even trilingualism was normal, particularly among the men, but it was Marathi which dominated inter-group communication. One linguistic consequence, however, was that there was some convergence of the languages spoken in the village so far as syntax is concerned, but vocabulary differences were maintained (McMahon 1994 , 214–216). Thus it was vocabulary rather than syntax which served to distinguish the groups, and the variety of multilingualism that resulted was a special local variety which developed in response to local needs. Matras (2010 , 67) stresses that convergence should be seen not as interfering with communication but as enabling it, and not as a deterioration of the language but as an enrichment of it. This sociolinguistic perspective is, again, at odds with the standard language ideology, within which such multilingual developments might be dismissed as ‘incorrect.’

In the case discussed above, we see a multilingual situation in which all of the languages in contact are changing; more commonly, we see that a minoritized language shows signs of convergence toward a dominant language. Part of this dynamic is, of course, that the speakers of the minoritized language are multilinguals, which other speakers of the dominant language may not be. One example of this is found in research on US varieties of Spanish which investigates if Spanish is converging toward English. One feature which has been studied is the use of subject pronouns, which are optional in Spanish but not in English; Spanish is what is called a **pro-drop language** . Because verbs mark the person and number of the subject, the information provided by a pronoun is largely grammatically redundant. While of course pronouns may be used for emphasis, they are not necessary for producing complete sentences. This differs from English, where we can of course also drop the pronoun (e.g., 'love you!'), but this is telegraphic speech which can only be used when the subject is made clear through context or convention. If Spanish were converging toward English on this feature, we might see more use of overt pronouns.

Research findings have varied on this. While Silva-Corvalán (1994 , 162f.) did not find bilingual speakers in Los Angeles using more subject pronouns than her control group of monolingual Spanish speakers, Otheguy et al. (2007) and Erker and Otheguy (2016) did find an increase in subject pronoun use over generations in New York Spanish speakers, arguing that those with more contact with English are developing a unique contact variety. This is disputed by Flores-Ferrán (2002 , 2004), who also looked at speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish in New York City and did not find higher pronoun rates than in a corpus from Puerto Rico. Caribbean varieties of Spanish such as Puerto Rican Spanish are known to have higher rates of overt pronoun usage than Spanish spoken in other regions, also indicating that this is unlikely to be the result of contact with English (Cameron 1993).

However, there is also research which argues that language contact does indeed play a role, although this need not mean that a new variety is developing. Montrul (2004) suggests that convergence is only occurring in the speech of some English-influenced speakers, and not in US varieties of Spanish as a whole. The interactional context was also shown to be a factor in research by Cacoullos and Travis (2015), who found that there was a tendency for speakers to produce more pronouns in the presence of Spanish–English codeswitching. That is, when a pronoun was used in an English sentence, this tended to trigger overt pronoun use if the next sentence was in Spanish. Similarly, Prada Pérez (2018) argued that when speakers are in a **bilingual mode** , that is, they are speaking with other bilinguals and potentially using bilingual discourse, they produce more subject pronouns than when they are in a monolingual Spanish mode.

In another study looking at pronouns in language contact, Knooihuizen (2015) looked at the borrowing of the Danish pronoun *mann* 'one' into Faroese. This is what is called a **generic pronoun** as in such statements as *One has to wonder about the role of language contact in language change* . (While such usages have become relatively uncommon in colloquial English, such pronouns are used more frequently in conversational varieties of other Germanic languages such as German or Danish, as well as Faroese.) Although Faroese is the dominant language of the Faroe Islands, it shares official status with Danish, a larger and arguably more powerful language. Convergence toward Danish would thus not be unexpected, and the borrowing of the pronoun *mann* seems, on the surface, to be a sign of this. However, the analysis shows that there is variation between the Faroese pronoun *tú* 'you' (as in, *you have to wonder about the role of language contact in language change*) and *mann* , and variationist methodology shows that this variation can be linked to both speaker variables and linguistic factors. Thus the borrowing of a Danish pronoun has resulted in more stylistic options in Faroese, but not sociolinguistic convergence. This case, in which there is a function of maintaining distinctiveness present in language development, foreshadows the developments of linguistic varieties we will discuss in the next section: ethnic and social dialects.

Ethnicized and Social Dialects as Contact Varieties

As discussed in chapter 2 , ethnicized and social dialects that arise in cases of multilingualism often show the influence of different languages and can be considered contact varieties. As we discussed, African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is thought by some to have a creole origin, and we will discuss below in the section on creole languages what exactly that means in terms of language development. There are other scenarios, however, which do not involve creolization. In chapter 2 we also discussed *Kiezdeutsch* , a German dialect which shows some lexical borrowing from immigrant languages but also internal developments. There are also many examples of English varieties which grow up in situations of colonialism and reflect language contact (see Mesthrie 2019). In this section, we will address two varieties that have grown out of language contact situations in the US and the Netherlands: Latinx Englishes and Dutch *Straattaal* .

Latinx Englishes

Before addressing the development of ethnic varieties in Latinx communities in various parts of the United States, this title might need some explanation. Why do we use this form, *Latinx* ? In Spanish, nouns and adjectives are gender marked, so *Latino* is male and *Latina* is female. Traditionally, the male is used as the default, for general reference or for groups of males and females. Recently, to avoid the masculine default and also be more inclusive of **non-binary** individuals, an 'x' is used instead of either '-o' or '-a,' so we adopt this usage here.

Another question readers might have is, why Englishes in the plural? We use this form to emphasize that there is not simply one variety of Latinx English, but that there is variation and development of codes in different communities, and among speakers of various national backgrounds.

A central issue in the study of an ethnolinguistic variety is distinguishing it from learner varieties. For Latinx Englishes, it is important to realize that they develop because of the varieties of *English* spoken in a community. Most speakers of Latinx English varieties live in communities in which Spanish is spoken, although speakers of Latinx English may themselves be monolingual English speakers or dominant in English (Bayley and Bonnici 2009 , 1305). For example, in her work in a Puerto Rican community in New York City, Zentella (1997) distinguishes between Hispanicized English, which is spoken by community members who grew up in Puerto Rico and learned English as a second language, and Puerto Rican English, which is spoken by second or later generation Latinxs in New York City who grew up speaking English. Hispanicized English and Puerto Rican English may share some features, especially phonological features, but Hispanicized English involves transfer from the first language, while Puerto Rican English may *be* the first language.

Although many morphosyntactic features of Latinx Englishes are influenced by AAVE and other varieties of American English (see Bayley and Santa Ana 2004 ; Carter 2013 ; Fought 2003 ; Santa Ana and Bayley 2004 for further discussion), it is the phonology of Latinx Englishes that is most distinctive from other dialects of English. One study (Frazer 1996) showed that non-Latinx college students, when given recordings of speakers, could readily identify 'Hispanic' (the term used in this study) speakers of English from non-Hispanics. So what are these salient phonological features? Two differences found between Latinx Englishes and the local dialects in their communities that have been found are less frequent **vowel reduction** and **monophthongization** (Fought 2003 ; Santa Ana and Bayley 2004). Vowel reduction is the use of a /ə/ (i.e., an 'uh' sound), as is common in casual speech. For example, 'because' is not usually pronounced with a long 'e' (/i/) sound in the first syllable in colloquial American English, but Latinx English speakers would be more likely to pronounce this word like 'bee-cuz.' Monophthongization is when a **diphthong** is pronounced without the off-glide; so the word 'least,' by many speakers of US English pronounced with an 'y' (/j/) off-glide following the 'e'

(/i/) sound, would be pronounced by Latinx English speakers with fewer and shorter glides.

Generally speaking, the consonants of Latinx English tend to mirror those of the other American English dialects. One difference which has been studied in Chicanx English is final /z/ (Bayley and Holland 2014). They examined **final devoicing** , e.g., the pronunciation of a word like *boys* with a final 's' sound instead of a final 'z' sound. They found this feature was used systematically in the speech of the Chicanxs in their study in a public housing project in south Texas, and higher use correlated with having strong ties and the desire to stay in the community. The results of this study also reinforce the point that Latinx Englishes are dialects of English and not the result of an accent from the speaker's first language, as some of these speakers had English, not Spanish, as their dominant language.

However, what is arguably most noticeable about Chicanx English is its intonation (Metcalf 1979 ; Santa Ana and Bayley 2004). Chicanx English has more 'glides,' that is, gradual rises or falls in pitch, and the syllable of the pitch rise is also lengthened, producing emphasis. This contrasts with other American English speech patterns which use stress on a syllable for emphasis, as in the following example, adapted from Santa Ana and Bayley (2004, 427):

> He was CHOKing on it (stress on the first syllable of the word 'choking'; typical of most American English dialects)
>
> He was chooo↑king on it (lengthened 'o' sound and gradual rising pitch; typical of Chicanx English)

Even more salient are final pitch contours. In most varieties of American English, there is a step down in pitch at the end of statements, and a step up at the end of questions. In Chicanx English, although the overall contour of statements and questions is different, they both tend to end with a glide up and then down at the end of the sentence. Santa Ana and Bayley (2004, 429) note that this intonational feature is often used in stereotypical representations of Mexicans in Hollywood films; an exaggerated version of this intonational contour can also be observed in the speech of the Mexican characters in the 1960s cartoon *Speedy Gonzalez* (listen to the dialogue beginning at the 50-second mark in this video clip: https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=speedy+gonzales&&view=detail&mid=810D933DF9D593E01550810D933DF9D593E01550&&FORM=VRDGAR&ru=%2Fvideos%2Fsearch%3Fq%3Dspeedy%2Bgonzales%26FORM%3DVDVVXX).

Although exactly how Latinx English varieties develop, and why they develop in some communities and not in others, remains a topic for further investigation, one thing is clear: Latinx Englishes are identifiable dialects and as such develop in part to construct an ethnic identity. This does not imply that it is the conscious choice of individual speakers, but that the importance of ethnic identity in a community is part of the linguistic forms which are adopted as part of ingroup speech.

Straattaal ‘street language’

In chapter 2 we discussed a German variety called *Kiezdeutsch* which has been described as a multiethnolect – that is, it is a variety which has arisen in a multilingual, multiethnic community. Although *Kiezdeutsch* contains features of various immigrant languages, mostly Arabic and Turkish, it is used by speakers who come from various ethnolinguistic backgrounds, including those without immigrant background. In this section, we move across the border from Germany to the Netherlands, to look at a variety of Dutch called *straattaal* ‘street language,’ which is also described as a multiethnolect.

Similar to *Kiezdeutsch* , *straattaal* was publicly decried as the demise of Dutch in the speech of young people (Cornips and de Rooij 2017). In terms of labeling, it was originally belittled as ‘smurf language’ by the popular press, but was successfully rebranded as ‘street language,’ the term used by the speakers themselves.

Appel's (1999) study indicates that much of the non-Dutch origin vocabulary comes from Surinamese (also called Sranan Tongo), an English-based creole language spoken in Suriname, a former Dutch colony, although there are differences based on community (Nortier 2019). It also contains some words from Moroccan Arabic, Berber, and Turkish, languages associated with the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands. One grammatical feature associated with this variety is the use of common gender articles instead of the neuter variants; this is also a feature found in Dutch learner varieties (Nortier 2019). Cornips (2004) also cites some forms of truncation as part of the vocabulary of this variety.

Like *Kiezdeutsch* , *straattaal* is spoken by people of many different backgrounds, including Dutch monolinguals and those without migration background, so it is not simply transfer from other languages spoken by bilinguals into Dutch, but a code which has developed within a multilingual community. Thus the community is multilingual, but not necessarily the individual speakers, as we also noted for Latinx Englishes.

Studies looking at attitudes toward *straattaal* show that despite the varied backgrounds of its speakers, the Surinamese origin of the vocabulary is recognized by many of the speakers and these lexical items are associated with the 'Black community' (i.e., the Surinamese community) by Moroccan background youths. Thus while it is viewed as a multiethnolect by outsiders, the speakers themselves appear to view it differently (Kossmann 2019 ; Mourigh 2019). This contrasts starkly with the contact varieties discussed in the next section, which, as we will discuss, tend to be associated with group solidarity.

Mixed Languages

Above we've discussed some contact varieties of majority languages – Dutch or English, in these examples – and although minoritized languages contribute features, the societal dominance of the majority language is mirrored in its structural dominance. However, there are also cases of the development of languages in which there is a more balanced mixture of two languages. Thomason (2001) distinguishes these languages from creoles in that there are just two languages involved, and the components of the **mixed language** can be easily traced back to one or the other language. She offers this simple definition: 'A mixed language is a language whose lexical and grammatical structures cannot all be traced back primarily to a single source ("parent") language' (Thomason 2008 , 255), noting that this definition draws on the notion of a language family used in historical linguistics. Auer (2014) argues that mixed languages are the result of conventionalization of codeswitching patterns.

The social circumstances under which mixed languages arise are different from what we know of the social environments in which P/C languages develop, as we'll discuss below. Mixed languages develop when there is widespread bilingualism; as we see below, pidgins and creoles develop in a context of more complex multilingualism.

Bakker (1997) describes one such language, Michif, a mixture of Cree and French spoken mainly in Canada by well under a thousand people of *métis* (First Nation and French) ancestry. Michif is sometimes characterized as a language that mixes Cree verbs and French nouns (Papen 2014). It is a clear marker of group identity for those who use it and it emerged to express 'a new ethnic identity, mixed Cree and French. A new language was needed to express that identity. The most obvious way to form a new language was through mixing the two community languages, Cree and French' (Bakker and Papen 1997 , 355). Winford (2003 , 206) adds that the Michif is an example of 'newly emerged social groups who wanted a language of their own ... [and] who saw themselves as distinct from either of the cultural groups from which they descended.' Of course, this is not the end of the story for Michif but merely the beginning. Mazzoli (2019) addresses the continued use or loss of

Michif in four communities, noting that *métis* identity may continue without the language, and that, like other minoritized languages, some communities are resisting language shift through revitalization programs.

Another commonly cited example of a mixed language is Ma'a, also called Mbugu, which is spoken in the Usambara Mountains of northeastern Tanzania. In this case, the structure of the language is largely Bantu (the Bantu languages spoken in the region, and by the Ma'a people, are Pare and Shambaa), but the lexicon is at least half from Cushitic languages or Masai, a language related to neither Cushitic nor Bantu. Thomason (2001 , 200) reports that earlier descriptions of the language noted more structural features that were not Bantu, so the language cannot be simply described as a Bantu language with borrowings, but is a mixed language.

Media Lengua is another frequently cited case of language mixture and is described as being of predominantly Quechua grammatical structure and 90 percent Spanish-derived lexicon (Muysken 1981 , 52). Research by Stewart (2015) describes this as arising through the process of **relexification** , a term we will return to in our discussion of creole origins. Like other mixed languages, it is an ingroup language, spoken by people living in villages in the central Ecuador highlands. Muysken describes the motivation for its creation as the desire to express a distinct group identity which was neither acculturated into Spanish-speaking urban society nor completely part of the traditional rural Quechua culture.

These examples show that the different social contexts of multilingualism create different linguistic consequences for the languages in contact. In some cases, language learning occurs, in other cases, new codes are formed. However, it is important to keep in mind that nearly all languages show signs of language contact through lexical if not structural borrowing, and these are differences of degree, not kind.

The language contact phenomena we have discussed up until this point in this chapter are primarily – and in some cases explicitly – about contact between users of two languages. The exception to this is the development of multiethnolects, but even in this case most individual speakers speak only two (or one!) languages. But what happens in more multilingual situations, in which speakers have three or more different languages, and there is little overlap in their repertoires? How do they communicate, and how do these patterns of communication result in new codes? These questions will be addressed in the next sections.

Lingua Francas

People who speak different languages and are in contact with each other must find some way of communicating, a **lingua franca** . In a publication concerned with the use of vernacular languages in education published in Paris in 1953, UNESCO defined a lingua franca as 'a language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them' (Barotchi 1994 , 2211).

At one time or another, Greek koiné and Vulgar Latin were in widespread use as lingua francas in the Mediterranean world and much of Europe. Sabir was a lingua franca of the Mediterranean (and later far beyond); originating in the Middle Ages and dating back at least to the Crusades, it survived into the twentieth century. In other parts of the world, Arabic, Mandarin, Hindi, and Swahili serve as lingua francas. Today, English is used in very many places and for very many purposes as a lingua franca, for example, in travel, business, technology, and international relations.

A lingua franca can be spoken in a variety of ways. Not only are lingua francas spoken differently in different places, but individual speakers vary widely in their ability to use the languages. English, for example, is for some speakers a native language, for others a second language, and for still others a foreign language (see also the discussion in chapter 12 about English as a lingua franca in Europe). In the last two categories abilities in the language may vary widely from native-like to knowledge of only some bare rudiments. However, making such designations is increasingly questioned by linguists, as there are many people who function every day, in many or all domains of their lives, in a language other than their first language. Davies (2013) argues that the distinction between native speakers and what he calls native users is not clear cut, and often not useful in discussing linguistic performance. This shift away from the importance of native speakers is something which is relevant in the development of lingua franca standards, as well as for the development of a linguistic system, as we will see in our discussion of creole formation below.

Kiswahili (the name used by its speakers to refer to what is often called Swahili in anglophone circles) is a lingua franca of East Africa. On the coast, primarily in Kenya and Tanzania but also as far north as Somalia and as far south as Mozambique, it has long been spoken as a home language (Polomé 1967 , 1). However, it also spread as a lingua franca inland and it is used in education in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi; it is also widely used in politics and other public venues through the Great Lakes region (Kishe 2003).

In North America, Chinook Jargon was used extensively as a lingua franca among native peoples of the coastal northwest, from as far south as northern California and up the coast of British Columbia into Alaska, during the nineteenth century. Its peak was the second half of the 1800s; today it is virtually extinct. Despite the name, Chinook Jargon was an established pidgin, largely based on Chinook (a Native American language of the northwest) which apparently developed before Europeans arrived but was also used by English and French speakers in the region (Thomason 1983 , 820). Even though today hardly anyone can use Chinook Jargon, a few words from it have achieved limited use in English: for example, *potlach* (‘lavish gift-giving’), *cheechako* (‘greenhorn’), and possibly *high mucky-muck* (‘arrogant official’) (see Taylor 1981).

Exploration 9.2 Lingua Francas and Foreign Languages

Have you ever been in a situation where you needed to use a lingua franca? How is this different from a situation in which most people are speaking their native language, and others are speaking that language as a second/foreign language?

Pidgin and Creole Languages: Definitions

Before delving into the problematic terminology of 'pidgins' and 'creoles,' we will begin with some other basic terms. Linguists studying pidgins and creoles often use the terms superstrate and substrate to refer to the different roles languages play in the development of a contact language. The **superstrate** language (usually only one) is the socially, economically, and politically dominant language in the multilingual context in which the pidgin or creole develops. It is also usually the language which provides much of the vocabulary for the pidgin or creole, and in that case may also be called the **lexifier language** . Although socially dominant in this context, we must also recognize that the variety of the superstrate language spoken was not always what was considered the standard. The European colonists who often provided the superstrate varieties for pidgins and creole languages were very rarely speakers of prestige varieties of their language. Mufwene (2001 , 35) describes them as 'defector soldiers and sailors, destitute farmers, indentured laborers, and sometimes convicts … from the lower strata … [who] … spoke nonstandard varieties.'

The **substrate** languages (by definition two or more) are the native languages of the speakers who contribute to the development of these pidgin or creole languages by providing some vocabulary but also phonological systems and grammatical structures. The speakers of these languages are usually socially subordinate to superstrate language speakers. While this social configuration is not necessary for the linguistic development of a pidgin or creole language, exceptions to this pattern are rare (Bakker 2008 ; Versteegh 2008).

Providing definitions of pidgin and creole languages is no simple matter. In the next section, we will discuss pidgin and creole formation in more detail, presenting various theories and perspectives. Here, we will provide some preliminary definitions. A **pidgin** is a simplified language which develops in cases where speakers do not have full access to the common language they must use to communicate. Pidgin formation generally involves some kind of 'simplification' of a language, for example, reduction in morphology (word structure) and syntax (grammatical structure), tolerance of considerable phonological variation (pronunciation), reduction in the number of functions for which the pidgin is used (e.g., you usually do not attempt to write novels in a pidgin), and extensive borrowing of words from local mother tongues. Winford (2003 , 302) points out that 'so-called pidginization is really a complex combination of different processes of change, including reduction and simplification of input materials, internal innovation, and regularization of structure, with L1 influence also playing a role.'

While there are many social environments in which a pidgin can arise, the two most common are in situations in which there is either mass migrant labor (sadly, in many cases this included slavery) or increased trade, as mentioned in the case of Chinook Jargon above (Winford 2003 , 271). In all of these situations, there was a socially dominant language which became the superstrate language of the pidgin. However, because of limited input in the superstrate language (meaning there are few fluent speakers of the target language in these interactions), those using it do not simply acquire the language but create a simplified form to use among themselves. If this is done by just a few speakers in idiosyncratic ways, this is simply a learner variety; a pidgin language becomes stabilized and is used more uniformly across speakers than what is called **interlanguage** (i.e., the linguistic system of a language learner). Note that some languages which are called 'pidgins,' such as Hawaiian Pidgin, are in fact creole languages and not pidgins.

What, then, is a **creole language** ? What is usually agreed upon is that creole languages develop through multilingual interactions and contain features of various languages spoken by their creators, that is, the superstrate and substrate languages. It thus differs from a mixed language in that more than two languages are involved, but is similar in that it is not just multilingual discourse but a linguistic system. Although it may develop from a pidgin, this is not always the case (more on this below).

Many scholars today do not view creole languages as clearly distinct from other languages (Aboh 2016 ; DeGraff 2005) and dispute the clear evolution from a pidgin language. Also, it should be noted that the term 'creole' itself is considered discriminatory by some, as its Caribbean history is one of racial hierarchies and European denigration of the cultural, linguistic, and ethnicized other (Aboh and DeGraff 2016).

Scholars studying pidgin and creole languages have moved away from using the terms pidginization and creolization. Winford (1997) has pointed out that these terms cover a wide variety of phenomena that are not well understood. He suggests **pidgin formation** and **creole formation** as alternatives so that investigators focus on the specific linguistic input and processes that are involved: 'we should be asking ourselves … which kinds of linguistic processes and change are common to all … contact situations and which are not, and how we can formulate frameworks to account for both the similarities and differences in the types of restructuring found in each case' (1997, 138). A further issue with the term creolization is pointed out by Bakker (2008 , 146), who notes that it is used to mean the process of becoming a mother tongue and the process of structural elaboration, which, as discussed above, do not necessarily happen in tandem.

Mufwene (2008 , 461) also adds a political dimension to the problems with these terms when applied to varieties developed from European languages in contexts of colonization or slavery, saying 'Usage of the terms *creolization* and *indigenization* to identify their divergence from the European languages from which they developed reflects both a colonial disfranchising attitude toward the populations speaking them and ignorance among linguists of the role that contact has always played in language diversification.'

Connections between P/C languages and second language acquisition

There are two interrelated issues involved in the discussion of the relationship between P/C languages and second language acquisition. First is the issue of the similarities between these two processes; second is the role of second language acquisition in the development of P/C languages. We will briefly discuss both of these topics as represented in the study of P/C linguistics.

An early work which discussed second language learning as 'pidginization' was Schumann (1976), which looked at learners of English and argued that one speaker in particular showed simplification which was evidence of pidginization. While this study was often criticized by both second language acquisition scholars and researchers on P/C languages, it raised the idea of the connection between different types of language contact which has proven to be productive.

Winford (2003) discusses the important ways in which a pidgin can be distinguished from other types of simplified language use such as 'imperfect' second language learning (interlanguage). One important distinction is that pidgins are conventionalized systems of communication, not idiosyncratic production. A pidgin can itself be a target language, that is, something which a speaker is trying to learn. However, both pidgins and interlanguage have a substrate influence (i.e., influence from the speaker's native language) (Winford 2014). Although it is often recognized that some similar linguistic and cognitive processes are at work in second language acquisition and pidginization, the distinction has been made between the development of an interlanguage spoken by an individual and the sociolinguistic process involving communication between various individuals speaking a second language which forms a pidgin (Siegel 2008 , 191).

This leads us to the second issue, the role of second language acquisition in P/C language development. Obviously, some sort of second language acquisition is at work in pidgin formation, but the question arises of why the acquisition does not come closer to the target language. There is no general answer to this, as pidgin formation scenarios differ, but researchers have raised the issues of social and psychological distance as well as sociohistorical factors which limit the access speakers have to the superstrate/lexifier language (Siegel 2008 , 195–196). Parkvall (2019) argues that what he calls 'pidginizers' should not be compared to second language acquirers, as they aim not to acquire a language but simply to communicate.

The concept of **transfer** in second language acquisition is that learners use features of their first language in the language they are learning. We will discuss below the parallel issue of the influence of the substrate languages in P/C language formation, but again, the issue is the distinction between transfer in an individual interlanguage and the establishment of a transferred feature in a pidgin language spoken by a group of people. (See Siegel 2008 for a more detailed discussion of how the processes of simplification and transfer as discussed in second language acquisition research are relevant for P/C language researchers.)

Creole Formation

A pidgin language is generally not the native language of anyone, but a code used to communicate in limited contexts. A creole, however, is a full-fledged language. One earlier assumption about creole formation, called the life cycle model, focused on a process of the stabilization and expansion of a pidgin language and then a generation of speakers who acquire the pidgin as their first language, at which point it becomes a creole. These first native speakers of creoles were credited with the elaboration of the language. While not every pidgin was thought to become a creole – in some cases they simply cease to be used, in others they may converge to the superstrate language – all creoles were thought to develop from pidgins. The life cycle model is based on the idea that the distinction between a pidgin and a creole is about nativization, that is, that native speakers brought about elaboration. Thus, the generalization was that these two aspects separated pidgins (non-native, simplified languages) from creoles (native, fully elaborated languages). Thus the role of first language acquisition was key to the development of creole languages from pidgin languages.

However, recent research shows a problem with this proposed chain of events and the life cycle model in general. In a number of creole languages, elaboration appears to develop when expanded pidgins are being spoken by non-native speakers, that is, before nativization occurs. What has been called the **gradualist model** or **gradualism** has been the assumption of much research on creole formation since the late 1980s (e.g., Arends 1993 , 1995 ; Singler 1990 ; Wekker 1996). Part of the reason for this development is based on methodology; it was not until the 1980s that creolists began to use historical documents as a source of information about earlier forms of creole languages and the social situations in which they arose (Arends and Bruyn 1995 , 111).

In general, the finding is that it is not native speakers but the communicative context which gives rise to elaboration. Elaboration occurs when there is a group of speakers who use the code for regular communication;

thus, it is discourse which plays the major role in creole development. While no one dismisses the role of first language acquisition in the process, it is no longer generally accepted as the catalyst for grammatical elaboration. One perspective on the roles of adult non-native speakers and child learners is expressed as follows: ‘Adults have a creative impact on the language, in expanding the already rich syntactic resources and lexicon; whereas the children have a regularizing impact, particularly as they streamline and condense phonology and generalize grammatical patterns’ (Jordan 1991, 195, cited in Bakker 2008 , 146).

It should also be noted that there are some cases in which nativization does indeed seem to play a role in elaboration, such as with Hawaiian Creole English and some recent research on sign languages such as American Sign Language and Nicaraguan Sign Language (see Veenstra 2008 , 231, for a brief summary of this). However, it does not seem to be a necessary requirement.

If we abandon the idea that elaboration, which is the hallmark of a creole as opposed to a pidgin, necessarily occurs with nativization, then the distinction between a pidgin and a creole becomes less useful. While there are languages which are simplified and non-native which we can call pidgins, and those which are elaborated and native which we can call creoles, there are also other scenarios: elaborated languages which have not undergone nativization, and also processes of nativization and elaboration that occur over many generations. We are left with no simple definitions for, or clear distinction between, pidgin and creole languages, but many interesting questions.

Theories of creole genesis

In the above sections we have touched upon different perspectives of the central question of pidgin and creole (P/C) languages: how and why do they emerge? This section will provide an overview of ideas about how to answer this question within the framework of the historical development of the field of pidgin and creole studies.

An early perspective on the study of creole languages was that they were structurally similar and that this similarity needed to be explained (although note that this perspective was also challenged, e.g. Muysken 1988 ; Arends et al. 1995). One theme that emerges in this research is the influence of **linguistic universals** in creole genesis. As noted by Kouwenberg and Singler (2008 , 5): 'Virtually no one within creole studies denies a role either to the substrate or to (first) language acquisition. Rather, the questions that engage the field today involve the nature of the interaction of substrate, lexifier, and universal forces.'

In an earlier phase of creole studies, however, there was a sense that a universalist position was in opposition to the so-called **substratist** position, which held that the substrate languages held an important role in creole genesis. The idea of a shared substrate seems particularly appropriate to explain many similarities among the Atlantic Ocean and possibly certain Indian Ocean pidgins and creoles on the one hand and Pacific Ocean pidgins and creoles on the other. The former are said to have an African substrate and the latter an Oceanic one, that is, each contains certain language characteristics of the native ancestral languages of their speakers. In this view Atlantic pidgins and creoles retain certain characteristics of ancestral African languages. African slaves were often multilingual, spoke languages of similar structure but different vocabulary, and tended to treat English and French, and to a lesser extent Portuguese, in the same way. Therefore, the pidgins and creoles are European-language-based and were freshly created in different places. What similarities they have they owe to this fusion of European and African components (see Holm 1988, 2004; and Winford 2003 , 16–17).

One theory which focuses on the role of the substrate in creole genesis is the **relexification hypothesis** (Lefebvre 1998 , 2004), which is the idea that the phonological form of the superstrate language is used while retaining the semantic and syntactic features from the substrate language; that is, there is substitution of the vocabulary but not the grammatical patterns. This is a strategy for second language acquisition with lack of access to the target language and leads to variation in the early creole community; in order for a uniform creole to emerge, the process of **leveling** must also occur (see Lefebvre 2001).

Another view of the similarities among Atlantic pidgins and creoles requires us to examine the very beginnings of the pidgin formation process. For example, according to McWhorter (1995 , 2000), their similarities can be accounted for if we look back to the beginnings of the slave trade and the existence of English and French slave forts on the West African coast. In these forts contact languages developed, with the most important of these from this point of view being West African Pidgin Portuguese. These contact languages provided the bases for most of the pidgins and creoles that later developed across the Atlantic. This is his **Afrogenesis hypothesis** concerning origin. McWhorter points to the relative paucity of Spanish-based creoles in the New World as evidence which supports this claim as well as to the fact that such creoles are also missing from places we might expect to find them, for example, Puerto Rico and Cuba. (The Spanish creoles that do exist, e.g., Papiamentu, are relexified Portuguese ones.) McWhorter points out that Spain came late to the sugar industry, did not use labor-intensive cultivation systems, sometimes took areas from Portugal, and did not have large slave forts and settlements in Africa. This view of the development of pidgins and creoles is a **monogenetic** view, claiming as it does that a single source accounts for the perceived similarities among the varieties we find.

In contemporary study, most creole scholars would agree that the opposition of universals versus substrate influence is a false dichotomy; most studies today acknowledge multiple influences in P/C language formation. Further, in addition to focus on the contributions of linguistic universals and the substrate languages, there is an increased awareness that we need to also better understand the superstrate-related properties of P/C language structures. While individual studies may focus on one influence or the other, most linguists who study pidgin and creole languages agree that there are multiple factors at play in the development of these contact varieties; the relexification hypothesis does not demand that relexification was the only process that was operative during the creation of pidgins (Winford 2006). Further, processes which influence the development of all other languages also play a role in creole formation. Like all other languages, creoles have complex histories of development which involve multiple factors, language contact being only one of them.

Geographical Distribution

Pidgin and creole languages are distributed mainly, though not exclusively, in the equatorial belt around the world, usually in places with direct or easy access to the oceans. (See the link to *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* on the website to see a map marking the locations where pidgin and creole languages are spoken.) Many creoles spoken today are the legacy of European colonialism and conquest, and their superstrate languages as well as their locations attest to this. They are found mainly in the Caribbean and around the north and east coasts of South America, around the coasts of Africa, particularly the west coast, and across the Indian and Pacific Oceans. They are fairly uncommon in the more extreme northern and southern areas of the world and in the interiors of continents.

A classic source on P/C language distribution is Hancock (1977), a survey that was intended to list each language that had been treated as either a pidgin or a creole whether or not Hancock himself agreed with the classification. The list includes Maltese and Hindi for example, languages which Hancock believes should not be included. Hancock lists 127 pidgins and creoles; those are derived from seven common lexifier languages and some examples are given in Table 9.1 . (More recently

Holm 1989 provides a useful survey of pidgins and creoles, and Smith 1995 lists 351 pidgins and creoles along with 158 assorted mixed languages.)

In addition to these eighty-four languages based on European superstrate languages, Hancock lists another forty-three creoles based on a variety of other languages, for example, Russenorsk (a Russian–Norwegian contact language, now extinct), Chinook Jargon (a virtually extinct contact language of the Pacific Northwest of the United States and Canada, discussed above), Sango (extensively used in the Central African Republic), various pidginized forms of Swahili (a Bantu language) used widely in East Africa, and varieties of Hindi, Bazaar Malay (a variety of Malay in widespread use throughout Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia), and Arabic.

Table 9.1 Pidgins and creoles by lexifier language

Source: based on information from Hancock (1977).

Lexifier language	Number listed	Examples
English	35	Hawaiian Creole, Gullah or Sea Islands Creole (spoken on the islands off the coasts of northern Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina), Jamaican Creole, Guyana Creole, Krio (spoken in Sierra Leone), Sranan and Djuka (spoken in Suriname), Cameroon Pidgin English, Tok Pisin, and Chinese Pidgin English (now virtually extinct)
French	15	Louisiana Creole, Haitian Creole, Seychelles Creole, and Mauritian Creole
Portuguese	14	Papiamentu (used in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao), Guiné Creole, Senegal Creole, and Saramaccan (spoken in Suriname)
Spanish	7	Cocoliche (spoken by Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires)
Dutch	5	US Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (or Negerhollands), now virtually extinct, and Afrikaans (here said to have been creolized in the seventeenth century)
Italian	3	Asmara Pidgin (spoken in parts of Ethiopia)
German	5	Yiddish and whatever still remains of Gastarbeiter Deutsch

For many of these languages, it is not immediately obvious if they are pidgin or creole languages, and some (e.g., Gastarbeiter Deutsch) were never firmly established as pidgins and are no longer in use. However, this list does provide a view of the wide variety of contact languages that have caught the notice of linguists.

Linguistic Characteristics of P/C Languages

Winford (2003 , 307) says that ‘creoles constitute a motley assortment of contact vernaculars with different histories and lines of development, though of course they still have much in common … [and] there are no structural characteristics that all creoles share … [and] no structural criteria that can distinguish creoles from other types of language.’ This last point has been disputed, most notably by McWhorter, who posits a Creole Prototype (1998, 2005). For a deeper discussion of this debate, see Mufwene (2008), Ansaldo et al. (2007), and Aboh and DeGraff 2016).

In describing the linguistic characteristics of a pidgin or creole it is difficult to resist the temptation to compare it with the superstrate with which it is associated. In certain circumstances such a comparison may make good sense, as in the linguistic situations in Jamaica and Guyana; in others, however, it seems to make little sense, as in Haiti. In the brief discussion that follows some such comparisons will be made, but they are not meant to be invidious to the P/C language. Each pidgin or creole is a well-organized linguistic system and must be treated as such. You cannot speak Tok Pisin by just ‘simplifying’ English quite arbitrarily: you will be virtually incomprehensible to those who actually do speak it, nor will you comprehend them. You will instead be using *Tok Masta* , a term used by Papua New Guineans to describe the attempt which certain anglophones make to speak Tok Pisin. To use Tok Pisin properly you have to learn it, just as you must learn German or Chinese in order to speak these languages properly. In the next sections, we will discuss some features of P/C languages which illustrate some commonly found characteristics as well as differences across languages.

Phonology

The sounds of a pidgin or creole are likely to be fewer and less complicated in their possible arrangements than those of the corresponding superstrate language. For example, Tok Pisin makes use of only five basic vowels and also has fewer consonants than English. No contrast is possible between words like *it* and *eat* , or *pin* and *fin* , or *sip* , *ship* , and *chip* : the necessary vowel and consonant distinctions (contrasts) are not present. Speakers of Tok Pisin distinguish a ship from a sheep by calling the first a *sip* and the second a *sipsip* . It is also because of the lack of the /p/–/f/ distinction that some written versions of Tok Pisin record certain words with *p* spellings, whereas others record the same words with *f* spellings. So far as speakers of Tok Pisin are concerned, it does not make any difference if you say *wanpela* or *wanfela* ('one'); you will be judged to have said the words in the same way, any difference being no more important to speakers of Tok Pisin than the difference to us between typical North American and British English pronunciations of the middle consonant sound in *butter* . While the numbers of sounds used in pidgins may be smaller than in the corresponding superstrate languages, they also tend to vary more as to their precise quality.

One additional point is worth stressing. A language like English often has complicated phonological relationships between words (or **morphemes** , the small bits of meaning in words) that are closely related, for example, the first vowel in *type* and *typical* , the *c* in *space* and *spacious* , and the different sounds of the 'plural' ending in *cats* , *dogs* , and *boxes* . The technical term for this is **morphophonemic variation** . Such variation is not found in pidgins, but the development of such variation may be one characteristic of subsequent elaboration leading to an expanded pidgin or creole language.

Morphosyntax

In pidgins and creoles there is likely to be a lack of inflection in nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives. Nouns are not marked for number and gender, and verbs lack tense markers. Transitive verbs, that is, verbs that take objects, may, however, be distinguished from intransitive verbs, that is, those that do not take objects, by being marked, for example, by a final - *im* in Tok Pisin. This marking shows that the idea of P/C languages as 'simplified' is in itself simplistic – while in some ways they may have fewer distinctions than their superstrate languages, in other ways they may have more complexity. Pronouns will not be distinguished for case, so there will be no *I–me* , *he–him* alternations. In Tok Pisin *me* is either 'I' or 'me.' The equivalent of 'we' is either *mipela* ('I and other(s) but not you') or *yumi* ('I and you'). *Yu* is different from *yupela* ('singular' vs. 'plural'), and *em* ('he,' 'she,' or 'it') is distinguished from *ol* ('they' or 'them'). In Tok Pisin there are few required special endings on words, and two of these are actually homophones: *-pela* , a suffix on adjectives, as in *wanpela man* ('one man'), and *-pela* , a plural suffix on pronouns, as in *yupela* ('you plural'). Another is *-im* , the transitive suffix marker on verbs that is mentioned above.

We should not be surprised that there is such a complete reduction of inflection in pidgins. Differences like *one book–two books* , *he bakes–he baked* , and *big–bigger* are quite expendable. In their absence, alternative ways can be found to express the same concepts of number, time, and comparison. Tense marking is often expressed through **periphrastic constructions** , such as the use of *bin* and the unmarked verb for past tense and *bai* and the unmarked verb for the future tense in Tok Pisin (Verhaar 1995). It would be a mistake, however, to think that P/C verbal systems are less complex than their lexifier languages; they often have **tense-mood-aspect systems** which show more distinctions. One particularly interesting feature is the use of pre-verbal particles to show that an action is continuing, that is, to show 'continuous aspect.' We can see this in the use of *de* , *ape* , and *ka* in the following examples taken respectively from English-, French-, and Portuguese-based creoles: *a de go wok* ('I'm going to work' in Krio); *mo ape travaj* ('I'm working' in Louisiana French); and *e ka nda* ('He's going' in St. Thomas). What we can see from even these few examples is that creoles associated with quite different superstrate languages apparently use similar syntactic devices. As discussed above, theories of creole genesis have sought to explain such similarities.

Vocabulary

The vocabulary of a pidgin or a creole has a great many similarities to that of the superstrate language with which it is associated. One feature which has been noted in P/C language is what has been called **reduplication** , as noted above in the example of *sip* and *sipsip* . Consequently, in Tok Pisin we find pairs like *tok* ('talk') and *toktok* ('chatter'), *dry* ('dry') and *drydry* ('unpalatable'), *look* ('look') and *looklook* ('stare'), *cry* ('cry') and *crycry* ('cry continually'), *pis* ('peace') and *pispis* ('urinate'), and *san* ('sun') and *sansan* ('sand'). Certain concepts require a somewhat elaborate encoding: for example, 'hair' is *gras bilong het* , 'beard' is *gras bilong fes* , 'feathers' is *gras bilong pisin* , 'mustache' is *gras bilong maus* , 'my car' is *ka bilong me* , and 'bird's wing' is *han bilong pisin* . A pidgin or creole may draw on the vocabulary resources of more than one language. Tok Pisin draws primarily from English but also from Polynesian sources, for example, *kaikai* ('food'), *pukpuk* 'crocodile,' and *guria* 'earthquake,' and even German, because of historical reasons, for example, *rausim* ('throw out'; compare to German *raus* '[get] out'). The source may not always be a 'polite' one, for example, Tok Pisin *bagarap* ('break down') is from the English *bugger up* . So *ka bilong mi i bagarap* is 'My car broke down.' In varieties with African substrate languages, there is also often a noticeable presence of these languages in the vocabulary (e.g., see Turner 1949 , on Gullah). Still another source of vocabulary will be innovation. A good example from Winford (2003 , 322) is ' *as* (<Engl. *arse*) means not just "buttock," but also "cause, foundation." Similarly, *bel* means not just "belly," but also "seat of the emotions".' These incorporations of words from different languages with subsequent changes in meaning are reminiscent of our discussion of loanwords in the last chapter, further evidence for the

position the P/C languages are not ‘exceptional’ in their formation or structure.

From Pidgin to Creole and Beyond

Not every pidgin eventually becomes a creole, that is, undergoes the process of creole formation. In fact, very few do. Most pidgins are lingua francas, existing to meet temporary local needs. They are spoken by people who use another language or other languages to serve most of their needs and the needs of their children. If a pidgin is no longer needed, it dies out.

Elaboration occurs only when a pidgin becomes the language of a speech community. We can see how this must have happened in Haiti when French was effectively denied to the masses and the African languages brought by the slaves fell into disuse. We can also see how, while many of the guest workers in Germany may have developed pidginized varieties of German to communicate when necessary with one another, their children did not creolize these varieties but acquired German, since they had to go to school and be educated in German. A full language was available to them so they had no need to creolize Gastarbeiter Deutsch.

The example of Tok Pisin is useful in considering how a pidgin expands and develops into a creole. It was not until the 1960s that the pidgin was nativized, that is, children began to acquire it as a first language; it had been a well-established pidgin for previous generations. Mühlhäusler (1982) noted that in Tok Pisin grammatical categories such as time and number had become compulsory, a word-formation component had been developed, devices for structuring discourse were present, and there were opportunities for stylistic differentiation (1982, 449). So far as functions are concerned, Tok Pisin has become symbolic of a new culture; it is now used in many entirely new domains, for example, government, religion, agriculture, and aviation; it is employed in a variety of media; and it is supplanting the vernaculars and even English in many areas (1982, 448–449).

Aitchison (1991) has also noted what is happening to Tok Pisin. She points out four kinds of change. One of these is that people speak creoles faster than pidgins and they do not speak them word by word. Consequently, processes of assimilation and reduction can be seen at work in Tok Pisin: *ma bilong mi* ('my husband') becomes *mamblomi* . A second change is the expansion of vocabulary resources: new shorter words are formed, so that *paitman* ('fighter') exists alongside *man bilong pait* ('man of fight'). There is also much borrowing of technical vocabulary from English. A third change is the development of a tense system in verbs. As mentioned above, *bin* is used as a past time marker and *bai* , from *baimbai* ('by and by'), as a future time marker. Finally, greater sentence complexity is now apparent. Some speakers are now able to construct relative clauses because *we* (from 'where') is developing as an introductory marker. In ways such as these, the original pidgin is quickly developing into a full-fledged language, which we call a creole only because we know its origin. This last point is important: it is only because we know the origins of creoles that we know they are creoles. Mufwene (2008 , 460) writes:

> I maintain that there are no particular restructuring processes than can be identified as *creolization* or *indigenization* in the sense of speakers applying a special combination of evolutionary processes that transform a language into a creole or an indigenized variety. Both creole and indigenized varieties have developed by the same restructuring processes that have produced other languages, be they in terms of particular changes in the production of phonological, morphosyntactic, or semantic units, or in terms of selecting particular phonological, morphosyntactic, or semantic-interpretation rules. The varieties are reminders of how languages have changed and speciated several times throughout the history of mankind.

Of course, as mentioned above, while this is a general trend in creole linguistics today, this does not mean that everyone agrees. Some linguists (e.g., McWhorter 2005 ; Bakker 2017 ; Bakker et al. 2013) maintain that creole languages have distinct features (see also Sing 2017 , a response to Bakker's work).

Creole continuum?

Some scholars of creoles suggest that because a creole can be related to some other dominant (or superordinate) language a **creole** (or post-creole) **continuum** can arise. DeCamp (1971) used this term to discuss Jamaican and Guyanese Creoles because those were situations in which the lexifier language (i.e., English) coexisted with the creole. This process has become known as **decreolization** , although this term has fallen out of favor with some researchers. For instance, Aceto (1999), Ansaldo et al. (2007), and DeGraff (2001) argue that change in creole languages should be discussed in the same terms as change in other languages. Changes in creole languages are not just a reversion to some past or more standardized form.

In discussing the creole continuum in Guyanese English, Bickerton (1975 , 24) has proposed a number of terms that may be used to refer to its different parts. He uses the term **acrolect** to refer to educated Guyanese English, a variety which really has very few differences from other varieties of Standard English. He uses the term **basilect** to refer to the variety at the other extreme of the continuum, the variety that would be least comprehensible to a speaker of the standard, perhaps even incomprehensible. **Mesolects** are intermediate varieties. However, these are not discrete entities, and there is variation within them. One important characteristic of these intermediate mesolects is that they blend into one another to fill the 'space' between the acrolect and the basilect. That space is, as we might expect, considerably socially stratified.

Writing of the continuum in Jamaican Creole, DeCamp (1977) has observed that particular speakers often control a span of the spectrum, not just one discrete level within it. He says that the breadth of the span depends on the breadth of the speaker's social activities:

> A labor leader, for example, can command a greater span of varieties than can a sheltered housewife of suburban middle class. A housewife may make a limited adjustment downward on the continuum in order to communicate with a market woman, and the market woman may adjust upward when she talks to the housewife. Each of them may then believe that she is speaking the other's language, for the myth persists in Jamaica that there are only two varieties of language – standard English and 'the dialect' – but the fact is that the housewife's broadest dialect may be closer to the standard end of the spectrum than is the market woman's 'standard.' (DeCamp 1977 , 29)

What is particularly important here is the observation that Jamaicans do not perceive the existence of a continuum. Instead, they perceive what they say and hear only in relation to the two ends and make any judgments and adjustments in terms of the two extremes, Standard English or 'the dialect,' 'patois,' or 'Quashie,' as it is sometimes referred to. We see here the potential effect of language ideologies and the ideas of languages as bounded entities which we have discussed before! Patrick (1999) points out that at least in Kingston the continuum is much more complicated: multidimensional rather than unidimensional. The idea of a simple continuum may therefore be little more than a neat theoretical concept, since the variation found in everyday language use requires taking into consideration many other explanatory factors.

A continuum can arise only if the two extreme varieties are varieties of the same language, as with standardized X and creolized X (e.g., Standard English and Jamaican Creole English). When different languages are involved there can be no continuum, as between Sranan, an English-based creole, and Dutch in Suriname. If the total society is highly stratified, so that there is little or no contact between the groups who speak the creolized and superordinate 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 what has been described as a diglossic situation (see chapter 8), as in Haiti between Haitian Creole and French. A continuum would require that there be some kind of continuity in society among the various subgroups. It arises from the development of varieties intermediate between the original pidgins and the superordinate variety. The different linguistic situations in Jamaica and Haiti would therefore suggest that the social situations in these countries are very different, a suggestion which seems to have some validity.

It is also important to note that not only Patrick (1999) but others such as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) reject the idea of the continuum as being altogether too simplistic. Aceto has also noted the lack of any evidence of a creole continuum or decreolization in some lesser-known English-based creoles in the Caribbean (Aceto 2006 , 2010). Patrick (1999), Aceto (1999), and LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) claim that in some cases, the concept of the creole continuum results from simplifying and manipulating data rather than trying to confront the evidence in all its complexity. Aceto notes that the creole languages function like other languages in a multilingual society, and that language users switch in and out of different codes if they have them in their repertoire. All argue that the creole continuum does not explain the linguistic choices that language users make. It is essentially a unidimensional approach to a situation in which all the factors suggest that only a multidimensional approach can offer an appropriate account of speakers' linguistic behavior.

Exploration 9.3 Continua

If the argument is that creole languages are not qualitatively different from other languages without the same type of history of language contact, then we should be able to apply the concepts of the basilect, mesolect, and acrolect to *all* languages. That is, all languages might have a version which is farthest from the standard, a version which is like the standard, and something in-between. How does this work for the variety of English that you speak, or other languages in your speech community? Do you think this concept can be usefully applied to all languages, or should it be abandoned, or reserved only for creole languages?

Chapter Summary

While chapter 8 explored multilingual language use, this chapter investigated how the languages themselves change and develop in different types of multilingual scenarios. We discussed a number of different social scenarios and how different contact varieties result from them. One theme in the discussion of all of these language contact phenomena is that all languages borrow from others, so to some extent the differences are a matter of quantity, not quality. Another important point is that social factors, including power dynamics between groups of different speakers, are key elements in determining the structural forms that result from contact between linguistic groups.

Exercises

1. Using an internet search engine, look for reference material about pidgin and creole languages. How do these sources define these terms? Are they different from the ways we have discussed pidgin and creole languages in this chapter? If so, what are the differences and why might they be important? Also, what ideological stances are taken toward pidgin and creole languages in the websites you find? Do they view them as exceptional, inferior, exotic, or primitive? Are there implications about who uses them? How might such writings reproduce standard language or monoglossic ideologies?
2. Find people who use a lingua franca to communicate in at least one important domain in their life – at work, for education, with friends or family. If you don't know anyone from a multilingual country where a lingua franca is commonly used, these could be people who are using a global language such as English for education, or international students from different linguistic backgrounds who use the dominant language of the society they are living in to speak to each other, for instance. Interview them about their experiences and attitudes about using a

lingua franca for communication, and write a short paper addressing one or more of the following questions:

How is the lingua franca part of identity construction for these speakers?

What role does the relative proficiency of different speakers in the lingua franca play in interactions?

What language ideologies are at work in this situation – is there a strong preference for a particular standardized form, or the speech of 'native speakers,' for instance? Or a more pluralist ideology?

Is the lingua franca a clear unmarked choice (see chapter 8 to review this concept if necessary), or is there negotiation around what language to speak?

If there are people whose first language is the lingua franca, do they have different roles in the interactions than those for whom the lingua franca is a second, third, etc. language?

3. From descriptions in this chapter and chapter 8 , what do you see as the differences between multilingual discourse, creole languages, and mixed languages? Address this question both in terms of the social situations which give rise to these different language contact phenomena and in terms of their structural features.

Further Reading

Bullock, B. E., L. Hinrichs, A. J. Toribio, M. Filppula, J. Klemola, and D. Sharma (2014). World Englishes, code-switching, and convergence. In Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, and Devyani Sharma (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of World Englishes* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cacoullos, R. T. and C. E. Travis (2015). Gauging convergence on the ground: Code-switching in the community. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 19(4): 365–386.

DeGraff, M. (2016). *Postcolonial Linguistics: The Politics of Creole Studies* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Gilbert, G. (ed.) (2019). *Pidgin and Creole Languages: Essays in Memory of John E. Reinecke* . Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Lipski, J. M. (2017). Language switching constraints: More than syntax? Data from Media Lengua. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 20(4): 722–746.

Mourigh, K. (2019). A Dutch multiethnolect? Metalinguistic commentary from Gouda. *Applied Linguistics Review* 10(3): 317–339.

Nagy, N., M. Iannozzi, and D. Heap (2017). Faetar null subjects: A variationist study of a heritage language in contact. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 249: 31–47.

Versloot, A. (2017). On the nature of mixed languages: The case of Bildts. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 248: 113–136.

References

Aboh, E. O. (2016). Creole distinctiveness: A dead end. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 31(2): 400–418.

Aboh, E. and M. DeGraff (2016). A null theory of creole formation based on universal grammar. In Ian Roberts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Universal Grammar* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–67.

Aceto, M. (1999). Looking beyond decreolization as an explanatory model of language change in creole-speaking communities. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 14(1): 93–119.

Aceto, M. (2006). Statian Creole English: An English-derived language emerges in the Dutch Antilles. *World Englishes* 25(3–4): 411–435.

Aceto, M. (2010). Dominican Kokoy. In D. Schreier, P. Trudgill, E. W. Schneider, and J. P. Williams (eds.), *The Lesser-Known Varieties of English: An Introduction* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 171–194.

Aitchison, J. (1991). *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ansaldo, U., S. Matthews, and L. Lim (eds.) (2007). *Deconstructing Creole* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Appel, R. (1999). Straattaal: De mengtaal van jongeren in Amsterdam. *Toegepaste taalwetenschap in artikelen* 62(1): 39–55.

Arends, J. (1993). Towards a gradualist model of creolization. In Franic Byrne and John Holms (eds.), *Atlantic Meets Pacific: A Global View of Pidginization and Creolization* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 371–380.

Arends, J. (ed.) (1995). *The Early Stages of Creolization* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Arends, J. and A. Bruyn (1995). Gradualist and developmental hypotheses. In J. Arends, P. Muysken, and N. Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 111–120.

Arends, J., P. Muysken, and N. Smith (eds.) (1995). *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Auer, P. (2014). Language mixing and language fusion: When bilingual talk becomes monolingual. In Juliane Besters-Dilger, Cynthia Dermarkar, Stefan Pfänder, and Achim Rabus (eds.), *Congruence in Contact-Induced Language Change: Language Families, Typological Resemblance, and Perceived Similarity* . Berlin: De Gruyter, 294.

Bakker, P. (1997). *A Language of Our Own: The Genesis of Michif, the Mixed Cree-French Language of the Canadian Métis* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bakker, P. (2008). Pidgins versus creoles and pidgincreoles. In Silvia Kouwenberg and John Victor Singler (eds.), *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 130–157.

Bakker, P. (2017). Feature pools show that creoles are distinct languages due to their special origin. *Creole Studies–Phylogenetic Approaches* , 369.

Bakker, P., A. Daval-Markussen, M. Parkvall, and I. Plag (2013). Creoles are typologically distinct from non-creoles. *Creole Languages and Linguistic Typology* 57: 9.

Bakker, P. and R. A. Papen (1997). Michif: A mixed language based on Cree and French. In S. G. Thomason (ed.), *Contact Languages: A Wider Perspective* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barotchi, M. (1994). Lingua franca. In R. Asher (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* , vol. 4. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Bayley, Robert and Lisa M. Bonnici (2009). Recent research on Latinos in the USA and Canada, Part 1: Language maintenance and shift and English varieties. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3(5): 1300–1313.

Bayley, R. and C. Holland (2014). Variation in Chicano English: The case of final (z) devoicing. *American Speech* 89(4): 385–407.

Bayley, Robert and Otto Santa Ana (2004). Chicano English: Morphology and syntax. In Bernd Kortmann, Kate Burridge, Rajend Mesthrie, Edgar W. Schneider, and Clive Upton (eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English* . Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 374–390.

Bhatt, R. M. and A. Bolonyai (2019). On the theoretical and empirical bases of translanguaging. *Working Papers in Urban Languages and Literacies* 254.

Bhatt, R. M. and A. Bolonyai (2020). Code-switching and translanguaging. *Handbook of Pragmatics: 22nd Annual Installment* 22: 61.

Bickerton, D. (1975). *Dynamics of a Creole System* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cacoullos, R. T. and C. E. Travis (2015). Gauging convergence on the ground: Codeswitching in the community. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 19: 365–386.

Cameron, R. (1993). Ambiguous agreement, functional compensation, and nonspecific tú in the Spanish of San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Madrid, Spain. *Language Variation and Change* 5(3): 305–334.

Carter, Phillip (2013). Shared spaces, shared structures: Latino social formation and African American English in the U.S. South. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17: 66–92.

Cornips, L. (2004). Straattaal: Sociale betekenis en morfo-syntactische verschijnselen. In Johan De Caluwe, Magdalena Devos, Jacques Van Keymeulen, and Georges De Schutter (eds.), *Taeldeman, man van de taal, schatbewaarder van de taal* . Ghent: Academia Press.

Cornips, L. and V. de Rooij (2017). ‘Straattaal In Nederland’ 1997–2017. Neder-L. http://www.neerlandistiek.nl/2017/10/straattaal-in-nederland-1997-2017/

Davies, A. (2013). *Native Speakers and Native Users: Loss and Gain* . Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press.

DeCamp, D. (1971). Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages, Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April, 1968* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 349–370.

DeCamp, D. (1977). The development of Pidgin and Creole Studies. In A. Valdman (ed.), *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* . Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

DeGraff, M. (2001). Morphology in creole genesis: Linguistics and ideology. *Current Studies in Linguistics Series* 36: 53–122.

DeGraff, M. (2005). Linguists' most dangerous myth: The fallacy of Creole Exceptionalism. *Language in Society* 34(4): 533–591.

Erker, D. and R. Otheguy (2016). Contact and coherence: Dialectal leveling and structural convergence in NYC Spanish. *Lingua* 172: 131–146.

Flores-Ferrán, N. (2002). *Subject Personal Pronouns in Spanish Narratives of Puerto Ricans in New York City: A Sociolinguistic Perspective* . Munich: Lincom Europa.

Flores-Ferrán, N. (2004). Spanish subject personal pronoun use in New York City Puerto Ricans: Can we rest the case of English contact? *Language Variation and Change* 16(1): 49.

Fought, Carmen (2003). *Chicano English in Context* . New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Frazer, T. C. (1996). Chicano English and Spanish interference in the Midwestern United States. *American Speech* 71(1): 72–85.

Gumperz, John and Robert Wilson (1971). Convergence and creolization: A case from the Indo-

Aryan/Dravidian border in India. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 151–167.

Hancock, I. F. (1977). Appendix: Repertory of pidgin and creole languages. In A. Valdman (ed.), *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* . Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Haugen, E. (1950). The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Language* 26(2): 210–231.

Holm, J. (1988, 1989). *Pidgins and Creoles* , 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holm, J. (2004). *Languages in Contact: The Partial Restructuring of Vernaculars* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kishe, A. M. (2003). Kiswahili as vehicle of unity and development in the Great Lakes Region. *Language Culture and Curriculum* 16(2): 218–230.

Knooihuizen, R. (2015). Convergence in generic pronouns: Language contact and Faroese mann. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 47(2): 220–243.

Kossmann, M. (2019). Is Dutch *straattaal* a mixed multiethnolect? A Moroccan perspective. *Applied Linguistics Review* 10(3): 293–316.

Kouwenberg, S. and J. V. Singler (2008). Introduction. In Silvia Kouwenberg and John Victor Singler (eds.), *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 1–16.

Lefebvre, C. (1998). *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar: The Case of Haitian Creole* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lefebvre, C. (2001). The interplay of relexification and levelling in creole genesis and development. *Linguistics* 39(2): 371–408.

Lefebvre, C. (2004). *Issues in the Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Le Page, R. B. and A. Tabouret-Keller (1985). *Acts of Identity* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacSwan, J. (2014). *A Minimalist Approach to Intrasentential Code Switching* . New York: Routledge.

Matras, Y. (2010). Contact, convergence, and typology. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The Handbook of Language Contact* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 66–85.

Mazzoli, M. (2019). Michif loss and resistance in four Metis communities: Kahkiyaw mashchineenaan, 'All of us are disappearing as in a plague.' *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* 39.

McMahon A. M. S. (1994). *Understanding Language Change* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McWhorter, J. H. (1995). The scarcity of Spanish-based creoles explained. *Language in Society* 24: 213–244.

McWhorter, J. H. (1998). *The Word on the Street: Fact and Fable about American English* . New York: Plenum.

McWhorter, J. H. (2000). *The Missing Spanish Creoles: Recovering the Birth of Plantation Contact Languages* . Berkeley: University of California Press.

McWhorter, J. H. (2005). *Defining Creole* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mesthrie, R. (2019). Contact linguistics and world Englishes. In Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, and Devyani Sharma (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of World Englishes* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 281–298.

Metcalf, A. A. (1979). *Chicano English* , vol. 21. Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Montrul, S. (2004). Subject and object expression in Spanish heritage speakers: A case of morphosyntactic convergence. *Bilingualism* 7(2): 125.

Mourigh, K. (2019). A Dutch multiethnolect? Metalinguistic commentary from Gouda. *Applied Linguistics Review* 10(3): 317–339.

Mufwene, S. S. (2001). *The Ecology of Language Evolution* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mufwene, S. (2008). Multilingualism in linguistic history: Creolization and indigenization. In T. K. Bhatia and W. C. Ritchie (eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingualism* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 460–488.

Mühlhäusler, P. (1982). Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea. In R. W. Bailey and M. Görlach (eds.), *English as a World Language* . Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Muysken, P. C. (1981). Halfway between Quechua and Spanish: The case for relexification. In A. R. Highfield and A. Valdman (eds.), *Historicity and Variation in Creole Studies* . Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma.

Muysken, P. (1988). Are creoles a special type of language? In Frederick J. Newmeyer (ed.), *Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey , vol. II: Linguistics Theory: Extensions and Implications* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 285–301.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social Motivation for Codeswitching* . Oxford: Clarendon.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). Frequency and intentionality in (un)marked choices in codeswitching: 'This is a 24-hour country.' *International Journal of Bilingualism* 6(2): 205–219.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2006). *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Myers-Scotton, C. M. and J. L. Jake (2017). Revisiting the 4M model: Codeswitching and morpheme election at the abstract level. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 21(3): 340–366.

Nortier, J. (2019). Gender-related online metalinguistic comments on Straattaal and Moroccan Flavored Dutch in the Moroccan heritage community in the Netherlands. *Applied Linguistics Review* 10(3): 341–366.

Otheguy, R. (1993). A reconsideration of the notion of loan translation in the analysis of US Spanish. In Ana Roca and John M. Lipski (eds.), *Spanish in the United States: Linguistic Contact and Diversity* . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 21–41.

Otheguy, R., A. C. Zentella, and D. Livert (2007). Language and dialect contact in Spanish in New York: Toward the formation of a speech community. *Language* 83: 770–802.

Papen, R. A. (2014). Hybrid languages in Canada involving French: The case of Michif and Chiac. *Journal of Language Contact* 7(1): 154–183.

Parkvall, M. (2019). Motivation in pidgin and creole genesis. *Language Dynamics and Change* 9(2): 238–264.

Patrick, P. L. (1999). *Urban Jamaican Creole: Variation in the Mesolect* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Polomé, E. C. (1967). *Swahili Language Handbook* . Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Prada Pérez, A. de (2018). Subject pronoun expression and language mode in bilingual Spanish. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* 11(2): 303–336.

Santa Ana, Otto and Robert Bayley (2004). Chicano English phonology. In B. Kortmann, K. Burridge, R. Mesthrie, E. W. Schneider, and C. Upton (eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English , vol. 1: Phonology* . Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 417–434.

Saville-Troike, M. (2003). *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction* . 3rd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Schumann, J. H. (1976). Second language acquisition: The pidginization hypothesis. *Language Learning* 26(2): 391–408.

Siegel, J. (2008). Pidgins/creoles and second language acquisition. In Silvia Kouwenberg and John Victor Singler (eds.), *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 189–218.

Silva-Corvalán, C. (1994). *Language Contact and Change: Spanish in Los Angeles* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sing, G. F. (2017). Creoles are not typologically distinct from non-creoles. *Language Ecology* 1(1): 44–74.

Singler, J. V. (1990). On the use of sociohistorical criteria in the comparison of creoles. *Linguistics* 28: 645–659.

Smith, N. (1995). An annotated list of creoles, pidgins, and mixed languages. In J. Arends, P. Muysken, and N. Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Stewart, J. (2015). Intonation patterns in Pijal Media Lengua. *Journal of Language Contact* 8(2): 223–262.

Taylor, A. R. (1981). Indian lingua francas. In C. A. Ferguson and S. B. Heath (eds.), *Language in the USA* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomason, S. G. (1983). Chinook jargon in areal and historical context. *Language* 820–870.

Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language Contact: An Introduction* . Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Thomason, S. G. (2008). Pidgins/creoles and historical linguistics. In Silvia Kouwenberg and John Victor

Singler (eds.), *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 242–262.

Turner, L. D. (1949). *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* . Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Veenstra, T. (2008). Creole genesis: The impact of the language bioprogram hypothesis. In Silvia Kouwenberg and John Victor Singler (eds.), *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 219–241.

Verhaar, J. W. (1995). *Toward a Reference Grammar of Tok Pisin: An Experiment in Corpus Linguistics (No. 26)* . Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Versteegh, K. (2008). Non-Indo-European pidgins and creoles. In Silvia Kouwenberg and John Victor Singler (eds.), *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* . Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 158–186.

Wekker, H. (1996). *Creole Languages and Language Acquisition* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Winford, D. (1997). Creole formation in the context of contact languages. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Language* 12(1): 131–151.

Winford, D. (2003). *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Winford, D. (2006). Revisiting relexification in creole formation. In L. L. Thornburg and J. M. Fuller (eds.), *Studies in Contact Linguistics: Essays in Honor of Glenn G. Gilbert* . New York: Peter Lang, 231–252.

Winford, D. (2014). Creole formation and second language acquisition: A language processing perspective. In Piotr P. Chruszczewski, Richard L. Lanigan, and John R. Rickford (eds.), *Languages in Contact* . Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły, 295–322.

Yakpo, K. (2015). Code-switching and social change: Convergent language mixing in a multilingual society.

In Gerald Stell and Kofi Yakpo (eds.), *Codeswitching between Structural and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 259–287.

Zentella, Ana Celia (1997). *Growing Up Bilingual* . Oxford: Blackwell.

10
Language, the Nation, and Beyond

KEY TOPICS

- Languages and national identities
- Identity construction across space and time
- Othering discourses
- Language, place, and belonging
- Globalized communication

Language and Nation

What is the relationship between language and place? While there is no simple answer to that question, we have discussed in previous chapters how the varieties people use and the way they talk about themselves and others position them with regard to various places – from the block they live on to being a citizen of the world (Johnston 2012). Here, we will focus on place in terms of the nation and beyond, that is, how language plays a role not only in nationhood and citizenship, but also in migration and globalization.

Sociolinguistic studies have approached this topic from a number of different angles, focusing not on static structures but on process and practices (Heller 2008) and picking up many themes from earlier chapters. Much of the literature on discourses of national belonging falls in the rubric of critical discourse analysis (see chapter 7). We will also address how individuals use language to construct their national identities, research which is often done within interactional sociolinguistic (see chapter 7) or variationist (see chapter 5) frameworks. We will begin this section by looking at language ideologies (see chapters 1 and 3). As we will see, these different approaches of the study of language and nation overlap and address many of the same topics.

One theme which will recur in all of our discussion of language and nation is the pervasive ideological link between these two concepts (as in the previously discussed ‘one nation–one language’ ideology). This model of a one-to-one relationship, although widespread, plays out in different ways in different parts of the world. Errington (2001) notes that this ideology underpins colonial linguistics, in which language description proceeded based on the assumption of monolithic languages which could be mapped onto clearly demarcated territories inhabited by a homogeneous population. We will challenge such assumptions repeatedly in this chapter.

Despite the reality of multilingualism around the world, proficiency in the national language is often a requirement for citizenship. While policy often bases this on a practical rationale – that is, one must be able to communicate in the majority language in order to be part of society – there is also an ideological component. Belonging in a nation means embracing the national language, not simply being able to use it. While this usually means proving proficiency in that language for citizenship, for acceptance in society this is often not sufficient; social and cultural integration is demanded (see Extra et al. 2009). For example, in some places speaking another language is seen as a betrayal to the adopted nation; we’ll discuss this below regarding antagonism to languages other than English in the US. Ideas about citizenship are often normative (Milani 2015), and being a proper citizen is seen as a set of social, linguistic, and cultural behaviors that must be adopted, and in this way goes beyond simply language testing.

Kamusella (2018 , 163) claims that in terms of language policy in Europe, the ethnolinguistically homogeneous nation-state has become the ‘norm of legitimate statehood.’ He gives as an example the formation of nations along ethnolinguistic lines in the dissolution of

Yugoslavia, where each successor state, with the exception of Kosovo, has its own national language. However, the European Union (EU) also promotes multilingualism both in the Charter for Minority and Regional Languages and in their promotion of foreign language learning (see weblinks for these documents in the companion website).

In addition, as we will discuss in the next section, migration – both within Europe and into Europe from other parts of the world – has played a role in increasing linguistic diversity in Europe. This creates a complex linguistic situation, especially in urban centers. Sociolinguistic concepts which have grown out of research on these situations have been talked about in terms of superdiversity, the development of what have been called **hybrid** language practices, and globalization, themes which we will elaborate on in this chapter.

Our discussion in this chapter will examine the prevalent theme of how languages, nations, and ethnicities are connected, not just in Europe, but also in countries around the world. As noted by Lytra (2016), there is a pervasive essentialist perception of the fixed connections between these concepts and categories, but these categories are constantly being renegotiated, both situationally in contemporaneous discourses and over time. (See also chapter 13 for a further discussion of the interrelatedness of language, nation, and ethnicity with a particular focus on language policy and planning.)

Nationalism and language

The 'one nation–one language' ideology is a central theme in any discussion of language and the nation. One clear consequence of this ideology is often the repression of minority and immigrant language rights, which can consist of policies of neglect (e.g., not offering education in minority or immigrant languages) to forbidding use of these languages. May (2018) notes that rights for minority groups may be viewed as a threat to national unity, but recognizing minority ethnic and linguistic groups in actuality leads to more societal harmony. As we'll see in the discussion in this section, the term 'ethnicity' is frequently intertwined in ideas about national identities.

In the study of nationalism, the terms **hot nationalism** and **banal nationalism** (Billig 1995 ; Hutchinson 2006) have been introduced. Banal nationalism is the constant reproduction of the nation as an entity through everyday practices. This includes incidental reference to national identity and its (positive) characteristics (for example, in store names such as *American Apparel* or *US Fitness*) and more overt messages such as those in political posters, but also reinforcement of national values through everyday objects such as currency or postage stamps. Linguistic features which may be part of this include the use of 'we' or 'us' to construct the national group, potentially in contrast with 'they' or 'them' to refer to other nations or migrants. When a crisis or threat to the nation is perceived, hot nationalism builds on the banal normalization of nationalism and the nation is overtly framed as a sacred object for which people must sacrifice. This is particularly apparent in times of war, but also in campaigns to perform everyday activities which putatively promote national well-being, such as buying products produced within the nation.

Another key concept in the study of nationalism is the idea of nations as **imagined communities** (Anderson 1983). This means that although we cannot possibly know everyone in our national community, we have a perception of the traits of these people and a feeling of belonging. Thus, while obviously nations do exist as institutionalized structures, the national community is a socially constructed reality which is imagined by those who see themselves as belonging. The issue we will address here is how language plays a role in these imaginings. Research by Musolff (2018) on forum data from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) shows how monolingualism is constructed as normative in the UK. Multilingualism is portrayed as the result of mass migration and as a societal problem, reinforcing the idea that the 'home culture' is threatened by languages other than English, the national language. Remember the concept of erasure in language ideologies? (See chapter 1.) We see this at play here; there were Celtic languages in what is now the UK before English (which developed from the languages spoken by Germanic tribes that conquered the British Isles) was spoken, and many of them are still spoken today, so the UK as normatively monolingual willfully ignores the historical and contemporary linguistic reality.

Another theme which plays a large role in discourses about national identity involves ideas about the nation and ethnicity. What have been called **ethnonational ideologies** are based on the idea that there is a particular ethnic group which rightly belongs within a certain territory identified as the nation. Again, erasure is necessary to maintain this viewpoint; many countries which equate national identity with an ethnic identity have had shifting borders, multiethnic populations, and in-migration of people of different backgrounds dating back to before the nation-state existed, so the claimed history of a homogeneous ethnolinguistic group belonging to a fixed region is difficult to align with historical data. This idea is nonetheless pervasive.

One interesting example of this erasure is the United States, where there is a strong monoglot ideology which equates speaking English with US American identity. While no one denies that Native American languages are actually the indigenous languages of this territory, and Native Americans the original inhabitants, this history is often ignored or considered unimportant, and the indigenous population are not considered the rightful 'owners' of the national identity, and their languages are not viewed as central to the national narrative.

Further, the colonizers and later immigrants whose ancestors now claim ownership of the country spoke many different languages, and the United States to this day does not have an official language. Nonetheless, there is a strong 'one nation–one language' ideology (see the companion website for a video about multilinguals in the US discussing their experiences with speaking other languages in public).

At the same time, there are also stereotypes about people of color not being English speakers; see for instance Hua 2018 , which addresses the experience of Asian Americans that their proficiency in English (often, their native language) is viewed as exceptional. It becomes clear that properly belonging to the nation – as symbolized by speaking English – is often equated with Whiteness. (See Fuller and Leeman 2020 for further discussion of this with special reference to Spanish speakers in the US.) While this ideology clearly does not match the known history of the nation, it is nonetheless a common belief, which is also exported to other countries who see only White US Americans as 'real' representatives of that country.

We see then that the imagining of the nation as internally homogeneous is quite common, despite the fact that the reality of most nations is heterogeneity. How is this possible? Friedman (2010) surveyed research on language socialization and political identities in educational contexts, arguing that multiple studies from varied locations show that despite discourses of diversity and inclusion, the everyday practices in classrooms reproduce the ideal of a homogeneous nation. In fact, the focus on multiculturalism itself serves to position certain practices as the norm and others as tolerated deviance. Educators' efforts to create more inclusive spaces must be seen as situated within the broader cultural forces of normative nationalism. Brown (2010) reports on the situation in Estonia with a regional language, Võro. While during the Soviet years this language was repressed, the current policy is to allow students and their parents the choice of a course in the regional language. While there was great variation across schools and teachers in how this was handled, one generalization was that offering the language in a limited format (as an elective or a 'hobby' course) allowed it to have a continued presence. Because it was a voluntary course, opponents were less likely to object. While this did of course result in low visibility of the language, this type of ‘protective erasure’ served to avoid confrontations about language revitalization.

The relationship between ethnonational identity and language is also illustrated in Seals’ (2019) work in Ukraine. This research examines the use of and attitudes toward Ukrainian and Russian. During the Soviet period, Russification involved the implementation of Russian as a state language throughout the Soviet Union, as well as the maintenance of local languages (see chapter 13). Thus, in the post-Soviet era, the local languages of many successor states were seen as symbols of the new nation. Ukraine had the largest Russian-speaking population outside of Russia (Pavlenko 2008 , 16) but Ukrainian was declared the official national language in 1991, the year it became independent, and there has since been an increase in linguistic loyalty (Seals 2019 , 5). One phenomenon documented in Seals’ research is the concept of ‘changing your mother tongue’ or the process whereby people who were dominant in Russian begin to speak more Ukrainian in order to ‘highlight the importance of a single Ukrainian national identity’ (Seals 2019 , 97). This exemplifies how language can be an important symbol of national belonging.

In many instances, the ‘one nation–one language’ ideology is intertwined with the standard language ideology, in that the national language is standardized and alongside discourses of national identity are also discourses stigmatizing nonstandard varieties. Thus, in the UK and the US it is important to speak English to belong, but nonstandard ways of speaking or writing are also stigmatized (try an internet search for ‘memes about apostrophes’ to see how important this issue is for some people). The choice of a national language often has to do with it being a recognized standard language with a literary history, which makes it a ‘real’ language (see chapter 13). However, there are contexts in which this is not the case. Bellamy and Horner (2018) discuss the situation in Luxembourg, which has been described as ‘triglossic,’ with Luxembourgish used for spoken interactions and French and German for written transactions. However, in recent years Luxembourgish has appeared more in written form and French is used more in verbal interactions. In focus group discussions, the research participants expressed the importance of Luxembourgish as a symbol of national belonging, while at the same time portraying it as not a full-fledged standardized language and a *mischmasch* (‘hodgepodge’) of German and French. Thus, we see how the one nation–one language discourse exists alongside pluralist discourses which hold up English, French, and German as more legitimate languages and ways of speaking which have more instrumental value.

Exploration 10.1 National repertoires

Reflect on your country of origin, or other countries in which you have lived. Is there a particular language which is a symbol of belonging? If there is more than one, are these languages regionally distributed, or hierarchically? Who is considered the ‘best’ speakers of this language/these languages, and why?

A somewhat parallel situation can be found halfway around the world in Malaysia. The official language, which is recognized as the traditional language of the country, is Bahasa Melayu, which is also an official language in Indonesia, Brunei, and Singapore. In addition to Bahasa Melayu, various Chinese and Indian languages are spoken by people of non-Malay background (e.g., Hokkien and Cantonese from China, and primarily Tamil, but also other languages such as Panjabi and Hindi from India). There is also language shift to the use of English, which was imposed under British rule and has been a common lingua franca for interaction across ethnolinguistic group boundaries. Albury (2017) reports on group discussion data in which research participants discussed languages and their relationships to different ethnic groups. These speakers discussed what they called ‘Manglish,’ or Malay English, as well as Bahasa Rojak (‘salad language’), which is a fluid variety described as ‘languaging’ using the various languages spoken in Malaysia. This code is an inclusive way of speaking, one that joins together the different ethnic groups as belonging in Malaysia. Described as ‘not a language,’ this way of speaking is focused on communication and involves negotiation of meaning across group boundaries. Thus, both Manglish and Bahasa Rojak, although not having the same status as the ‘mother tongue’ languages, are an essential aspect of the construction of Malay belonging.

However, this linguistic situation is further complicated by the fact that the official ‘mother tongues’ of the Malay, Chinese, and Indian ethnic groups are Malay (Bahasa Melayu), Mandarin, and Tamil. As noted above, these are not necessarily the languages spoken in the home – or at all – by the people in these groups. Albury (2017 , 582) cites an example of a person of Indian background who grew up speaking English in the home, but who nonetheless named Tamil as his mother tongue. Other research participants described all linguistic varieties brought from China as ‘under’ Mandarin, that is, subordinate dialects, although from a linguistic perspective all of these, including Mandarin, are regional varieties. Thus, we see an interesting twist on both the ‘one nation–one language’ ideology and the standard language ideology. The languages which unite the country are not official languages, but varieties recognized by their speakers to be mixed codes. Segments of society are indexed by particular languages, but these languages are not always the speakers’ dominant languages and in some cases are languages they do not speak at all. Instead, these languages act as symbolic ‘mother tongues’ because of the institutionalized link between certain languages and certain ethnic groups.

This strict indexicality between language and an ethnic or national group has real-life consequences. In the case of Malaysia – and Singapore (see chapter 13) – education in the symbolic mother tongue is all that is offered, which does not offer members of ethnic minorities educational advantages (see chapter 12). This essentialized indexicality, although more extreme in the

Malaysia case, occurs in other national contexts as well. Pavlenko (2003) notes that there are various points in history where the 'language of the enemy' was not taught in schools because of the strong association between a language and a particular group of its speakers. She gives the examples of German in post-World War I United States and Russian in eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In both of these cases, language ideologies based on essentialist ideas about linguistic groups played a role. In post-World War I United States, the real focus of the policy was German-background US citizens who were viewed as 'not American enough' because they spoke German. In addition to encouraging language shift, this ideology also led to the elimination of German from school curricula. Arguably, this is part of the long-standing devaluation of multilingualism in the US. In post-Soviet eastern Europe, Russian was associated with the former oppressor and its value as a lingua franca was ignored. We will return to attitudes and ideas about Russian in the post-Soviet era in the next section, when we begin to explore how national identities are constructed.

Language and national identity categories

As we've discussed above, it is commonplace for particular languages to index specific national identities. But what about the situation when the same language is spoken in different nations? We recognize different national varieties, but how does this influence the speech of those who have contact with speakers of different nations – such as people who live along the border, for example? An interesting body of research on this topic has been done looking at both language attitudes and linguistic features of speech along the Scottish–English border (Llamas 2010 ; Watt et al. 2014 ; Llamas et al. 2016). The findings show that many speakers use what could be called 'hybrid' ways of speaking including features which index both Scottish and English identity. Along with this comes the emergence of the category of 'British,' which is used by some instead of 'Scottish' or 'English.' Thus, both linguistic features and labels play a role in the construction of national or supranational categories of membership.

There is a large body of research which examines the discursive construction of national identities, in particular through critical discourse analysis (De Cillia et al. 1999 ; Wodak 2009 , 2017). This research focuses on how discourses about national belonging position various members of society as belonging or not belonging. De Cillia et al. use the terms ‘homo austriacus’ and ‘homo externus’ for referring to the discourses about those who belong in Austria and those who do not. While such traditional ethnonational understanding of belonging also circulate across the border in Germany, there is also research which shows competing discourses about what it means to be German have begun to shift from ethnicity to cultural and sociopolitical behaviors (Williams 2014).

Much research has been done on the discursive construction of national identity in the media, which illustrates how the construction of identity is relational and produced through contrast with the Other. The Other in this case is often migrants, and this discussion will be taken up in the next section on immigration. However, the Other can also be other nations, as shown by Orpin (2005) in her research on depictions of sleaze in British newspapers. Using a combined critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics methodology, she looked at **collocations** of nouns with the word *corruption* and other words with similar meanings (e.g., *sleaze*). She found that the same activities that took place in countries outside of the UK were described in much more negative ways. For example, the milder term *impropriety* was used far more often in depictions of British people than the word *graft* , which appeared most in articles talking about Italian culture and politics, and *cronyism* , which appeared mostly in articles about the US. Thus, we see that word choices which are not explicitly specific to nationality can nonetheless be part of the construction of national identities.

One approach to the study of the discursive construction of national identities has to do with metaphors for the nation. In many cases, the nation is metaphorically represented as human. Vestermark (2007) looks at this representation in presidential inaugural addresses in the US by Reagan, Clinton, and both Bushes. She argues that this metaphor was used intentionally by these presidents with the goal of fostering public identification with the nation, to promote understanding of the underlying beliefs and goals of their administration. Taiwo (2010) shows that while this metaphor was also found in the discourse of Nigerian politicians, they also used the metaphor of the nation as a family as part of their persuasive discourse to encourage feelings of belonging and loyalty.

Musolff (2018) also addresses the metaphor of the nation as a person, one example being portrayals such as one nation 'extending a hand' to another. Looking at addresses to the United Nations surrounding conflict in the Middle East, he found that this particular metaphor presents a collective identity for the nation. Through the metaphor of the nation as a person, conflict was framed in terms of the 'face' of the nation (see chapter 4).

Another metaphor noted in Musolff's study is the United Nations as a 'family of nations,' and this brings us to our next section: affiliations and identification beyond the nation. Although national identities have proven to be deeply embedded in how people across the globe categorize themselves and others (Antonsich 2009), they are of course not the only political, regional, cultural or linguistic units which play a role in identity categories and identity construction. In the next section, we will examine how these broader categories interact with what we have discussed about language and nation.

Belonging beyond the nation

In addition to nations, we also have other, larger geographical entities to which we belong. Some people may feel a pan-Asian affiliation, for instance, or feel affinity with others from what have been called the Arab states. One category which has risen in importance in recent decades is the category of ‘European.’ Part of this, of course, is the formation of the European Union (EU). However, this political union has not been created in an ideological vacuum but is a response to, and catalyst for, a heightened sense of unity. Caliendo (2018) looks at the discursive construction of Europe, examining such public displays as the EUROPA website and informative publications about the EU to see what discourses emerge. Unity is constructed through an emphasis on open borders and shared values; these values are universal values such as human rights and thus avoid cultural characteristics that might not be seen as shared by all. One of the things she mentions which hampers unity is the lack of a common ethnic identity, so here we see that the ideal of a political territory corresponding with a political unit, which we saw in ethnonational discourses, is not entirely absent in the project of identity construction beyond the nation-state.

This discourse of European unity is not, of course, merely perpetuated by the EU in their institutional media. Levonian (2015) examines the speeches of Romanian presidents from 2002 to 2009 and finds that what she calls a ‘supra-national’ identity emerges, drawing on Romanian participation in international organizations and joint military actions. This discourse is activated in order to position Romania as part of a larger whole in the resistance to terrorist organizations. Of course, how different politicians position their countries with regard to Europe varies greatly. Riihimäki (2019) notes that in debates in the British House of Commons from 1973 to 2015, there are multiple discourses about the role of the UK in the EU. Although there is portrayal of the UK as a leader in the EU, there is also – unsurprisingly, given the subsequent move to exit from the EU – discourse about the UK as an outsider in Europe and insecure about its position in the EU.

Another aspect of discourses of Europeanness is investigated in Ataç et al. (2013), which examines discourses about the wearing of Islamic headscarves in European countries. While at the European level the values of freedom of religion, secularism, and women's rights are used for and against bans on veiling, at the national level the focus shifts to national norms and integration. Their research shows that a focus on individual rights at the European level is not replicated at the national level, but that national identity is constructed through reference to common values.

However, this does not imply that individuals, or countries, must choose between a European identity or a national one. It is not that European identity replaces national identity; they can coexist. Florack and Piontkowski (2000), in a study of Dutch and German attitudes toward the EU, found that in addition to the expected result that those who have a strong European identity are more positive about state support of the EU, they also in many cases have a strong national identity.

There is also research into the role of language in European identity. As noted above, the EU officially promotes plurilingualism, but research by Gnutzmann et al. (2014) among students at a German university shows that students did not focus on linguistic diversity as part of their European-ness. They did, however, feel that English as a lingua franca was important for communication across national/linguistic borders within the EU. Yet the use of English as a lingua franca in the EU is a double-edged sword – it is sometimes seen as a useful communicative resource, and sometimes seen as a threat to national languages. (This is a common discourse about English as a lingua franca, a topic we'll return to in a later section of this chapter and in chapter 13 .) Related to national identity, English is sometimes seen as a way of creating a **post-national** code (Sabaté-Dalmau 2016). Sabaté-Dalmau's work looks at the 'Englishization' of higher education in Catalonia, in this case meaning the partial use of English as a medium of instruction. Speaking English is seen as part of globalization and, specifically, the internationalization of higher education (Jenkins 2013). Internationalization is perceived as both positive and negative; while English proficiency is a valuable skill for education and employment, it also threatens linguistic diversity. This attitude also exists outside of the European context, of course. Saito (2017) studied the attitudes toward English among Japanese university students. One theme found in the data is the idea of English as part of a **cosmopolitan** identity, and as a resource which enables global communication. However, this idea of the influence of English often involved discussion about a homogenizing effect; that is, the idea that widespread use of English would create a world without diversity. The unequal access to English was also noted, as one student wrote: 'I have a concern that a world dominated by English might lead only to produce a world of haves and have-nots which operates in favour of the strong' (Saito 2017 , 279).

The idea of a cosmopolitan identity being linked to the use of English is one which appears in multiple studies, and this idea of cosmopolitanism is another way in which focus is shifted away from traditional national identities. The Greek etymology of cosmopolitanism gives us the expression 'citizen of the world' (Wodak 2017 , 417), but the popular connotation is not that all humans belong to a single community, but rather that of belonging to a social elite (Schneider et al. 2019). This elite group has access to, and competence in, different cultures, and thus, multilingualism can contribute to positioning oneself as part of an imagined cosmopolitan community. The type of community may vary widely, as studies have shown this connection between multilingualism and cosmopolitanism in a salsa dancing community in Sydney, Australia (Schneider 2010), as well as in a multinational corporate community (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014).

Another concept which addresses connections between nations is **transnationalism** , which is used to describe a situation in which there are ties between nations – sociocultural connections but also economic and political ties (Schiller et al. 1992). Transnational identities thus incorporate belonging to more than one nation-state, possibly in terms of citizenship, but more importantly in terms of emotional affiliation, cultural practices, social interactions, and also potentially residence or economic transactions. Although migrants with ties to more than one nation have long been a sizable portion of the world's population, globalization has increased this further and improved technology has provided the opportunity for more transnational communication (Wodak 2017 , 406). Research on transnational identities often includes the concept of hybridity of linguistic practices (De Fina 2016), a topic discussed in chapter 8 and elaborated on below. As De Fina notes, it is not only migrants who are multilingual, but this term can also encompass the experiences and identities of those who are mobile in other ways (study abroad students, those involved in international business enterprises). Further, one must not be physically mobile to participate in transnational interactions – most notably, children or grandchildren of migrants, whether or not they have themselves ever visited their ancestral country, may have transnational identities constructed through hybrid linguistic and other cultural practices.

Fuller (2019b) addresses the tension between cosmopolitanism and transnationalism in her study of linguistic landscapes in Berlin, Germany. Businesses which display text in languages other than German (or English, which is generally an index of modernity and globalized identity as opposed to a connection with a particular anglophone country) often do so to create authenticity. For example, writing in Korean sends the message that the food will be authentically Korean and not a bland imitation. If used emblematically, alongside German (and English), such uses of immigrant languages can create a transnational identity for the businesses. This means that these enterprises can be seen as part of the diversity in the imagined Berlin community, as opposed to part of the ghettoization of unintegrated immigrant populations. In particular, the use of Turkish, the language associated with the largest immigrant group in Germany, has developed ambiguous, or at least multiple, indexicalities. On the one hand, it indexes a stigmatized immigrant identity; this is particularly evoked when it is used to translate German information for a putative Turkish-monolingual customer. On the other hand, coupled with the use of German and English, the use of Turkish can become part of the imagined Berlin community, where certain words (usually names of foods) from Turkish and other languages are part of the vocabulary of the cosmopolitan Berliner.

Language and Migration

The sociolinguistic study of language and immigration encompasses a number of issues and perspectives. One of the topics involved is multilingualism which may be the result of immigration; in chapter 8 , we discussed issues such as language maintenance and shift and also multilingual discourse, which we will touch on again here within the framework of identity construction. In addition to focusing on language use in the context of immigration and integration, we will also address how languages are part of the sociopolitical situation in terms of naturalization, asylum, and citizenship policies and practices. We will also look at how discourses about migrants frame refugees and asylum seekers in addition to migrants. Finally, we will move on to address a relatively new area of sociolinguistic concern, Language Analysis for Determination of Origin (LADO), that is, how linguists can and should be involved in the political processes involved in providing asylum.

Identity construction in the context of migration

The main issue in identity construction for migrant-background speakers is that of belonging in the immigrant community in addition to the national community of residence. It may be that they are constructed as the Other in both contexts, and in many cases, this is on the basis of language use (although of course race, ethnicity, and religion are also part of what may make them the Other in their nation of residence). We noted above that Asian Americans are often not expected to speak English well, which is part of the everyday othering which occurs. Márquez Reiter and

Rojo (2019) discuss how speakerhood is constructed in daily interactions, noting that migrant speakers are often not accepted as true speakers of the national language. Simultaneously, the children of migrants may also not be accepted as speakers of their heritage languages; Blackledge and Creese (2015), a study we will describe in more detail below, report on how speakers report anxiety about disappointing their parents for not speaking the heritage language. Recall also the discussion in chapter 7 , in which research was cited showing how Latinx students used Spanish proficiency as a criterion for 'being Mexican,' and how immigrants in Australia constructed themselves as 'more Italian' than other immigrant-background people because they spoke Italian.

Moffit et al. (2018) look at narratives of contested national identity among German youths. Narratives were collected from both White and Turkish-background young German adults, and the results showed an interesting contrast between other-identification and also normative ideas about how members of these two groups should display national identity. White Germans never reported having their status as German disputed, but were also expected not to display national pride, as this had negative connotations linked to national socialism (i.e., Nazism) in World War II. It was not uncommon, and acceptable, for White Germans to make comments such as 'I don't really feel German,' and evoke other identities related to both smaller entities (e.g., the city or region in Germany they are from) and broader categories such as European. Turkish-background Germans reported that they often felt required to amend to their identity as German that they were of Turkish background, which some resented, but also that it was necessary for them to explicitly claim German identity, unlike the White Germans. For them, saying 'I don't really feel German' would negate their already marginal claim to German identity, which was not the case for the White Germans. Thus, we see how ethnic categories can influence discourses of national belonging and expectations for citizens of different backgrounds.

Several themes and new key concepts in sociolinguistics have emerged in the study of language and identity in migrant-background communities. One aspect of identity mentioned above is the transnational nature of identity, that is, identities which encompass belonging in two different national contexts. This has also been talked about in terms of hybridity, a concept which has emerged in part through postcolonial theory (Kubota 2016) which problematizes essentialist understanding of language and identity. Bhaba (1994) talks about this in terms of the 'third space.' This is a context in which features of different national or ethnic backgrounds may be mixed, or novel practices may emerge. Linguistically, this often means multilingual discourse. Whether multilingual or monolingual, the identities constructed do not fit into essentialized national or ethnic categories but incorporate two (or more) different categories which in other contexts may be seen as mutually exclusive.

One theoretical difficulty with the concept of hybridity is that it does not fully escape essentialist categories, as these putatively exist before they are merged in hybridity. However, this criticism of hybridity has been countered by arguing that all categories and identities are continually in the process of hybridization, as they are not fixed but emerge from ongoing interactions. Otsuji and Pennycook (2012) argue that hybridity is unmarked, that is, it should be viewed as the norm and not the exception.

Erdmann (2015) examines the construction of the third space among second generation children of migration background in Norway. In her analysis of pronoun usage, she notes that while there is little use of expressions of belonging such as 'we Norwegians,' there is equally little distancing from the mainstream group with referring to Norwegians without migration background as 'they.' The most frequent use of 'we' is not for people of a specific migration background but for 'we immigrants' in a general sense.

Blackledge and Creese (2015) report on a large, multisite study which included youths from urban settings in four countries in Europe: Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, and the UK. This research examined how multilinguals negotiated their identities in and beyond educational settings, using a variety of methods for data collection: classroom ethnography, recording of interactions within and outside of the classroom, and the collection of texts, pictures, and public displays of language such as signs and graffiti. One of the themes in this research is the concept of authenticity (see chapter 7 to review this concept). In different contexts, migrant-background youths sought to position themselves as authentic members of their heritage communities as well as authentic members of the mainstream society, and what it meant to be ‘Chinese,’ ‘Dutch,’ ‘Panjabi,’ ‘English,’ etc. was discursively constructed through their interactions. While essentialist ideas surfaced, including normative links between language and ethnic or national group, these young people also constructed ‘in-between’ identity categories. One interaction in Birmingham, UK illustrates how these categories are discussed and linked to language use. This conversation is between a teaching assistant, her sister, and a friend, all of Panjabi background. One participant says another is a ‘typical gori’ (gori being a term used for a White girl, which is implicitly contrasted with being Panjabi). The young woman who is called a gori accepts this, but notes that when she is with ‘you lot’ (i.e., other Panjabis, such as her sister and this friend) she does not act like a gori, and at work she claims it is a ‘mixture’ (she works in a community-run Panjabi language school which provides supplementary schooling). This speaker seems to be fine with the gori label, but her friend clearly associates this label with the Other, and at one point switches to a heavy Birmingham accent to say *she’s like a typical gori* . This switch emphasizes the link between certain behaviors and belonging in the regional mainstream, which is contrasted with belonging in the Panjabi community.

Another study exemplifying the challenge to essentialist identity categories is found in Baran (2018) on research analyzing narratives in a Facebook group message. This group of former Polish refugees, who met as children while living in Italy and waiting for asylum to the US, Australia, or Canada, reconnected as adults and discussed their identities and the paths that led them to their current selves. While there is reference to essentialist national identities, there is also a sense of how identification can change over time and also become more diffused; as one research participant said, 'I think I feel a citizen of the planet earth first and foremost' (Baran 2018 , 263). Further, there is a strong theme of agency in these narratives: through their own actions they became a member of a new national group (e.g., Canadian). While they note particular events related to this transition, they also claim the transition as something of their own making. This study brings us to an important new avenue of research in identities: how, and why, they change over the lifespan.

Identity over time and space

Increasingly, identity construction in the context of linguistic diversity has come to focus on shifts over time, and crucially involves the concepts of **mudes** and **chronotopes** . The former – *muda* in the singular – is a term which is used to discuss the point when a language user changes their linguistic repertoire (Pujolar 2019), and this shift is part of the construction of a new identity. The concept of *muda* focuses on the agentive nature of such shifts in language use; it is also linked to the concept of new speakers as discussed in chapter 8 . The word itself comes from Catalan, the reflexive verb *mudar-se* , which is a word used for when animals shed their coats and acquire a new one, or when humans dress up for a particular occasion (Pujolar 2019 , 168). It is thus centered on a moment of change and has primarily been used in the analysis of minoritized language revitalization. In research on Catalan, these moments when an individual changed in language use patterns were often seen when starting in a new educational setting (primary school, high school, university), a new job, a new relationship, or a family (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015). While each of the previous examples involve changes in the social network linked to a new life situation, the focus of a *muda* is the internalized adoption of a language as the norm for contact not simply in this new situation, but also in other contexts. This involves a sense of the language as one's 'own.' This is illustrated in the quote below. The young woman speaking here is from a Spanish-speaking family and is discussing how she came to speak more Catalan in recent years.

> You start to identify little by little, you get to know more and more people who are Catalan and in the end you realise that it is not that you are integrating into this, you already *are* this! I mean, you stop believing that you have to make an effort to integrate. You get to a point when, like she says, you say: I am Catalan, damn it! Why should I keep making an effort if, I don't know! I, my parents came here when they were very young. They became a part of here as years went by and I believe that … the children we have inherited this and I am no less Catalan than somebody else because I speak it less often. (Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015 , 184)

It should be noted that in the Catalan context, while many new speakers have a migrant background (i.e., they or their parents have moved to Catalonia from elsewhere), this is not always the case – they may also have grown up in Catalonia speaking Spanish. The history of migration is even less common in other contexts of minority language revitalization where the term *muda* has been applied (e.g., for speakers of Irish or Basque – see Walsh and O'Rourke 2014 ; Puigdevall et al. 2018). Thus, some of the same themes that are present in linguistic practices in contexts of migration are also part of minority language regions. In both cases, the language choice is part of a move to identify as belonging in the minoritized language community, whether it was the majority language or an immigrant language which was previously the dominant language in the speaker's repertoire.

Chronotopic analysis also focuses on changes in patterns of language use over time, but it differs from *mudes* in that it is also linked to place; thus, the focus is on the context in terms of the time-space configuration (Blommaert 2017). Also in contrast with *mudes* , chronotopes are not specific to individuals but can be seen as more broadly socially situated. This type of analysis looks at more than just what languages are spoken where and when; there are ideological associations with the use of particular languages in certain locations. There is a normative aspect to chronotopes – there are idealized and ideological features associated with language use in certain time-space configurations. In this way, chronotopes are also identity frames – speaking in a certain way may be a means of adopting an identity associated with a context located in a particular place and time.

Examples which illustrate the concept of chronotope can be found in the work of Swanenberg (2019) in his research on language use in schools in two different dialect regions in the Netherlands, Limburg and Noord-Brabant. Schools are classic locations where ways of speaking are prescribed and often made explicit; a child who speaks a dialect at home may enter school and suddenly be aware that a different way of speaking is necessary in this location in this new phase of their life. This research shows that, particularly in primary school, teachers will enforce the use of standardized Dutch, either with explicit commands to speak Dutch or implicitly through repetition of standardized forms when the children use dialectal forms. As children become adolescents, far from settling into this new way of speaking as the norm, they are exposed to more linguistic diversity as they generally have interactions in a broader range of social and cultural environments. (This is particularly true of children in urban centers, as we will address below in our discussion of diversity and superdiversity.) Thus, their linguistic repertoires may expand to hold, if not entire new codes, then at least words and phrases from varieties other than those they learned at home and school. Often, there is a fluid movement in and out of these different ways of speaking, as children use the proper standardized Dutch register when talking to the teacher during the lesson, and a local dialect or youth language when speaking to their friends during breaks between classes.

However, it is not just linguistic behavior which is normative, of course; social life is filled with norms for behavior in terms of gender, sexuality, social class, or what is considered ‘cool’ for a teen. And these behaviors are also monitored and ‘out of order’ behavior is called out. One resources for controlling others is the use of different varieties which have social meanings which are deeply embedded in space and time. Swanenberg gives one example of a teenage girl ridiculing a friend for admitting that she found it fun to live in a small village when she was younger; such an admission was uncool and not part of permissible identity construction for their peer group. This unacceptable behavior was sanctioned by the sarcastic use of a local dialect form of ‘poor girl.’ This phrase indexes the exact rural background that it is considered uncool to enjoy. The mocking nature of this utterance is apparent in this example because this speaker, in her normal speech, has few traces of the regional dialect and does not identify as a dialect speaker; thus her use of a dialectal phrase can be clearly seen as sarcasm and calling out the uncool behavior of her friend.

Other examples from Swanenberg’s research show the use of linguistic features and varieties associated with immigrant background youths and how they are indexical of certain social groups and contexts. (Recall that although research has shown that such youth language, as with *Kiezdeutsch* discussed in chapter 2 , is used by young people of all backgrounds, including those without any known migration history, the indexicality of migrant background remains strong.) These varieties are used in different ways, both to include and to exclude. In one example, a (non-Turkish) speaker reports that his brother uses a certain Turkish word. In response, a Turkish-background friend utters the sarcastic question ‘Your brother is a Turk?’ to accuse the brother of an inauthentic and inappropriate use of Turkish vocabulary (Swanenberg 2019 , 162). It is implied that Turkish is linked to a particular identity framework which the non-Turkish brother should not claim.

In another instance, a boy with Turkish background uses vocabulary stemming from Arabic and Surinamese linguistic repertoires to playfully insult a friend. Here it is not the speakers but the place which shows lack of correlation – the boy is in the classroom when he makes this utterance. Here, these features of the city ('s-Hertogenbosch) dialect serve to construct the conversation as 'hanging out with a friend' as opposed to the school situation.

Exploration 10.2 Mudes and chronotopes

Has the way that you speak changed over your lifetime, either in terms of your accent, your vocabulary, or the different varieties that you speak? Can you pinpoint any *mudes* , that is, times when you were agentive in this change?

What about chronotopes? Can you identify any ways of speaking which are rooted in particular configurations of time and space, and which seem inappropriate when used outside of these contexts? Can they be used to index particular aspects of identity?

Diversity and superdiversity

The use of linguistic repertoires connected to different migrant backgrounds has also been talked about in terms of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007). This term is used to talk about (urban) areas where new forms of migration have created a high degree of diversity in society in terms of many aspects of background (ethnicity, social class, religion, etc.) and, of interest to sociolinguists, linguistic diversity. These new patterns of migration include people from many different areas – meaning that there are not one or two migrant enclaves, but that people of many different backgrounds – including those who have not migrated – are all in regular contact. This leads to new forms of multilingualism and indexicalities between speakers and codes. In particular, terms such as ‘native speaker’ and ‘mother tongue’ must be questioned, and ideas about what it means to be part of an ‘ethnolinguistic group’ must be problematized (Blommaert and Rampton 2012; De Fina et al. 2017).

Thus, proponents of the concept of superdiversity intend to question underlying assumptions in the study of language and introduce a more globalized approach to sociolinguistics. It is not just that this way of thinking about language and language use is useful for the specific communities in which this type of diversity appears; it also informs our way of thinking about all languages and language use (Blommaert 2013).

It is clear to see how this conceptualization of superdiversity plays a role in several themes we have already addressed in this book. First, ideas about ‘crossing’ as discussed in chapter 3 question the indexicality of linguistic varieties. Also, approaches to multilingual discourse talked about as ‘translanguaging’ or ‘metrolingualism’ (see chapter 8), and the often connected discussions of language as an ideological construct, are ideas which have grown up in part through research on such diverse communities.

Although such contexts may lead to the development of multilingual repertoires, another thing that happens in so-called superdiverse contexts is that speakers adopt words and phrases from a wide variety of languages and incorporate them into a variety of the societally dominant (often, the national) language. Work on youth languages has often focused on this, and the above examples from Swanenberg’s work provide an illustration. This work is linked theoretically to enregisterment (see Møller and Jørgensen 2012), as discussed in chapter 2 , as well as work on chronotopes. That is, we see that parts of codes take on indexical meanings that are rooted in time and space, but are taken out of these contexts and to create new meanings.

There have also been criticisms of the term superdiversity. One point to note is that the changes in migration it denotes are particular to the Global North, and European metropolitan areas in particular, and thus as a recent development it does not have a broad applicability (Pavlenko 2018). Further, the linguistic diversity which is touted as a challenge to existing ways of analyzing multilingualism is also not new, simply new to Europe; parts of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific have long had speakers of many different linguistic varieties. Thus, challenges raised in this framework such as the questioning of the concept of 'mother tongue' are based on ambiguities that existed long before increased migration to Europe in the 2000s.

Other critiques of the term note that despite seeking to look at language in new ways, normative assumptions about language have been reproduced. Flores and Lewis (2016) note that descriptions of the repertoires of particular speakers reflect a continued preoccupation with the ideal of standardized languages and the reproduction of linguistic hierarchies.

Finally, Pavlenko also notes that the term is ambiguous; at what point does diversity become superdiversity? What, exactly, does this catchy new term denote?

One way of looking at this is discussed by Silverstein (2015) in terms of the nation: linguistic superdiversity challenges the state's ability to control the linguistic communities within its borders. A few minority languages can be repressed or fostered, a couple of immigrant languages can become part of the school curriculum in areas where there are dense populations of migrants, but a multitude of languages cannot be incorporated into government processes, language policies, or education. This lack of control means that all ways of speaking are not catalogued and standardized, but there are too many to prevent them from becoming a part of public life. In this way, a focus on the phenomenon of superdiversity is a very interesting perspective from which to view the relationship between language and nation.

Discourses of migration and integration

The research in this section is largely done within a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework, although often in conjunction with corpus linguistics methods (see chapter 7 to review these approaches). In this section we'll provide a brief overview of some important themes in this body of research, focusing primarily on media representations but also public discourse in the political realm. We will address common discourses about immigration and metaphors in the depiction of migrants and migration, connotations of terms used to label the people involved, and discourses about integration which are at the core of ideas about national belonging.

Discourses about migration inevitably involve depiction of migrants as a group contrasting with the 'legitimate' citizens in a nation. Rheindorf and Wodak (2020) discuss a 'culturalization discourse' which frames the host nation as having a homogeneous (although usually vague) set of values which well-integrated immigrants must adopt; while in earlier eras multicultural discourses focused on acceptances of different ways of being, contemporary discourse stresses that migrants must give up their old ways, with a particular focus on religion (but excluding food, as the modern nation-state often welcomes foreign cuisines as part of its cosmopolitan image; Fuller 2019b).

Flubacher and Yeung (2016) discuss the discursive construction of integration, arguing that it is based on the underlying idea of difference; while proclaiming openness to migrant inclusion, its focus is on difference and normative ideas about belonging. Part of this is the labeling of groups as Other, which prohibits them from ever becoming unmarked members of society. Antonsich's (2012) research in Italy, England, France, and Finland provides support for this, showing that in a survey of local elites in each national context, very few felt that integration was a two-way process and any behavior which made the migrant background population appear different than the mainstream population was evidence of lack of integration.

Doğanay (2020) looks at newspaper depictions of refugees in the Turkish press and how the construction of this segment of the population is reproduced in these data. She notes that one part of this representation is that the refugees themselves are not given a voice, but that public figures such as politicians or government officials are quoted. Further, the specific topics addressed overwhelmingly focused on criminal activity and the threat to society associated with refugees, revealing a lack of empathy with the situation of those who are forced to flee their home countries for the safety of themselves and their families. Topics such as how the majority population has treated refugees, for example the plight of those who are exploited or discriminated against in the workplace, are largely ignored in the news coverage.

Indeed, news coverage and other forms of media can be seen as reproducing such discrimination, and one rhetorical device used to do this is metaphor. Musolff (2015) looks at dehumanizing metaphors in the British media, noting that in particular the metaphor of the migrant as a parasite is well represented, although more present in blogs than newspaper texts. The blogs are particularly polemic, and some have headlines such as 'Britain: Muslim immigrants are the chief parasites' (Musolff 2015 , 49), and the contents often includes racist hate speech. However, there are also other voices which place the blame for societal problems with the government or other segments of society; we'll return to the idea of competing discourses below.

Smith (2019) looks at metaphors about the US and immigrants used by Presidents Trump and Obama, comparing them to polarized congressional debates from the 1920s. Trump's metaphorical depictions are quite similar to this earlier anti-immigration rhetoric, presenting the US as a 'finished project' and immigrants as a threat to that project. Thus, the nation is a victim; in the 1920s, immigrants were often depicted as a disease, while Trump's rhetoric refers to the US as 'the big bully that keeps getting beat up' (Smith 2019 , 277). This is a complex (or confused?) metaphor, as bullies usually do the beating as opposed to receive the beating, but clearly depicts the country as a victim – albeit one that is normally in the position of power and thus may return to its apparently desirable behavior of bullying others. Trump also uses dehumanizing metaphors for immigrants, for example using the phrase 'catch and release' (Smith 2019 , 278), a phrase used for fishing, to talk about a situation when immigrants are picked up and let go.

In contrast, Obama portrays the US as an unfinished project which can be worked on further with the benefits brought by immigrants. A parallel metaphor is the US as an engine which has broken down or needs fuel, which can be restored to good working order through immigrant labor.

Different terms used for migrant populations have both different connotations and different collocations. Scarvaglieri and Zech (2013) examined the use of the term *Migrationshintergrund* ('migration background') in German newspapers. This term is used in official statistics to denote those who themselves were not born in Germany or have at least one parent who was not. Thus, its official definition has to do with the process of migration, and not ethnicity or citizenship. Their study shows that this term is nonetheless almost exclusively used to refer to people who are perceived as the ethnic Other, and usually in contexts depicting negative actions (criminal activity or cultural behaviors deemed deviant). Fuller (2018) also examines this term and finds that it is often used to describe not just the ethnic Other, but Muslims in particular, and is in contrast with the term *Biodeutsche(r)* (literally, 'organic German'), thus creating a hierarchy of labels for those who truly belong and those who do not.

The study mentioned above by Doğanay (2020) also addressed the terms used for Syrian refugees in the Turkish press, noting that almost 60 percent of the time, they were referred to simply as 'Syrians,' which depicts them as a homogeneous national-origin group and shifts focus away from the reason for their presence in Turkey, that is, that they are refugees who had to flee from their homes in order to survive. Also, 9 percent of the references were to ‘fugitives,’ a word which is mostly commonly used to refer to those who are fleeing the law because they are suspected of a crime. This term thus goes a step farther than ignoring the reason for their migration by representing it as something that is caused by their own wrongdoing.

Yeung (2016) looks at the difference between those referred to as ‘migrants’ – who are usually low-skilled workers – and ‘expatriates,’ the term used for professionals who migrate for their work. Taking case studies of two individuals in Switzerland, she shows how migrants are often criticized for their lack of integration, and also must comply with stricter regulations, in particular for language learning. Expatriates, however, who are often anglophone (if they do not come from English-speaking countries, they are almost inevitably fluent English speakers), may not be required to show proficiency in the national language of the host country, and their lack of integration is ignored in the discourse about internationalization.

Many of the studies done on this topic have been carried out in Europe or the US, as we have seen. Lee (2019) sought to address this gap in the research by looking at Korean newspaper coverage of issues linked to migration. He found that many of these same discourses – for instance, an association of migrants with criminal activity – could be found in these data, but in comparison to the data on European media, there was a much stronger theme of supporting and helping the migrant community. However, this depiction of the migrants was also deemed discriminatory, despite being superficially sympathetic, because it positioned migrants negatively – they are in need of help and not equal to the competent mainstream members of Korean society.

It is of course important to note that although there are hegemonic discourses about migration, migrants, and the integration of migrants into society, there are also always competing discourses. Fuller (2019a , 2020) addresses this in discourses of national belonging in German newspapers, showing that while traditional discourses constructing Germanness as linked to ethnicity persist, there are also inclusive discourses objecting to and mocking such stances. Baider and Constantinou (2018) also address counter-narratives which are aimed at combating negative stereotypes about refugees in French and Cypriot communist newspapers, noting appeals to the duty of citizens to create solidarity, and sympathy based on religious beliefs, respectively, as strategies for shifting the narrative to a more positive depiction of migrants. Returning to the Musolff (2015) article discussed above, which addressed the metaphor of the migrant as parasite, we also see this theme of competing discourses. One interesting finding was that approximately half of the use of the parasite metaphor was *not* about migrants, but instead about other members of British society, as shown in the comment 'there are far more work-shy benefit scrounging and criminal indigenous Brits [than immigrants] who suck the life out of the public services' (Musolff 2015 , 48). Also, as noted, the different platforms (e.g., blog versus newspaper) also presented different perspectives within the immigration debate.

The difference across venues is an important aspect of these discourses; depending on the media outlet, different messages may be sent. The positioning of immigrants, whether through metaphors, collocations, pronouns or lexical choice, often varies widely depending on the political stance of the newspaper. Griebel and Vollmann (2019) note that in Germany, left-leaning newspapers will often portray migrants as people in need, although also sometimes as delinquents; right-leaning press tend to primarily depict migrants as delinquents.

Exploration 10.3 Terms

What terms for different segments of the population from countries you have lived in can you cite, and how do they position their referents as belonging or Other? What words are used in official contexts (e.g., national statistics, educational contexts) and what words are used in everyday conversation, and how are they the same or different?

LADO

Migrants can move from one country to another for a number of different reasons. We often think of the ‘typical’ immigrant as moving to another country for better opportunities for work or a better lifestyle, and this includes a full range of socioeconomic backgrounds and types of jobs. However, some people are also compelled to flee their home countries because of persecution of their ethnic or social group, due to economic instability, war, or other conditions which threaten not just well-being but survival. In some cases, these people are asylum seekers, and other countries will accept them based on their national origin. However, not all asylum seekers have adequate documentation of their nationality, and one way of determining their authenticity is an assessment of their language. Thus, the practice of LADO – Linguistic Analysis for the Determination of Origin – began in 1993 as a supplement to other identification processes (Patrick 2019).

LADO is based on the idea that a person’s way of speaking is influenced by the context in which they learn and use language; obviously, this is an underlying premise which is at the core of sociolinguistic inquiry. However, there are a number of problems in using this as a way of determining the authenticity of a person’s claims to geographical origin, and these problems arise from issues and ideologies we have discussed in this text. As Patrick (2019 , 2) writes:

> You arrive wrapped in questions that must be answered, stories that must be told: Who are you? How did you get here? What have you done? Where are you from? Who are you? To answer these and offer proof, you have only your body and your voice – let us say, no papers, no passport, no identification. You may be examined by doctors, your age may be tested, but certainly you will speak, over and over, to officials in a language or languages they do not understand.
>
> It is the language of your ancestors; or one of three used by your parents; the language used in school but not at home, or one your father used at work but never really learned; the only one officially allowed; the one used in your village when outsiders came; the language of religion, only; or one made up by migrants to your region and spoken now in markets; a language that you learned along the long, long road, or one you have nearly forgotten after all these years. The interpreter knows it, or she doesn't, or she does her best; and you must testify, persuade, repeat yourself in it – embrace it as the symbol of your origins: it may be the key to proving your story.

As we see in this description, first, a monolingual bias may occur; if a person is asked what language they speak, this may not be a question which is simple to answer. Second, what variety of the language is spoken where is not a simple question, and although there is a growing body of literature in forensic linguistics, this requires in-depth knowledge of sociolinguistic variation to determine. Eades (2009) cites an example of a man who claimed to be from Afghanistan and spoke the Hazargi dialect of Dari, which is spoken largely in Afghanistan but also in Iran and Pakistan. His claim was originally denied because the analyst identified influence from Urdu, a language spoken in Pakistan, in his speech. While this finding was later questioned and overturned, it illustrates the difficulty of pinpointing the origin of a person based on their linguistic features – the boundaries between varieties are porous, often form a continuum, and spread through contact between speakers of different regions. Blommaert (2009) cites a similarly problematic case, where ideas about what a person should have as a linguistic repertoire were dictated by assumptions about a one-to-one correspondence of nation and language, monoglot experiences, and a lack of mobility.

This issue of mobility is paramount; many asylum seekers have been displaced more than once, and their linguistic repertoire may have been influenced since leaving their place of origin, through stays in other regions of their home country, in other countries, or in refugee camps. So, what may seem a lack of correlation between an asylum seeker's claim of origin and the way they speak may reflect a simplified, or even essentialist, view of the link between language and national identity.

Eades (2009) has also raised a number of issues about how the linguistic analysis is done. Part of this is that the analyst must understand about variation within a language and the influence of multilingualism we have just mentioned. Eades notes that linguists who have reviewed analyses in asylum cases have noted that there is often a reliance on what they term folk linguistic views about language, that is, reliance on commonly believed stereotypes about how speakers of different areas speak which are not in line with empirical linguistic evidence. Further, underlying prescriptive ideas about language were also found in some analysis. Eades cites an example of an analyst describing an asylum seeker's language as 'he speaks ungrammatically.' It is unclear if this means that the speech sounds like a language learner or if this means the speech of someone who does not speak the standard variety; and in terms of determining origin, this is clearly an important distinction!

Finally, we also see native-speakerism (to be discussed in chapter 12) as a problem in LADO practices. Often, a native speaker of a language is assumed to be in the best position to determine if someone is an 'authentic' speaker, even if the native speaker does not have an understanding of sociolinguistic matters and might be prey to folk linguistic views. As Eades notes:

> Such a belief appears to ignore sociophonetic research about the distinction between variations which speakers are highly aware of and those which only a linguistically trained observer is aware of, but which may in fact characterize a particular accent…. Thus, if careful analysis of a person's accent is carried out by a linguistically trained analyst, the question of whether or not a person is faking their accent can be considered in a measured and theoretically sound way. (2009, 33)

This area of sociolinguistics raises important questions about the role of linguists, and language, in society; we will pursue further questions about sociolinguistics and social justice in Part IV of this text.

Language and Globalization

The term globalization is now heard everywhere, from discussions of economics to popular media to language. The study of globalization focuses on changes in society due to an increased flow of goods, ideas, images, etc. due to digital media consumption and also higher rates of population mobility. One consequence of the latter is increased diversity in society, as discussed above; but, also for those who do not move and are not surrounded by an international community, the flow of symbols, sounds, and images from around the world comes to them from their digital devices.

Work on language and globalization – and indeed, on globalization in general – relies on a contrast between the local and the global. We talk about global influences on communication – such as the increased use of English – becoming part of repertoires and codes for many language users, especially in digital communication, which we'll discuss in more detail in the next section. The assumption is that such influences are proceeded by local patterns of communication which are interrupted, augmented or changed by global influences. However, there is a great deal of research which examines how global linguistic resources are adapted and used in the construction of local identities, a process called **glocalization** (Robertson 1994). This term questions the binary of global and local and addresses the interaction between different spheres of influence and different loyalties, affiliations, and identifications related to place.

Thus, the study of globalization is, to a great extent, the study of place and belonging – how do we belong in different contexts, which may be defined regionally, culturally, or in terms of social networks. One consequence of population diversity brought about by globalization is increased focus on national identity, as discussed above.

One example of glocalization which we have discussed at various points in this book is the emergence of multiethnolects such as *Kiezdeutsch* in Germany (discussed in chapter 2) or *straattaal* in the Netherlands (discussed in chapter 9). These varieties, while drawing on vocabulary from migrant languages, are spoken by people who are not speakers of any of those migrant languages but nonetheless incorporate words and phrases from, for example, Arabic or Turkish, into their speech. Aarsæther et al. (2015) discuss urban vernaculars in Genk, Belgium and Oslo, Norway, showing that these varieties index local belonging – but not *only* local belonging. In Genk, there is an explicit link to ethnic background as well; in Oslo, the speakers associate particular features with particular parts of the city, which indirectly index social class and immigration background.

While these examples of glocalization primarily look at the influence of immigrant languages and their speakers on national language varieties, colonial and global English also interacts with local varieties in similar ways. Sharifian (2018) discusses glocalization of English and notes that it is not simply the introduction of Anglo-English cultural concepts into other languages and cultures, but also using English to express things which are associated with other language and cultures, or a blending of the two. One example from Fuller's research (Fuller 2020) is the use of the English phrase *to go* in German. Originally this phrase introduced a custom popular in the US, coffee to go, a phrase which seemed to accompany US coffee shops when they expanded to Europe. But of course in German it had already been possible to talk about buying food to take with you; and while the German *Zum Mitnehmen* ('to take with') continued to be used, it was in competition with the modern borrowing *to go* , which quickly expanded beyond the domain of coffee. Thus, this term both introduced a new practice while also continued to be used for an old one. It then also expanded to a new meaning – *to go* began to be used for shops where everything has always been sold with the sole purpose of taking it with you – grocery stores and newspaper kiosks. These places have never insisted that you consume their merchandise while staying in their establishments, so the use of *to go* at such businesses is a usage which goes beyond the literal meaning and begins to imply convenience: it's not just that you *can* buy things to take with you here, but that it is maximally convenient to do so. A final step in semantic expansion has occurred in the use of *to go* for services, such as massages or haircuts, instead of just goods. In this case, the meaning of convenience has become the focus and it means that no appointment is necessary.

Such anglicisms are just one type of borrowing; of course English borrows extensively from other languages, and languages around the world borrow from each other, both to introduce new concepts and to refer to old ones. In terms of globalization, however, English is currently playing a prominent role. In addition to contributing words to other languages, there are also many domains in which English has become the expected lingua franca. In the next section, we will continue to look at the role of English world-wide.

Global English: threat or promise?

Phillipson (2017) outlines the development of English as a global language: it's spread through colonialism, imperialism, and an uncritical acceptance of English as a deterritorialized language. He argues that the spread of English, while framed as an opportunity for all, is really only an opportunity for those with the cultural and economic capital to take advantage of its growing use. Further, English can threaten the vitality of local languages if it expands into new domains. Kennetz and Carroll (2018) discuss this situation in the United Arab Emirates, showing that English is expanding to more and more domains for many speakers of Arabic, in part because Arabic-speaking Emiratis make up only 10–15 percent of the nation's population. While this study describes the languages existing in relative harmony, the situation is changing rapidly and the language choices in education are a critical aspect of future developments. (In chapter 12 , we will again address the role of English in education around the world, and in chapter 13 , how the spread of English plays a role in language policies more broadly.)

Gao (2017) discusses the role of English in China, noting that English appears in the linguistic landscape to index a modern and global identity for businesses (a phenomenon which is hardly unique to China, as we have noted in chapter 8). Here, as elsewhere, learning English promises opportunity, but also reproduces socioeconomic hierarchies, as access to English is not equally available to all in society due to already existent social inequalities. Further, it should be noted that English alone does not necessarily create cultural capital for the speaker. Sharma and Phyak (2017), in a discussion of neoliberal language ideologies in Nepal, note that English is only one part of a multilingual repertoire which is promoted as the route to success in education and tourism. While discourses of English as a global language and local languages as resources for the construction of ethnolinguistic identity have not disappeared, the practices show much more nuanced values for English, the local language Newari, and other foreign languages such as German, Chinese or Japanese.

It is not just English but English in combination with these other languages which is most useful in tourism.

However, English plays a varying role in different nations and communicative contexts. Williams (2012 , 2017) discusses the role of English in hip-hop spaces in Cape Town, South Africa, noting that English is just one of many languages used in these multilingual performances. Further, it is not just one English, but local varieties as well as foreign Englishes, such as African American Vernacular English, which are part of the mix. In this context, English is used as part of the complex negotiation of local identities and is not (or not only) indexical of English speakers in South Africa, but also indexes transnational identities and the role of the hip-hop artist. In this context, Williams argued, English is not a threat to other languages, but one resource through which multilingualism is constructed.

This study raises the issue of genre in communication – in what ways does the context in which language is used influence how it is produced? Certainly, a hip-hop music performance is expected to be different, in terms of linguistic form, than a casual conversation, a political speech, or a school essay, even if all of these are in the same national context. In the next section, we look beyond these traditional genres of communication to look at language use in the digital world and examine how this builds on and shapes our language use in nondigital contexts.

Language and the Digital World

The so-called 'digital world' is clearly an integral part of globalization, and one issue which has been raised is whether the explosion of digital communication in today's society, in both personal and professional domains, is accelerating the dominance of English. There is clearly some reason to suspect this would be the case – much of the early development of the internet was done in English-speaking countries, the US in particular, and thus many of the early users were also anglophone.

Further, early character encoding systems favored the Roman script used in English (Seargeant 2019). There has also been concern that English dominance in the internet would lead to homogenization of the world; if we lose linguistic diversity, do we lose other types of diversity too? It seems, however, that this is not actually the direction global networks are taking us. Although there is no way to have a quantitative overview of languages used in digital communication, surveys done on this topic have indicated that the use of languages other than English is on the rise (Lee 2016), due to increased accessibility of digital communication technologies in smaller language communities around the world and also the use of such technologies in diasporic communities and transnational interactions.

And not only are many languages being used on the internet, there is also a very common occurrence of multilingual discourse, in many different forms, in digital communication. Overviews of language use in new media (Akkaya 2014) and codeswitching in the media (Mahootian 2012) show that the language practices – including multilingual discourse – which abound in face-to-face interaction also appear in digital communication. Further, language use in digital contexts makes use of linguistic repertoires just like spoken, signed or other written communication, and the linguistic forms used are also motivated by the same goals – e.g., construction of identity, humor, ideological stancetaking. Thus, in many ways, the digital world is the same as the analog world – albeit with some additional communicative resources. One example of this, which reinforces how the link between multilingual discourse and glocalization continues in a digital context, is found in Spilioti (2020). This article discusses the use of English-related forms which are respelled with Greek characters to produce a kind of 'weird English.' This is only comprehensible to those who know both languages, and the use of English in this way is thus clearly part of the construction of a localized identity.

We discuss multimodality as a resource for communication in our discussion of memes in chapter 2

; clearly, digital communication makes use of different orthographies and scripts, pictures, emojis, videos, links, etc. not available in spoken or signed language use. There is thus much opportunity for intertextual references, and also chronotopic indexicality, as particular memes or phrases may be associated with certain times and places. Further, the choice of digital platform may also contribute to the linguistic forms used; ways of interacting on WhatsApp, for example, are different than what you might expect on email, Twitter, or Instagram. And not just the linguistic forms vary, but also normative expectations linked to these different platforms. Lyons and Tagg (2019) address one aspect of this in a study of mobile phone messaging, introducing the term mobile chronotopes to discuss communicative norms linked to time and place in the communication between people in different locations. These chronotopes, like other chronotopes, are normative. For example, a norm of constant availability is linked to text messaging, and an example is discussed of how this is negotiated in an interaction between a boss and employee. There is a conflict between the normative assumption of availability, which implies a quick reply will be made, and the relationship of a boss and an employee, where the employee is generally only accountable to the boss during work hours.

We also see that language ideologies reproduced in digital communication, and also present in discourses about digital communication, are familiar from other realms of interaction. Seargeant (2019) discusses the 'moral panic' about the use of emojis in particular, but also other aspects of new media writing (e.g., abbreviations commonly found in 'textspeak') and notes that this is a recurring discourse about every change in technology or language. 'It's not just language and literacy they're railing against,' he writes about articles which decry the use of emojis or texting, 'it's the way that society is changing in general' (Seargeant 2019 , 89).

Chun (2017) addresses how the concepts of language purity and hybridity are reproduced in comments on US American fan comments about K-pop artists, where the anglophone speakers were criticized for mispronunciation of Korean names, leading to a ‘purification’ of their language through shifting in how they referred to the K-pop artists. Thus, the fans accepted the criticism of their mispronunciation of a Korean name as legitimate, indicating their acceptance of the language ideology about purity, despite the hybrid nature of K-pop music in general.

Digital technologies have contributed to the study of sociolinguistics in providing us with endless data of various sorts. Media data are often easily collected and may not require special permission to be used if they are from the public sphere. There are problems with some of these sources; lack of background information about the language users can be an issue, depending on the research question, and this may also render some of the data difficult, if not impossible, to analyze. Without background information about the speaker or the full social context, how can we correctly interpret what is meant and what associations are available to both the producer of the text and possible addressees?

However, digital data provide us insights into speakers’ language ideologies and often metacommentary about why they do their linguistic performances the way they do. Rymes et al. (2017) use the term **citizen sociolinguistics** to discuss how sociolinguists can make use of digital performances and, significantly, the discourse which is produced around them. Looking at comments on YouTube videos, for example, can provide insights into what features of a dialect are salient to its speakers and critics, and what social categories are linked to different ways of speaking. These analyses show us what aspects of language variation matter to speakers, which may not be the same ones that are the focus of researchers.

Exploration 10.4 Communicative Norms

Are there ‘rules’ for communicating in different digital media that you use? For instance, is the same type of response, in terms of content and immediacy of response, expected on different platforms? How do new users become socialized in these norms for interaction, and what are the consequences for norm-breakers?

Chapter Summary

Identification with place is a common theme in sociolinguistics, and this chapter has focused on how the nation as an entity is symbolically linked to particular languages. We have further addressed the complex interaction between national origin, ethnicity, and language, noting that language is often used as an index of both nationality and ethnicity. Ethnonational ideologies may normatively conflate these two categories, or essentialist ideas about ethnolinguistic identities may link language use to the unintegrated Other in the national context.

These social categories are discursively constructed, and we note here that the media has a salient role in such constructions. How different social groups are referred to in terms of labels, metaphors, and associated terms is part of the reproduction of social inclusion or exclusion.

Moving beyond the nation, we note that in addition to the nation-state, people also orient to other ideas of place – to multiple nation-states, to the experience of migration, to a larger geographical or political entity, or to a cosmopolitan or multicultural orientation. Multilingualism is often one of the resources used to construct these different supra-, post-, or trans-national identities. And as English becomes part of the multilingual mix in more and more global contexts, we see that it plays many different roles in identity and communication, both in face-to-face interaction and in the digital world.

Exercises

1. Linguistic landscapes. What languages are present in the linguistic landscape where you live, and what do these public displays of language indicate about language ideologies surrounding these languages? How are the languages used to construct the social identities of the users of these languages, the businesses/institutions/individuals that use them in

signage, and the intended audience for the linguistic landscape? Find at least two signs as examples for your discussion.

2. Digital discourses. Find a digital source (blog, video, Twitter thread, etc.) related to the topic of multilingualism in a particular national context. What language ideologies are represented in these data?
3. Corpus study. Create a small corpus of newspaper articles about migration. This can be in the language of your choice and from any country. Find the words that are used to refer to migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and those of migration background, and look to see what the collocations are. What picture does this give about these groups of people?

Further Reading

Alsagoff, L. (2010). Hybridity in ways of speaking: The glocalization of English in Singapore. In Lisa Lim, Anne Pakir, and Lionel Wee (eds.), *English in Singapore: Modernity and Management* . Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 109–130.

Hillman, S. and E. Ocampo Eibenschutz (2018). English, super-diversity, and identity in the State of Qatar. *World Englishes* 37(2): 228–247.

Jaspers, J. and M. Meeuwis (2018). 'We don't need another Afrikaans': Adequation and distinction in South-African and Flemish language policies. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 12(3–4): 419–438.

Levisen, C. and E. Sippola (2019). Postcolonial linguistics: The editors' guide to a new interdiscipline. *Journal of Postcolonial Linguistics* 1(1): 1–13.

Meyerhoff, M. and E. Schleef (2014). Hitting an Edinburgh target: Immigrant adolescents' acquisition of variation in Edinburgh English. In R. Lawson (ed.), *Sociolinguistics in Scotland* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 103–128.

Milani, T. M. and E. Levon (2018). Queering multilingualism and politics: Regimes of mobility, citizenship and (in)visibility. In Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics* . New York: Routledge, 528–540.

Rosa, J. (2016). Racializing language, regimenting Latinas/os: Chronotope, social tense, and American raciolinguistic futures. *Language & Communication* 46: 106–117.

Yeo, W. T. and R. Tupas (2018). Semiotic engineering in Singapore: National Courtesy Campaign posters in aid of nation-building. *Journal of Language and Politics* 17(1): 46–69.

References

Aarsæther, F., S. Marzo, I. Nistov, and E. Ceuleers (2015). Indexing locality: Contemporary urban vernaculars in Belgium and Norway. In J. Nortier and B. Svendsen (eds.), *Language, Youth and Identity in the 21st Century: Linguistic Practices across Urban Spaces* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 249.

Akkaya, A. (2014). Language, discourse, and new media: A linguistic anthropological perspective. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 8(7): 285–300.

Albury, N. J. (2017). Mother tongues and languaging in Malaysia: Critical linguistics under critical examination. *Language in Society* 46(4): 567–589.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* . London: Verso.

Angouri, J. and M. Miglbauer (2014). ‘And then we summarise in English for the others’: The lived experience of the multilingual workplace. *Multilingua* 33(1–2): 147–172.

Antonsich, M. (2009). National identities in the age of globalisation: The case of western Europe. *National Identities* 11: 281–299.

Antonsich, M. (2012). Exploring the demands of assimilation among White ethnic majorities in western Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(1): 59–76.

Ataç, İ., S. Rosenberger, and B. Sauer. (2013). Discursive Europeanization? Negotiating Europe in headscarf debates. In Sieglinde Rosenberger and Birgit Sauer (eds.), *Politics, Religion, and Gender: Framing and Regulating the Veil* . New York: Routledge, 74–93.

Baider, F. H. and M. Constantinou (2018). Negotiating empathy in the French and Cypriot-Greek press: Christian values or social justice in migration discourse? *Studii de Lingvistică* 8.

Baran, D. M. (2018). Narratives of migration on Facebook: Belonging and identity among former fellow refugees. *Language in Society* 47(2): 245–268.

Bellamy, J. and K. Horner (2018). Ein Mischmasch aus Deutsch und Französisch: Ideological tensions in young people’s discursive constructions of Luxembourgish. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 12(3–4): 323–343.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture* . London: Routledge.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism* . London: SAGE.

Blackledge, A. and A. Creese (2015). Emblems of identities in four European urban settings. In J. Nortier and B. Svendsen (eds.), *Language, Youth and Identity in the 21st Century: Linguistic Practices across Urban Spaces* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2009). Language, asylum, and the national order. *Current Anthropology* 50(4): 415–441.

Blommaert, J. (2013). The second life of old issues: How superdiversity 'renews' things. Working paper. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* , No. 59.

Blommaert, J. (2017). Commentary: Mobility, contexts, and the chronotope. *Language in Society* 46(1): 95–99.

Blommart, J. and B. Rampton (2012). Language and superdiversity. *MMG Working Paper (12-09)* .

Brown, K. (2010). Teachers as language-policy actors: Contending with the erasure of lesser-used languages in schools. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 41(3): 298–314.

Caliendo, G. (2018). *Rethinking Community: Discourse, Identity and Citizenship in the European Union* . Bern: Peter Lang.

Chun, E. W. (2017). How to drop a name: Hybridity, purity, and the K-pop fan. *Language in Society* 46(1): 57–76.

De Cillia, R., M. Reisigel, and R. Wodak (1999). The discursive construction of national identities. *Discourse and Society* 10: 149–173.

De Fina, A. (2016). Linguistic practices and transnational identities. In Siân Preece (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity* . London: Routledge, 163–178.

De Fina, A., D. Ikizoglu, and J. Wegner (eds.) (2017). *Diversity and Super-Diversity: Sociocultural Linguistic Perspectives* . Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Doğanay, Ü. (2020). Immigrants and Syrian refugees in the Turkish press: Analysis of news discourse in the context of the ‘refugee crisis.’ *Journal of Language and Politics* 19(3): 518–542.

Eades, D. (2009). Testing the claims of asylum seekers: The role of language analysis. *Language Assessment Quarterly* 6(1): 30–40.

Erdmann, S. (2015). A third space: Discursive realizations of immigrant identity. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 15(4): 475–493.

Errington, J. (2001). Colonial linguistics. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30(1): 19–39.

Extra, G., M. Spotti, and P. Van Avermaet (eds.) (2009). *Language Testing, Migration and Citizenship: Cross-National Perspectives on Integration Regimes* . London: A&C Black.

Florack, A. and U. Piontkowski (2000). Acculturation attitudes of the Dutch and the Germans towards the European Union: The importance of national and European identification. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21(1): 1–13.

Flores, N. and M. Lewis (2016). From truncated to sociopolitical emergence: A critique of super-diversity in sociolinguistics. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 241: 97–124.

Flubacher, M. and S. Yeung. (2016). Discourses of integration: Language, skills, and the politics of difference. *Multilingua* 35(6): 599–616.

Friedman, D. (2010). Becoming national: Classroom language socialization and political identities in the age of globalization. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 30: 193–210.

Fuller, J. M. (2018). Immigration, integration and Leitkultur in German newspapers: Competing discourses about national belonging. *Studii de Lingvistică* 8.

Fuller, J. M. (2019a). Discourses of immigration and integration in German newspaper comments. In Lorella Viola and Andreas Musolff (eds.), *Migration and Media: Discourses about Identities in Crisis* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 317–338.

Fuller, J. M. (2019b). Linguistic landscapes and the making of an imagined community. In Theresa Heyd, Ferdinand von Mengden, and Britta Schneider (eds.), *The Sociolinguistic Economy of Berlin: Cosmopolitan Perspectives on Language, Diversity and Social Space* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 279.

Fuller, J. M. (2020). Immigration and integration. In R. Hickey (ed.), *English in the German-Speaking World* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 165–184.

Fuller, J. M. and J. Leeman (2020). *Speaking Spanish in the US* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Gao, S. (2017). The sociolinguistics of globalizing China. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 11(6): e12245.

Gnutzmann, C., J. Jakisch, and F. Rabe (2014). English as a lingua franca: A source of identity for young Europeans? *Multilingua* 33(3–4): 437–457.

Griebel, T. and E. Vollmann (2019). We can('t) do this: A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of migration in Germany. *Journal of Language and Politics* 18(5): 671–697.

Heller, M. (2008). Language and the nation-state: Challenges to sociolinguistic theory and practice 1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4): 504–524.

Hua, V. (2018). 'Your English is so good!' *Pop culture stereotypes Asians. San Francisco Chronicle* , June 21. https://www.sfchronicle.com/entertainment/article/Your-English-is-so-good-pop-culture-13014590.php

Hutchinson, J. (2006). Hot and banal nationalism: The nationalization of the masses. In Gerard Delanty and

Krishan Kumar (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism* . Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 295–306.

Jenkins, J. (2013). *English as a Lingua Franca in the International University: The Politics of Academic English Language Policy* . New York: Routledge.

Johnston, B. (2012). Language and place. In Walt Wolfram and Raj Mesthrie (eds.), *Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 203–217.

Kamusella, T. (2018). Nationalism and national languages. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 163–182.

Kennetz, K. and K. S. Carroll (2018). Language threat in the United Arab Emirates? Unpacking domains of language use. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 254: 165–184.

Kubota, R. (2016). The multi/plural turn, postcolonial theory, and neoliberal multiculturalism: Complicities and implications for applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics* 37(4): 474–494.

Lee, C. (2019). How are ‘immigrant workers’ represented in Korean news reporting? A text mining approach to critical discourse analysis. *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 34(1): 82–99.

Lee, C. (2016). Multilingual resources and practices in digital communication. In A. Georgakopoulou and T. Spilioti (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Digital Communication* . London: Routledge, 118–132.

Levonian, R. M. (2015). Friends and foes: The construction of national and supra-national identities in contemporary Romanian public discourse. *Language and Dialogue* 5(3): 408–429.

Llamas, C. (2010). Convergence and divergence across a national border. In Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt (eds.), *Language and Identities* . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 227–236.

Llamas, C., D. Watt, and A. E. MacFarlane (2016). Estimating the relative sociolinguistic salience of segmental variables in a dialect boundary zone. *Frontiers in Psychology* 7: 1163.

Lyons, A. and C. Tagg (2019). The discursive construction of mobile chronotopes in mobile-phone messaging. *Language in Society* 48(5): 657–683.

Lytra, V. (2016). Language and ethnic identity. In Siân Preece (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity* . London: Routledge, 131–145.

Mahootian, S. (2012). Repertoires and resources: Accounting for code-mixing in the media. In Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian, and Carla Jonsson (eds.), *Language Mixing and Code-Switching in Writing: Approaches to Mixed-Language Written Discourse* . New York: Routledge, 192–211.

Márquez Reiter, R. and L. Martín Rojo (2019). Introduction: Language and speakerhood in migratory contexts. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 257: 1–16.

May, S. (2018). Language rights and language repression. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 236–256.

Milani, T. M. (2015). Language and citizenship: Broadening the agenda. *Journal of Language and Politics* 14(3): 319–334.

Moffitt, U., L. P. Juang, and M. Syed, M. (2018). Being both German and other: Narratives of contested national identity among White and Turkish German young adults. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 57(4): 878–896.

Møller, J. S. and J. N. Jørgensen (2012). Enregisterment among adolescents in superdiverse Copenhagen. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies , No.* 28: 1–15.

Musolff, A. (2015). Dehumanizing metaphors in UK immigrant debates in press and online media. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict* 3(1): 41–56.

Musolff, A. (2018). The 'legitimation' of hostility towards immigrants' languages in press and social media: Main fallacies and how to challenge them. *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics* 14(1): 117–131.

Orpin, D. (2005). Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis: Examining the ideology of sleaze. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 10(1): 37–61.

Otsuji, E. and A. Pennycook (2012). Unremarkable hybridities and metrolingual practices. In Rani Rubdy and Lubna Alsagoff (eds.), *The Global-Local Interface and Hybridity: Exploring Language and Identity* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 83–99.

Patrick, P. L. (2019). Language Analysis for the Determination of Origin (LADO): An introduction. In *Language Analysis for the Determination of Origin* . Cham: Springer, 1–17.

Pavlenko, A. (2003). 'Language of the enemy': Foreign language education and national identity. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6(5): 313–331.

Pavlenko, A. (2008). Multilingualism in post-Soviet countries: Language revival, language removal, and sociolinguistic theory. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11(3–4): 275–314.

Pavlenko, A. (2018). Superdiversity and why it isn't: Reflections on terminological innovation and academic branding. In Barbara Schmenk, Stephan Breidbach, and Lutz Küster (eds.), *Sloganization in Language Education Discourse: Conceptual Thinking in the Age of Academic Marketization* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Phillipson, R. (2017). Myths and realities of 'global' English. *Language Policy* 16(3): 313–331.

Puigdevall, M., J. Walsh, E. Amorrortu, and A. Ortega (2018). 'I'll be one of them': Linguistic mudes and new speakers in three minority language contexts. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 39(5): 445–457.

Pujolar, J. (2019). Linguistic mudes: An exploration over the linguistic constitution of subjects. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 257: 165–189.

Pujolar, J. and M. Puigdevall (2015). Linguistic mudes: How to become a new speaker in Catalonia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 167–187.

Rheindorf, M. and R. Wodak (2020). Sociolinguistic perspectives on migration control: An introduction. In Markus Rheindorf and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Migration Control: Language Policy, Identity and Belonging* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 1.

Riihimäki, J. (2019). At the heart and in the margins: Discursive construction of British national identity in relation to the EU in British parliamentary debates from 1973 to 2015. *Discourse & Society* 30(4): 412–431.

Robertson, R. (1994). Globalisation or glocalisation? *Journal of International Communication* 1(1): 33–52.

Rymes, B., G. Aneja, A. Leone-Pizzighella, M. Lewis, and R. Moore (2017). Citizen sociolinguistics: A new methodology for understanding language and social life. In A. De Fina, D. Ikizoglu, and J. Wegner (eds.), *Diversity and Super-Diversity: Sociocultural Linguistic Perspectives* . Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 151–212.

Sabaté-Dalmau, M. (2016). The Englishisation of higher education in Catalonia: A critical sociolinguistic ethnographic approach to the students' perspectives. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 29(3): 263–285.

Saito, A. (2017). Going cosmopolitan, staying national: Identity construction in popular discourses on English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 27(1): 263–285.

Scarvaglieri, C. and Zech, C. (2013). 'ganz normale Jugendliche, allerdings meist mit Migrationshintergrund': Eine funktional-semantische Analyse von 'Migrationshintergrund.' *Zeitschrift für angewandte Linguistik* 58(1): 201–227.

Schiller, N. G., L. Basch, and C. Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645(1): 1–24.

Schneider, B. (2010). Multilingual cosmopolitanism and monolingual commodification: Language ideologies in transnational Salsa communities. *Language in Society* 39(5): 647–668.

Schneider, B., T. Heyd, and F. von Mengden (2019). The sociolinguistic economy of Berlin: Cosmopolitan perspectives on language, diversity and social space. In Theresa Heyd, Ferdinand von Mengden, and Britta Schneider (eds.), *The Sociolinguistic Economy of Berlin: Cosmopolitan Perspectives on Language, Diversity and Social Space* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 17.

Seals, C. (2019). *Choosing a Mother Tongue: Ukrainian Sociolinguistic Identity Politics* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Seargeant, P. (2019). *The Emoji Revolution: How Technology is Shaping the Future of Communication* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sharifian, F. (2018). Glocalization of English. In John I. Liontas (ed. in chief), The TESOL Encyclopedia of English Language Teaching. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1–12.

Sharma, B. K. and P. Phyak (2017). Neoliberalism, linguistic commodification, and ethnolinguistic identity in multilingual Nepal. *Language in Society* 46(2): 231–256.

Silverstein, M. (2015). How language communities intersect: Is 'superdiversity' an incremental or transformative condition? *Language & Communication* 44: 7–18.

Smith, G. (2019). Cattle, progress, and a victimized nation: Exploring metaphors in current and past immigration discourse. *Metaphor and the Social World* 9(2): 263–284.

Spilioti, T. (2020). The weirding of English, trans-scripting, and humour in digital communication. *World Englishes* 39(1): 106–118.

Swanenberg, J. (2019). Out of order: Authenticity and normativity in communication at school. In Sjaak Kroon and Jos Swanenberg (eds.), *Chronotopic Identity Work: Sociolinguistic Analyses of Cultural and Linguistic Phenomena in Time and Space* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 156–176.

Taiwo, R. (2010). Metaphors in Nigerian political discourse. Obafemi Awololowo University, Nigeria.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024–1054.

Vestermark, I. (2007). Metaphors in politics: A study of the metaphorical personification of American political discourse. An extended essay. Lulea University of Technology and Culture.

Walsh, J. and B. O'Rourke (2014). Becoming a new speaker of Irish: Linguistic mudes throughout the life cycle. *Digithum* 16: 67–74.

Watt, D., C. Llamas, G. Docherty, D. Hall, and J. Nycz (2014). Language and identity on the Scottish/English border. In Dominic Watt and Carmen Llamas (eds.), *Language, Borders and Identity* . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 8–26.

Williams, H. (2014). Changing the national narrative: Evolution in citizenship and integration in Germany, 2000–10. *Journal of Contemporary History* 49(1): 54–74.

Williams, Q. E. (2012). The enregisterment of English in rap braggadocio: A study from English–Afrikaans bilingualism in Cape Town: The ambiguous role of English as rap spreads globally in bilingual communities. *English Today* 28(2): 54–59.

Williams, Q. E. (2017). *Remix Multilingualism: Hip Hop, Ethnography and Performing Marginalized Voices* . London: Bloomsbury.

Wodak, R. (2009). *Discursive Construction of National Identity* . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wodak, R. (2017). Discourses about nationalism. In John E. Richardson and John Flowerdew (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Analysis* . London: Routledge, 403–420.

Yeung, S. (2016). From cultural distance to skills deficits: 'Expatriates,' 'migrants' and Swiss integration policy. *Multilingua* 35(6): 723–746.

Part IV
Sociolinguistics and Social Justice

11
Language, Gender, and Sexuality

KEY TOPICS

- How language (use) can be sexist
- Generalizations about male and female speech
- Gender and sexuality identities as socially constructed
- Discourses of gender and sexuality

A major topic in sociolinguistics has been the connection between linguistic features – the structures, vocabularies, and ways of using particular languages – and the gender and sexuality identities and expressions of the people who use these languages. While initially the research question was, 'Do men and women speak differently?', we have moved away from questions rooted in essentialist understandings of social categories to ask 'How is language part of gender and sexuality identities and ideologies?'

Defining Terms: Sex Category, Gender, and Sexuality

Before discussing how language, gender, and sexuality are dealt with in sociolinguistics, we need to define some concepts we will use in our discussion: sex category, gender, and sexuality. **Sex categories** are based on the biological distinction between 'male' and 'female.' Such static and binary categories are increasingly challenged, both in contemporary cultural movements and in scholarship about gender and sexuality. One area of research on the English language which reflects this is studies on singular *they* , especially when used as a non-binary pronoun (e.g., Bradley 2020 ; Bradley et al. 2019). Much more prevalent is a long-standing body of research on gender nonconforming and non-binary identities in many cultures around the world (e.g., Bing and Bergvall 1996 ; Hall 2002 ; Hall and O'Donovan 1996 ; Webster 2019 ; Richards et al. 2016 ; Zimman 2018).

The idea that there are more than two sexes is not new and is a very Western notion. This view has influenced research in this area, which often portrays non-binary or trans identities as a new development, but this is an ethnocentric viewpoint. There have long been culturally specific categories that define people who do not fall easily into the categories of 'male' and 'female.' Native American cultures have a tradition of what has been called 'two spirit' people (Jacobs et al. 1997), and in India there are *hijras* and *kotis* , which are different groups of people who exhibit physical and/or behavioral characteristics of both sex categories; in Indian society, they have a societal role and the linguistic means of constructing such a role in society (Hall 1997 , 2005). In addition to the development of the term **transgender** to talk about people who do not identify with the gender assigned at birth, the term **cisgender** has become a common term to refer to people whose gender identity does correspond with the gender assigned at birth. The use of this term calls attention to the fact that this is not inherently the case for all people. Thus, while sex categories make references to biological characteristics, and are often perceived as fixed and binary, the existence of intersex identities challenges this binary perception. Within social sciences as a whole, there are increasingly non-binary and fluid understandings of these categories.

Gender , although often linked to sex categories, is culturally constructed. What is considered to be masculine or feminine differs from one society to another. It is also usually conceived of as being on a continuum of masculinity and femininity, that is, you can be more or less masculine or feminine. Within contemporary social theory, gender identities, like other aspects of identity, may change over time, and vary according to the setting, topic, or interlocutors. West and Zimmerman (1987) talk about 'doing gender,' that is, the idea that gender is not something we *have* , but something we *do* : in other words, gender is performative (Butler 1990). Building on this, Cameron (2006 , 724) says: ' *Sex* is a word used in connection with the biological characteristics that mark humans and other animals as either male or female, whereas *gender* refers to the cultural traits and behaviors deemed appropriate for men or women by a particular society.' Elsewhere (1998a, 280–281), she points out that:

> Men and women ... are members of cultures in which a large amount of discourse about gender is constantly circulating. They do not only learn, and then mechanically reproduce, ways of speaking 'appropriate' to their own sex; they learn a much broader set of gendered meanings that attach in rather complex ways to different ways of speaking, and they produce their own behavior in the light of these meanings.

In performances of gender, language users draw on ideologies about what it means to be a man or a woman; for instance, women may give each other compliments on their appearance, while men exchange ritual insults, speech acts which draw on stereotypes of women seeking solidarity and men constructing hierarchy in conversation. However, performing masculinity or femininity 'appropriately' cannot mean giving exactly the same performance regardless of the circumstances. It may involve different strategies in mixed and single-sexed company, in private and public settings, and in the various social roles (parent, lover, colleague, friend) that someone might regularly occupy in the course of everyday life.

We cannot talk about gender without reference to **sexuality** , or vice versa. Sexuality has to do with an individual's identity in terms of their romantic/sexual activities. For example, certain types of masculinity rely heavily on heterosexuality while other identities explicitly involve gay masculinity. We also have stereotypes about identity categories, such as ‘butch’ or ‘femme’ lesbians. Sexual identities are not just about being gay, lesbian, straight, bisexual, transgender, queer, or questioning; they include performances of being available, promiscuous, asexual, or having a preference for certain things, acts, or types of sexual partners. Such aspects of sexual identity are intertwined with gender identity.

Before turning our focus to how language is used, however, we want to address the shape of language itself. Can a language be sexist? How is grammatical gender marking part of understandings of socially constructed gender? And how are changes in language in these regards reflective and constitutive of societal norms? These questions will be addressed in the next section.

Exploration 11.1 Understandings of Sex and Gender

Before reading the definition of the above section, how would you have defined the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’? (Why do you think the authors use the term ‘sex category’ here instead of simply ‘sex’?) What about the terms transgender, cisgender, and non-binary? For speakers of languages other than English, are equivalent terms available cross-linguistically?

How are these terms used in everyday conversations? On forms (e.g., the census, government documents, or job applications)? In the media? What do these usages reflect about popular understandings of these concepts? How are the ways that these terms are used here different from how they are used in popular culture?

Sexist Language

Can language itself be sexist? Work in the 1980s on this topic addressed issues such as the so-called generic 'he' and the use of 'man' or 'mankind' to refer to all people. Penelope (1988) discusses how such usages exclude women and create the mentality that men are the default and the norm, and women are the exception. She gives examples which illustrate how this leads to even gender-neutral words being used to refer to men, for example, a line from Star Trek: 'Our people are the best gamblers in the galaxy. We compete for power, fame, women' (Penelope 1988 , 135). (Although not addressed in Penelope's work, note also how heteronormative this is!) Of course, academics were not exempt from such constructions, as she shows with examples from the renowned sociologist Goffman: 'It is here, in this personal capacity, that an individual can be warm, spontaneous and touched by humor. It is here, regardless of his social role, that an individual can show "what kind of guy he is" (Goffman, *Encounters* , p. 152)' (Penelope 1988 , 136). She argues that such linguistic uses perpetuate the invisibility of women (an issue to be discussed further in Exploration 11.2).

Another of the issues involved in sexism in language has to do with words that encode sex categories, for example sex category-marked names of people in specific occupations (e.g., fireman, stewardess, and waitress). While it is not inherently sexist to make reference to the sex category of a person, we have noted above that a binary approach to this is indeed problematic. Further, the use of such words may influence what professions we see as being appropriate for (only) men or (only) women. If the unmarked form is 'fireman,' or 'stewardess,' as was the case in the last century, it is possible to be a 'firewoman' or a 'steward' but this is linguistically marked and suggests that the norm is for people who fight fires to be male and people who serve airline passengers to be female. This problem has been addressed by the introduction of gender-neutral terms such as *firefighter* and *flight attendant* , and there is a growing awareness, at least in some circles, that subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, distinctions are made in the vocabulary choices used to describe men and women. Consequently, we can understand why there is a frequent insistence that neutral words be used as much as possible, as in describing occupations, for example, *chair(person)* , *letter carrier* , *salesclerk* , and *police officer* . If language tends to reflect social structure and social structure is changing so that leadership, delivering mail, working retail, and working in law enforcement are just as likely to be done by people of any gender, such linguistic changes might be expected to follow inevitably.

While the examples we have given here are given in English, of course such matters of sexist language are present in all languages. For example, Raga (2015) explores sexism in three languages spoken in Ethiopia – Afan Oromo, Amharic, and Gamo – showing how both the marginalization of women in society and traditional roles of men and women in heterosexual relationships are encoded through semantic asymmetries, figurative uses of male/female nouns, the use of a male generic, and noun forms for administrative posts. The author notes that linguistic policy would not be enough to address inequalities; changes in sexist attitudes which are the roots of these linguistic manifestations would be necessary.

Coady (2018) discussed sexist language connected to gender marking (a topic we will go into further in the next section) in French, framing the study of sexism in language with the language ideology approach using the concepts of iconization, recursivity, and erasure (see outline of this framework in chapter 3). Iconization, she argued, results in binary understandings of sex categories; recursivity applies this to language; and erasure removes discourses which challenge such rigid understandings of gender difference.

Focus on asymmetries and stereotypes in language does two things: it draws our attention to existing inequities and it encourages us to make the necessary changes by establishing new terms and categorizations. One example of this is modifications for old terms (e.g., changing *policeman* to *police officer*); another can be found in the introduction of new terms, for instance new pronouns. Lindqvist et al. (2019) present evidence that the introduction of new terms – *hen* in Swedish and *ze* in English – are more effective than the use of traditional neutral words in combating a male bias, although the growing acceptance of singular *they* in English might challenge this conclusion.

It should also be noted that language can also encode and perpetuate **heterosexist** attitudes and grammatical gender marking can make this difficult if not impossible to avoid (Motschenbacher 2014). We will continue to address this topic in the sections below on grammatical gender marking as well as sexual identities and discourses of sexuality.

Grammatical gender marking

We must note that grammatical gender marking is more extensive in many languages than it is in English, and presents different problems in attempts to make language more gender neutral. As Mills (2008) notes, the word for 'minister' in French is masculine (*le ministre*), so it is difficult to refer to a female minister. Further, the norm in languages such as French and Spanish is to use the masculine plural for groups containing both men and women. In Spanish, in which grammatical gender is marked on both the article and in some cases on the noun, various alternatives have been suggested – using both forms with a slash (e.g., *los/las ministros/as* 'the ministers'), using the @ symbol (e.g., *l@s ministr@s*) or the most recent innovation, the use of an x (*lxs ministrxs*) (Kaufmann and Bohner 2014). The advantage of the last form is that it also includes non-binary individuals, although it has also been criticized as a primarily US usage which is not appealing to Spanish speakers in other countries (see Torres 2018 for a discussion of this specific to the word *Latinx*).

While in German there was traditionally also only gender-marked plurals for human nouns, some changes have occurred, including more use of the feminine plural ending (- *innen* , as opposed to the masculine plural *-en*) for groups of men and women, and in some cases the introduction of words that do not mark gender for plurals. For example, the plural for ‘students,’ traditionally *Studenten* , using the masculine - *en* plural ending, was in some cases during the 1980s and 1990s replaced by *StudentInnen* , using the feminine plural suffix - *innen* , but has now been replaced by *Studierende* (literally, ‘those who study,’ from the verb *studieren* ‘to study’). Thus while the form of the language itself may appear to be an impediment to change, in some cases it is possible to work around grammatical gender-marking patterns.

What difference does it make what form we use to refer to groups of people? In terms of the connection between language and society, we might ask what societal impact gendered forms have. Shoham and Lee (2018) did a large quantitative study involving 163 countries and looking at correlations between grammatical gender marking in the national language and gender wage equality. They argue that the presence of gender marking in language causes a greater gender gap in earnings. This claim brings us back to ideas discussed in chapter 1 about the connection between language and culture, suggesting that some version of the Whorfian hypothesis holds, i.e., that language influences culture. (It bears mentioning that multilingualism is ignored in this study, and there is an assumption of a single language being representative of the worldview of all of the people within a nation, something which, after reading chapters 8 – 10 , we hope that you will question!)

Other research addresses questions about language processing; how does the use of, for instance, the so-called ‘masculine generic’ influence how language users interpret utterances, or how they imagine referents? Kaufmann and Bohner (2014) gave Chilean Spanish speakers sentences using traditional male plurals, using slashes to include male and female forms, and using the -x forms (e.g., *El grupo de tres amigos/as* and *El grupo de tres amigxs* ‘The group of three friends’), and asked them to continue the story and give names to the three friends. They found that the use of the male plural form did indeed create a male bias, meaning that all research participants more strongly tended to interpret the three friends as male if they were referred to as *amigos* instead of *amigos/as* or *amigxs* . Sczesny et al. (2016), in a review of similar studies done across languages, argue that the use of gender-fair language can reduce gender stereotyping and discrimination. The overall message of this research is not that we should dictate how people use language and that this will magically make people less sexist. Instead, researchers believe that the language we use matters; if we question how we use language we also question underlying assumptions and through this process can enact change. We will revisit this idea in the context of our discussion of language planning and policy in chapter 13 .

Language change

If there is a relationship between language and worldview, regardless of which direction we believe this influence flows, then we would expect that language would reflect (or cause) changing gender roles. In English, we can see this in some asymmetries of pairs of words. While *waiter* and *waitress* have few, if any, differences in connotation aside from sex, pairs of terms such as *master–mistress* , *governor–governess* , and *bachelor–spinster* are different in more ways than simply indicating male and female. While a master is the man in charge, the word *mistress* is commonly used to refer to the female lover of a married man. Being a *governor* is an important political position; a *governess* is someone who takes care of children. While *bachelor* has connotations of fun and independence (as in the term *bachelor pad*), *spinster* is an undeniably negative term, calling up the image of an elderly woman living alone with lots of cats. (See Lakoff 1973 for a discussion of these and other such examples.) The interesting thing to note about these asymmetries, however, is that probably most readers of this text do not use the words *mistress* , *governess* , *or spinster* at all. Even if you know these words, you may not be familiar with the connotations cited here, as societal changes have made these terms less prominent and relevant, especially for young people today.

However, gender asymmetries still exist in modern-day English usage. For instance, we see a clearer asymmetry in the difference between the meaning of ‘mothering’ a child, which implies nurturing, and ‘fathering’ a child, which simply means contributing to the child’s conception. However, even here we see some changes, as the term ‘parenting’ is now used in many contexts in which ‘mothering’ was used earlier (for example, it is common to refer to ‘parenting magazines,’ although see below for some comments about the content).

We should also note that some small changes in heterosexist language practices can also be seen. One example is in reference to partners; some heterosexual married couples will refer to their spouses as ‘partners’ to avoid indexing the heterosexual privilege of legal marriage. At the same time, as marriage equality is achieved in some regions, the use of the terms ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ is no longer reserved for heterosexuals. However, such changes in both language and worldview are still incipient and are reflective of policy struggles around marriage equality; language is used to claim or deny legitimacy for same-sex couples. How this functions in language use is the subject of the following two sections of this chapter.

Exploration 11.2 Guys and Dolls

A common term used in many varieties of English to address a group of people is 'guys,' as in 'C'mon, you guys, let's go!' For many speakers, this term in the singular is almost exclusively masculine ('I met a guy in the park with a beautiful dog' would imply a male dog owner), but in the plural it can refer to any group of people. Do you use this term? If so, how do you use it, that is, what are the possible referents? If you do not identify as male, do you ever object to being referred to with 'guys'? Do you think this usage is inherently sexist, as it uses a male term as the default, like 'mankind'?

Deficit, Dominance, and Difference

Research in sociolinguistics largely neglected the study of sexuality until the last few decades, and the beginning of this chapter reflects this asymmetry: the early frameworks we will discuss focus solely on gender. It is primarily within the identity framework that sexual identities emerge as a prominent topic in sociolinguistic research. Thus, this section provides an historical account of the scholarship on gender and language which makes little if any reference to sexuality; we then broaden our focus in the discussion of identity construction.

These sections on deficit, dominance, and difference address an early preoccupation in the study of language gender: how and why do men and women speak differently? But first, we need to specify what we mean when we talk about differences between men's and women's speech. There are some claims to **gender exclusive language** , that is, situations in which men and women have different ways of speaking that could be deemed different languages, or at least distinct and named dialects of a language. According to Sapir (1929

), the Yana language of California contained special forms for use in speech either by or to women. Another claim to sex-exclusive language is found among the Dyirbal people of North Queensland, Australia, who have a special language which is gender-differentiated in a rather novel way (Dixon 1971). The normal everyday language, Guwal, is used by both genders; but, if you are a man and your mother-in-law is present, or if you are a woman and your father-in-law is present, you use DyalÎuy, a 'mother-in-law' variety. This variety has the same phonology and almost the same grammar as Guwal but its vocabulary is entirely different. However, both genders have access to both varieties.

Another language which is often cited as having different ways of speaking for men and women is Japanese; however, some recent research on this may cause us to question exactly how exclusive the varieties associated with different sexes are. Japanese women show they are women when they speak, for example, by the use of a sentence-final particle *ne* or another particle *wa* . A male speaker refers to himself as *boku* or *ore* whereas a female uses *watasi* or *atasi* . Whereas a man says *boku kaeru* 'I will go back' in plain or informal speech, a woman says *watasi kaeru wa* (Takahara 1991). Children learn to make these distinctions very early in life. However, Reynolds (1998 , 306) points out that 'the use of *boku* … by junior high school girls has recently become quite common in Tokyo. Girls who were interviewed in a TV program explain that they cannot compete with boys in classes, in games or in fights with *watasi* … . The use of *boku* and other expressions in the male speech domain by young female speakers has escalated to a larger area and to older groups of speakers.' More recent literature has discussed so-called Japanese women's language as an ideal rather than an existing genderlect (Inoue 2006 ; Nakamura 2014), and also as something that changes due to other social and economic developments (Inoue 2016).

In addition to ways of using language which are seen as specific to men or women, there has been some research addressing ways of speaking which are associated with gay men and lesbians. In a review of the research, Kulick (2000) notes that up until the 1980s, work focused mostly on lexical items used in particular gay and/or lesbian communities. Subsequent to that, there was a body of research which focused on distinguishing features of gay or lesbian language, with a particular focus on phonology. Some of this research focused on whether research participants could accurately identify gay or lesbian speakers (see Gaudio 1994 ; Moonwomon-Baird 1997 for examples of pioneering studies on this; see Tracy et al. 2015 ; Davenport 2018 for more recent research on American English and Argentinian Spanish, respectively). In a review of this research, Munson and Babel (2007) maintain that while there are certain speech features that are often associated with gay or lesbian speakers, they are not simply imitations of speakers of the opposite sex, but individual features which carry social meanings. This features pattern (in combinations with other linguistic features) can contribute to associations with sexuality categories.

Thus, what we will focus on here is not different codes used by men and women, or gay and straight speakers, but what has been called **gender preferential language** . In other words, certain ways of speaking may be preferred by one gender or are stereotypically associated with being feminine or masculine. We have already mentioned many instances of language behavior varying according to gender (see chapter 5). Many of these are quantitative studies in which sex (what we have called here 'sex category') is used as one of the independent variables. In the following sections, we will provide an overview of more qualitative approaches to studying differences between men's and women's language use, and then focus on the constructionist paradigm within which most sociolinguistic research on gender and sexuality research is done today.

Women's language as a deficit

Research which seeks to apply social theory and answer questions about the relationship between language and gender/sexuality was launched by a provocative and insightful work by Lakoff in 1973, ‘Language and Woman’s Place.’ As this title implies, this work focused on how women’s language revealed their place in society – a place that was generally seen as inferior to that occupied by men. This account of women’s language (WL) has in retrospect been called the **deficit model** , as many of the features Lakoff discusses position women as deficient to men: less confident in what they say (e.g., use of tag questions, hedging devices, rising intonation), and less able to participate in serious activities in the social sphere (e.g., empty adjectives, lexicons specific to domestic domains). Empirical studies have shown that some of the features Lakoff suggests are typical of WL are not necessarily used more by women than men; for instance, empirical work on tag questions has refuted the idea that they are used more by women (Dubois and Crouch 1975 ; Cameron et al. 1989 ; and Brower et al. 1979). Holmes (1984) actually found that men were more likely to use tag questions that indicated uncertainty. Furthermore, after analyzing a large corpus of academic data from the University of Michigan, researchers found that ‘in the domain of academic speech, there is no specific gender-related effect on speakers’ hedging frequencies’ (Poos and Simpson 2002 , 20).

Still further work by O’Barr and Atkins (1980) showed that in courtroom speech, it was not women who used the features identified by Lakoff as being part of WL, but people who had less institutional power. In a sense this last finding only strengthens the importance of Lakoff’s work by confirming that the ways of speaking which are associated with women are associated with a lack of power. This theme of power being encoded and created though language use is one that has wide applications.

It must be noted that all of the work discussed in this section has a very binary view of gender; the research questions which drive it are based on the division of people into two sex categories. This binary perspective continues to dominate in the next two phases of language and gender research. Another problem with this research is that it does not take socialization into account; there is a static sense of girls/women behaving in certain ways as if this is inevitable and not learned behavior based on cultural expectations.

Dominance

What has been called the **dominance approach** also addresses power relations between the sexes. Some of this research claims that there is evidence that in cross-gender conversation women ask more questions than men, use more **back - channeling** signals (i.e., verbal and nonverbal feedback to show they are listening) to encourage others to continue speaking, use more instances of *you* and *we* , and do not protest as much as men when they are interrupted. On the other hand, men interrupt more, challenge, dispute, and ignore more, try to control what topics are discussed, and are inclined to make categorical statements. Such behaviors are not characteristic of women in conversations that involve both men and women. In other words, in their interactional patterns in conversation, men and women conform to larger societal norms for behavior: men are dominant and competitive, and women are obedient and cooperative. Work such as that of Fishman (1978) and DeFrancisco (1998) on couples' talk, Zimmerman and West (1975) on gender and interruptions, and West (1984 , 1990) on physicians' directives shows how men tend to dominate conversations through interruption and topic control, and to backchannel less than women.

However, more comprehensive research on interruptions shows that this pattern cannot be generalized. James and Clarke (1993) looked at fifty-four studies that addressed the claim that men are much more likely than women 'to use interruption as a means of dominating and controlling interactions' (1993, 268). They report that the majority of studies have found no significant differences between genders in this respect, and that both men and women interrupt other men and women. However, according to James and Clarke (1993 , 268), 'A small amount of evidence exists that females may use interruptions of the cooperative and rapport-building type to a greater extent than do males, at least in some circumstances.'

The overarching theme in this research is that men's societal dominance is reproduced in conversations between men and women. Although there are problems with this approach, including that it is somewhat overly simplistic, the idea that larger societal norms influence what happens within a conversation is an enduring concept in the study of language, gender, and sexuality. Context is important in how we use language. Men and women's speech is not the same in private and public spheres, and different roles within an interaction also lead to different ways of speaking. Someone who frequently interrupts in one context may backchannel a lot in another, and this fact must form part of any larger picture we may want to draw of gendered aspects of language use. Further, as we'll discuss below, gender is interconnected with other identity markers (ethnicity, social class, sexuality) and this makes generalizations about sex categories less meaningful.

Talbot (1998 , 133–134) also advocates caution when applying the idea of dominance to gender differences in language: 'A major determinant [of the dominance framework] is that male dominance is often treated as though it is pan-contextual. But … all men are not in a position to dominate all women.' Dominance clearly fails as a universal explanation of gendered language differences, and again, fails to take socialization into account. If men perform dominance or women cooperation, these are performances which are taught and reinforced through societal norms.

Difference

Almost concurrently with the focus on dominance in the study of language and gender arose another approach which became known as the **difference** or **two cultures approach** . Its basic idea was popularized by the psychologist Jonathan Grey in his bestselling book *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus: The*

Classic Guide to Understanding the Opposite Sex (1992) and by the linguist Deborah Tannen in her book *You Just Don’t Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (1990). These works were based on the assumption that men and women speak differently and because of this there are many misunderstandings between men and women. Their claim is that men learn to talk like men and women learn to talk like women because society subjects them to different life experiences. However, the process of gender differentiation is not the focus of this approach, it is an underlying assumption (and one that has been questioned). The main claim is that men and women have different conversational goals and thus although they may say the same things, they actually mean different things. Maltz and Borker (1982) propose that, in North America at least, men and women come from different sociolinguistic subcultures. They have learned to do different things with language, particularly in conversation, and when they try to communicate with each other, the result may be miscommunication. For example, the *mhmm* a woman uses quite frequently means only ‘I’m listening,’ whereas the *mhmm* a man uses tends to mean ‘I’m agreeing.’ Consequently, men often believe that ‘women are always agreeing with them and then conclude that it’s impossible to tell what a woman really thinks,’ whereas ‘women … get upset with men who never seem to be listening’ (1982, 202). They conclude that women and men observe different rules in conversing and this may result in misunderstanding and conflict.

There is an emphasis on misunderstandings in this approach, caused by differences in conversational goals. For instance, Tannen (1992), who likens speech between men and women to cross-cultural communication, claimed that men seek to establish hierarchy and status through talk, whereas women look to create solidarity and connection.

It is interesting to note that although these works espousing such a characterization of male–female differences have made the bestseller lists, many sociolinguists remain extremely skeptical. We suggest that their popularity is at least in part because they avoid difficult issues of power relations between the sexes that are brought to the forefront in other approaches (Cameron 1998b ; Talbot 1998). Different ways of speaking are presented as equal but different in this approach, but as we know from discussions of different dialects and attitudes toward them as in chapters 2 and 3 , this is a fake neutrality. People evaluate and judge others based on how they speak, and this statement is as true for gendered ways of speaking as it is for social or regional varieties.

Further criticism of the difference approach has been that the analogy to cross-cultural communication and the focus on misunderstanding is misplaced, as it relies on the assumption that most human interactions and socialization are within same-sex groups, something obviously untrue for many people. A related problem is that this approach reifies the differences between men and women, and men's and women's ways of speaking; but in reality the similarities between male and female speech patterns (to the extent that we can say there are such things) outweigh the differences.

The difference model, like the deficit and dominance models, is no longer widely used in the study of language and gender, and does not focus at all on intersectionality, that is, the interaction of gender identities with other identity markers. Further, these models do not include the more dynamic, interactive, and agentive ideas about language which are embraced in contemporary social theory. In the next section, we will present research within social constructionist theory on language and gender and sexuality identities.

Gender and Sexuality Identities

Work on the social construction of identities has become central to ways of thinking about language, gender, and sexuality in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. As in West and Zimmerman's landmark work 'Doing Gender' (1987), we focus on gender not as the source of linguistic behavior but as the product of our language performances. Identity may be constructed through a variety of linguistic means. For instance, the use of certain lexical forms or language varieties may contribute to identity, just as particular communicative practices, such as silence, greeting formulas, or gaze, do. Identity is neither an attribute nor a possession, it is a process of semiosis (Mendoza-Denton 2002).

We have discussed work by Bucholtz and Hall (2004 , 2005a , 2005b) which outlines an approach to the linguistic construction of social identity that has provided a popular framework for this approach (see chapter 3). The underlying idea is that identities do not exist outside of the performance of them; thus this work moves away from the common perception that gender and sexuality categories are pre-existing and fixed, and views gender and sexuality identities as fluid and constantly shifting. Individuals are not fixed subjects in a society but position themselves, and are positioned by others, in multiple and sometimes contradictory ways. We speak of identity in terms of intersubjectivity, recognizing the dialogical aspect of the negotiation of identities. Individuals are not solely responsible for their own identity and position vis-à-vis others in an interaction; it is something that is jointly constructed.

Furthermore, a person's identification involves social categories of many different types – not just social categories for gender and sexuality such as 'femme' or 'gay' but also situational roles such as 'patient' or 'customer' and interactional stances of similarity and difference. What, therefore, are the consequences for gender and sexuality identities in particular? First, although gender and sexuality are separate aspects of identity, they are also intertwined. However, it is not just that it is difficult to separate aspects of gender identity from sexual identities; all aspects of identity are **intersectional** (Crenshaw 1989 , 2017). An individual does not construct an identity just as a woman, but as a woman plus other intersecting categories – Latina, middle class, bilingual, straight, mother, urban, and so on. Thus the identity a person constructs through language (and other social behaviors) is never just about gender or sexuality, but about many, and at times fluid, aspects of identity.

Further, if identity is something that must be performed, gender identity might not always be in the forefront of a performance. Everything a man does is not solely a performance of masculinity; certain ways of using language may be primarily about constructing an identity as a professional, a refugee, or a Borussia Dortmund football fan. While such things may be intertwined with gender or sexual identities, these aspects of identity are not foregrounded at all times. The studies in this section look at identity performances in which the focus is on gender and sexual identities, but in intersection with other aspects of identity.

In the following sections we examine three themes in studies on gender and sexuality identities. The first is that within identity categories – such as ‘male’ – there are many different and competing ways of performing identities. Second, despite this myriad of performances, we recognize the influence of hegemonic ideologies about what it means to belong in a certain identity category. Third, we also recognize that identities are performed differently in different social contexts, and here we look at performance of identities in the workplace.

Multiple identities

Some earlier studies which look specifically at how different linguistic devices are used to construct different masculinities include Bucholtz (1999a), Cameron (1998a), Kiesling (2001), and Sheldon (2008). They use different types of data but share the concept that there are different types of masculinity associated with different ways of speaking to construct particular identities and, as Sheldon and Bucholtz argue, to reify masculine stereotypes. Both Cameron’s and Kiesling’s articles look at language within male groups and how it is used to construct hegemonic masculinity; Cameron shows how a key component in the conversation she analyzes is used to establish heterosexuality: discussing other men and calling them ‘gay.’ Kiesling looks at how one member of a fraternity uses different ways of speaking to construct different types of masculinity. Among his frat brothers, he uses confrontational language to put himself at the top of the hierarchy, but with a young woman at a bar he presents himself as an authority figure. Both styles require him to position himself as an expert, albeit in different ways.

Bucholtz’s study, which analyzes the narrative of a White teenager who uses CRAAVE (Cross-Race African American Vernacular English), focuses on how a racialized physical masculinity is constructed through language use. This speaker’s use of CRAAVE simultaneously constructs him as having an alliance with his African American friends, but also reinforces stereotypes about Black masculinity and its supposed connection to physical strength and toughness.

Sheldon’s study looks at an ad for Microsoft which features a ‘menacing white biker guy’ (Sheldon 2008 , 151) who is extolling the virtues of Microsoft’s classical music software. He switches between a nonstandardized variety of English and a stylized techno-geek register, the former evoking a masculinity based on ideas of physical strength and toughness, the latter based on ideas of technical knowledge as part of masculinity. Sheldon suggests that such use of these contrasting styles and gender ideologies allows the readers of this ad to ‘have their cake and eat it too’ – that is, they can be knowledgeable about something like classical music, but also be tough and physically strong.

Another perspective on this idea that particular aspects of identities may be performed in different ways is shown in research by Hazenberg (2016) which looks at the speech of people in six categories based on sex category and sexuality (straight men, straight women, queer men, queer women, trans men, trans women). The linguistic variables he examines are adjectival intensification (e.g., *so* , *pretty*) and the pronunciation of [s]. He notes that the intensifier *pretty* (e.g., *that’s pretty good*) is used most by straight cis men, while *so* is used more by queer cis men and straight and queer women. While trans men use overall high rates of adjectival intensifiers, they do not use *pretty* as much as straight cis men or *so* as much as queer men or women. It appears that these two intensifiers index straight cis masculinity and gay cis masculinity or femininity, but are avoided by all trans men and women. Combined with the data on the production of variation of production of the [s] variable, this study shows that while cis speakers use these features in ways that index masculinity or femininity, this is not a privilege all speakers can equally take advantage of: 'Trans speakers, having arguably the most to lose in the gender field, play a very conservative, middle-of-the-road game and avoid gender extremes overall' (Hazenberg 2016 , 289). This research illustrates that variation in the use of linguistic features within identity categories is constrained by our perception of how they may be interpreted by others – in this case, speakers may seek to identify in more 'neutral' ways in order to avoid persecution.

While this section has focused primarily on the construction of masculinities, clearly all identity categories are equally heterogeneous, that is, there are also multiple ways to construct, for instance femininity (Charlebois 2010) or queer identities (Cashman 2019). We will provide examples of more varied identity markers in the subsequent sections.

The role of hegemonic ideologies in gender and sexuality identity construction

Another theme in the research on identities is the influence of hegemonic understandings of particular identity categories. In the next section we will discuss how these gender and sexuality ideologies are reproduced through societal discourses; here we focus on how they are reflected in the linguistic construction of identities.

In some of the studies discussed above, the masculinities constructed are either implicitly or, in the case of Cameron's study, explicitly heterosexual, and we see that the dominance of heterosexual norms has influence in queer contexts as well. Baudinette (2017) looks at posts on a Japanese gay male dating bulletin board system and how the participants use gender stereotypes to portray themselves and what they were looking for. These stereotypes were referred to explicitly as *taipu* ('types') and include types such as 'business-type,' 'sportman type,' 'fatty type,' 'naughty type,' 'elderly type.' There were also two main adjectives used to describe all types: sawayaka (hunky) and kawaii (cute). Baudinette argues that 'hunkiness' is more explicitly linked to stereotypically 'manly' ideas of masculinity, reflecting heteronormativity even in an overtly gay context. This is even more explicit in Milani (2013), a study of a gay men's online community in South Africa, where many men say they are looking for 'straight acting' men.

A slightly different perspective is found in Levon (2014), which examines coming-out narratives of three gay men in Israel. All of these men were categorized as 'Mainstream men,' meaning that they seek to establish gay/lesbian identities which are compatible with Israeli social structures and their normative gender and national models. All of them eschewed gender-deviant gayness and constructed an ideal gay male category which fit into society without challenging societal gender norms.

While the Milani, Baudinette, and Levon studies look at how heteronormativity can influence interactions in gay circles, this ideology is of course most notably present in contexts in which some may assume everyone is heterosexual. We see in these interactions that there are assumptions about heterosexuality being made, but also that these assumptions are challenged in conversation. Liddicoat (2009) looks at heteronormative framing in the language classroom, and how several students' valiant attempts to indicate that they have same-sex partners are treated as issues of grammatical incorrectness. Despite this, there are several examples of students insisting on the correctness of their gendering of their partners, as seen in the following example.

O::h no es novio. Mi novio es alto y delgado. (0.2) Y tiene una barba .

(O::h no it's boyfriend. My boyfriend is tall and slim. (0.2) And he has a beard.) (Liddicoat 2009 , 193)

This theme of normative heterosexuality is also a theme in work by Land and Kitzinger (2005). They examine data from telephone calls from five lesbian households and show how sexuality is indexed among intimates in similar ways for heterosexual and lesbian women, but in institutional calls, indexing a lesbian identity involves a disruption of the heterosexist assumption. Thus an act of coming out must be continually performed.

Research on the construction of femininities also focuses on the use of hegemonic ideas about femininity and how people position themselves in alignment with, or in opposition to, stereotypes. Some of these stereotypes have to do with physical appearance and what is considered desirable, illustrating how gender identities are intertwined with sexual identities. Ambjörnsson (2005) addresses how Swedish girls feel compelled to continually discuss how fat they are as part of their construction of femininity, but that this is a strategy open only to girls who are not considered overweight. This study shows how the discourse about weight reproduces stereotypes about body size and femininity. In contrast, Bucholtz (1999b) looks at nerd girls and shows how they use hypercorrect language and displays of knowledge (the latter often associated with masculinity) as part of their construction of nerd girl identity, an identity which challenges hegemonic femininity.

Central to hegemonic gender and sexuality ideologies are ideas about what makes someone an authentic member of a particular group. Queen (2005) shows how such definitions of lesbian identity are negotiated in one group setting. In this study, she explores how lesbian identity is constructed through joking and on how these interactions revolve around knowledge of both the sexuality of the speakers and stereotypes about lesbians. Far from being accepted as definitive, however, these stereotypes are contested; they can be funny, but they are also a springboard for a negotiation of group and individual identities. In one example, short hair, wearing Birkenstocks, and vegetarianism are presented as identifying characteristics of lesbians, although these are ultimately all challenged in terms of their applicability to themselves and other women they know. Through this conversation their own identities emerge, not simply by positioning themselves with reference to stereotypes but through the interaction itself, thus illustrating how identities are discursively produced. Other research which also examines lesbian identity and authenticity is Jones (2011 , 2014), in which the category of 'lesbian' is constructed around certain characteristics associated with being 'butch' (such as preferring teddy bears to dolls); being too 'femme' is not seen as authentically lesbian. Again, however, this article shows how these categories and the identities of the speakers are not fixed but emergent from the discourse, and that social meanings, although drawing on larger ideas about 'the gay community,' are developed within the community of practice. Other research by Bailey (2019) about a queer women's website, Autostraddle, shows that while the homonormativity reproduced there differs from that discussed by the research participants in Jones' studies – the representation is centered on young, cisgender feminine lesbians – it similarly focuses on a prototype despite trying to be inclusive.

A final theme related to normative ideologies and gender and sexuality identities involves how race is intertwined into these performances; this takes on many different forms. In a seminal study by Barrett (1998) on African American drag queens, he shows how stylistic variation in their speech, including codes indexing African American and White suburban female categories, is part of the drag queen personas they create. The 'White women's speech' draws on features not unsimilar to Lakoff's 'women's language,' which is also racially coded. The crossing of both gender and race lines in their performances highlights difference and is part of the construction of a polyphonous identity.

In the study by Baudinette (2017) discussed above, one of the types listed as prominent on the bulletin board system is *Gai-sen* (someone into White men); here race is explicitly linked to desire. The existence of this category implies that this is a non-normative desire and that desire is more properly found within racial categories. We also see this in Milani's (2013) study. While he notes the presence of explicit reference to Black and other 'non-White' categories in positive ways that are often not present in more mainstream gay media in South Africa, in general in these data desire could be said to run more ' *along* rather than *across* racial lines' (Milani 2013 , 14). Cashman (2019) also discusses how the ethnic category of Latinx plays a role in the construction of queer identities. Her work shows that mainstream organizations in Phoenix, Arizona construct the local LGBTQ community as White and anglophone, but queer Latinxs resist this through advertising and signs in the Pride parade which index their identities as bilingual and Latinx challenge this normativity. Through these displays they construct inclusivity which goes beyond sexuality and includes diversity in gender expression, race, ethnicity, and migration status.

Context-specific identity construction: the workplace

Because identity is interactional and relational, we would expect that performances would vary across domains of language use. In this section we will examine some work on one domain, the workplace, with a focus on how gendered language is part of the construction of leadership roles (Holmes 2006). Certain linguistic strategies – being direct and assertive – are coded as stereotypically 'masculine,' and others – being collaborative and relational – are described as stereotypically 'feminine' leadership strategies.

Research on female politicians has looked at their linguistic performances and noted that a common strategy is to alternate between authoritative stances (which are stereotypically masculine) and relationally oriented, normatively feminine ways of speaking (Holmes 2007 ; Bengoechea 2011). Bengoechea's research on the first female defense minister in Spain, Carme Chacón, showed that in her initial months when she employed this mixture of strategies, she was seen as effective. When she then acted in what was perceived as a more collaborative manner, the media then framed her as ineffective. She was described as a 'girl,' and too young and inexperienced to do her job.

However, Cameron and Shaw (2016) challenge the assumption of women using a 'different voice.' In their analysis of three female party leaders in the 2015 UK general election, they note that the women use confrontational and combative language much as men do. This challenges the idea that the presence of women in formerly male-dominated domains will change communicative norms. They further suggest that in the context of the debates, gender identity was backgrounded and other identity markers, such as nationality or social class, were made the focus. This research emphasizes the need for intersectional research questions.

Baxter (2015) looks at the use of supposedly gendered linguistic strategies in the discourse of three groups – an all-female group, an all-male group, and a mixed-sex group. The study employed a leadership simulation task carried out by part-time MBA students, most of whom were already employed in middle-management positions. The strategies chosen did not easily align with the stereotypes for gender strategies. The mixed group was the most collaborative and also the most successful in completing the task (to build a tower that was positively evaluated by an external rater in terms of height, strength, function, and aesthetics). The groups with all men and all women both began with one person taking on a leadership position, but as the groupwork continued these configurations shifted. In the male group, there was competition for the leadership position, with two team members vying to have their ideas accepted and enacted by the group. In the all-female group, all of the group members competed to voice their opinions to the point that they had little success in making design decisions. Both of these groups did far more poorly on the task than the mixed group, showing that linguistic cooperation can lead to productive decision-making and enactment of plans, but also that this is not necessarily found in female groups.

Other studies looking at workplace interactions also address how different ways of speaking can invoke gender differences, in some cases quite explicitly. Saito (2018) discusses performances of masculinity in the workplace, noting that these performances use stereotypical forms associated with masculinity such as gendered pronouns, but also the content of their talk was also a crucial element of the gendering of their speech. One way of creating **homosocial** relationships and displaying relative power was through misogynist comments about female coworkers.

Of course, not all workplaces are the same, and it is clear that men and women construct identities with attention to the locally operating norms and values. McDowell (2015) looks at men in an occupation traditionally dominated by women, nursing, in a case study of three (male) nurses in Northern Ireland. This study shows how these men use relational and collaborative discourse strategies which have often been discussed as ‘feminine’ to integrate into the community of practice of nurses in their workplace. In a case study of one female Chamber of Commerce board chair, Shrikant and Marshall (2019) note that this speaker uses a combination of indirect claims to authority (deemed more ‘feminine’) and direct claims to authority and ‘masculine’ joking styles which involve putting others down. In these studies, the speakers do not make explicit reference to gender or sex categories, but rather challenge the idea that such strategies can be identified as ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine.’

Exploration 11.3 Labels

Do you have words (slang or standardized) for referring to people who are considered to have a particular kind of gender or sexuality identity? For instance, the terms 'butch' and 'femme' are often used to describe queer women who are considered more masculine or feminine, respectively. Are there other words you use or hear which refer to different ways of being masculine, feminine, gay, straight, and so on? Do these words indicate positive or negative values for the people in the categories they describe?

Discourses of Gender and Sexuality

In this section we address how ideologies about gender, sex categories, and sexuality are reproduced through language use. We use the term Discourse, taken from Gee (1999) and his description of Discourse with a capital 'D,' as introduced in chapter 7 in our discussion of CDA. (We will, however, forgo the capitalization.) A discourse can be described as ways of representing facets of the world, that is, the processes, relations, and structures of the world, as well as feelings, thoughts, and beliefs about the social world (Fairclough 2003). Johnstone (2008) describes discourse as conventional ways of talking which create and are created by conventional ways of thinking. These connected ways of thinking constitute ideologies. Consequently, discourses have linguistic aspects (conventionalized sets of choices in language) and also ideological aspects (patterns of beliefs and action). While ideologies are of course linked to mental constructs such as 'beliefs' and 'attitudes,' these are held by individuals (while of course influenced by societal norms); ideologies are however cultural manifestations.

Normative discourses

Discourses about gender and sexuality influence and shape how we think about sex categories and the people who belong in them, as well as other categories having to do with sexuality. One broad type of discourses are **normative** discourses, which frame a particular way of being as 'normal' and all other ways as 'abnormal.' In particular, **heteronormative** discourses are very pervasive (Cameron and Kulick 2003 , 2006 ; Coates 2013 ; Motschenbacher 2011 ; Kitzinger 2005). This discourse requires an assumption of heterosexuality, although can in itself be gendered. In a study of teens in a secondary school in Sweden, Simonsson and Angervall (2018) showed how there are different interpretations of male and female behavior, with any physically intimate behavior by boys being immediately interpreted as (stigmatized) homosexuality, but intimate behavior between girls interpreted as homosocial behavior and not lesbianism.

In many cases, heteronormativity serves to stigmatize queer identities; we have seen examples of how this influences identity constructions above. Motschenbacher (2020), in an analysis of narratives produced by men pre- and post- Stonewall Riots in 1969, noted that there was a shift in discourses surrounding normativity. While heteronormativity was a given in the pre-Stonewall narratives, this shifted in the post-Stonewall narratives, which showed a more positive stance toward gay identities. However, this is of course not to say that contemporary societies are not heteronormative. The study by Milani (2013), mentioned above, provides an illustration of the hegemony of heteronormativity in his study of *meetmarket* , an online dating site for men looking for other men in South Africa. One point he makes is that the term 'straight-acting' is often employed both as a positive presentation of self and a description for what is desired, showing how what is seen as 'heterosexual' behavior is explicitly normative in matters having nothing to do with sex (dress, speech, etc.).

Dalley and Campbell (2006) discuss an interesting twist to the perpetuation of heterosexual privilege with data showing that the challenge of this hegemonic heterosexuality only seemed feasible for a group of straight girls. These girls, who identified as ‘nerds,’ would playact ‘lesbianism’ in the presence of the normatively heterosexual popular kids, constructing identities for themselves which challenged the gendered expectations for girls in their school. They did not actually identify as lesbians or have relationships with girls; they were recognized as heterosexual, yet did not conform to normative hetero behavior. The displays of lesbian behavior were clearly performed as challenges to what they saw as homophobic attitudes of the popular crowd. Ironically, their heterosexuality provided them the protection to perform lesbianism that their lesbian and gay male friends did not have.

Heteronormativity has also been shown to privilege certain gender roles within heterosexuality. Cameron and Kulick (2003) discuss the heteronormative hierarchy, which favors monogamous and reproductive heterosexuality in which both partners adhere to normative gender roles. Thus, heteronormativity encompasses many discourses about gender roles in heterosexual relationships (see Sunderland 2004). One arena in which this has been researched is parenting roles. Sunderland (2006) looks at parenting magazines and shows that despite the gender-neutral depiction evoked by the term ‘parenting,’ the magazines construct a world in which mothers are the main caretakers of children. Mackenzie (2017) examines discourses about ‘good mothers’ in an online forum (Mumsnet) in a thread labeled ‘Can we have a child exchange?’, noting that while traditional ideas about what makes a ‘good mother’ are reproduced here, because of the humorous nature of the thread there is also transgression of traditional norms through joking about wanting to trade in their children.

Discourses about motherhood also address the intersectionality of mothers’ identities, and one aspect of this ties in with our above discussion of workplace identities. Černá and Čech (2019) look at how the word *mateřství* (‘motherhood’) is used in Czech journalism and note that one theme is the discourse about the difficulty of combining a career and motherhood. The other contexts in which this word was used overwhelmingly reproduced normative ideas about how motherhood is an important focus in women's identities. This included discourse about the joy of motherhood, but also discussion of surrogate motherhood legislation, which focused on how surrogacy could help women achieve motherhood – with an underlying assumption that this is a 'natural' goal for women.

Cisnormativity , defined by Ericsson (2018) as the assumption that the gender identity (linked to sex category) assigned to a child at birth is the same as the gender identity experienced by the individual, is also often intertwined with heteronormativity. As seen in Cameron and Kulick's heteronormative hierarchy, cis partners are at the top of the hierarchy. Ericsson's study looks at interactions of parents with young (age 5–8) children using an interactive app in Swedish. The app presents the users with a central character called Moi, who was ambiguous in their gender presentation. The app users were expected to provide Moi with a family and tell stories about what they do. The gender-neutral pronoun recently introduced in Swedish is not used in any of these interactions, and any neutral references to the characters are temporary, occurring before they are assigned genders and names. Further, the one instance in which a normatively masculine-appearing character was assigned female gender, it was in the interest of preserving heteronormativity. In this example, one father avoided creating a family with two male parents by describing a normatively masculine-appearing character by saying *mummy is really tired so she looks like a bloke* (Ericsson 2018 , 157).

There are, of course, also circles within which trans or non-binary identities are recognized and accepted, but a study by Jones (2019) illustrates that here, too, there are issues of normativity and authenticity. In an analysis of vlogs by two transgender people going through the experience of transition, trans authenticity implicitly includes heterosexual desire. One of the vloggers also constructs a particular way of coming out – by doing therapy first – as a normative part of the transition process. The other vlogger constructs her authenticity as a transwoman through her desire to wear feminine clothing and shave – things she says ‘every girl’ wants to do – as well as her desire to live stealthily (i.e., be able to ‘pass’ as a girl and not be recognized as trans). This analysis highlights the powerfulness of normative gender discourses which serve to construct gender and sexuality categories and what is considered ‘authentic’ behavior for the member of a group; as we have seen above, such ideologies may provide a basis for identity construction, which then becomes part of this reproduction of normativity.

Discourses about language use

Discourses about gender and sexuality also include norms about how people in particular categories use language, or how they *should* use language. We addressed research about stereotypes of gay speech above, noting that certain features can index gay identities, although this is complicated by the interaction of different linguistic elements. Shiau (2015) addresses linguistic stylizations from different media genres, influenced by global circulation of gay linguistic practices, that are part of the construction of gay identities in Taiwan. These ‘strategically inauthentic’ performances include stylizations of geishas, soap operas, and celebrities, genres which index global gay culture.

Cashman’s work on queer Latinx (2017, 2019) addresses how these speakers negotiate what for some is seen as contradictory aspects of identity – queerness and Latinidad. Some report feeling discriminated against in both the queer community (for being Latinx) and in the Latinx community (for being queer). Language proficiency also plays a role here, as bilingual Latinx may avoid speaking Spanish in queer community interactions to avoid emphasizing their Latinx identity, and English monolingual Latinx may feel ‘less Latinx’ because they do not speak Spanish, and this stigma adds to their difficulty in performing their queer identities within their family or community circles.

Certain regional or social dialects may also have gendered connotations. Nortier (2019) discusses how in an online forum, both *straattaal* (a colloquial form of Dutch discussed in chapter 9) and Moroccan-Flavored Dutch are used, but only *straattaal* is commented on negatively when used by girls. It appears that Moroccan-Flavored Dutch is perceived as unmarked language use, while *straattaal* is seen as a variety which is used by marginal members of society. This is reminiscent of our discussion in chapter 5 about a tendency for girls/women to use more standardized features; an ideology that girls and women should position themselves as more mainstream or prestigious and that ‘rough’ colloquial language is associated with masculinity is reflected in these studies. We see this association also in Queen’s (1997) work on depictions of lesbian speech, which show that part of the construction of a lesbian identity is the use of nonstandardized features. Here we see the intertwining of various ideologies about language: that men use nonstandardized forms, and that part of performing a lesbian identity is to employ such ‘masculine’ speech forms.

Looking back at the research discussed on gender in variationist studies in chapter 5 , we can now see that this variation is shaped by such underlying ideas about gender. While individuals make choices about how to position themselves, they do so within the context of normative ideas about the connections between linguistic features or codes and gender and sexuality identity categories.

Chapter Summary

The research in sociolinguistics on language, gender, and sexuality has been presented here in three main sections. First, we talk about how sexism and heterosexism can be encoded in language structure and vocabulary. Second, we look at approaches to the study of language and gender, which has grown into a more inclusive investigation of how gender and sexuality identities are constructed through language. Third, we examine discourses of gender and sexuality, ideas about how people in various gender and sexuality categories should be and talk; these studies clearly inform the choices made in identity construction.

Exercises

1. Look at the following articles on an online parenting magazine about being a good mom versus being a good dad. What gendered discourses can you discover in these two different essays?

   https://www.parents.com/parents-magazine/parents-perspective/blogger-gets-real-about-what-it-actually-takes-to-be-a-good-mom/

   https://www.parents.com/parenting/dads/101/ways-to-be-a-great-dad/

2. Write an essay addressing the following question: *What does it mean to say gender and sexuality are 'performed' or 'socially constructed'?* Include references and examples, but explain this in your own words.

3. Do a small corpus analysis (see discussion of this method in chapter 7) looking at the word *transgender* over time; you may also want to include the variants *trans* and *transsexual* , or variants in other languages. (You can use LexisNexis if your institution provides access to it, or search the online archives of a newspaper or other publication.) Address one or all of the following questions: Who is

referred to with these terms, and is there a difference in referents with the different variants? What changes can you see over time, if you look at the last ten or twenty years? Does this term occur solely in articles that are focused on gender and sexuality topics, or is it used to include trans people in discussions of other matters? What words collocate with *transgender* , and what discourses about gender and sexuality are reproduced?

Further Reading

Baxter, J. (2019). *Women Leaders and Gender Stereotyping in the UK Press: A Poststructuralist Approach. Cham* : Springer.

Borba, R. and A. Ostermann, A. C. (2007). Do bodies matter? Travestis' embodiment of (trans) gender identity through the manipulation of the Brazilian Portuguese grammatical gender system. *Gender & Language* 1(1).

Coffeey-Glover, L. (2018). *Men in Women's Worlds: Constructions of Masculinity in Women's Magazines. Cham* : Springer.

Hultgren, A. K. (2017). New perspectives on language and gender: Linguistic prescription and compliance in call centres. *Language in Society* 46(5): 671–695.

Kosnick, K. (2019). The everyday poetics of gender-inclusive French: Strategies for navigating the linguistic landscape. *Modern & Contemporary France* 27(2): 147–161.

Menegatti, M. and M. Rubini (2017). Gender bias and sexism in language. In Jon F. Nussbaum (ed. in chief), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication* . https://oxfordre.com/communication/

Milles, K., J. Holmdahl, I. Melander, and K. Fugl-Meyer (2018). 'Something that stretches during sex': Replacing the word hymen with vaginal corona to challenge patriarchal views on virginity. *Gender & Language* 12(3).

Mullany, L. and M. Yoong (2018). Gender and the workplace. In Bernadette Vine (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Language in the Workplace* . New York: Routledge, 311–322.

References

Ambjörnsson, F. (2005). Talk. In D. Kulick and A. Meneley (eds.), *Fat: The Anthropology of an Obsession* . New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, 109–20.

Bailey, A. (2019). 'Girl-on-girl culture': Constructing normative identities in a corpus of sex advice for queer women. *Journal of Language and Sexuality* , 8(2): 195–220.

Barrett, R. (1998). Markedness and styleswitching in performances by African American drag queens. In Carol Myers-Scotton (ed.), *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 139–161.

Baudinette, T. (2017). Constructing identities on a Japanese gay dating site: Hunkiness, cuteness and the desire for heteronormative masculinity. *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 6(2): 232–261.

Baxter, J. (2015). Who wants to be the leader? The linguistic construction of emerging leadership in differently gendered teams. *International Journal of Business Communication* 52(4): 427–451.

Bengoechea, M. (2011). How effective is 'femininity'? Media portrayals of the effectiveness of the first Spanish woman defence minister. *Gender and Language* 5(2): 405–429.

Bing, J. M. and V. L. Bergvall (1996). The question of questions: Beyond binary thinking. In V. L. Bergvall,

J. M. Bing, and A. F. Freed (eds.), *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice* . New York: Routledge, 1–30.

Bradley, E. D. (2020). The influence of linguistic and social attitudes on grammaticality judgments of singular ‘they.’ *Language Sciences* 78: 101272.

Bradley, E. D., J. Salkind, A. Moore, and S. Teitsort (2019). Singular ‘they’ and novel pronouns: Gender-neutral, nonbinary, or both? *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America* 4(1): 36.

Brower, D., M. Gerritsen, and D. de Haan (1979). Speech differences between women and men: On the wrong track? *Language in Society* 8: 33–50.

Bucholtz, M. (1999a). You da man: Narrating the racial other in the production of White masculinity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3(4): 443–460.

Bucholtz, M. (1999b). Why be normal? Language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls. *Language in Society* 28: 203–223.

Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2004). Theorizing identity in language and sexuality research. *Language in Society* 33: 469–515.

Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2005a). Language and identity. In A. Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* . Oxford: Blackwell, 368–394.

Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2005b). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5): 585–614.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* . London: Routledge.

Cameron, D. (1998a). Performing gender identity: Young men’s talk and the construction of heterosexual masculinity. In J. Coates (ed.), *Language and Gender: A Reader* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Cameron, D. (1998b). ‘Is there any ketchup, Vera?’: Gender, power and pragmatics. *Discourse and Society* 9(4): 437–455.

Cameron, D. (2006). Gender and the English language. In B. Aarts and A. McMahon (eds.), *The Handbook of English Linguistics* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Cameron, D. and Kulick, D. (2003). *Language and Sexuality* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cameron, D. and Kulick, D. (2006). Heteronorms. In D. Cameron and D. Kulick (eds.), *The Language and Sexuality Reader* . London: Routledge, 165–168.

Cameron, D., F. McAlinden, and K. O’Leary (1989). Lakoff in context: The social and linguistic functions of tag questions. In J. Coates and D. Cameron (eds.), *Women in Their Speech Communities* . London: Longman.

Cameron, D. and S. Shaw (2016). *Gender, Power and Political Speech: Women and Language in the 2015 UK General Election* . Cham: Springer.

Cashman, H. (2017). *Queer, Latinx, and Bilingual: Narrative Resources in the Negotiation of Identities* . New York: Routledge.

Cashman, H. R. (2019). What Phoenix’s jotería is saying: Identity, normativity, resistance. *Language in Society* 48(4): 519–539.

Černá, Z. and R. Čech (2019). Analysis of the lemma *mateřství* (motherhood). *Journal of Linguistics/Jazykovedný casopis* 70(2): 244–253.

Charlebois, J. (2010). *Gender and the Construction of Hegemonic and Oppositional Femininities* . Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Coady, A. (2018). The origin of sexism in language. *Gender & Language* 12(3).

Coates, J. (2013). The discursive production of everyday heterosexualities. *Discourse & Society* 24(5): 536–552.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine. *University of Chicago Legal Forum* , 1989: 139–168.

Crenshaw, K. W. (2017). *On Intersectionality: Essential Writings* . New York: The New Press.

Dalley, P. and M. D. Campbell (2006). Constructing and contesting discourses of heteronormativity: An ethnographic study of youth in a francophone high school in Canada. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 5(1): 11–29.

Davenport, E. (2018). A sociophonetic analysis of gay male speech stereotypes in Buenos Aires, Argentina. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 143(3): 1970.

DeFrancisco, V. (1998). The sounds of silence: How men silence women in marital relations. In J. Coates (ed.), *Language and Gender: A Reader* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Dixon, R. M. W. (1971). A method of semantic description. In D. D. Steinberg and L. A. Jakobovits (eds.), *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics and Psychology* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dubois, B. L. and I. Crouch (1975). The question of tag questions in women's speech: They don't really use more of them, do they? *Language in Society* 4: 289–294.

Ericsson, S. (2018). The language of cisnormativity: Children and parents in interaction with a multimodal app. *Gender & Language* 12(2).

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* . New York: Psychology Press.

Fishman, P. M. (1978). Interaction: The work women do. *Social Problems* 25(4): 397–406.

Gaudio, R. P. (1994). Sounding gay: Pitch properties in the speech of gay and straight men. *American Speech* 69: 30–57.

Gee, J. (1999). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* . New York: Routledge.

Grey, J. (1992). *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus: The Classic Guide to Understanding the Opposite Sex* . New York: Harper.

Hall, Kira (1997). Hijras and the use of sexual insult. In Anna Livia and Kira Hall (eds.), *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 430–457.

Hall, K. (2002). 'Unnatural' gender in Hindi. In Marlis Hellinger and Hadumod Bussman (eds.), *Gender Across Languages: The Linguistic Representation of Women and Men* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 133–116.

Hall, Kira (2005). Intertextual sexuality: Parodies of class, identity, and desire in liminal Delhi. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(1): 125–144.

Hall, K. and V. O'Donovan (1996). Shifting gender positions among Hindi-speaking hijras. In Victoria Bergvall, Janet Bing, and Alice Freed (eds.), *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice* . London: Longman, 228–266.

Hazenberg, E. (2016). Walking the straight and narrow: Linguistic choice and gendered presentation. *Gender & Language* 10(2).

Holmes, J. (1984). Hedging your bets and sitting on the fence: Some evidence for hedges as support structures. *Te Reo* 27: 47–62.

Holmes, J. (2006). *Gendered Talk at Work* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Holmes, J. (2007). 'Did anyone feel disempowered by that?' Gender, leadership and politeness. In J. Santaemilia, P. Bou, S. Maruenda, and G. Zaragoza (eds.), *International Perspectives on Gender and Language* . Valencia: Universitat de València, 441–459.

Inoue, M. (2006). *Vicarious Language: Gender and Linguistic Modernity in Japan* . Berkeley: University of California Press.

Inoue, M. (2016). Where has 'Japanese women's language' gone? Notes on language and political economy in the age of control societies. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6(3): 151–177.

Jacobs, S. E., T. Wesley, and S. Lang (eds.) (1997). *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* . Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

James, D. and S. Clarke (1993). Women, men, and interruptions: A critical review. In D. Tannen (ed.), *Gender and Conversational Interaction* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Johnstone, B. (2008). *Discourse Analysis* . 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jones, L. (2011). 'The only dykey one': Constructions of (in)authenticity in a lesbian community of practice. *Journal of Homosexuality* 58(6–7): 719–741.

Jones, L. (2014). 'Dolls or teddies?': Constructing lesbian identity through community-specific practice. *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3(2): 161–190.

Jones, L. (2019). Discourses of transnormativity in vloggers' identity construction. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 256: 85–101.

Kaufmann, C. and G. Bohner (2014). Masculine generics and gender-aware alternatives in Spanish. *IZGOnZeit*.

Onlinezeitschrift des Interdisziplinären Zentrums für Geschlechterforschung (IZG) , 8–17.

Kiesling, S. F. (2001). ‘Now I gotta watch what I say’: Shifting constructions of gender and dominance in discourse. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 11: 250–273.

Kitzinger, C. (2005). Speaking as a heterosexual: (How) is sexuality relevant for talk-in-interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 38: 221–265.

Kulick, D. (2000). Gay and lesbian language. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 243–285.

Kulick, D. (2003). Language and desire. In J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff (eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Lakoff, R. T. (1973). Language and woman’s place. *Language in Society* 2: 45–80.

Lakoff, R. T. (1990). *Talking Power* . New York: Basic Books.

Land, V. and C. Kitzinger (2005). Speaking as a lesbian: Correcting the heterosexist presumption. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 38(4): 371–416.

Levon, E. (2014). ‘The ideal gay man’: Narrating masculinity and national identity in Israel. In Tommaso M. Milani (ed.), *Language and Masculinities: Performances, Intersections, Dislocations* . London: Routledge, 153–175.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2009). Sexual identity as linguistic failure: Trajectories of interaction in the heteronormative language classroom. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 8(2–3): 191–202.

Lindqvist, A., E. A. Renström, and M. G. Sendén (2019). Reducing a male bias in language? Establishing the efficiency of three different gender-fair language strategies. *Sex Roles* 81(1–2): 109–117.

Mackenzie, J. (2017). ‘Can we have a child exchange?’ Constructing and subverting the ‘good mother’ through play in Mumsnet Talk. *Discourse & Society* 28(3): 296–312.

Maltz, D. N. and R. A. Borker (1982). A cultural approach to male–female miscommunication. In J. J. Gumperz (ed.), *Language and Social Identity* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McDowell, J. (2015). Talk in feminised occupations: Exploring male nurses’ linguistic behaviour. *Gender and Language* 9(3): 365–389.

Mendoza-Denton, N. (2002). Language and identity. In Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* . Oxford: Blackwell, 475–499.

Milani, T. M. (2013). Are ‘queers’ really ‘queer’? Language, identity and same-sex desire in a South African online community. *Discourse & Society* 24(5): 615–633.

Mills, S. (2008). *Language and Sexism* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moonwomon-Baird, B. (1997). Toward a study of lesbian speech. In Anna Livia and Kira Hall (eds.), *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 202–213.

Motschenbacher, H. (2011). Taking queer linguistics further: Sociolinguistics and critical heteronormativity research. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 212: 149–179.

Motschenbacher, H. (2014). Grammatical gender as a challenge for language policy: The (im)possibility of non-heteronormative language use in German versus English. *Language Policy* 13(3): 243–261.

Motschenbacher, H. (2020). Language use before and after Stonewall: A corpus-based study of gay men’s pre-Stonewall narratives. *Discourse Studies* 22(1): 64–86.

Munson, B. and M. Babel (2007). Loose lips and silver tongues, or, projecting sexual orientation through speech. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1(5): 416–449.

Nakamura, M. (2004). Discursive construction of the ideology of 'women's language': 'Schoolgirl language' in the Meiji Period (1868–1912). *Nature-People-Society* 36: 43–80.

Nakamura, M. (2014). Gender, language and ideology: A genealogy of Japanese women's language (vol. 58). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nortier, J. (2019). Gender-related online metalinguistic comments on *straattaal* and Moroccan-Flavored Dutch in the Moroccan heritage community in the Netherlands. *Applied Linguistics Review* 10(3): 341–366.

O'Barr, William M. and Bowman K. Atkins (1980). 'Women's language' or 'powerless language'? In S. McConnell Ginet, R. Borker, and N. Furman (eds.), *Women and Language in Literature and Society* . New York: Praeger, 93–110.

Penelope, J. (1988). Prescribed passivity: The language of sexism. In The Nebraska Sociological Feminist Collective (eds.), *A Feminist Ethic for Social Science Research* . Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 119–138.

Poos, D. and R. Simpson (2002). Cross-disciplinary comparisons of hedging. In R. Reppen, S. M. Fitzmaurice, and D. Biber (eds.), *Using Corpora to Explore Linguistic Variation* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Queen, R. M. (1997). Locating lesbian language. In Anna Livia and Kira Hall (eds.), *Queerly Phrased:*

Language, Gender, and Sexuality . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 233.

Queen, R. M. (2005). ‘How many lesbians does it take…’: Jokes, teasing, and the negotiation of stereotypes about lesbians. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(2): 239–257.

Raga, A. (2015). Comparative analyses of linguistic sexism in Afan Oromo, Amharic, and Gamo. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 7(9): 189.

Reynolds, K. A. (1998). Female speakers of Japanese in transition. In J. Coates (ed.), *Language and Gender: A Reader* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Richards, C., W. P. Bouman, L. Seal, M. J. Barker, T. O. Nieder, and G. T’Sjoen (2016). Non-binary or genderqueer genders. *International Review of Psychiatry* 28(1): 95–102.

Saito, J. (2018). ‘Sarariiman’ and the performance of masculinities at work: An analysis of interactions at business meetings at a multinational corporation in Japan. In Haruko Minegishi Cook and Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith (eds.), *Japanese at Work: Politeness, Power, and Personae in Japanese Workplace Discourse* . Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 97–121.

Sapir, E. (1929). Male and female forms of speech in Yana. In S. W. J. Teeuwen (ed.), *Donum Natalicum Schrijnen* . Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt.

Sczesny, S., M. Formanowicz, and F. Moser (2016). Can gender-fair language reduce gender stereotyping and discrimination? *Frontiers in Psychology* 7: 25.

Sheldon, A. (2008). ‘Dis is Schubert, tough guy’: Linguistic construction of masculinities in a Microsoft ad. In Jason F. Siegel, Traci C. Nagle, Amandine Lorente-Lapole, and Julie Auger (eds.), *IUWPL7: Gender in Language: Classic Questions, New*

Contexts . Bloomington, IN: IULC Publications, 151–160.

Shiau, H. C. (2015). Lavender Mandarin in the sites of desire: Situating linguistic performances among Taiwanese gay men. *Language & Communication* 42: 1–10.

Shoham, A. and S. M. Lee (2018). The causal impact of grammatical gender marking on gender wage inequality and country income inequality. *Business & Society* 57(6): 1216–1251.

Shrikant, N. and D. Marshall (2019). 'I went to debutante school': Using Southern femininity as a resource to negotiate authority in a Texan workplace interaction. *Gender & Language* 13(3).

Simonsson, A. and P. Angervall (2018). Girls' sexual subjectivity in a secondary language classroom. *Gender & Language* 12(2).

Sunderland, J. (2004). *Gendered Discourses* . London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sunderland, J. (2006). *Language and Gender: An Advanced Resource Book* . New York: Routledge.

Takahara, K. (1991). Female speech patterns in Japanese. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 92: 61–85.

Talbot, M. M. (1998). *Language and Gender: An Introduction* . Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tannen, D. (1990). *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* . New York: William Morrow.

Tannen, D. (1992). Rethinking power and solidarity in gender and dominance. In Claire Kramsch and Sally McConnell-Ginet (eds.), *Text and Context: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Language Study* . Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 135–147.

Torres, L. (2018). Latinx? *Latino Studies* 16: 283–285.

Tracy, E. C., S. A. Bainter, and N. P. Satariano (2015). Judgments of self-identified gay and heterosexual male speakers: Which phonemes are most salient in determining sexual orientation? *Journal of Phonetics* 52: 13–25.

Webster, L. (2019). 'I am I': Self-constructed transgender identities in internet-mediated forum communication. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 256: 129–146.

West, C. (1984). When the doctor is a 'lady': Power, status, and gender in physician–patient encounters. *Symbolic Interaction* 7(1): 87–106. Reprinted in J. Coates (ed.) (1998), *Language and Gender: A Reader* . Oxford: Blackwell, 396–412.

West, C. (1990). Not just doctors' orders': Directive-response sequences in patients' visits to women and men physicians. *Discourse & Society* 1(1): 85–112.

West, C. and D. H. Zimmerman (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society* 1(2): 125–151.

Zimman, L. (2018). Transgender voices: Insights on identity, embodiment, and the gender of the voice. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 12(8): e12284.

Zimmerman, D. H. and C. West (1975). Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation. In B. Thorne and N. Henley (eds.), *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* . Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

12
Sociolinguistics and Education

KEY TOPICS

- Language ideologies and their influence in schools
- The use of minoritized languages and dialects in the classroom
- Legitimation of minoritized languages and dialects
- Access to English as a global language

Linguists are agreed that no variety of a language is inherently better than any other. A standardized variety of a language is ‘better’ only in a social sense: it has a preferred status, and because of this it can increase opportunities in work and education for those who use it. Nonstandardized varieties tend to produce the opposite effect. These are some of the social inequalities produced from elevating one variety and denigrating others, but none of the varieties is linguistically more valuable than any other. If the capital cities of England and France had been York and Avignon respectively, Standard English and Standard French today would be quite different from what they actually are, and speakers of Received Pronunciation and Parisian French would in such circumstances be regarded as somewhat peculiar local dialects that would not carry prestige.

However, the perspective that linguists have toward different languages and their different varieties is not one that everyone else shares. Many people believe that some languages or varieties *are* better than others – not just more ‘beautiful’ but also that certain varieties indicate that the user has better cognitive skills. Such discourses are especially prevalent in discussions about languages in education.

Sociolinguists have long been interested in how language plays a role in education, and here the overlap with linguistic anthropology is extensive in terms of the themes addressed and the literature in the field. One prominent scholar is Dell Hymes, whose work on other topics we have already introduced (see the discussion of ethnography of communication in chapter 6). After Hymes' death in 2009, Nancy Hornberger wrote the following tribute to him:

> Early in his career, Hymes called on those of us 'for whom "the way things are" is not reason enough for the way things are' to reinvent anthropology, asking of anthropology what we ask of ourselves – 'responsiveness, critical awareness, ethical concern, human relevance, a clear connection between what is to be done and the interests of mankind' (1969: 7). Forty years on and more, it is clear that Hymes's scholarship and political advocacy have in no small measure led the way in that task – with a social justice impact reaching beyond anthropology to educational policy and practice and, far more importantly, to the lives and well-being of countless learners and teachers, individuals, and communities around the world. (Hornberger 2011 , 316–317)

In this chapter we will focus on the topics where sociolinguistics, education, and social justice overlap, an area of study represented in the field of educational linguistics (Bigelow and Ennser-Kananen 2014). We will address three main topics, all of which involve the hegemony of standardized languages and the role education should play with regard to the standard language ideology. First, we will look at issues of social dialects and how ways of speaking associated with lower socioeconomic classes and ethnic minority groups are often viewed as disadvantaged in education. Second, we will consider education in multilingual contexts, looking at the experiences of minoritized language users in multilingual and in monolingual programs. Finally, we will examine educational issues involved in the growth of English world-wide.

All three of these topics involve the concept of **linguistic inequality** , which is defined by Bonnin (2013 , 502) as the unequal social valuation of particular ways of speaking, which, due to the indexical nature of language, reproduces wider social, cultural, and economic inequalities. In the following sections we will revisit ideas we have discussed in previous chapters, for example, standardization (chapter 2), monoglossic ideologies (chapter 8), and critical perspectives on the study of language use (chapter 7).

Social Dialects and Education

This section addresses a number of interrelated questions about language and education. What role do children's home dialects and discourse patterns play in their access to educational opportunities? What is the role of schooling vis-à-vis language? Many people would argue that the role of education is to teach children how to use the standardized variety. Even if we accept this perspective, how can educational programs make all children's home languages and cultures a resource they can use in learning?

Restricted codes and the language gap

There is a persistent and popular belief among laypeople and in some cases educators that children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are inherently disadvantaged at school. Work by Bernstein (1961 , 1971, 1972, 1990) addressed this. Briefly, his argument was that children of lower-working-class background did not develop what he called an 'elaborated code' in the home, but mostly communicated using a 'restricted code.' The elaborated code was described as making use of 'accurate' – meaning standardized – grammatical order and syntax; using complex sentences that employ a range of devices for conjunction and subordination; employing prepositions to show relationships of both a temporal and a logical nature; showing frequent use of the pronoun *I* ; using a wide range of adjectives and adverbs; and allowing for remarks to be qualified. In contrast, the restricted code employs short, grammatically simple, and often unfinished sentences of 'poor' – meaning nonstandardized – syntactic form; uses a few conjunctions simply and repetitively; employs little subordination; tends toward a dislocated presentation of information; is rigid and limited in the use of adjectives and adverbs; makes infrequent use of impersonal pronoun subjects; confounds reasons and conclusions; makes frequent appeals to 'sympathetic circularity,' for example, *You know?* ; uses idioms frequently; and is 'a language of **implicit meaning** .' That is, there is the assumption of shared knowledge which is used to interpret utterances.

Bernstein maintained that while everyone uses a restricted code in some contexts – it is how we often speak to close friends and family in casual settings – not everyone learns to use the elaborated code. This claim has long been criticized; Rosen (1972) argues that Bernstein did not look closely enough at working-class life and language and that many of the key terms in his work are quite inadequately defined, for example, code, class, elaborated, and so on. Many of the arguments also appear to be circular in nature and the hypotheses weak. Labov (1972) has echoed many of these criticisms and added a few of his own. He has argued that one cannot reason from the kinds of data presented by Bernstein that there is a qualitative difference between the two kinds of speech Bernstein describes, let alone a qualitative difference that would result in cognitive and intellectual differences. Jones (2013) also presents a summary and analysis of all of the arguments for and against Bernstein's theory of restricted and elaborated codes, arguing that no convincing evidence of these different codes has been provided.

More recently, a similar position has been put forth which is often called **the language gap** . The basic argument is that children who live in poverty receive less verbal input and that this results in lower academic achievement than children from more affluent households (Hart and Risley 1995). Aside from the fact that such arguments ignore the asymmetries in nutrition, health care, technology, and other resources which contribute to the school performance of children, this argument also presents a drastically simplified view of the learning and knowledge which are part of school success. Further, it perpetuates discourses about a culture of poverty which glorifies the child-raising practices of the educated middle class and further stigmatizes the poor (Avineri et al. 2015). Johnson (2015) and Johnson and Zentella (2016) argue that the language gap rhetoric conceals the real problem, which is that schools do a poor job of teaching students of different backgrounds, and that this is ideologically motivated: certain ways of being, in particular with regard to language and literacy, are valued more highly and thus other types of knowledge or learning paths are ignored or denigrated.

Difference not deficit

As we have discussed throughout this text, all varieties of a language can be seen as linguistically equal; differences in status awarded to particular dialects or languages are based on societal, not linguistic, value of those codes and their users. Milroy and Milroy (1999) state that what actually happens is that although public discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, and social class can no longer be done overtly, it appears that discrimination on linguistic grounds is perfectly acceptable, even though linguistic differences may themselves be associated with ethnic, religious, and class differences. As linguists, we may deplore this fact, but we would be naïve to ignore it.

What the role of sociolinguists should be in addressing the role of nonstandardized varieties in education is a topic that has recently gained more attention, but it has existed for some time. Fairclough (1995) criticized the 'language awareness' approach advocated in various government reports in England in which students are taught Standard English but asked to recognize the legitimacy of other varieties for certain purposes. He says

(1995, 225) that this is a doubtful bit of 'social engineering,' that 'passing on prestigious practices and values such as those of Standard English without developing a critical awareness of them … implicitly legitim[izes] them,' that it 'dress[es] up inequality as diversity.' Moreover, he claims that it masks that stigmatization of certain varieties is systematic and even institutionalized, not merely the result of individual prejudices. He objects to such an approach because 'it puts linguistics … in the position of helping to normalize and legitimize a politically partisan representation, and turns a social scientific discipline into a resource for hegemonic struggle' (1995, 250). In Fairclough's view, when linguists say that they should not take sides, they are actually taking sides, having been ideologically co-opted – though unwittingly – into the struggle about language and power in society.

The advantages of adopting styles of speech associated with the middle class and giving up those of the working class often seem to teachers to be too obvious to be questioned. They seem directly related to social mobility, which for many seems indisputably positive. Some teachers have gone through this process, at least to some extent, themselves. However, for many children who speak nonstandardized varieties, perhaps a large majority, the advantages are not at all obvious. Covert prestige is important and speaking differently may have negative social consequences. Eckert's work (1989) with jocks and burnouts clearly shows how important identifying with the local area is for the latter group (see discussion of this in chapter 5). In London, Sebba (1993 , 33) found that London Jamaican was 'a sign of ethnic identity and solidarity, and [provided] an in-group language for adolescents.' All that may happen from teachers' exhortations to children to adopt a 'better' variety of language is an increase in any linguistic insecurity and alienation the children have. The consequences may therefore be quite negative for many children. Moll et al. (1992) and González et al. (2006) talk about this in terms of 'funds of knowledge,' an approach which assumes that all families and communities provide valuable resources for education, not just certain middle-class backgrounds.

A significant study in the role of home dialect and ways of using language is found in the work of Heath (1982 , 1983). She looks particularly at practices surrounding literacy in the homes of people in three different communities in the Piedmont area of the Carolinas, USA, which she gives the pseudonyms of Trackton, Roadville, and Maintown. Trackton is a Black working-class farming community, Roadville is a White working-class mill town, and Maintown represents mainstream, middle-class, school-oriented culture. The ways of interacting with books for pre-school children in Maintown are often framed as 'natural' in educational settings, when they are of course cultural. They include behavioral aspects such as being careful with books and sitting quietly while an adult reads aloud, but also ways of using language such as labeling pictures in books, answering questions about what happens in a story, and using allusions to characters and plots from books in conversations outside of story time. Drawing parallels to fiction allows children to also create stories of their own. Thus, children raised in this tradition learn at home to participate in literacy activities that are parallel to what they will encounter when they begin school: they listen to stories, wait for cues to respond, answer questions about what happened in the book, relate this information to events in their own lives, and perhaps come up with their own stories. All of these activities are useful for participating successfully in school.

Children in Roadville have a different experience with literacy before they begin school. They have a similar orientation to being read to in terms of behavior – they are taught to sit quietly and listen and answer factual questions about the books. However, stories they create themselves are not encouraged and in some cases are treated as lies, that is, they may be reprimanded for this kind of speech. Perhaps most importantly, while they can talk about the plot of a story, they do not have experience decontextualizing it and integrating it into their own lives. Thus while they are equipped to do early tasks surrounding reading in school, they are less prepared to do more advanced work which requires them to answer questions such as ‘What would have happened if Character A had done X instead of Y in this story?’ or to write creatively.

Trackton children are not systematically exposed to books and printed materials have no special place in their world. They are not socialized to sit and listen quietly while adults tell stories; storytelling is often a collaborative event, and they must compete to make their contributions. They are not asked to label things in books or to answer questions about what happened in stories. They do, however, have more experience with creative storytelling. When they get to school, they are more likely to be seen as having behavioral problems, as they have not been conditioned to sit quietly and listen to stories and answer questions about the stories only when called upon. Although they are probably better equipped to deal with applications of stories to their own lives and analytical treatment of stories, these tasks are usually not asked of children in the early grades, and by the time these children reach the level where these tasks of integration and application are incorporated into instruction, the Trackton children are often already discouraged by their lack of success in school thus far. If they have often not picked up the comprehension and composition skills required of them up until that point, they will have little opportunity to shine in creative writing.

In short, the only children who have a background that corresponds with what is done in school are the children with a Maintown upbringing. Heath advocates ethnographic research to see how community members orient to literacy in the home, and applying this knowledge to strategies for teaching children.

Snell (2013) addresses the complexity of nonstandardized dialects in the classroom with her research on a study of working-class children in northeast England. She shows that there is not a discrete boundary between dialects but instead the children use standardized and nonstandardized features in their speech, noting that there is clear evidence that the children have access to standardized features but also choose to continue to employ their home dialects in the classroom, presumably because of identity factors as well as familiarity. She notes that much of the ‘correcting’ of nonstandardized forms is not necessary for clarity and the issue then becomes what the function is of focusing on use of the standard; in many cases it may simply discourage children from participating. At the same time, there is evidence in her study and other research that many nonstandard dialect users do master the standard and use it in school; thus the issue appears to be a matter of how the school environment fosters the use of these different codes. She concludes, ‘If working-class children come to school with less linguistic and cultural capital, and do not find there the means or motivation to increase it through educational investment, it is likely that social inequalities will be reproduced’ (Snell 2013 , 123).

Such inequalities are not solely found with working-class children, of course, but affect all children who use minoritized languages and (nonstandardized) dialects. This institutional discrimination (Gomolla and Radtke 2007) results in members of minoritized groups – whether these are migrant-background children, children of lower socioeconomic background, or users of regional varieties – being underrepresented in higher levels of education.

Exploration 12.1 Who Should Adapt?

Is it the role of children to adapt to the school culture, or for school programs to adapt their teaching methods and curricula to make use of the resources of the children's home languages and cultures? That is, is the role of education to teach children the mainstream language and culture, or to help maintain and value the home languages and cultures? Or neither, or both? What are the practical consequences of any of these answers? Is there room for compromise?

Role of the home dialect in education

One of the issues which is basic to the design of curricula for teaching children who speak nonstandardized dialects is what role the home dialect will play in the classroom. Many of the themes in this research will also appear in our discussion of multilingualism context in the next section, but in this section we focus on children who speak a nonstandardized variety of the language used for education in their community.

Previous research has shown that simply immersing a child in the standardized dialect is not an effective way to teach them to adapt to the standard (Craig 2001 ; Cummins 1988 ; Rickford and Rickford 2000). Siegel (2007) addresses the use of creoles and nonstandardized varieties in education, pointing out multiple problems with forbidding the home language of children. These include the social, cognitive, and psychological disadvantages of being told that one's way of speaking (and being) is wrong and undesired in the school context. Such admonishments lead to children struggling with identity issues surrounding their heritage, insecurity about expressing themselves in front of the teacher and other classmates, and difficulty acquiring literacy skills. He summarizes (Siegel 2007 , 67):

> It would seem logical that the obstacles mentioned above could be overcome if teachers recognised creoles and minority dialects as legitimate forms of language, if children were allowed to use their own language to express themselves until they learned the standard, and if they learned to read in a more familiar language or dialect. But a different type of logic seems to reign: the vernacular is seen as the greatest barrier to the acquisition of the standard, which is the key to academic and economic success, and therefore the vernacular must be avoided at all costs.

Siegel goes on to outline three different ways in which the home dialects of the children can be incorporated into instruction. In **instrumental programs** , the language is actually used for instruction, for example, the use of Tok Pisin in schools in Papua New Guinea. **Accommodation programs** allow for particular tasks, such as creative writing or oral expression, to be carried out in the home language, as in a reform of secondary education in Jamaica.

Awareness programs include accommodation activities but also involve explicit learning about different varieties of the language and the social process through which one dialect becomes the standard. Awareness programs also include a contrastive component in which the students learn about the rule-governed natures of all dialects, and contrast the rules and patterns of their own variety with the standard. Wolfram et al.'s work in North Carolina in the United States, discussed below, has a similar orientation. Research by Johnson et al. (2017) supports this approach, showing that in their study children who were given explicit instruction in contrasting forms performed better at using school English in contexts where it was deemed appropriate.

However, it must be recognized that such programs are not widespread. Schechter et al. (2014) looked at the experiences of transnational students in Toronto, Canada and Madrid, Spain, for whom the dialect of the host country was different than the variety they had learned at home. They note that while in the Toronto context there was more opportunity for the development of practices to help these children adapt in individual schools or classrooms, there were no dialect awareness programs or policies in either of these urban contexts. Blake and Cutler (2003), in a study on teacher attitudes, note that while teachers were often open to the idea of using what they recognized as another language in the classroom, they were far less open to the idea that using a nonstandardized dialect such as AAVE would be educationally beneficial. Alfaro and Bartolemé (2017) also note this for Spanish in the US; the varieties of heritage language speakers are often disparaged, and these authors call for greater ideological clarity in teacher education. (See Lowther Pereira 2015 for a discussion of how this could be achieved.)

However, there have been initiatives by sociolinguists to address how dialects are treated in school. Wolfram and his associates (Wolfram 2011 ; Adger et al. 2014 ; Reaser et al. 2017) have shown that first, children can be educated about the rule-governed nature of all linguistic varieties to help overcome their prejudices, but also that *teachers* can be educated about this and encouraged to promote support of nonstandardized dialect-speaking children. The Language and Life Project at North Carolina State seeks to create educational materials for this purpose. Wiese et al. (2017) have a similar agenda for working with teachers in Germany, with more of a focus on the multilingual context, which is the topic of the next section. (See the links to information about these projects on the companion website.)

Such programs require a recognition of the legitimacy of the home dialects of the children. If the teachers and administration do not wish to legitimate the dialect, it cannot be used in the classroom. Metz (2017) argues that it is not just that nonstandardized dialect users need to learn about how their home dialect is different from the standardized variety, but also that users of the standard need to be taught that other dialects are valid ways of speaking.

It is possible to both legitimate the dialect and teach the standard, of course, but this requires an ideological stance which allows for pluralism and acknowledges linguistic inequality. Research by Godley et al. (2015) shows that educating pre-service teachers about language variation was effective in creating critical language awareness. However, recognition of their own White privilege did not seem to be addressed by this program; we will return to issues of race, language, and education below.

Finally, there is a larger, underlying ideological issue: why is the standard necessary, if comprehension is not a problem; is it the goal of education to create a population who all speak the standardized version and, if so, why? Wheeler (2016) notes that despite the efforts of sociolinguists to reform teacher training, and the success of programs as noted above, most teachers have not been educated to value different ways of speaking. Further, changes in attitudes toward nonstandardized dialects are not enough; in the US, standardized assessment of students is a large part of measuring success, and this continues to disadvantage nonstandard English speakers. Her research focuses in particular on speakers of African American Vernacular English, which we will look at in more detail in the next section.

An achievement gap?

There is a great deal of discussion about an achievement gap in education, with minority children not reaching the same levels of achievement as members of the majority group. In the US there are statistics showing that White children have greater academic success than African American and Latinx children, leading to higher rates of high school completion and success in post-secondary education. This has been linked to language going back to the mid-1900s, most notably in a study by Bereiter and Engelmann (1966), who supported a position that portrayed children who spoke AAVE as suffering from verbal deprivation or not having a real language, and it was the duty and responsibility of educators to supply them with one. Labov and others have been severely critical of such views, believing that they completely misrepresent the linguistic abilities of AAVE speakers. To assume that such children cannot affirm, negate, categorize, or think logically because they perform poorly in certain extremely inhibiting testing situations is absurd. They must use language all the time in order to get by, and any fair test of linguistic ability shows them to be as skilled as any other children.

There have been two well-known court cases regarding this. In 1979 **Ann Arbor Decision** reinforced that AAVE is a *bona fide* dialect that schools must recognize. On December 18, 1996, the Oakland School Board in California decided to recognize, maintain, and use **Ebonics** in the classroom so that Black children would eventually acquire fluency in Standard English. (See Perry and Delpit 1998 ; Adger et al. 1999 ; Rickford 1999 , 2004 ; Lakoff 2000 ; Baugh 2000 ; and Kretzschmar 2008 for further discussion of this policy and the attitudes surrounding it.)

There is a great deal of research that suggests that achievement differences are linked to issues of poverty and racism, not language. Peterson et al. (2016) show that low achievement may be linked to lower teacher expectations of children of color in New Zealand, and Weiner's (2016) research in the Netherlands also shows teachers disproportionately silenced, disparaged, and disciplined students of color, and these students were also under-recommended for higher tracks in education. Flores and Rosa (2015), in a discussion of US schools, argue that students of color are often perceived as speaking in ways which are 'not appropriate' for schooling, whether they are heritage speakers of other languages such as Spanish or nonstandardized dialects of English, and that the solution is not to change the way minority children speak, but to address ideas about linguistic diversity and what is deemed 'appropriate' in the school context. They write:

> We are not suggesting that people from racialized or language-minoritized communities should not seek to engage in linguistic practices deemed appropriate by mainstream society. However, we contend that the question of whether members of racialized communities are accepted as appropriately engaging in these linguistic practices continues to be determined by the white listening subject, not by the speakers' actual practices. Therefore, antiracist social transformation cannot be based solely on supporting language-minoritized students in engaging in the linguistic practices of the white speaking subject but must also work actively to dismantle the hierarchies that produce the white listening subject. (Flores and Rosa 2015 , 167)

For these reasons, many scholars who look at educational practices refer to an **opportunity gap** instead of an achievement gap (e.g., Gorski 2017). This is based on the presence of structural inequalities and moves away from a focus on nonstandard speakers as deficient.

Exploration 12.2 Sociolinguists at Large

Do you agree that sociolinguists should do applied work, and if so, in what ways should they participate in language planning, policy making, or curricular decisions? What are the pros and cons of this for academics and the communities in which they work?

Education in Multilingual Contexts

Hornberger and McCay (2010 , xv) note that increasingly, multilingual classrooms are the norm, not the exception, the world over, and critical perspectives on language ideologies and linguistic practices are integral to the development of both sociolinguistics and education. This section introduces some of the research and main ideas in this body of research. We discuss bilingual education and pedagogy, but also classrooms in which the instruction is in the societally dominant language, but the students are multilingual. In all contexts, there are underlying ideological issues which influence program types and classroom practices, so we will begin with a discussion of language ideologies which influence educational practices in multilingual settings.

Ideologies

A major topic in research on education in multilingual contexts is the language ideologies which inform educational programs, teacher practices, and student participation. Here we will discuss two broad categories of ideologies: monoglossic versus pluralist ideologies (introduced in chapter 3), and neoliberal versus social justice ideologies.

Monoglossic ideologies privilege the dominant language in society and can manifest themselves in different ways, and in multilingual as well as monolingual programs. We especially see such ideologies surrounding how second or foreign language learning is framed. Research carried out in France by Hélot and Young (2006) looks at the ideologies surrounding educating minoritized language users in that country. They describe normative monolingualism as the hegemonic ideology in France (see discussion of French language policy in chapter 13); it has led to a focus on the integration of children with a migrant or minority background, and not to any appreciation of linguistic diversity. Minoritized languages such as Breton or Arabic have been introduced into school curricula, but in ways which reflect a strong monolingual bias, for example, Arabic is offered only at the beginning level, rendering this course useless to heritage speakers of Arabic. The ideology here is that education in a minoritized language is useful only if you are a speaker of French, a position which feeds into the false dichotomy of immigrant versus elite bilingualism, discussed below. These authors advocate the use of language awareness programs so as to address some of the ideological problems they see in French schools.

Lanvers (2017) addresses foreign language learning in the UK, noting, in addition to a lack of coherence generally in policies and offerings, an increasingly elitist approach to access to foreign languages. Language proficiency is framed as a resource which can enhance earning potential (an idea we will return to in the discussion of neoliberalism below), but it is one which is largely unavailable to those who follow the lower educational tracks, who are generally pupils of lower socioeconomic class background.

Related to this is the issue of the medium of education in multilingual contexts; this is a topic that is linked to national language policies, discussed in the next chapter. McKinney (2016) discusses the 'anglonormative' ideologies in South Africa, which focus not just on English but on one particular standardized variety of English. This is a racialized variety, described as 'White' English. Despite the multilingual population, monolingualism in English is framed as the goal of education. Thus mother tongue education (i.e., education in mother tongues other than English), while available, can be seen as a disadvantage for those speakers, as it is perceived as restricting their acquisition of English. (We will further address English hegemony in the last section of this chapter.) However, McKinney also reports practices through which students signal agency and create desirable positions for other languages, reinforcing the idea that hegemony is never complete; there are always competing ideologically motivated practices. Similar findings are reported by De Fina (2016) for a school in Palermo, Italy, where despite the official discourse of the classroom focusing on monolingualism and lack of diversity, the children's linguistic performances show multilingual discourse and also interest in and openness toward the languages of others.

We also see that monoglossic ideologies permeate into multilingual education. The term translanguaging (García 2005 , 2009 ; see also discussion in chapter 8) originated in the context of multilingual education to describe the productive use of all a student's multilingual resources. Ideologically, translanguaging represents a pluralist ideology. However, Martínez et al. (2015) note that although translanguaging practices occurred in the classrooms in their study in the US, the teachers exposed purist ideologies which stressed the importance of the separation of language in some cases. This was not consistently the case, as they also valued bilingualism and also promoted and legitimized Spanish, the minoritized language in this context, but it did occur. Rodríguez (2017) underlines the value of translanguaging as an anti-ethnocentric practice in education, advocating for more widespread acceptance of the practice in education as part of social justice.

Lauwo (2018) also addresses the ideological power of translanguaging in her study of language use for educational purposes at a library in Tanzania. In the national context, Kiswahili and English are often positioned as in competition as the language of education, and other local languages are erased. The practices in this context, where the students were Maa and Kiswahili-dominant speakers, showed the encouragement of translanguaging to foster the development of the children's full linguistic repertoires. This was also found in Makonye's (2019) research in Zimbabwe, which showed that the use of translanguaging was effective in math education. This finding is also echoed by Duarte (2018 , 2019), whose research looks at children in Luxembourg, Germany, and the Netherlands. She shows how translanguaging can be used to foster academic progress and support language vitality for indigenous minoritized languages (e.g., Frisian in the Netherlands), English as a foreign/global language, and immigrant languages. However, as Jaspers (2018) notes, translanguaging as an educational practice is not a sure fix for all of the problems involved in schooling; as we'll discuss further below, the use of minoritized or nonstandardized varieties in school does not necessarily lead to more equality in education.

Neoliberal ideologies can also be seen in the educational context. Within this ideological framework, languages are seen as commodities, and language learning is part of participation in the market economy.

Gao (2017) discusses how this has occurred for both English and Mandarin in China. English proficiency is increasingly valued since the introduction of the market economy. One outcome of this is the private English instruction industry, which creates unequal access to English as a global language and resource for economic success. Mandarin has been promoted as a world language – an export, in a manner of speaking – and this can be seen through establishment of the Confucius Institutes all over the world since the early 2000s. Both of these languages are taught and learned as part of a neoliberal understanding of languages as resources.

Flores (2017) addresses this language-as-resource ideology for Spanish in the US, arguing that although it supports multilingualism, it erases the stigmatization and inequalities that speakers of Spanish encounter in their everyday lives. He suggests that a 'language as struggle' depiction of Spanish captures the historical and societal experiences of Spanish speakers and recognizes the racialization of Latinxs. Further, he proposes that bilingual education be positioned as part of societal transformation toward more pluralist ideologies which acknowledge the history of discrimination against linguistic minorities. Such social justice ideologies seek to counter neoliberal agendas.

Use of minoritized languages in the classroom

As in the case of nonstandardized dialects, there has been a long prejudice against the use of minoritized languages in the classroom. One of the frequently cited reasons against the use of anything but the standardized majority language is the idea that the most effective way to learn a second dialect or language is complete immersion. Research on bilingual education has not, however, supported this view. Since the early 1990s, research on the education of linguistic minorities in the US has shown that immersing children in the target language is not the most effective means of teaching them that language; instead, bilingual education with some instruction in the home language leads to academic success in the long term. What is often called the

Ramírez Report (Ramírez et al. 1991), submitted to the US Department of Education, was the result of an eight-year longitudinal study of over 2,300 Spanish-speaking children from 554 classrooms, ranging from kindergarten to sixth grade, in five different states. It compared different program types and found that the more years of bilingual education children had, the better they performed on English standardized tests in the sixth grade. Later research by Thomas and Collier (Thomas and Collier 1995 , 1997 ; Collier and Thomas 2004), the results of a five-year study of 210,054 student records for children from kindergarten to twelfth grade across the country, showed not only that bilingual education was more effective than ESL programs or English mainstreaming, but that the best academic achievement was found in children in programs with the highest percentage of time in Spanish, the minority language. Serafini et al. (2018) summarize these findings, noting that there is evidence that education in a child's first language facilitates acquisition of the second language, English, and promotes academic achievements in the long run. It is important to note that academic gains are not always seen in the first years of bilingual education, as acquisition of academic language takes longer. Educators note that there is a difference between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins 1979 , 2003 ; see also Gogolin and Lange 2011 ; Gogolin and Duarte 2016). The goal of this distinction is to note that – especially for children who are learning a new code for education – fluency in a language does not necessarily mean that a language user has also acquired the academic register. Recognition that more time is needed to acquire academic language can help to prevent discriminatory psychological labeling of bilingual students, and also must be taken into consideration in the evaluation of bilingual programs.

Benefits of bilingual education for children with the majority language as their home language have also been shown. Lindholm-Leary (2001) shows that the anglophone children in Spanish–English bilingual programs in the US are not only less likely to discriminate against members of other ethnolinguistic groups, but they also do well academically. And, as an additional benefit, they have learned a second language, with all of the linguistic, social, cognitive, and economic benefits that might bring.

But what does the language use within bilingual education programs look like? As we've discussed above, even in bilingual education programs, there may be a clear ideology about the importance of language purity. Educators frequently debate how languages should be used in multilingual contexts and, in many cases, a strict separation of languages is seen as desirable. It is very common for children to be expected to speak one language or the other, and not both, for instance, only Spanish during instruction in Spanish, and only English during instruction in English. This rarely reflects the reality of language use; for example, Potowski (2004) notes that only 56 percent of the utterances produced by the four students she studied were in Spanish during Spanish instruction. Fuller (2012) notes very different patterns of bilingual discourse in German–English classrooms in Germany and Spanish–English classrooms in the United States, but in neither case did the children categorically (or even mostly) stay in the language of instruction. Many other studies show that regardless of the background of the students or the amount of focus on the minoritized language, the majority language is used more in peer interactions (Pease-Alvarez and Winsler 1994 ; Heller 1999 ; McCarty 2002 ; Potowski 2004 , 2007 ; Fuller et al. 2007 ; Palmer 2007).

In cases where teachers or students use bilingual discourse, there are different patterns which can emerge, and not all position the languages equally. Patterns in which the dominant language is used for the content of the instruction and the minoritized language for comments which support or augment the main focus reproduce language inequalities by relegating the minoritized language to peripheral functions (see for instance Canagrajah 1995 ; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1995 , 1996 ; Grima 2000 ; Martin 2003). Relaño Pastor

(2015) addresses this for Spanish–English bilingual education in Madrid, Spain, noting that while the programs celebrate bilingualism and claim that this is accessible for all, language use patterns show the children overwhelmingly use Spanish in the classroom and proficiency levels in English vary widely. Further, other minoritized languages which are spoken fluently by many in the community (i.e., immigrant languages) are erased by the focus on English–Spanish bilingualism.

Also, in many cases a monoglot bias is imposed on the children. Fitts (2006) writes about a Spanish–English dual language program in the USA, and notes some practices which serve to undermine the explicit claim that all of the children at the school are bilingual, for instance, students are categorized according to their 'first language,' which negates the possibility that they might have learned both languages in infancy.

There are also many cases in which there are multilingual student populations but monolingual instruction; in these situations, although the languages are not part of the curriculum, there is still the question of what role they might play in the classroom. Van Avermaet et al. (2018) discuss what they call the 'multilingual edge of education,' meaning that although multilingualism – of individuals as well as in school populations – has often been discussed as a problem, it can also be seen as a valuable aspect of the knowledge fund of the students. Cummins and Persad (2014) outline what they call 'teaching through a multilingual lens,' noting that the home languages of students can be used productively in helping them to learn the majority language and the content material. Part of the goal of this is creating an atmosphere in which the home language is legitimized. Bourne (2013) discusses ways in which the languages of students can be used in the classroom in the absence of bilingual education. While supplemental materials in the children's home languages or language specialists who work with subject teachers in the classroom are desirable, improvements can also be made through finding more accessible majority language materials and designing assessment procedures which are more appropriate for multilingual populations. Thus, the multilingual lens need not mean that the minoritized language is used in the curriculum or even among students in the classroom, but that the use is not just explicitly allowed, but that it is recognized as potentially a valuable resource.

However, use of the home languages of students in the classroom does not always position the languages in positive ways. Jaspers (2015) reports on a situation in which the ways in which languages are used reinforce the sociolinguistic hierarchy. In the Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels where he did his research, almost all of the children spoke a language other than Dutch at home. The school had a monolingual policy for instruction, but this did not preclude one teacher from using other languages in playful ways, including French and German, the other official languages of Belgium and immigrant language such as Turkish or Arabic. While this appeared inclusive on the surface, the use of these languages for joking and non-academically oriented interactions reinforced their lack of legitimacy in the school and also framed the students who spoke them as 'other' and not proficient in Dutch.

Overall, then, while the use of languages other than the societally dominant or official school language in the classroom has been shown to be beneficial both for instruction and for the social development of the pupils, a school or classroom is not disconnected from wider norms and ideologies. In the next section we address one asymmetry in perceptions of multilingualism based on who it is that masters the languages.

Elite and immigrant bilingualism

Part of the status of bilingualism and the use of two languages has to do with ideas about immigrant bilingualism and elite bilingualism. **Immigrant bilingualism** is often positioned as low status; immigrant languages are associated with poor and disenfranchised segments of society. This association causes many people to view speaking two languages as something which is not desirable. On the other hand, **elite bilingualism** means speaking two languages which both carry high status. In many countries, speaking an international language such as English (discussed in more detail in the next section) in addition to the national language creates elite bilingualism (see Dewaele 2015 for a discussion of this concept with regard to education).

Work by Kanno (2008) on bilingual education in Japan provides an excellent example of how this dichotomy is reproduced in education. In schools which provided bilingual education in Japanese and English (the national language and a prestigious international language, respectively), bilingualism is framed as a resource, and is used to introduce the children to high culture and global imagined communities. In other words, the children are educated with the expectation that they will be successful participants in the global economy. In contrast, the bilingualism of students who are being educated at schools which serve minoritized language children (i.e., immigrants or returnees, usually of lower socioeconomic class) is treated as a deficit. These children are not expected to be competitive players in the global market and 'compared with children of privilege, immigrant and refugee students are socialized into impoverished imagined communities with more limited possibilities' (Kanno 2008 , 7). We see echoes of this in Vann et al. (2006), where Latina/o students are positioned as future meat factory workers, and Meador (2005), in which immigrant Mexican girls are restricted from the category of 'good students' because of their social class standing and native language.

The distinction between elite and immigrant bilingualism is not a linguistic difference, that is, elite bilinguals are not necessarily more proficient in their languages than immigrant bilinguals (and it may well be the reverse!). The perceived difference is cultural: on the one hand, it is low status to have a minoritized language as your first language, but on the other hand, it is high status to learn a second language (sometimes even that same low-status minoritized language) if you are a native speaker of the majority language. Thus the bilingualism of some speakers is denigrated, while the bilingualism of other speakers is lauded. (This is relevant in contexts outside of education, too; see the discussion of this for politicians Castro and Kaine in chapter 2 .) In an article discussing the contrast of discourses in the United States about, on the one hand, learning foreign languages to better serve one's country and, on the other hand, voting for English to become the official language of the country so it would be less threatened by other languages, Lo Bianco (2004 , 22) writes:

> The bilingualism of immigrants and poor people is often construed as a major social problem threatening national cohesion and endangering security. Cashed-up and professionally organised public campaigns for its restriction result in the intrusion of law and sanction into classrooms, and set teachers and parents at loggerheads, ultimately leading all the way to legal prohibition. For elites, however, the name and the kind of bilingualism they are fostering is an altogether different entity. It is a skill, an esteemed cultural accomplishment, an investment in national capability, and a resource advancing national security and enhancing employment.

Preece (2019) also illustrates this with data from research looking at the position of working-class Black and ethnic minority students in the UK versus international students, showing that the latter were positioned as having repertoires which contributed to their educational attainment, while the heritage languages of the former were seen as an academic disadvantage. Such attitudes about bilingualism create a distinction between so-called elite bilingualism and immigrant bilingualism which is not about language proficiency or the particular languages involved, but about the status of the people who are associated with each category.

Exploration 12.3 ‘Research Shows… ’

Why do you think that, despite a consistent line of research which shows the benefits of bilingual education and the use of minority languages and dialects in the classroom, there is still such resistance to this? How do *you* feel about the idea of using a nonstandardized dialect or a minority language, either one you speak or one you do not speak, in classrooms in your community? What role do you think ideologies and the emotional attachments we have to different ways of speaking play in attitudes about how children should be taught, and is it possible to change these things with knowledge of research findings?

Education and World-Wide English

Our discussion thus far has largely focused on the roles of local minoritized varieties in the educational context. In this section, we shift to look at the role of how English as a global language is used in education. In contexts in which English is not the language of the broader society, education in English is often seen as a way of empowering students by teaching them an instrumentally important international language. Many of the same issues discussed above are addressed in this body of research, including the role of the home languages of children and who is advantaged or disadvantaged through these educational programs. We first provide a brief overview of how the place of English has been conceived in different societies across the world, and then address more specifically how this has influenced education.

Circles of English

Kachru (1986) introduced a set of terms for describing the role of English in different countries across the globe. The **inner circle** is described as regions in which

English is used for almost all functions by the majority of the population, for example, the United States, the United Kingdom, or Australia. The **outer circle** contains countries in which there are originally non-native but institutionalized uses of English, for example, the Philippines or South Africa; in these countries there are of course many people for whom English is their dominant and/or home language. What is called the **expanding circle** comprises countries in which English is learned as a foreign language, and in which it plays an increasingly important role in economic development. The different role of English in these societies contributes to differences in approaches to the use of English in schooling.

Matsuda (2019) has addressed this framework with attention to several mitigating points. First, English is no longer learned to communicate with 'native speakers' of English in inner circle countries, nor are the varieties of those countries the target; instead, there are lingua franca standards for English. Further, English is not seen as primarily connecting to the cultures of the inner circle countries. Finally, there is an increasing resistance to **native speakerism** , that is, the privileging of the language and linguistic practices of speakers from the inner circle; instead, variation is increasingly part of English as a global language.

In the contexts of both the outer and expanding circles, the concept of **glocalization** is also relevant. Glocal development means that there is an interaction between global influences and local cultures, creating linguistic forms and practices that use global resources in unique local ways. The norms of the target standard variety (e.g., British, American, etc.) are not simply adopted because that is what is taught in school; instead, local influences are intertwined with global ones. As Pennycook (2003) argues, globalization is not resulting in either homogenization or heterogenization of English, but is creating new aspects of popular culture, and new social categories and affiliations, which both appropriate global commodities and are locally contextualized. However, these new Englishes create another layer of complexity to multilingual situations.

English in world-wide education

Makoe and McKinney (2014) provide one example of how neoliberal attitudes about the value of English contribute to educational practices in South Africa. They note that despite policies in post-apartheid society to support previously marginalized African languages in education, English remains dominant. Part of their critique of educational practices draws on the hegemony of monoglot ideologies in this multilingual context, which contributes to discouraging translanguaging and other practices which might integrate local languages and identities into the classroom.

However, other studies show that despite the hegemony of English, glocalized practices and values do emerge. Chidsey (2018) looks at ideologies and practices in girls' schools in India, where there is a long tradition of English-medium education being considered elite education, as opposed to education in Hindi or other Indian languages. This analysis reveals that the practices of the girls in these schools resemble reports of multilingual Indian-background children's hybrid practices in the diaspora. That is, they do not focus solely on English but use multilingual discourse which includes local and home languages as well as English.

Another study by Tan and Tan (2008) illustrates that local Englishes are also not necessarily seen as inferior by their speakers. Their study looks at student attitudes toward Singapore English and Standard English in order to ascertain what is the best pedagogical practice given that the overall goal is for the children to learn Standard English, but they live in an environment where they are exposed to Singapore English, which differs, at times considerably, from the standard. The results from the attitudinal survey showed that the students appreciate the value of Standard English, but that they do not feel that Singapore English is 'bad English.' Use of this variety is an important part of their Singaporean identity. However, such a view of the use of Singapore English is very dependent on context and the interlocutors. Singapore English is considered 'inappropriate' from an English teacher, but less so from a math teacher. It is the desired code for speaking to friends and family outside an educational context. It is also worth noting that the Standard English guise which was rated most highly was the one spoken with a Singaporean, not American, accent. The authors draw parallels to the situation in the United States with Standard English and AAVE, noting that there has been some success in using AAVE in the classroom as a means to help children acquire literacy skills. They interpret the results of their survey as an indication that the use of Singapore English in the classroom might be beneficial.

Elite closure

Language often reproduces social inequalities. One way in which this happens is that only certain people have access to languages that allow them to participate in more prestigious segments of society, in which there are often higher economic rewards. The concept of **elite closure** has been used to describe how people with power use language to reproduce their privileged positions; in the words of Myers-Scotton (1993 , 149):

> Elite closure is a type of social mobilization strategy by which those persons in power establish or maintain their powers and privileges via linguistic choices. Put more concretely, elite closure is accomplished when the elite successfully employ official language policies and their own non-formalized language usage patterns to limit access of non-elite groups to political position and socioeconomic advancement.

Myers-Scotton used this concept in her work in Africa, where colonial languages (English, French, and Portuguese) are spoken by a minority of the population and limiting participation in higher education and government to those who speak those languages is an effective gatekeeping measure. As Myers-Scotton notes, however, elite closure is essentially present everywhere to some extent, but it is more apparent and stronger in cases in which a distinct, colonial language contrasts with local languages, and a relatively small percentage of the population has mastery of the colonial language. The elite language can be any language, but in this section we will focus only on situations in which English is the elite language.

Wornyo (2015) argues that language policies in Ghana which support local languages as the medium of education for the first three years have not been effective, and are a means of establishing elite closure. If English is taught later in public schools while English-medium private schools are only available to children from wealthier families, then access to English is based on socioeconomic status. Because English is the language one must master to get higher-paying positions in society, then this situation perpetuates societal hierarchies. Research by Dako and Quarcoo (2017) reinforces this position, as their data show that parents believe that early access to English is key to their children's success, and therefore – if they have the competence – they speak English as the home language.

In an article addressing English-language policies in Africa more broadly, Kamwangamalu (2013) endorses dual-medium instruction; he argues for its educational effectiveness but also cautions that the status of the vernacular in society is a crucial key to educational success.

> Most schools in Anglophone Africa use English as the medium of instruction throughout the entire educational system, while others use an indigenous language as instructional medium for the first three years of primary education and then transition to English-medium instruction. Both approaches, however, have failed to spread literacy in English or in the indigenous language, as is evident from the high illiteracy rates in the African continent. There is, therefore, the need to consider an alternative, the proposed dual-medium education consisting of an English-medium stream and a vernacular-medium stream, in each of which the opposite language, English or the vernacular, is taught as a compulsory subject. The advantage of vernacular-medium education is that the vernacular is readily accessible both within and outside of the school compound. However, for vernacular-medium education to succeed locally, particularly in the era of globalization, it must be vested with at least some of the material gains and privileges that are currently associated only with English-medium education. Otherwise, English will continue to serve, as Graddol (2006 : 38) describes it in his forward-looking book, 'one of the mechanisms for structuring inequality in developing economies.' (Kamwangamalu 2013 , 334–335)

A contrast to the situation in multilingual Africa can be seen in South Korea, where multilingualism is far less common. English has become a critical part of education and there has been a recent debate about making English an official language of the country (Song 2011). Although no such legislation has yet been proposed, English is an undeniable focus in education. In some cases, businesses insist that applicants for white-collar jobs be able to speak English and employees' English is routinely assessed, even though they may not use English as part of their professional duties. Song describes the situation as elite closure because, although English instruction is offered in all schools, in order to do well on exams and subsequently be admitted to the best universities, students must participate in after-school tutoring programs. Of course, these are accessible only to those who can afford them. As Song notes, this creates a situation in which 'the offspring of the privileged, with "good education," inherit their parents' high socio-economic positions, whereas the offspring of the lower classes, without "good education," inherit their parents' low socio-economic positions' (Song 2011 , 44). The established social order in South Korean society is thus perpetuated through English and in the name of globalization.

Exploration 12.4 Restricted Access

Are there segments of your society which can only be accessed if you master a particular code? Think about such arenas as higher education, white-collar employment, and participation in performing arts and media. Is it possible to compete in these arenas if you do not speak in a mainstream, majority-endorsed way? Also consider the opposite: are there events, activities, and opportunities exclusively for speakers of minoritized dialects and languages?

English in Europe

We would like to close this chapter with a discussion of the role of English in Europe, particularly within countries in the European Union, which has the aim of 'mother tongue plus two' for a plurilingual Europe. One of the languages for almost everyone is English. Our focus is on the growing use of English in education across Europe.

There is undoubtedly an increase of English as the medium of instruction at universities throughout Europe, but especially in the northern countries (Coleman 2006 , Hultgren et al 2015) As this expands, there are of course challenges. Soler-Carbonell and Karaoglu (2015) note that while the students they surveyed in Estonia welcome the opportunity to study in English, they also noted that language problems emerged, in particular with the learning of specialized and technical vocabulary. Macaro et al. (2018) provide an overview of studies on English as the medium of higher education, including (but not limited to) studies done in Europe, noting that further research must be done to empirically support claims that it benefits students.

One issue which arises is what variety or varieties of English are considered acceptable. Some authors have speculated about the development of a Euro English which is distinct from varieties spoken in inner circle countries (e.g., Jenkins et al. 2001 ; Mollin 2006 ; House 2003 ; Seidlhofer et al. 2006 ; Graddol 2006). In this perspective, native speakers of English from English-speaking countries no longer establish the norms for English in Europe. Rindal (2015) reports that Norwegian adolescents learning English avoid pronunciations that index a particular anglophone culture, referring to English as a 'personal language,' indicating that they are claiming English for themselves and do not see only native speakers as owners of the language.

However, Margić and Vodopija-Krstanović (2018) note in their study of English-language teachers in Croatia that teachers felt presenting English as a lingua franca would be confusing for their students and would lower the quality of instruction, and thus they focused on what they considered native speaker norms of British and/or American English. These findings are echoed by a study on German university students by Gnutzmann et al. (2015), which showed that the majority of students surveyed felt that Euro English would complicate and not facilitate communication; they wanted native speaker norms.

In some cases, the spread of English is equated with the spread of capitalism and consumerism. Phillipson (2008) objects to the use of the term 'lingua franca' in this case. He argues that this term evokes a sense of egalitarianism that is not present in a situation in which some are native speakers and others are not, and the language is not neutral but clearly linked to specific cultural traditions and influences. He cautions against the adoption of English as the language of higher education as a response to market forces, and advocates careful policy and planning to prevent it displacing other languages (Phillipson 2015). Van Parijs (2011) also argues that while English as a lingua franca in Europe can be welcomed, it unjustly favors those from anglophone backgrounds, who have an unfair advantage in multilingual Europe. Further, Bono and Melo-Pfeifer (2020) note that learning English, both as a second language in anglophone countries and as a foreign language in non-anglophone countries, can hinder the development and maintenance of heritage languages.

Bolton and Kuteeva (2012) present a less oppositional view of English in higher education in research on attitudes toward English among students and academic staff at a Swedish university. The rhetoric of English as a threat is certainly present in the society as a whole and was voiced by the participants in their research, but was not the dominant perspective. One finding was that the use of English parallel to Swedish was a pragmatic reality for those in the natural sciences, and greater use was also reported in the social sciences, with less use found in the study of the humanities and law. There was, on the whole, support among the students for the use of English in instruction, which often occurred in the form of parallel use with Swedish, that is, Swedish was employed to clarify or when students worked together in group work, but English was the medium of lectures. Although 30–40 percent of the students (depending on their area of study) responded that they felt English was a threat to Swedish in terms of the domains of use, very few respondents (ranging from 10 percent in natural sciences to 17 percent in law) felt that the use of English in their education was a disadvantage for them personally, or for the university as a whole. More recent research in Sweden (Kuteeva et al. 2015) shows that translanguaging strategies were used and attitudes toward the use of English were overall quite positive in a survey of undergraduate students in English-medium programs.

The example of Europe illustrates that English is not only seen as a threat to other languages in postcolonial contexts or in situations in which it is the dominant language spoken in a community. Its use in education is seen as both necessary for participation in global markets and as a means of creating social inequalities.

Chapter Summary

This chapter looks at how linguistic inequality is embedded in education in three different contexts: in cases where students speak nonstandardized dialects; in multilingual contexts; and in countries where English is not a community language but is the medium of education. In all of these contexts, social inequalities are perpetuated by ideologies which privilege certain ways of speaking, and social structures which impede access to high-status codes for some portions of the population.

Exercises

1. Interview a teacher or administrator at a local school and write a short description of the ideologies about and practices in education you discover. Although you may want to add topics to this interview protocol, here is a list of topics to begin with:
    - What language varieties are spoken by the children in the school? Is there a clear majority who speak one language, or are there many different codes which are well represented?
    - In their free time before and between classes and on the playground, what languages can be heard spoken among the pupils?
    - What language(s) are used in instruction? Are they the medium of instruction, the subject of instruction, or both? Are there different programs or classrooms that have different languages (for instance, a few classrooms which offer bilingual instruction, or foreign-language classrooms)?
    - Is the variety of language used in instruction a contested issue for students, parents, teachers, or administrators? Is this school typical of others in the region? If not, how is it different?
    - Do you have suggestions for anything you would change about the language(s) used in

instruction at your school?

- Do you feel that most of the children at your school are successful, that is, are prepared to go on to higher levels of education or employment? If so, what do you think is the root of this success? If not, what would need to change to better prepare the students?

2. Write an essay discussing a language awareness curriculum for schools in your region. Include a description of the regional dialects or minoritized languages which are spoken in the area, and how they are viewed by users of the majority language. What exactly would you want to address in a language awareness program? Outline the main points you would like teachers to understand about language variation, language ideologies, and language and social identity. Make some suggestions for what you would like children to do in a unit on language in their region if this was incorporated into the school curriculum. Conclude with a discussion of the potential benefits of such instruction.
3. Collect data about the linguistic backgrounds of people in a particular region, compared with the languages used as the medium of education and taught as subjects in school. You may focus on a single school, a city, region or entire nation, depending on what information is available to you. (You should be able to find census data about language backgrounds online, and individual schools often provide statistics about the backgrounds of students and the curriculum. This will require a bit of searching!) Based on this information, provide a description of the situation and an analysis of how well the needs of the students are being met. Discuss the concepts of linguistic inequality and the opportunity gap based on the educational practices with regard to the linguistic varieties used in schools.

Further Reading

Cooper, A. C. and T. T. T. Nguyễn (2015). Signed language community–researcher collaboration in Việt Nam: Challenging language ideologies, creating social change. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 25(2): 105–127.

Fuller, Janet M. (2009). Multilingualism in educational contexts: Ideologies and identities. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3(1): 338–358.

Jeeves, A. (2015). Learning English in contemporary Iceland: The attitudes and perceptions of Icelandic youth. In Andrew Linn, Neil Bermel, and Gibson Ferguson (eds.), *Attitudes towards English in Europe* , vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 271–296.

Low, E. L. and A. Pakir (eds.) (2017). *World Englishes: Rethinking Paradigms* . New York: Routledge.

Mazak, C. M. and K. S. Carroll (eds.) (2016). *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Purkarthofer, J. and J. Mossakowski (2011). Bilingual teaching for multilingual students? Innovative dual-medium models in Slovene–German schools in Austria. *International Review of Education* 57(5–6): 551–565.

Trudell, Barbara (2010). When 'Prof ' speaks, who listens? The African elite and the use of African languages for education and development in African communities. *Language and Education* 24(4): 337–352.

Wigglesworth, G., R. Billington, and D. Loakes (2013). Creole speakers and standard language education. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7: 388–397.

References

Adger, C. T., D. Christian, and O. Taylor (eds.) (1999). *Making the Connection: Language and Academic Achievement among African American Students* . Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Adger, C. T., W. Wolfram, and D. Christian (2014). *Dialects in Schools and Communities* . New York: Routledge.

Alfaro, C. and Lilia Bartolomé (2017). Preparing ideologically clear bilingual teachers: Honoring working-class non-standard language use in the bilingual education classroom. *Issues in Teacher Education* 26(2): 11–34.

Avineri, N., E. Johnson, S. Brice-Heath, T. McCarty, E. Ochs, T. Kremer-Sadlik … and H. S. Alim (2015). Invited forum: Bridging the 'language gap.' *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 25(1): 66–86.

Baugh, J. (2000). *Beyond Ebonics: Linguistic Pride and Racial Prejudice* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Bereiter, C. and S. Engelmann (1966). *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Pre-School* . Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bernstein, B. (1961). Social structure, language and learning. *Educational Research* 3: 163–176.

Bernstein, B. (1971–1975). *Class, Codes and Control* , vols. 1–3. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bernstein, B. (1972). Social class, language and socialization. In P. P. Giglioli (ed.), *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Bernstein, B. (1990). *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse, vol. 4: Class, Codes and Control* . London: Routledge.

Bigelow, M. and J. Ennser-Kananen (eds.) (2014). *The Routledge Handbook of Educational Linguistics* .

London: Routledge.

Blake, R. and C. Cutler (2003). AAE and variation in teachers' attitudes: A question of school philosophy? *Linguistics and Education* 14(2): 163–194.

Bolton, K. and M. Kuteeva (2012). English as an academic language at a Swedish university: Parallel language use and the 'threat' of English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 33(5): 429–447.

Bonnin, J. E. (2013). New dimensions of linguistic inequality: An overview. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7(9): 500–509.

Bono, M. and S. Melo-Pfeifer (2020). English and heritage languages from a multilingual perspective: Challenges and possibilities for integration. In F. Anastassiou and G. Andreou (eds.), *English as a Foreign Language: Perspectives on Teaching, Multilingualism and Interculturalism* . Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 1–19.

Bourne, J. (2013). 'I know he can do better than that': Strategies for teaching and learning in successful multi-ethnic schools. In Ingrid Gogolin, Imke Lange, Ute Michel, and Hans H. Reich (eds.), *Herausforderung Bildungssprache—und wie man sie meistert* . Münster: Waxmann, 42–54.

Canagrajah, A. S. (1995). Functions of codeswitching in ESL classrooms: Socializing bilingualism in Jaffna. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 16: 173–195.

Chidsey, M. M. (2018). The language medium 'divide': Ideologies of Hindi–English use at four all-girls' 'public schools' in North India. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 253: 27–53.

Coleman, J. A. (2006). English-medium teaching in European higher education. *Language Teaching* 39(1): 1–14.

Collier, V. P. and W. P. Thomas (2004). The astounding effectiveness of dual language education for all. *NABE Journal of Research and Practice* 2(1): 1–20.

Craig, D. R. (2001). Language education revisited in the Commonwealth Caribbean. In P. Christie (ed.), *Due Respect: Papers on English and English-Related Creoles in the Caribbean in Honour of Professor Robert Le Page* . Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 61–76.

Cummins, J. (1979). Cognitive/academic language proficiency, linguistic interdependence, the optimum age question and some other matters. *Working Papers on Bilingualism , No*. 19, 121–129.

Cummins, J. (1988). Second language acquisition within bilingual education programs. In L. M. Beebe (ed.), *Issues in Second Language Acquisition: Multiple Perspectives* . New York: Newbury House, 145–166.

Cummins, J. (2003). BICS and CALP: Origins and rationale for the distinction. In Christina Bratt Paulston and G. Richard Tucker (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The Essential Readings* . Oxford: Blackwell, 322–328.

Cummins, J. and R. Persad (2014). Teaching through a multilingual lens: The evolution of EAL policy and practice in Canada. *Education Matters: The Journal of Teaching and Learning* 2(1).

Dako, K. and M. A. Quarcoo (2017). Attitudes towards English in Ghana. *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 28(1): 20–30.

De Fina, A. (2016). Diversity in school: Monolingual ideologies versus multilingual practices. In A. De Fina, D. Ikizoglu, and J. Wegner (eds.), *Diversity and Super-Diversity: Sociocultural Linguistic Perspectives* . Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Dewaele, J. M. (2015). Bilingualism and multilingualism. In Karen Tracy (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* . Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 1–11.

Duarte, J. (2018). Translanguaging in the context of mainstream multilingual education. *International Journal of Multilingualism* , 1–16.

Duarte, J. (2019). Translanguaging in mainstream education: A sociocultural approach. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 22(2): 150–164.

Eckert, P. (1989). *Jocks and Burnouts: Social Categories and Identities in the High School* . New York: Teachers College Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis* . London: Longman.

Fitts, S. (2006). Reconstructing the status quo: Linguistic interaction in a dual-language school. *Bilingual Research Journal* 29: 337–365.

Flores, N. (2017). From language as resource to language as struggle: Resisting the Coke-ification of bilingual education. In Mi-Cha Flubacher and Alfonso Del Percio (eds.), *Language, Education and Neoliberalism: Critical Studies in Sociolinguistics* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 62–81.

Flores, N. and J. Rosa (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review* 85(2): 149–171.

Fuller, J. M. (2012). *Bilingual Pre-Teens: Competing Ideologies and Multiple Identities in the U.S. and Germany* . New York: Routledge.

Fuller, J., M. Elsman, and K. Self (2007). Addressing peers in a Spanish–English bilingual classroom. In K. Potowski and R. Cameron (eds.), *Spanish in Contact:*

Educational, Social, and Linguistic Inquiries . Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 135–151.

Gao, S. (2017). The commodification of language in neoliberalizing China: The cases of English and Mandarin. In Mi-Cha Flubacher and Alfonso Del Percio (eds.), *Language, Education and Neoliberalism: Critical Studies in Sociolinguistics* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 19–36.

García, O. (2005). Positioning heritage languages in the United States. *Modern Language Journal* 89(4): 601–605.

García, O. (2009). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas, R. Phillipson, A. K. Mohanty, and M. Panda (eds.), *Social Justice through Multilingual Education* . Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 140–158.

Gnutzmann, C., J. Jakisch, and F. Rabe (2015). Communicating across Europe: What German students think about multilingualism, language norms and English as a lingua franca. In Andrew Linn, Neil Bermel, and Gibson Ferguson (eds.), *Attitudes towards English in Europe* , vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 165.

Godley, A. J., J. Reaser, and K. G. Moore (2015). Pre-service English language arts teachers' development of critical language awareness for teaching. *Linguistics and Education* 32: 41–54.

Gogolin, I. and J. Duarte (2016). Bildungssprache. In Jörg Kilian, Birgit Brouër, and Dina Lüttenberg (eds.), *Handbuch Sprache in der Bildung* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 478.

Gogolin, I. and I. Lange (2011). Bildungssprache und durchgängige Sprachbildung. In Sara Fürstenau and Mechtild Gomolla (eds.), *Migration und schulischer Wandel: Mehrsprachigkeit* . Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 107–127.

Gomolla, M. and F. O. Radtke (2007). *Institutionelle Diskriminierung: Die Herstellung ethnischer Differenz in der Schule* . 2nd edn. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

González, N., L. C. Moll, and C. Amanti (eds.) (2006). *Funds of Knowledge: Theorizing Practices in Households, Communities, and Classrooms* . London: Routledge.

Gorski, P. C. (2017). *Reaching and Teaching Students in Poverty: Strategies for Erasing the Opportunity Gap* . New York: Teachers College Press.

Graddol, D. (2006). *English Next: Why Global English May Mean the End of 'English as a Foreign Language.'* London: The British Council. https://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/attachments/books-english-next.pdf

Grima, A. C. (2000). The Maltese bilingual classroom: A microcosm of local society. *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* 6: 3–12.

Hart, B. and T. Risley (1995). *Meaningful Differences in the Everyday Experience of Young American Children* . Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes.

Heath, S. B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. *Language in Society* 11(1): 49–76.

Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with Words: Language, Life and Work in Communities and Classrooms* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity: A Sociolinguistic Ethnography* . New York: Longman.

Hélot, C. and A. Young (2006). Imagining multilingual education in France: A language and cultural awareness project at primary level. In Ofelia García, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, and Maria E. Torres-Guzmán (eds.), *Imagining Multilingual Schools: Languages in*

Education and Glocalization . Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 69–90.

Hornberger, N. (2011). Dell H. Hymes: His scholarship and legacy in anthropology and education. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 42(4): 310–318.

Hornberger, N. and S. L. McCay (2010). *Sociolinguistics and Language Education* . Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

House, J. (2003). English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism? *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(4): 556–578.

Hultgren, A. K., C. Jensen, and S. Dimova (2015). English-medium instruction in European higher education: From the north to the south. In Slobodanka Dimova, Anna Kristina Hultgren, and Christian Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1–15.

Jaspers, J. (2015). Modelling linguistic diversity at school: The excluding impact of inclusive multilingualism. *Language Policy* 14(2): 109–129.

Jaspers, J. (2018). The transformative limits of translanguaging. *Language & Communication* 58: 1–10. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (2019) 40(5), special issue on elite multilingualism.

Jenkins, J., M. Modiano, and B. Seidlhofer (2001). Euro-English. *English Today* 17(4): 13–19.

Johnson, E. J. (2015). Debunking the ‘language gap.’ *Journal for Multicultural Education* 9: 42–50.

Johnson, E. J. and A. C. Zentella (2016). Introducing the language gap. *International Multilingual Research Journal* 11.

Johnson, L., N. P. Terry, C. M. Connor, and S. Thomas-Tate (2017). The effects of dialect awareness instruction on nonmainstream American English speakers. *Reading and Writing* 30(9): 2009–2038.

Jones, Peter E. (2013). Bernstein's 'codes' and the linguistics of 'deficit.' *Language and Education* 27(2): 161–179.

Kachru, Braj B. (1986). The power and politics of English. *World Englishes* 5(2–3): 121–140.

Kamwangamalu, N. M. (2013). Effects of policy on English-medium instruction in Africa. *World Englishes* 32(3): 325–337.

Kanno, Y. (2008). *Language and Education in Japan: Unequal Access to Bilingualism* . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kretzschmar, W. A., Jr. (2008). Public and academic understanding about language: The intellectual history of Ebonics. *English World-Wide* 29(1): 70–95.

Kuteeva, M., N. Hynninen, and M. Haslam (2015). 'It's so natural to mix languages': Attitudes towards English-medium instruction in Sweden. In Andrew Linn, Neil Bermel, and Gibson Ferguson (eds.), *Attitudes towards English in Europe* , vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 193.

Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular* . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lakoff, R. T. (2000). *The Language War* . Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lanvers, U. (2017). Elitism in language learning in the UK. In Damian Rivers and Karin Zotzmann (eds.), *Isms in Language Education: Oppression, Intersectionality and Emancipation* . Berlin: De Gruyter, 50–73.

Lauwo, M. S. (2018). Power, literacy engagement, and polyphonic identities: Translanguaging in a Tanzanian community library. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 36(2): 133–146.

Lindholm-Leary, K. (2001). *Dual Language Education* . Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Lo Bianco, J. (2004). Uncle Sam and Mr. *Unz. English Today* 20(3): 16–22.

Lowther Pereira, K. (2015). Developing critical language awareness via service-learning for Spanish heritage speakers. *Heritage Language Journal* 12(2): 159–185.

Macaro, E., S. Curle, J. Pun, J. An, and J. Dearden (2018). A systematic review of English medium instruction in higher education. *Language Teaching* 51(1): 36–76.

Makoe, P. and C. McKinney (2014). Linguistic ideologies in multilingual South African suburban schools. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 35(7): 658–673.

Makonye, J. P. (2019). The effect of translanguaging in teaching the Grade 6 topics of perimeter and area in rural schools. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 37(3): 221–231.

Margić, B. D. and I. Vodopija-Krstanović (2018). English language education in Croatia: Elitist purism or paradigmatic shift? In Zoi Tatsioka, Barbara Seidlhofer, Nicos C. Sifakis, and Gibson Ferguson (eds.), *Using English as a Lingua Franca in Education in Europe* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 51.

Martin, D. (2003). Constructing discursive practices in school and community: Bilingualism, gender and power. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6: 237–252.

Martin-Jones, M. and M. Saxena (1995). Supporting or containing bilingualism? Policies, power asymmetries, and pedagogic practices in mainstream primary classrooms. In James W. Tollefson (ed.), *Power and Inequality in Language Education* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 73–90.

Martin-Jones, M. and M. Saxena (1996). Turn-taking, power asymmetries, and the positioning of bilingual participants in classroom discourse. *Linguistics and Education* 8: 105–123.

Martínez, R. A., M. Hikida, and L. Durán (2015). Unpacking ideologies of linguistic purism: How dual language teachers make sense of everyday translanguaging. *International Multilingual Research Journal* 9(1): 26–42.

Matsuda, A. (2019). World Englishes in English language teaching: Kachru's six fallacies and the TEIL paradigm. *World Englishes* 38(1–2): 144–154.

McCarty, T. L. (2002). *A Place to Be Navajo: Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Indigenous Schooling* . Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

McKinney, C. (2016). *Language and Power in Post-Colonial Schooling: Ideologies in Practice* . New York: Routledge.

Meador, E. (2005). The making of marginality: Schooling for Mexican immigrant girls in the rural Southwest. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 36: 149–164.

Metz, M. (2017). Addressing English teachers' concerns about decentering Standard English. *English Teaching: Practice & Critique* 16(3): 363–374.

Milroy, J. and L. Milroy (1999). *Authority in Language* . 3rd edn. London: Routledge.

Moll, L. C., C. Amanti, D. Neff, and N. Gonzalez (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice* 31(2): 132–141.

Mollin, S. (2006). *Euro-English: Assessing Variety Status* , vol. 33. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). Elite closure as a powerful language strategy: The African case. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 103(1): 149–164.

Palmer, D. (2007). A dual immersion strand program in California: Carrying out the promise of dual language education in an English-dominant context. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 10(6): 752–768.

Pease-Alvarez, L. and A. Winsler (1994). Cuando el maestro no habla español: Children's bilingual language practices in the classroom. *TESOL Quarterly* 28: 507–535.

Pennycook, A. (2003). Global Englishes, Rip Slyme, and performativity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(4): 513–533.

Perry, T. and L. Delpit (eds.) (1998). *The Real Ebonics Debate: Power, Language, and the Education of African-American Children* . Boston: Beacon Press.

Peterson, E. R., C. Rubie-Davies, D. Osborne, and C. Sibley (2016). Teachers' explicit expectations and implicit prejudiced attitudes to educational achievement: Relations with student achievement and the ethnic achievement gap. *Learning and Instruction* 42: 123–140.

Phillipson, R. (2008). Lingua franca or lingua frankensteinia? English in European integration and globalisation. *World Englishes* 27(2): 250–267.

Phillipson, R. (2015). English as threat or opportunity in European higher education. In Slobodanka Dimova, Anna Kristina Hultgren, and Christian Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 19–42.

Potowski, K. (2004). Student Spanish use and investment in a dual language classroom: Implications for second language acquisition and heritage language maintenance. *Modern Language Journal* 88: 75–100.

Potowski, K. (2007). *Language and Identity in a Dual Immersion School* . Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Preece, S. (2019). Elite bilingual identities in higher education in the anglophone world: The stratification of linguistic diversity and reproduction of socio-economic inequalities in the multilingual student population. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 40(5): 404–420.

Ramírez, J. D., S. D. Yuen, and D. R. Ramey (1991). *Final Report: Longitudinal Study of Structured English Immersion Strategy, Early-Exit and Late-Exit Programs for Language-Minority Children* . Report submitted to the US Department of Education. San Mateo, CA: Aguirre International.

Reaser, J., C. T. Adger, W. Wolfram, and D. Christian (2017). *Dialects at School: Educating Linguistically Diverse Students* . London: Taylor & Francis.

Relaño Pastor, A. M. (2015). The commodification of English in ‘Madrid, comunidad bilingüe’: Insights from the CLIL classroom. *Language Policy (Special issue: Language Education Policy in Late Modernity: Insights from Situated Approaches)* 14(2): 131–152.

Rickford, J. R. (1999). The Ebonics controversy in my backyard: A sociolinguist’s experience and reflections. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3(2): 267–275.

Rickford, J. R. (2004). Spoken soul: The beloved, belittled language of Black America. In C. Fought (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Rickford, J. R. and R. J. Rickford (2000). *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English* . New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Rindal, U. (2015). Who owns English in Norway? L2 attitudes and choices among learners. In Andrew Linn, Neil Bermel, and Gibson Ferguson (eds.), *Attitudes towards English in Europe* , vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 241.

Rodríguez, R. J. (2017). Against ethnocentrism and toward translanguaging in literacy and English education. In Damian Rivers and Karin Zotzmann (eds.), *Isms in Language Education: Oppression, Intersectionality and Emancipation* . Berlin: De Gruyter, 98.

Rosen, H. (1972). *Language and Class: A Critical Look at the Theories of Basil Bernstein* . Bristol: Falling Wall Press.

Schechter, S. R., I. G. Parejo, T. Ambadiang, and C. E. James (2014). Schooling transnational speakers of the societal language: Language variation policy-making in Madrid and Toronto. *Language Policy* 13(2): 121–144.

Sebba, M. (1993). *London Jamaican: Language Systems in Interaction* . London: Longman.

Seidlhofer, B., A. Breiteneder, and M. L. Pitzl (2006). English as a lingua franca in Europe: Challenges for applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 26: 3–34.

Serafini, E. J., N. Rozell, and A. W. Winsler (2018). Long-term outcomes of bilingual education models: What does the research tell us. *Teachers' Hub* . https://teachershubmag.com

Siegel, J. (2007). Creoles and minority dialects in education: An update. *Language and Education* 21(1): 66–86.

Snell, J. (2013). Dialect, interaction and class positioning at school: From deficit to difference to repertoire. *Language and Education* 27(2): 110–128.

Soler-Carbonell, J. and H. Karaoglu (2015). English as an academic lingua franca in Estonia: Students' attitudes and ideologies. In Andrew Linn, Neil Bermel, and Gibson Ferguson (eds.), *Attitudes towards English in Europe* , vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 213–238.

Song, J. J. (2011). English as an official language in South Korea: Global English or social malady? *Language Problems & Language Planning* 35(1): 35–55.

Tan, P. K. W. and D. K. H. Tan (2008). Attitudes towards non-standard English in Singapore. *World Englishes* 27(3/4): 465–479.

Thomas, W. P. and V. Collier (1995). *Language Minority Student Achievement and Program Effectiveness. Research Summary* . Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.

Thomas, W. P. and V. Collier (1997). *School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students* . Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Van Avermaet, P., S. Slembrouck, K. Van Gorp, S. Sierens, and K. Maryns (eds.) (2018). *The Multilingual Edge of Education* . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vann, R. J., K. R. Bruna, and M. P. Escudero (2006). Negotiating identities in a multilingual science class. In T. Omoniyi and G. White (eds.), *The Sociolinguistics of Identity* . New York: Continuum, 201–216.

Van Parijs, P. (2011). *Linguistic Justice for Europe and the World* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weiner, M. F. (2016). Racialized classroom practices in a diverse Amsterdam primary school: The silencing, disparagement, and discipline of students of color. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 19(6): 1351–1367.

Wheeler, R. (2016). 'So much research, so little change': Teaching Standard English in African American classrooms. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 2: 367–390.

Wiese, H., K. Mayr, P. Krämer, P. Seeger, H. G. Müller, and V. Mezger (2017). Changing teachers' attitudes towards linguistic diversity: Effects of an anti-bias programme. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 27(1): 198–220.

Wolfram, W. (2011). In the profession: Connecting with the public. *Journal of English Linguistics* 40(1): 111–117.

Wornyo, A. A. (2015). Language policy debate in Ghana: A means of elite closure. *Sociology* 5(8): 643–652.

13
Language Policy and Planning

> **KEY TOPICS**
>
> - The study of language policy and planning: theories and perspectives
> - The goals of language policies: the government and the people
> - The roles of ethnic and national identities in language policies
> - The role of English world-wide

For a final topic in this volume we would like to turn our attention to some of the numerous attempts that have been made to influence the form of a language, or to control how a linguistic variety functions in society. As we have seen throughout this book, ideas about the forms and functions of linguistic varieties are really about the people who use them, and this is also true in the arena of politics, where legislation is motivated by language ideologies.

Frequently, language policies are created to reinforce already existing power structures, as opposed to empowering minoritized groups or benefitting all members of society equally. However, there have been attempts to use language planning to combat social inequalities as well. In the examples from countries around the world in this chapter, we will address the underlying ideologies and the consequences of such policy and planning efforts.

Terminology, Concepts, and Development of the Field

Attempts to change either the form, function, and learning of languages are usually described as instances of **language planning** . Because the 'plans' involved often (although by no means always) involve policy decisions, work on language planning is often intertwined with work on **language policy** , and this body of literature is frequently referred to as LPP (Language Policy and Planning; see Hornberger 2006). Hornberger points out that the relationship between policy and planning is complex; planning does not always lead to policy or vice versa, rather they are intertwined processes. She concludes, 'LPP offers a unified conceptual rubric under which to pursue fuller understanding of the complexity of the policy-planning relationship and in turn its insertion in processes of social change' (Hornberger 2006 , 25).

Spolsky (2004 , 2019) offers a definition of language policy which includes three components: the language practices of a community, in particular the patterns of choices of which varieties are used in particular circumstances; language ideologies; and any specific efforts made to influence practices through intervention, planning, and management. As we will see in our further discussion, recognition of language ideologies has become a central aspect of the study of LPP.

Types of language planning

Language planning is an attempt to deliberately influence a language or one of its varieties. There are different aspects of a language that may be influenced, from its orthography to its domains of use, and also different ways of attempting to influence the development, maintenance, and social standing of a language. These can be categorized into the rubrics of status, corpus, and acquisition planning.

Status planning changes the function of a language or a variety of a language and the rights of those who use it. For example, when speakers of a minoritized language are denied the use of that language in educating their children, their language has no official status and this has consequences for the maintenance of the language. Alternatively, when a government declares that henceforth two languages rather than one of these alone will be officially recognized in all functions, the newly recognized one has gained status. Status itself is a relative concept; it may also be improved or reduced by degrees. So far as languages and their varieties are concerned, status changes are nearly always very slow, are sometimes actively contested, and often leave strong residual feelings. They affect the rights of people to use their language in their daily lives and in their dealings with the state and its various agencies. Even relatively minor changes or proposals for changes can produce such effects, as the residents of many countries, for example, Belgium, Canada, and India, are well aware.

As a result of planning decisions, a language can achieve one of a variety of statuses (Kloss 1968). A language may be recognized as the sole official language, as French is in France or English in the United Kingdom and the United States. This fact does not necessarily mean that the status must be recognized constitutionally or by statute; it may be a matter of long-standing practice, as it is with English in the two cases cited above. Two or more languages may share official status in some countries, for example, English and French in Canada and in Cameroon; French, Dutch, and German in Belgium; French, German, Italian, and Romansh in Switzerland; and English, Malay, Tamil, and Chinese in Singapore. South Africa has eleven official languages which the state guarantees equal status, and India has twenty-four official languages that may be used in education.

A language may also have official status but only on a regional basis, for example, Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa in Nigeria; Frisian in the Netherlands; and Marathi in Maharashtra, India. A language may be a 'promoted' language, lacking official status, but used by various institutions for specific purposes; for instance, English is increasingly used in educational contexts in many countries around the world that do not count it as one of their official languages. A tolerated language is one that is neither promoted nor proscribed or restricted; for example, Basque in France, and many immigrant languages in Western Europe. Finally, a discouraged or proscribed language is one against which there are official sanctions or restrictions, for example, Basque in the early years of Franco's regime in Spain; Scots Gaelic after the 1745 rising; Macedonian in Greece. Beginning in the late 1800s, Native American children in the United States were coerced into attending so-called 'Indian Schools,' where they were forbidden to speak their native languages (García 2009 , 161). Here we see that their restricted status has changed and they are mostly tolerated languages in the US with even some instances of being promoted (see for example McCarty 2002 on Navajo).

Planning decisions will obviously play a very large role in determining what happens to any minoritized languages in a country. They can result in deliberate attempts to eradicate such a language, as with Franco's attempt to eliminate Basque from Spain by banning that language from public life. Official neglect may result in letting minoritized languages die by simply not doing anything to keep them alive. This has been the fate of many Native languages in North America and is likely to be the fate of many more. In France Basque was neglected; in Spain it was virtually proscribed. One interesting consequence is that, while once there were more speakers of Basque in France than in Spain, now the situation is reversed. Instead of neglect there may be a level of tolerance, so that if a community with a minoritized language wishes to keep that language alive, it is allowed to do so but at its own expense. In 1992 the Council of Europe adopted the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages that gave some recognition to such languages. While this puts in place directives for support of these languages, the implementation of them has remained largely up to the states.

Corpus planning seeks to develop a variety of a language, usually to standardize it, that is, to provide it with the means for serving every possible language function in society. Consequently, corpus planning may involve such matters as the development of an orthography, new sources of vocabulary, dictionaries, and a literature, together with the deliberate cultivation so that the language may extend its use into such areas as government, education, and trade.

Governments sometimes very deliberately involve themselves in the standardization process by establishing official bodies of one kind or another to regulate language matters or to encourage changes felt to be desirable. One of the most famous examples of an official body established to promote the language of a country was Richelieu's establishment of the Académie Française in 1635. Founded at a time when a variety of languages existed in France, when literacy was confined to a very few, and when there was little national consciousness, the Académie Française faced an unenviable task: the codification of French spelling, vocabulary, and grammar. Its goal was to fashion and reinforce French nationality, a most important task considering that, even two centuries later in the early nineteenth century, the French of Paris was virtually unknown in many parts of the country, particularly in the south. Similar attempts to found academies in England and the United States for the same purpose met with no success, although individual dictionary-makers and grammar-writers performed much the same function for English. Since both French and English are today highly standardized, one might question whether such academies serve a useful purpose, yet it is difficult to imagine France without the Académie Française: it undoubtedly has had a considerable influence on the French people and perhaps on their language.

It should also be noted that descriptive grammars and lexicons may be perceived as prescriptive ones. For example, in Germany the *Duden* (a multi-volume reference work on the German language) is considered to dictate what is good German; for instance, the first volume on orthography dictates 'correct' spelling (particularly useful after a spelling reform in 1996). However, like most grammars and dictionaries, the *Duden* also reflects current usage: inclusion in the *Duden* indicates pervasive use of a phrase, rather than ‘correctness’ in the static sense that is usually associated with the standard. Lippi-Green (2012) also notes the somewhat ambiguous role of dictionaries in this regard, although her concern is the opposite tendency. While pronunciation guides supposedly recognize a variety of possible pronunciations, they clearly do not represent all possible pronunciation variants of a word and thus perpetuate the idea that certain pronunciations are more correct than others. Consequently, the role of reference works in language standardization becomes fuzzy: while they uphold the idea of there being one, or at least very few, correct ways of pronouncing and using words or constructing sentences, they also reflect language change.

Corpus and status planning often co-occur, because many planning decisions involve some combination of a change in status with internal change. For example, if a language gains official status it is likely that standardized forms must be formalized.

Finally, **acquisition planning** involves creating access to language learning, including foreign, national, regional, and minority languages. For many minoritized languages, education is a core issue. As we discussed in the last chapter, the presence of a language in an institutional setting such as a school often serves to legitimate it. Further, educational practices can have an impact on language practices and ideologies. Research by King (1999 , 2000), Hornberger and King (1996), and Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) has looked at the effects of heritage language instruction in the Andes for speakers of Quechua. These programs have offered both mother tongue literacy instruction for children who speak Quechua as their first language and programs designed to extend instruction of the language to new speakers. They note that while school-based programs alone cannot reverse language shift, education is a necessary aspect of any local efforts in language maintenance.

In addition to educators, sociolinguists have also been quite involved in many planning activities and surrounding controversies. As we will see in the discussion in the next section on the phases of research, ideas about the role of researchers have changed over time.

Exploration 13.1 Vernacularization and New Speakers

It is rare, but there have been some cases of a language that was ‘dead’ coming back to life. The most striking and widespread case of this is with Hebrew, which was used only for religious and scholarly purposes but was not spoken natively, but which was revived in Israel as part of the development of national identity. While this is an unusual case, it is not uncommon for minoritized languages around the world to be spoken by new speakers, who may speak this language in the home, at work, with friends, and in the community, even if they and others they interact with all speak the majority language. Can you imagine speaking a language other than your native language in casual conversations with family members and friends who share your native tongue? What type of motivation would you need to do this?

The intellectual history of LPP

Haugen (1961) was one of the first people to use the term language planning in his work on language standardization in Norwegian, where he described planning as concerning matters such as orthography, grammar, and lexicon and both prescriptive and descriptive material. He framed language planning in terms of the development of what is considered a dialect to a code with the status of the standard language (see discussion of the dialect–language distinction in chapter 2). The four aspects of language planning he outlines are selection of norm, codification of form, elaboration of function, and acceptance by the community (Haugen 1966). As he notes, selection and acceptance are matters that primarily have to do with social matters – what way of speaking is identified as the 'best,' and how can this status be accepted by the majority? Codification of form and elaboration of function are focused on the language itself. Codification is explicitly about lack of variation in a language; since we have stressed that language is inherently variable, this is a political agenda which does not fit well with the reality of how language works. Elaboration is primarily focused on expanding the language into new domains – creating vocabulary for science and technology, for instance.

While these four aspects of language planning remain central to its study, the scope of the field has broadened to include other aspects of language and society. In an article outlining the historical and theoretical approaches to the field, Ricento (2000) outlines three factors which have shaped research in LPP. The first of these is macro-sociopolitical factors, for example, the formation or disintegration of political units (e.g., nations), wars, and population migrations. The second type of factor which influences research is epistemological; this refers to developments in theory and paradigms of knowledge which are used in LPP, for example, Marxism, structuralism, or postmodernism. The third type of factor is strategy, that is, the social goal of the research. For instance, the aim could be to support current policies being implemented, or to expose inequalities in language planning.

Ricento uses these three factors to look at the history of scholarship on LPP and distinguishes phases in that research since World War II: (1) early work: decolonization, structuralism, and pragmatism; (2) failure of modernization, critical sociolinguistics, and access; and (3) the new world order, postmodernism, and linguistic human rights. We will briefly outline these phases, and present representative material from research around the world.

Ricento (2000 , 197) describes the first phase as work conducted with a focus on the macro-sociopolitical state of decolonization within the epistemological framework of **structuralism** , and with a pragmatic aim, that is, with the assumption that language planning and policy could solve language problems which arose during decolonization. Such research involved both status planning, that is, selecting new national languages, and corpus planning to codify those languages. Researchers framed such planning and policy initiatives as being largely nonpolitical and straightforward pragmatic problem-solving; in other words, they were seen as ideologically neutral and serving the desires of the nation as a whole in terms of democratization, modernization, or efficiency. In order to maintain this position, languages were abstracted from their social and historical context (Ricento 2000 , 199–200). Clearly, such policies were not in any way neutral. Heller (2018) discusses how the ideology of capitalism and the concept of development influenced LPP in this phase. Through standardization, certain ways of speaking were deemed nonstandard and thus worth less in the market economy. Development of former colonies, and marginalized populations in the countries of the colonizers, was concerned with the imposition of standardized varieties, which was necessary for them to be seen as proper citizens and valuable members of the national workforce. This also implies monolingualism in the national language, which we will return to in later sections of this chapter.

The second phase, which began in the 1970s, showed more reflection on decolonization as both the macro-sociopolitical factor and the epistemological factor – one indication of the latter being the introduction of the term **neo-colonial** . There was more discussion of hierarchy and social stratification and how language plays a role in the reproduction of power relationships. This more critical aim led researchers away from the narrow focus on standardization and **graphization** of the first phase of research to an examination of the social, political, and economic consequences of language planning and policies, especially in situations of language contact (Ricento 2000 , 202).

Ricento describes the third phase, which began in the 1980s under the influence of 'the new world order,' by which he means the breakup of the Soviet Union and the creation of new national identities, the repatriation of colonies such as Hong Kong, the development of new political unions (e.g., the European Union), and the globalization of capitalism (2000, 203). Postmodern theory also led to an increased focus on ideologies in LPP, and an emerging aim was promoting multilingualism and foreign language learning and defending (minority) language rights. Heller (2018) notes that the underlying ideologies here were globalization and neoliberalism, which shifts the focus of the role of language in society. She writes:

> While LPP once saw language as a technical path to state economic development through the education of literate citizens, it now must confront how to understand language as a form of work, as a commodity, as a form of distinction, and as a direct contributor to gross national product (GNP). Perhaps most uncomfortably, given its liberal democratic history (at least in the West), it must confront more directly the role of capital in constraining the nature of linguistic markets and the value of linguistic capital, and it must explore their link to private profit. LPP has long been linked to emancipation; new conditions ask us to examine its darker sides. (Heller 2018 , 10)

Data and methods

One issue to be addressed in LPP is identifying the right kinds of data that must go into planning decisions. Planning must be based on good information, but sometimes the kinds of information that go into planning decisions are not very reliable (see Ricento 2006 for a critique of various methods).

A common source of data for some types of LPP research is statistical data from surveys. However, we must look at these data for what they are: self-reports, which may be influenced by many factors. The issues are complex, and gatherers of such information may have great difficulty in getting answers to even simple questions. You also get different answers according to the way you phrase your questions. What is your mother tongue? What was the first language you learned? What languages do you speak? What language do you speak at home? What languages are you fluent in? Do you speak Spanish/French/German? And so on. Moreover, the questions and how they are answered may be politically motivated. The different answers are also subject to a variety of interpretations.

Furthermore, it is easier to elicit particular kinds of information at certain times than at other times. During World War II many people in North America apparently suppressed information concerning either a German background or ability to speak German. Recent Canadian censuses show more and more people claiming bilingual ability in English and French, but little assessment is made of such self-reported claims; it is apparently enough that people should wish to make them! Consequently, we must always exercise caution in interpreting untreated data from censuses.

Questions asked at ten-year periods may also produce different answers, partly because there have been objective quantifiable changes but also because more subjective social or psychological changes have occurred. For instance, members of an immigrant group may have increased in proficiency in the majority language, and this may be reflected in their self-reports of language use; or it could just be that they are increasingly aware of the stigmatization of speaking their minoritized language, and they may not be willing to admit their continued use of this language in many domains. LPP research must assess the objectivity of the data, and also recognize the diverse goals and consequences of language policies.

In the twenty-first century, increasingly LPP research has also relied on ethnographic and discourse analytic approaches. Martin-Jones and da Costa Cabral (2018) outline the contributions of various ethnographic methods (as discussed in chapter 6) with a particular focus on critical ethnography. This research seeks to bridge the macro–micro divide and combine studies of societal policy with research which investigates how such policies are applied, and the consequences of these applications. Such investigations may include analysis of policy documents and statistics about language use, but necessarily also involve the ethnographic understanding of how these policies are enacted in a particular local context, and an emic understanding of what social categories referred to in surveys might mean for people in a specific cultural context. Critical ethnographic approaches to language policy look at how policies reflect and shape ideological stances about languages, and provides a view of power relationships reproduced with language policy and planning measures.

This critical approach to LPP research also involves the use of CDA (see chapter 7 for an overview of this approach). Wodak and Savski (2018) advocate incorporating CDA into LPP research, along with other methods, to get the full picture of how language policies influence interactions; these interactional data can help us see how language users enact and respond to policy.

In the rest of this chapter, we will turn to research on LPP which incorporates all of these data types and methodological approaches. While we will largely focus on national settings to illustrate different themes in LPP research, we also note that policies and language management also occur at other levels of society, including the home, school, or workplace (Spolsky 2019), and we will also address the concept of new speakers and minoritized languages, noting the interaction between ideologies, policies, and practices.

LPP and Nationalization

In this section we will look at a variety of linguistic situations to see some instances of planning related to nationalization. The particular countries we discuss were chosen because they show some of the variety of issues that states engaged in planning face as they continue to make changes; these same issues play out in many other countries around the globe.

LPP in Turkey: orthography and purity

Turkey provides a good example of very deliberate language planning designed to achieve certain national objectives and to do this very quickly. When Kemal Atatürk (*ata* 'father'), the 'father of the Turks,' established the modern republic of Turkey, he was confronted with the task of modernizing Turkish. It had no vocabulary for modern science and technology, was written in Arabic orthography, and was strongly influenced by both Arabic and Persian. In 1928 Atatürk deliberately adopted the **Roman script** for his new modern language. This choice symbolically cut the Turks off from their Islamic past and directed their attention toward both their Turkish roots and their future as Turks in a modern world. Since only 10 percent of the population was literate, there was no mass objection to the changes. It was also possible to use the new script almost immediately as various steps were taken to increase the amount of literacy in the country.

The language reform also aimed to move Turkish away from Arabic and Persian in order to create a 'pure Turkish language.' According to Doğançay-Aktuna (2004 , 7), 'the Turkish that was mainly spoken by the masses would be codified and developed to take the place of Ottoman Turkish in administration and education … these linguistic modifications would also aid in nation building and modernization by moving from eastern influences to western ones, because the latter were seen as a requirement for national development.'

In addition, the 'Sun Language Theory' was promoted, a theory which claimed that Turkish was the mother tongue of the world and that, when Turkish borrowed from other languages, it was really taking back what had originally been Turkish anyway. This ideology helped to make the language reform swift and successful.

Language planning issues in Turkey reflect the social and political situation. One of the issues, shared with many other languages, involves the ideology of purity of the language, this time with the encroachment of English words (Doğançay-Aktuna 2004 , 14ff.). Furthermore, English is increasingly used in primary and secondary schools in a variety of programs, and English-medium universities have been established. This development is in keeping with Turkey's claim to be a modern country which can compete in a globalized economy (Doğançay-Aktuna and Kiziltepe 2005). An educational reform in 2013 has resulted in English instruction starting at a lower age and increasing the amount of time spent learning English in the curriculum (Kirkgöz 2017). However, as we discussed in the last chapter, English-medium instruction is not always successful for all students; a study of engineering students at one Turkish university who took part in Turkish-medium and English-medium instruction showed that the acquisition of disciplinary knowledge was largely unsuccessful for the English-medium students, but not for those who studied in Turkish (Kirkgöz 2014).

A further issue in LPP in Turkey involves the status of a minoritized language, Kurdish. There is a history of persecution of Kurds in Turkey and the Kurdish language is discriminated against. Kurdish-speaking children are not allowed to be educated in their home language, nor is Kurdish offered as a subject in schools (Skutnabb-Kangas and Fernandes 2008). Research on the attitudes towards multicultural education among teachers (Kaya 2015) showed that support for this idea was primarily found among teachers who themselves had linguistic minority backgrounds, showing that monoglossic ideologies continue to reign in this context. These ideologies clearly revolve around the idea of an association of a single language, Turkish, with national identity and the lack of value of minoritized languages.

Exploration 13.2 Language Rights

Are language rights human rights, and does everyone have the right to use their language everywhere? Consider examples such as punishing children for speaking a language other than the dominant language at school, offering court translation services for minoritized language speakers, and speaking a heritage language (which is not the majority community language) in the home. In what cases are people entitled to use minoritized languages, and in what cases do you feel they are not?

LPP in the Soviet Union and the post-Soviet era: from Russification to nationalization

In the former Soviet Union there was a great deal of language planning dating from its very founding. One of the most important policies was **Russification** . Needless to say, in a state as vast as the Soviet Union, composed of speakers of approximately 100 different linguistic varieties, there were several different aspects to such a policy. One of these was the elevation of regional and local dialects into 'languages,' a policy of 'divide and rule.' Its goal was to prevent the formation of large language blocs and also to allow the central government to insist that Russian be used as a lingua franca. It also led to the large number of languages that flourished in the Soviet Union.

In addition, the **Cyrillic script** was extended to nearly all the languages of the Soviet Union. This orthography further helped to cut off the Muslim peoples of Central Asia from contact with Arabic, Turkish, and Persian influences. In the 1930s these peoples were actually provided with Romanized scripts, but Atatürk's Romanization of Turkish (see above) posed a threat in that it made the Turkish world accessible to the Soviet peoples of Central Asia. Consequently, Romanization was abandoned in 1940, Cyrillic alphabets were reimposed, and deliberate attempts were made to stress as many differences as possible among the various languages of the area (e.g., by developing special Cyrillic characters for local pronunciations) as part of the policy of divide and rule. Russification also required the local languages of the Soviet Union to borrow words from Russian when new words were needed. Population migrations, not necessarily voluntary, also spread Russian (and Russians) throughout the country as a whole, for example, into Kazakhstan where Kazakhs became a minority, and into the Baltic republics, particularly Latvia and Estonia. Russian was also promoted as a universal second language and as a language of instruction in the schools. However, there was resistance in such areas as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Baltic republics.

Pavlenko (2013) discusses some of the misconceptions about Russification that have been perpetuated in scholarly literature. She notes that historiographic research shows that Russian language management was 'laissez-faire' until the late nineteenth century, and that many other languages (e.g., German in the Baltic provinces) were granted autonomy. The goal was not so much to stamp out other languages but to spread Russian throughout the realm. Many of the reforms imposed after the 1863–1864 Polish rebellion had the goal to 'punish rebellious Poles, to counteract Polish influence on Belarussians, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians, and to prevent germanization of Latvians and Estonians and tatarization of Kazakhs' (Pavlenko 2013 , 264). Further, the goal was not to turn everyone into Russians, but to exert social control, including marking minorities – assimilation of non-Christians was not desired, and several ethnic groups were allowed to continue with education in their ethnic languages. She summarizes:

> The greatest impact of russification was seen in the territories that became regular Russian provinces, Bessarabia (later Moldova) and Left-bank Ukraine, the territory on the left side of the river Dnieper, incorporated into Russia through the 1654 Treaty of Pereyaslav. The impact was also felt in the Western provinces, Belorussia and Right-bank Ukraine, incorporated into the empire as a result of the 1772–1795 partitions of Poland. In both provinces, the imperial policies delayed standardization of the titular languages and establishment of native-language schooling. Yet the failure to provide Russian-language schooling meant that compactly settled Belorussian and Ukrainian peasants continued to maintain their native languages. Russian was mainly spoken in Belorussian, Bessarabian, and Ukrainian cities, where 19th century industrialization brought in the influx of Russian workers. This urban/rural divide eventually gave rise to language ideologies that linked Russian to modernity and titular languages to backwardness. The studies to date show that russification in the Russian empire was largely the result of bottom-up processes, such as migration and integration, rather than top-down policies, and usually stopped with ethnic elites, encouraged by social incentives, such as promotion in the imperial service. Nor did it involve a shift to Russian – rather ethnic elites and the educated middleclass in Armenia, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland incorporated Russian as an additional language into their multilingual repertoires. (Pavlenko 2013 , 265)

When the Soviet Union eventually fell into disarray at the end of the 1980s the Russification policies had interesting consequences. The Soviet Union had been organized internally by republics constructed primarily on language and ethnicity. It proceeded to divide that way. The Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania separated and became distinct states. Georgia, Armenia, and Kazakhstan separated too and proclaimed Georgian, Armenian, and Kazakh as their national languages, even though in the last case only 40 percent of the population were Kazakhs and 37 percent were Russians. The Turkic-speaking republics, deliberate creations within the Soviet Union, also separated and found their main linguistic problem to be how closely they should identify with Turkey itself.

In a study of Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, Brubaker (2011) notes that ideas about ethnicity and racial categorization have also played a role in how these processes of nationalization have proceeded. In Kazakhstan, **ethnonational** boundaries are perceived as largely racial and nationalization has served to empower the core nation. He describes the situation in Estonia and Latvia, where there has been intergenerational permeability of ethnonational boundaries, as countries where nationalization has served a more assimilative function over time. In the Ukraine, where ethnonational and linguistic boundaries had blurred, nationalization has involved the process of reshaping cultural practices and identities. Kulyk (2019) shows that Russian speakers have not been minoritized in Ukraine but instead have succeeded in identifying as Ukrainian while continuing to speak Russian.

The role of the Russian language continues to be paramount both within and outside areas where Russian is the dominant language. Pavlenko (2013 , 268) notes that Russian continues to be an important lingua franca in the geopolitical region. Moreover, in 2002 the Russian parliament passed a law requiring all official languages within the Russian Federation to use the Cyrillic script because various moves toward Romanization, in Tatarstan in particular, were perceived to pose a threat to Russia and Russians (Sebba 2006). Zamyatin (2015) notes that despite some support for the titular languages within the Russian Federation, application of policies largely serves to reinforce the dominant status of Russian.

Official monolingualism in France

France serves as a good example of a country which has a single national language and provides limited support to any other languages, and the language ideology of linguistic purism is dominant (Walsh 2016). Most inhabitants simply assume that French is rightly the language of France. Consequently, they virtually ignore other languages so that there is little national interest in any move to try to ascertain exactly how many people speak Provençal or Breton, or to do anything for, or against, Basque. Likewise, if an immigrant group to France, for example, Algerians or Vietnamese, wants to try to preserve its language, it must try to do so in its own time and with its own resources, since it is widely assumed that French is the proper language of instruction in schools in France. (The only major exception is that German is taught in Alsace; significantly, use of German there is the result of shifting national borders, not immigration.)

This situation is little different from the one that existed in the old colonial days, in which it was assumed that the French language and the curriculum of Metropolitan France were entirely appropriate in the *lycées* of colonies such as Algeria and Indo-China (now Vietnam) attended by the more fortunate local children, who might then aspire to higher education in France. France is a highly centralized country with Paris its dominant center even to the extent that when traveling in France you often see signposts indicating exactly how far you are from Paris (actually from the cathedral of Notre-Dame, its symbolic center). Regional languages such as Breton, Basque, Occitan, Flemish, Catalan, Corsican, and Franco-Provençal persist, get varying amounts of state support, and provide local identities to those who maintain them. Such languages may be tolerated but they cannot be allowed to threaten a state unified around French, although Hawkey and Kasstan (2015) suggest that there may be signs of increased tolerance of regional varieties. With the development of the European Union, and its provisions for minority languages, this toleration has become codified but has not greatly improved the status of such languages (see Heidemann 2012 for a discussion of Basque language activism in France, and Quenot 2020 for a discussion of measures to not just revitalize but normalize Corsican).

LPP in Post- and Neo-Colonial Contexts

There was a marked difference in the twentieth century in the way in which the old European and Central Asian empires broke up and the way in which imperial bonds were loosened elsewhere in South and Southeast Asia and in Africa. When the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires broke up, the result was the emergence of nation-states based primarily on claims about language with a consequent complete redrawing of boundaries. When European colonies in Asia and Africa became independent, however, there was no such redrawing of political boundaries. The previous colonies were often peculiar amalgams of language and ethnic groups, since conquest rather than language or ethnicity had accounted for their origins. Many of the resultant states have no common language or ethnic identification, and strong internal linguistic and ethnic rivalries, making national planning and consensus difficult to achieve at best.

One important consequence is that these newer states of Africa and Asia are often multilingual but, as a result of their histories, have elites who speak a European language such as English or French. This language not only serves many as an internal working language but is also still regarded as the language of social mobility. It is both the language that transcends local loyalties and the one that opens up access to the world outside the state. It is unlikely that in these circumstances such outside languages will disappear; rather, it is likely that they will continue to be used and that positions of leadership will continue to go only to those who have access to them, unless present conditions change. (We return to this topic with a focus on English in our final section.)

Kenya

In multilingual contexts, an attempt is sometimes made to find a 'neutral' language, that is, a language which gives no group an advantage. In 1974 President Kenyatta of Kenya decreed that Swahili was to become the second official language of the country and the language of national unity, even though most Kenyans did not speak the language; it was not the language of the major city, Nairobi; it was spoken in a variety of dialects and pidgins; and English (the other official language) was better known in the higher echelons of government, among white-collar professionals (Harries 1976). Swahili was chosen over one of the local languages, for example, the president's own Kikuyu, a language spoken by about 20 percent of the population, because the ethnic composition of the country made any other choice too difficult and dangerous. In that respect, Swahili was a neutral language. It was for much the same reason – that it was a neutral unifying language in a state with over 100 indigenous languages – that Swahili was also chosen in Tanzania as the national language, although in this case it was spoken fairly widely as a trade language along the coast and also in the capital, Dar es Salaam. The consequence of the 1974 decree in Kenya is that Swahili is now used much more than it was, but it has not by any means replaced English (see discussion of elite closure in the previous chapter).

Although the use of Swahili in Kenya has become a matter of national pride, this does not mean that its extension into certain spheres of life goes unresisted. However, full social mobility in Kenya requires a citizen to be able to use Swahili, English, and one or more local vernaculars since each has appropriate occasions for use. Although Swahili is used throughout East Africa, it is a mother tongue on only a small part of the coast; elsewhere it is a lingua franca.

Other policy issues relevant in the Kenyan context include the issue of the role and accessibility of English in educational contexts on the one hand, and the use of mother tongue language learning on the other. Sibomana (2015) notes that English-medium instruction is often detrimental to the quality of education. There are strong ideologies about English as a language of globalization and upward mobility, but these ideologies are often in conflict with local language loyalties. As noted by Gacheche (2010), although mother tongue education is the policy in Kenya, and is advocated because it has been shown to be beneficial for rural and urban poor children in long-term academic achievement (Lin and Martin 2005), it is rarely the practice (see also Jones and Barkhuizen 2011). Mother tongue education is advocated. Banda (2009) argues for abandoning monolingual norms and monoglossic ideologies and implementing multilingual education throughout Africa (see also a discussion of this topic in chapter 12).

India

India, with more than a billion people, is another country which has had to face the difficulty of finding a lingua franca. In this case the solution has been to promote Hindi in the **Devanagari script** as the official language that unites the state, but English may also be used for official purposes and in parliament. Twenty-two additional languages, including Sanskrit, are recognized as official languages in the nation's constitution (Rathod 2018).

There is a 'three language formula' for schooling (see Hornberger and Vaish 2009 ; Meganathan 2011), however, the actual choice of languages taught in schools is by no means a simple matter. The policy recommends that the mother tongue be the first language taught, but if children do not speak the regional language as their mother tongue, or if their language is not on the official list of twenty-two languages, they may not actually be educated in their mother tongue. The second language should be either Hindi or English, which is a simple decision if the first language is Hindi, but otherwise not an easy decision at all, since Hindi is a widely used lingua franca which is advantageous to learn and English is a world language with prestige beyond national borders. The third language (introduced later) in some cases therefore must compensate for what has not already been taught; perhaps the regional language, or Hindi, or English; if those are already being learned, then another Indian or European language. Although the policy explicitly promotes multilingualism, it does little to ensure that children will gain literacy in their mother tongue or learn the language(s) necessary for them to be able to pursue certain goals they may have later in life.

Groff (2018) looks at practices in a primary school in the Kumaun region of Utterakhand, where the local language, Kumauni, is not on the list of official languages and thus not eligible to be the official medium of instruction in school. The three languages proclaimed for use in education in government schools are Hindi, English, and Sanskrit. Yet in practice, Kumauni is used in the classroom to increase comprehension. This research shows that while the ideologies which promote Hindi and Sanskrit as the national languages are endorsed by local residents, the local language is also integrated into educational practices, despite its lack of official status.

However, the attitude of acceptance toward Hindi Groff found among her research participants is not found everywhere. Despite its status as an official language and being required in schools, there are serious obstacles to the spread of Hindi in India. There is a considerable difference between literary Hindi and the various regional and local spoken varieties. Gandhi tried to emphasize building Hindi on popular speech so as to bridge the gap between the literary and colloquial varieties and also to unify the regions. In an attempt to overcome some of the difficulties, the Indian government established various groups to develop scientific terminology, glossaries, dictionaries, and an encyclopedia. One noticeable development has been the way in which those entrusted with such tasks, usually the Hindi elite, have looked to Sanskrit in their work: they have followed a policy of **Sanskritization** in their attempts to purify Hindi of English and also increasingly to differentiate Hindi from Urdu, the variety of the language used in Pakistan. The effects have been particularly noticeable in literary Hindi, which has possibly grown further away from the evolving colloquial varieties as a result of such activities.

Hindi is often viewed in India as giving northern Indians unwarranted advantages over Indians elsewhere, as it is related to some of the other northern Indic languages. This feeling is particularly strong in the south of India, where various Dravidian languages are spoken. To that extent, English continues to offer certain advantages. Its use spread throughout the upper social strata everywhere in India in the former imperial regime; now it can be viewed as quite neutral even though, of course, its use may be opposed strongly at an official level, where it is recognized only as an 'auxiliary' language (Inglehart and Woodward 1967). English is used in the higher courts, as a language of parliamentary debate, as a preferred language in the universities, and as a language of publication in learned journals. Although Hindi is promoted as the unifying language of India, many Indians now see such promotion to be at the expense of some other Indian language they speak, or the opportunity to acquire a world language like English. Language planning in India, however, largely caters to the need of the elites.

Multilingual Countries and LPP

Some further examples of kinds of planning decisions that have been made in a number of countries in different parts of the world will show how difficult at times planning can be. All of these countries are multilingual and the languages have many different roles in society.

Canada

Canada is a country of over 34 million people and, since 1982, a constitutionally bilingual country. However, bilingualism itself continues to be a controversial issue in Canada, as anyone who reads its newspapers or follows political discussions there will know. Canada is a federal country, with its origins in the conquest of the French (of what is now Quebec) by the English in 1759. This conquest was followed by the gradual expansion of the nation to include other British possessions in North America and to fill the prairies to the north of the United States. Although the country dates its ‘birth’ to 1867 and it was effectively independent from the United Kingdom after that date, its constitution remained an act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom until 1982. Controversies over language rights played a prominent part in discussions leading up to making the constitution entirely Canadian in 1982.

In 1867 the French in Canada seemed assured of opportunities to spread their language and culture throughout the country. Just as English rights in Quebec were protected in the constitution of that year, so French rights outside Quebec seemed to have a strong measure of protection. But that was not to be, as the French soon found in the new province of Manitoba, where French rights were deliberately abrogated. Increasingly, the French in Canada found themselves confined to Quebec, itself dominated by the English of Montreal, and saw the country develop as a country of two nations (or ‘two solitudes’) with one of them – theirs – in a very inferior position.

The Canadian government appointed a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 to look into the resulting situation. The commission’s report led to the Official Languages Act of 1969 (reaffirmed in a new form in 1988), which guaranteed the French in Canada certain rights to language everywhere in the country in order to preserve the nation as a bilingual one. Later, the Constitution Act of 1982 incorporated these language rights guaranteed by statute in 1969 into the constitution. However, if Canada is officially a ‘bilingual’ country, bilingualism in the two official languages is found mainly in the population of French origin and truly bilingual communities are few, for example, Montreal, Sherbrooke, and the Ottawa-Hull area.

At the same time as the Government of Canada was guaranteeing French rights throughout Canada, the Government of Quebec took measures to minimize the use of English within the province. While the federal government was trying to extend bilingualism in the rest of Canada, the Government of Quebec was trying to restore French **unilingualism** within Quebec. They did this because they found that bilingualism led to unilingualism in English. Outside Quebec, francophones in Canada were shifting to English as they went over the generations from being unilingual in French, to being bilingual in French and English, and finally to being unilingual in English. There was mounting evidence that this was also happening within Quebec.

However, such moves to restrict the use of English in Quebec, for example, in public education, have come under attack as a violation of rights provided in the new constitution, and in 1984 the Supreme Court of Canada voided those parts of Quebec's Bill 101 of 1977 that restricted certain rights of anglophones in that province.

The basic English–French polarization still exists. The French are still a minority in Canada. Their proportion in the overall population continues to decline, no matter what statistic is used (ethnic origin, mother tongue use, or language of the home). It is not really surprising, therefore, that in recent years the French within Quebec have toyed with 'separatist' notions, believing that, if they cannot guarantee their future within Canada as a whole, they should at least guarantee it within their home province. The separatist desire increased dramatically in 1990 with the failure that year to reach a countrywide agreement – the so-called Meech Lake Accord – on amending the 1982 constitution. A further attempt at some kind of constitutional settlement failed in 1992 when the Charlottetown Agreement was defeated in a national referendum. However, in 1995 a Quebec referendum on separation from Canada also failed, narrowly though, to gain support for such a move.

The language situation is further complicated by the fact that Canada is also a country of immigrants who have flocked mainly to the larger cities, Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, and there are also many indigenous languages (see the companion website for a link to language statistics for Canada). The term First Nation languages is used for the languages spoken in these regions before English and French colonization. Haque and Patrick (2015) address the prioritization of European languages in Canadian language policy as racial hierarchialization of language, noting that First Nation languages were marginalized based on racial categories of their speakers.

Belgium

Belgium is a multilingual country, with three official languages: Dutch in Flanders, French in Wallonia, and German in a small region in the east, on the border with Germany. The Brussels-Capital Region is officially bilingual in French and Dutch. This territorial distribution of languages follows a long history of competition between French and Dutch, with French being dominant and Dutch being repressed (although not actually banned) until the twentieth century.

Van der Jeught (2017) notes that along with territorial language policy, Belgium also supports individual freedom of language use. While the official language(s) of the region are used in education and government, freedom of language choice is explicitly supported in the private domain, and in Brussels, the right to use either French or Dutch in public and official contexts is supported.

A recent development is that French- and Dutch-medium urban schools have an increasingly multilingual student population. This is due in part to increased in-migration, but also to children from francophone families attending Dutch schools, and vice versa. Jaspers and Rosiers (2019) discuss how teachers in Dutch-medium schools apply the monolingual Dutch language policy, noting that while they often support the ideology of monolingualism, in practice they ignored multilingual discourse and even used the multilingualism of the students as a pedagogical tool in the classroom.

One perhaps not surprising beneficiary in all competition between Dutch and French is the English language, which has become a neutral, 'default' choice in Brussels (O'Donnell and Toebosch 2008). Blommaert (2011) discusses this in terms of language ideology, noting that a monoglossic ideology dominates – although the country is officially multilingual, the regions (aside from Brussels) are not. However, this ideological disdain for linguistic plurality is selective, as for Flemish youth English has replaced French as the language used in some domains.

Papua New Guinea

The official language of Papua New Guinea is English, with Tok Pisin being the most common lingua franca and Hiri Motu also being widely spoken. In addition, the government recognizes 836 other distinct languages, making it the most linguistically diverse country in the world (Malone and Paraide 2011). Educational policy supports literacy in not just English, Tok Pisin, and Hiri Motu, but also local languages, a daunting task in the face of the many linguistic varieties (Robinson 2019). According to Klaus (2003), by the end of 2000, 380 indigenous languages were being used in the first years of education across the country.

There is controversy about this educational policy, despite acknowledgment that acquiring literacy in the home language is desirable, in part because of the focus on English proficiency (Paraide 2014). We will continue this discussion below, but here we see both a strong ideology of pluralism and the value of minoritized languages, but also the influence of globalization and language commodification.

Singapore

Another example of a multilingual country is Singapore, a small island and independent republic of over 5 million people situated at the top of the Malayan peninsula. In

2019, the ethnic population was 74.3 percent Chinese, 13.4 percent Malays, 9.0 percent Indians, and 3.2 percent Others (Singapore in Figures 2019). These ethnic categorizations are relevant because for purposes of education, ethnicity and mother tongue have been seen as equivalent, as we will discuss more below.

The General Household Survey of 2015 shows that English is the most widely spoken language in the home with over a million speakers, but within ethnic groups, other languages are dominant – Mandarin being the most commonly spoken language among those of Chinese background (although other Chinese dialects are also spoken), Malay among the Malays, and Indian languages in general and Tamil in particular among those of Indian descent. English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil all have official status. While Malay, Chinese, and Tamil have this status because they are related to particular segments of the population, English was clearly chosen because of its international status, particularly important because of Singapore's position as a trading nation. Officially, it is a language of convenience only, a neutral language dissociated from issues of ethnicity (Lee 2002).

Education is quadralingual, in that it is offered in four languages across the nation, but individual programs are bilingual. Children attend school in English and their 'mother tongue,' although this language, as indicated above, is not always the language of the home (Bokhorst-Heng and Silver 2017). Wee (2002) and Wee and Bokhorst-Heng (2005) discuss how the concept of 'mother tongue' is defined in Singapore as the language of the father's ethnic group, and is thus not necessarily equivalent to the home language or the first or dominant language of an individual. Regardless of which language is spoken in the home, children are given an assignment to an ethnic group which is associated with a particular language. In some cases, another Chinese dialect or Indian language, English, or another language altogether is the child's first language.

English has become the working language of Singapore. It is the language of the government bureaucracy, the authoritative language of all legislation and court judgments, and the language of occupational mobility and social and economic advancement (see discussion of the ‘foreign talent policy’ in Wee and Bokhorst-Heng 2005).

English as the language most frequently spoken at home is also on the rise, and research by Curdt-Christiansen (2016) presents case studies of three families, one representing each major ethnic group, which illustrate the politicized dynamics of language choice. She reports that although heritage languages may be valued because of their connection to family and cultural background, English is viewed as an advantage for education and achievement in Singapore’s competitive society.

The English standard chosen is the British one and so-called ‘Singlish,’ the Singapore variety, finds official disapproval. A ‘Speak Good English’ campaign was launched in 2000 (see link to the Facebook page for this movement in the online materials for this chapter), after then prime minister Goh Chok Tong said, in his 1999 Rally Day speech, ‘We cannot be a first-world economy or go global with Singlish.’ Commercials, signs, and other public media were all used to send the message ‘Speak Well, Be Understood’ (Rubdy 2001 , 348). Rubdy describes this campaign as ‘creative destruction,’ motivated by economic factors. This attempt to root out Singlish by creating a consensus that it is inferior to ‘Standard’ English ignores the value in terms of identity of Singlish and pits its covert prestige against what the government presents as the best interests of the nation (Rubdy 2001 , 353).

This is not the first such public campaign about language planning; beginning in 1979 there was a Speak Mandarin campaign to encourage the Chinese Singaporeans to speak their official mother tongue, and thus unite speakers of different varieties of Chinese (Stroud and Wee 2007 ; Wee and Bokhorst-Heng 2005). In both of these campaigns, the standard language ideology is strongly present.

However, this ideology has been challenged. Wee (2014) reports on a ‘Speak Good Singlish’ campaign which challenged the idea that Singlish is inferior to a standardized variety. Cavallaro et al. (2014) also note that the Speak Good English Movement has shifted its focus to promote standardized English alongside of Singlish, and that attitudes toward the local variety include covert prestige but also negative evaluations.

Feminist Language Planning

In chapter 11 , we discussed sexist language, and here we will briefly revisit that topic to focus more on language planning. Some of the changes we mentioned, for example the non-use of words such as *governess* or *mistress* , seem to be the result of language reflecting changes in societal gender roles. However, in many cases moves away from sexist language are the result of feminist language planning, such as the introduction of the Swedish gender-neutral pronoun.

Pauwels (2003) outlines two conflicting ideas about what is the best route in terms of gender marking in language. The gender-neutral position seeks to eradicate gender marking, for example in the names of professions, as such marking perpetuates stereotypes about gender roles. People who support this position believe that society is better served if language is more gender neutral. The competing view is that gender specification makes women more visible and thus the goal should be equitable gender marking, not gender-neutral language. A generalization can be made about some languages (e.g., Dutch, English, and some Scandinavian languages) opting for gender-neutral strategies while others (e.g., German, French, Spanish) are going the route of more gender specificity (Pauwels 2011). (If you review the examples discussed in chapter 11 , you will note that German has in fact used both of these, so these generalizations are something of an oversimplification.)

When it comes to English as a lingua franca, there is much variation in strategies for gender marking or gender neutrality (Stormbom 2020). One issue is that of course speakers may bring in strategies from their other languages and apply them when they speak English, which could result in less gender marking, or more, depending on the language!

Pauwels (2011) also addresses the matter of singular *they* in English as a lingua franca. Using *they* as a singular pronoun may be risky for speakers who are trying to establish their credentials as highly proficient English speakers; although it is gaining currency in most countries where English is spoken, and it is included in more and more style guidelines, it has not yet achieved complete acceptance by all educators or editors. Further, the use of *they* for non-binary individuals, although part of grammatical change, is also embedded in cultural attitudes and influenced by social judgments (Konnelly and Cowper 2020). As discussed in chapter 11 , although non-binary identities have a long-standing history, in some cultures – including many Western cultures – their existence has not been accepted by all.

A final example of feminist language planning we would like to discuss moves away from grammatical gender marking to address ideas about gender and sexuality and the words used to label women: in particular, the use of the word *slut* . Reger (2014) outlines the history of ‘slut walks’: a Toronto, Ontario police officer made comments linking women dressing like sluts and their likelihood to be sexually assaulted, and in response protest walks were planned in which people marched, dressed up in whatever they deemed appropriate, including revealing clothing, to protest slut-shaming and sexual profiling. Such walks have been held throughout North America as part of a movement to reclaim language, and with it, women’s freedom from hypersexualization. While many criticisms have been made of this movement, it exemplifies bottom-up attempts at language planning.

Exploration 13.3 Language Reclaiming

The slut walks aimed at a sex-positive view of women; although the main aim was to criticize victim blaming of women who were sexually assaulted, it was also an attempt to claim the word *slut* as an acceptable way of describing a sexually active woman. Do you think this has been successful? The use of the words *gay* and *queer* as positive group labels could also be listed as instances of language reclaiming: while they were originally used as insults for an outgroup, they are now often used in solidarity with an ingroup. In your experience, have these words acquired a more neutral connotation? Do you think it is possible to reclaim a word and change its social meaning? Can you think of any other examples for any of the languages you speak?

Endangered Languages and the Spread of English

A recurring theme in the discussion of language planning and policies the world over is how languages can be maintained through planning, policy, and practices. In this section, we'll give a brief overview of the study of endangered languages and focus on one unique type of endangered languages, village sign languages. We also revisit the concept of new speakers and how that fits into LPP research. We will then move on to a world-wide theme in language maintenance: the role of English and how it affects the use of other languages in society.

Endangered languages

It seems fitting to close a chapter on language planning in various places in the world by mentioning some facts about languages in general. We live in a world of more than 7 billion people and around 7,000 languages, around half of which are predicted to disappear by the end of the century (Thomason 2015 , 2). These languages are often called endangered languages. Language death, in Thomason's view, is both a disaster for science – we lose out if we have fewer languages to study and understand – and often a disaster for the linguistic communities in which the languages are spoken.

Nettle and Romaine (2000) voice a very similar view. They say that as many as 60 percent of all languages are already endangered, and claim that some of the endangered languages have much to tell us about the natural world, for example, invaluable information about ecological matters, and even perhaps about the nature of reality. Harrison (2007 , 7) expresses this as follows: 'Language disappearance is an erosion or extinction of ideas, of ways of knowing, and ways of talking about the world and human experience.'

The Linguistic Society of America has gone on record as deploring language loss and established a Committee on Endangered Languages and their Preservation to help arrest it. However, we should note that not all linguists agree that they should be out in the field trying to describe – and possibly preserve – threatened languages. Mühlhäusler (1996) goes so far as to argue that linguists are sometimes part of the problem rather than part of the solution. Others agree with him. For example, Newman (2003) argues that since most linguistic investigations focus on 'theoretical' issues, they do little to preserve threatened languages. He says that, above all, such languages need to be thoroughly documented, and this task is even more important than efforts spent in trying to preserve them: 'preservation projects drain resources from the important linguistic task of primary documentation, both in terms of personnel and in terms of research funds' (2003, 6). However, it should be noted that many sociolinguists, and especially linguistic anthropologists, are very much concerned with **language documentation** as well as providing assistance to communities who wish to revitalize their heritage languages (see Gippert et al. 2006 for discussion of such endeavors).

Research on a specific type of language endangerment, that of village sign languages, shows that these languages face special challenges. Village sign languages are languages which develop in rural, relatively isolated contexts where there is a high rate of hereditary deafness (Zeshan and De Vos 2012). These languages emerge because of the presence of deaf community members, but are used by deaf and hearing people alike. These languages may be endangered due to both the use of spoken languages and national sign languages. Nonaka (2012 , 2014) discusses this for Ban Khor sign language, which is seriously endangered due to a complex interaction of various factors. In general, political, economic, and social changes have meant that social networks of the villagers include more people from the outside. These changes have also brought into focus the need for formal education for the deaf community members, which was previously not available. As more and more deaf community members have taken advantage of boarding schools for the deaf, which use Thai Sign Language, they shift to the language. However, the hearing community members do not learn the national sign language, so the continued use of Ban Khor sign language relies on its use as the common language for deaf and hearing people within the village. While this is unlikely to prevent language shift, it is slowing it.

In this case, there is no planning or policy to preserve the language, but in many cases revitalization movements do take place. Romaine (2017) addresses the role of LPP in endangered language preservation, noting that language policies to support minoritized language and their users, especially those enacted by international organizations and agencies, may be ineffective if not linked to local planning. It is virtually impossible (and, we would argue, undesirable) to legislate language use in the home or community, and without use as a home language intergenerational transmission of a language will not succeed. We will delve into this topic more in the next sub-section.

Exploration 13.4 Why Should We Care?

What arguments are there for the preservation of endangered languages, from the point of view of science and from the point of view of their users? How does the Whorfian hypothesis play a role in the arguments you can make? Also, if languages are dying because they are not transmitted intergenerationally, does the argument follow that the language must not be important to the users and thus its loss need not be mourned? Finally, what role can and should linguists play in the fight to save endangered languages?

Family language policy, new speakers, and LPP

There is a body of literature about family language policy (FLP) which looks at how language use is regulated within multilingual families (Smith-Christmas 2016). King and Lanza (2019) note that this research, while focused on the ideologies and practices within the home, reflects societal LPP in many ways. For instance, educational opportunities which are determined by the state determine what language a child will learn and use at school, which in turn may have consequences in the home and for the family. Gallo and Hornberger (2019) present an analysis of one Mexican American family and how they struggled to create language practices in the home that would foster bilingualism and biliteracy for their children. Ultimately, the English-only focus of schooling in the US played a role in the family decision to have the children stay in the US after one parent was deported, since the parents feared that the children's lack of literacy skills in Spanish would negatively impact their chances for success if they went to live in Mexico.

Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018), in summarizing studies on FLP in a special issue of *Multilingua* , note that while FLP is a critical component in the development and maintenance of minoritized languages, it is generally not enough to produce multilingual speakers and multicultural individuals. In particular, they note roadblocks to such pluralism in educational systems which demand that the language and culture of the school is prioritized over all other ways of speaking and being.

Juarros-Daussà (2013), in a study of immigrant language maintenance in the US, notes that successful transmission of the heritage language is intertwined with not only the language policies of the host country but also the ideologies and practices in the region of origin. In contrasting Catalan and Galician families, she notes that the monoglossic focus on Catalan that was brought from Catalonia fosters the transmission of Catalan, but often at the cost of Spanish. However, in the Galician families, the heteroglossic ideology which led them to seek to maintain both Galician and Spanish usually resulted in only Spanish (which is more widely used than Galician in the US) being maintained in the diaspora.

The monoglossic focus referred to by Juarros-Daussà is the consequence of LPP in Catalonia in the 1980s. At this time, the Catalan language became an official language and the language of instruction in primary and secondary education, and as children learned Catalan in school they also spoke it in other interactions in their communities (Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015 ; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015). Although the implementation of Catalan has fostered the acquisition of Catalan by those who speak other languages (Spanish – the national language – or immigrant languages), Woolard (2018) notes that Catalan nationalism (leading to the movement for independence which occurred in 2017) is both linguistically and ethnically inclusive; that is, Catalan is promoted for everyone in Catalonia, and not only for those who have an ethnolinguistic Catalan background.

The result, then, has been not only that heritage speakers have had support for Catalan in their schooling, but also that there are many new speakers of Catalan. New speakers, as discussed in chapter 8 , are defined as competent speakers who did not acquire the language through intergenerational transmission (O'Rourke et al. 2015). Jaffe (2015) notes that this concept is used by researchers to categorize research participants but may also be a category within a society, often contrasted with 'native speakers.' Jaffe notes that there are different aspects to the new speaker demarcation, in part age of acquisition, mode of acquisition, and competence in the language, but also self- and other- identification as a speaker of a language. However, as noted by Smith-Christmas (2019), identity is neither singular nor constant, and identification with a language does not always mean that this is the preferred or actually used language. Further, as discussed by Nance et al. (2016), new speakers do not always have a native speaker target but may focus on other linguistic norms.

The emergence of the concept of the new speaker is relevant in LPP research because new speakers are often the result of policies intended to foster minoritized language vitality, although intergenerational transmission of a language is often the traditional focus of studies of endangered languages (Darquennes and Soler 2019). New speakers are impacted by the standard language ideology in different ways than so-called native speakers (Urla et al. 2018), as variation within the language of learners may take on different patterns (see Kasstan 2017 and Nance 2018 for discussions of variationist studies of new speakers).

Our example of Catalonia illustrates one aspect of LPP, namely the idea of regional (versus national) languages and how policies promote one, the other, or perhaps both. In the next section, we'll address planning and policies related to a global language, English.

English world-wide

In marked contrast to the decline of endangered languages, some languages thrive, for example, the Mandarin variety of Chinese, English, Hindi–Urdu, Arabic, and Spanish (particularly with its spectacular growth in the Americas). One of these, English, has also spread everywhere in the world as a lingua franca (see Crystal 2003 , 2004). The United Nations has projected an interesting future for various world languages (see Graddol 2004). Whereas in 1950 about 9 percent of the world's population spoke English natively, with Spanish and then Hindi–Urdu next with about 5 percent each and with Arabic having 2 percent, by 2000 the proportions were just over 6 percent for English, and over 5 percent for Spanish and Hindi–Urdu, with Hindi–Urdu overtaking Spanish. By 2050 the projection is that Hindi–Urdu will overtake English as its proportion reaches 6 percent and that English, Spanish, and Arabic will all hover around 5 percent. However, at all these dates Chinese was, is, and will be used as a native language by an even higher percentage of the world's population. Languages like French, Russian, German, and Japanese, on the other hand, do not thrive in the same way: they win few converts and, as the world's population grows, they decrease proportionally.

As Crystal has pointed out, English initially spread through conquest and then by being in the right place at the right time for use in international relations, world-wide media, international travel, and education. He estimates that one quarter of the world's population have some kind of fluency in the language. Its major appeal is as a lingua franca, a common second language with a certain amount of internal diversity. In December 2004, a British Council report estimated that 2 billion more people would begin learning English within a decade and by 2050 there would be over 3 billion speakers of English in the world. The main motivation to learn English would continue to be an economic one and an important consequence would be a great increase in bilingualism/multilingualism in English and one or more other languages. (According to this report, Chinese, Arabic, and Spanish would also become increasingly important languages.)

Scientific work is one area in which the English language has become dominant world-wide: 'scientific scholarship is increasingly an English-only domain in international communication (journals, reference works, textbooks, conferences, networking)' (Phillipson 2006 , 350). By the end of the twentieth century more than 90 percent of scientific findings were published in English (and even in the humanities the proportion was well over 80 percent). English has also become 'indispensable in prestigious domains such as business, trade, and technology, but in addition has a strong informal base in the global entertainment market and is associated with many lifestyle issues – from "gender mainstreaming," the "sexual revolution," "gay rights," and "political correctness," all the way to "jogging," "[Nordic] walking," "all-inclusive package tours," and "wellness resorts" (these words being used as borrowings from English in many languages)' (Mair 2006 , 10).

This use of English in some domains means a unity in some ways, but also that access to those domains is restricted. Only those with English proficiency have access to information on science, and those who by chance of birth learn English as their native language have a decided advantage. This is discussed for many countries in a volume edited by Ammon (2011), which looks at the widespread use of English in science in terms of its history as well as the societal implications. One of those implications is the loss of other languages, as least in this domain, as well as elite closure.

There are, as we have noted throughout this text, many varieties of English. In addition to varieties (standardized and nonstandardized) associated with countries for which English is the mainstream language, such as the UK, the USA, Australia, etc., there are multitudes of countries which have English as an official language, and it is often learned in the home as well as at school by many citizens. These varieties are increasingly a topic of study in sociolinguistics, reflected by the presence of the journal *World Englishes* , as well as many monographs about English as a lingua franca and different varieties of English world-wide. The *Handbook of World Englishes* (Nelson et al. 2019) has chapters devoted to English spoken as a first language in many countries and regions of the world – the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, Africa – as well as the Englishes spoken in China, Europe, Russia, and South America.

With this diversity in location of English, there is also diversity in ideas about what is standard or 'good English,' and English is thus considered a **pluricentric** language, which may be used to express both national and local identities (Schneider 2003).

The spread of English in the world has not gone without critics who regard the language as a clear expression of political, cultural, and economic imperialism and assail all efforts to promote the further use of English in the world, for example, by government-sponsored teaching programs (see Phillipson 1992 , 2003 ; Mühlhäusler 1996 ; and Pennycook 1998). Writing in the tradition of critical theory (or critical discourse studies; see chapter 7), such critics cannot conceive of English as a value-free language. As Pennycook says, there is nothing 'neutral' about English use in Hong Kong: 'this image of English use as an open and borrowing language, reflecting an open and borrowing people, is a cultural construct of colonialism that is in direct conflict with the colonial evidence' (1998, 143). Others apply this kind of judgment everywhere English has spread. Mühlhäusler (1996), for example, regards languages like English – others are Bahasa Indonesia and Mandarin Chinese – as 'killer languages' because as national languages of modernization, education, and development they stifle and eventually kill local languages. Dorian (1998 , 9) states the case unequivocally: 'Europeans who come from polities with a history of standardizing and promoting just one high-prestige form carried their "ideology of contempt" for subordinate languages with them when they conquered far-flung territories to the serious detriment of indigenous languages.'

Ricento (2018) discusses globalization and language policy with respect to neoliberal ideologies. There is a commonly held belief that access to English is the key to success, and for this reason it is often integrated into, and prioritized, in education. He writes (2018, 12):

> The belief that expanding access to English will help poor people escape poverty does not reflect reality on the ground … 'Free market' capitalism for the poor countries and corporate socialism for the rich countries means that language policies based on regimes of language rights will not succeed in reducing economic and social inequality. Groups who already speak dominant languages and have privileged access to education and cultural capital do not need more rights, and those who speak marginalized languages and lack access to high-quality education and cultural capital will not benefit by the granting of such rights.

Thus while English continues to spread – also in part through media use, and in particular among young speakers world-wide – it is not an equalizer, nor is it uniform. As noted by Ke (2015), Global English is fluid and used in diverse, multilingual spaces; although it provides an adequate lingua franca, it is not neutral in its form or its function.

Language policy … or lack thereof

A final issue in language policy and planning is what happens when there is a lack of planning and policy making. We have had many examples in this chapter of changes which emerged not because of legislation and expert influence, but because of language users making choices – for example, the use of English in science, the loss of village sign languages, the emergence of singular *they* . Often, these choices are not based on great deliberation, but individuals simply adopt ways of speaking of the other members of their social networks, or seek to follow the path of least resistance. Thus an important aspect of what happens with endangered languages is not due to top-down planning, or bottom-up movements, but a lack of examination of choices and consequences.

We also cannot ignore neoliberal influences on the technology we use in this context. With machine translation, captions in virtual communication, online language learning opportunities, and other technologies, the decisions of what languages to include are not made by linguists, users of languages, or even politicians, but by corporations. These decisions based on the market economy end up limiting the options for everyone; minoritized languages become further minoritized, and standardized languages become increasingly hegemonic. So the question we are left with is: how much planning do we need, and how do we make and enforce equitable policies?

Chapter Summary

This final chapter introduces the terms and concepts in language policy and planning and provides an overview of the development of this field of study. We also present discussions of language policies and planning in specific contexts, looking at how language policy can be part of nation-building and the construction of a national identity. A theme through much of this research has to do with policies and planning with regard to multilingualism; it is sometimes fostered, sometimes regulated, and sometimes discouraged, depending on the history and ideological stances in the country. Ultimately, LPP is a societal, more than a linguistic, matter.

Exercises

1. Write a report about language policy in the country of your choice, using resources which state statistics and policies, websites or other media which promote particular agendas, and at least two research articles about LPP in this nation. In addition to describing official policies and planning strategies, discuss the underlying ideologies about language implicit in these political actions.
2. Find at least two articles from the popular press about the encroachment of English into the domains or lexicon of another language (for example, how English has edged out German in the European Union, or how German has adopted many English forms in everyday language, business and computer domains, music, etc.). Provide a discourse analysis of the arguments presented, including (a) how English is represented (as a necessary evil? a welcome guest? a natural disaster?); (b) how the value of English is discussed; (c) how the value of the non-English language is depicted; (d) what ideas about language purity or heteroglossia are put forth; (e) solutions to the ‘problem’ of English encroachment.

3. Trace the development of gender-neutral language in the language of your choice (look at chapter 11 to review some of the developments you might want to investigate). What challenges due to linguistic properties of the language exist, and what gender ideologies are linked to the linguistic structure for those for or against feminist language planning? What approach is taken to language planning – are there policies, government campaigns, or grassroots movements?

Further Reading

Bulajeva, T. and G. Hogan-Brun (2014). Internationalisation of higher education and nation building: Resolving language policy dilemmas in Lithuania. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 35(4): 318–331.

Chen, K. H. (2018). Ideologies of language standardization. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gonçalves, K. and A. Schluter (2017). 'Please do not leave any notes for the cleaning lady, as many do not speak English fluently': Policy, power, and language brokering in a multilingual workplace. *Language Policy* 16(3): 241–265.

Hawkey, J. (2018). *Language Attitudes and Minority Rights: The Case of Catalan in France. Cham* : Springer.

Lewis, E. G. (2019). *Multilingualism in the Soviet Union: Aspects of Language Policy and its Implementation* . Berlin: De Gruyter.

Milani, T. and R. Jonsson (2018). Linguistic citizenship in Sweden: (De)constructing languages in a context of linguistic human rights. In Lisa Lim (ed.), *The Multilingual Citizen: Towards a Politics of Language* *for Agency and Change* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Pérez-Milans, M. (2018). Metapragmatics in the ethnography of language policy. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 113–139.

Wright, S. (2016). *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalisation. Cham* : Springer.

References

Ammon, U. (ed.) (2011). *The Dominance of English as a Language of Science: Effects on Other Languages and Language Communities* . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Banda, F. (2009). Critical perspectives on language planning and policy in Africa: Accounting for the notion of multilingualism. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics* 38: 1–11.

Blommaert, J. (2011). The long language-ideological debate in Belgium. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 6(3): 241–256.

Bokhorst-Heng, W. D. and R. E. Silver (2017). Contested spaces in policy enactment: A Bourdieusian analysis of language policy in Singapore. *Language Policy* 16(3): 333–351.

Brubaker, R. (2011). Nationalizing states revisited: Projects and processes of nationalization in post-Soviet states. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(11): 1785–1814.

Cavallaro, F., B. C. Ng, and M. F. Seilhamer (2014). Singapore colloquial English: Issues of prestige and identity. *World Englishes* 33(3): 378–397.

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a Global Language* . 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2004). *The Language Revolution* . Cambridge: Polity Press.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2016). Conflicting language ideologies and contradictory language practices in Singaporean multilingual families. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 37(7): 694–709.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. and E. Lanza (2018). Language management in multilingual families: Efforts, measures and challenges. *Multilingua* 37(2): 123–130.

Darquennes, J. and J. Soler (2019). 'New speakers' and language policy research: Thematic and theoretical contributions to the field. *Language Policy* 18(4): 475–491.

Doğançay-Aktuna, S. (2004). Language planning in Turkey: Yesterday and today. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 165: 5–32.

Doğançay-Aktuna, S. and Z. Kiziltepe (2005). English in Turkey. *World Englishes* 24(2): 253–265.

Dorian, N. C. (1998). Western language ideologies and small-language prospects. In L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (eds.), *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gacheche, K. (2010). Challenges in implementing a mother tongue-based language-in-education policy: Policy and practice in Kenya. *POLIS Journal* 4: 1–45.

Gallo, S. and N. H. Hornberger (2019). Immigration policy as family language policy: Mexican immigrant children and families in search of biliteracy. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 23(3): 757–770.

García, O. (2009). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas, R. Phillipson, A. K. Mohanty, and M. Panda (eds.), *Social Justice through Multilingual Education* . Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 140–158.

Gippert, J., N. P. Himmelmann, and U. Mosel (eds.) (2006). *Essentials of Language Documentation* . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Graddol, D. (2004). The future of language. *Science* 303: 1329–1331.

Groff, C. (2018). Language policy and language ideology: Ecological perspectives on language and education in the Himalayan foothills. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 49(1): 3–20.

Haque, E. and D. Patrick (2015). Indigenous languages and the racial hierarchisation of language policy in Canada. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 36(1): 27–41.

Harries, L. (1976). The nationalization of Swahili in Kenya. *Language in Society* 5(2): 153–164.

Harrison, K. D. (2007). *When Languages Die* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haugen, E. (1961). Language planning in modern Norway. *Scandinavian Studies* , 68–81.

Haugen, E. (1966). Dialect, language, nation 1. *American Anthropologist* 68(4): 922–935.

Hawkey, J. and J. R. Kasstan (2015). Regional and minority languages in France: Policies of homogenization or a move toward heterogeneity? A case study on Francoprovençal. *The French Review* 89(2): 110–125.

Heidemann, K. A. (2012). The view from below: Exploring the interface of Europeanization and Basque language activism in France. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 17(2): 195–220.

Heller, M. (2018). Socioeconomic junctures, theoretical shifts. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hornberger, N. (2006). Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In Thomas Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* . Oxford: Blackwell, 24–41.

Hornberger, N. H. and S. M. Coronel-Molina (2004). Quechua language shift, maintenance, and revitalization in the Andes: The case for language planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 167: 9–68.

Hornberger, N. H. and K. A. King (1996). Language revitalisation in the Andes: Can the schools reverse language shift? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 17(6): 427–441.

Hornberger, N. and V. Vaish (2009). Multilingual language policy and school linguistic practice: Globalization and English-language teaching in India, Singapore and South Africa. *Compare* 39(3): 305–320.

Inglehart, R. F. and M. Woodward (1967). Language conflicts and political community. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10: 27–45. Reprinted in P. P. Giglioli (ed.) (1972), *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings* . Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Jaffe, A. (2015). Defining the new speaker: Theoretical perspectives and learner trajectories. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 21–44.

Jaspers, J. and K. Rosiers (2019). Soft power: Teachers' friendly implementation of a severe monolingual policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* , 1–14.

Jones, J. M. and G. Barkhuizen (2011). 'It is two-way traffic': Teachers' tensions in the implementation of the Kenyan language-in-education policy. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 14(5): 513–530.

Juarros-Daussà, E. (2013). Language transmission among Catalan and Galician immigrants in New York City. In Ana M.Carvalho and Sara Beaudrie (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 6th Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics* . Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 148–157.

Kasstan, J. (2017). New speakers: Challenges and opportunities for variationist sociolinguistics. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 11(8): e12249.

Kaya, Y. (2015). The opinions of primary school, Turkish language and social science teachers regarding education in the mother tongue (Kurdish). *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies* 2(2): 33–46.

Ke, I. C. (2015). A global language without a global culture: From basic English to global English. *English as a Global Language Education (EaGLE) Journal* 1(1): 65–87.

King, K. A. (1999). Language revitalisation processes and prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes. *Language and Education* 13(1): 17–37.

King, K. A. (2000). Language ideologies and heritage language education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3(3): 167–184.

King, K. and E. Lanza (2019). Ideology, agency, and imagination in multilingual families: An introduction. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 23(3): 717–723.

Kirkgöz, Y. (2014). Students' perceptions of English language versus Turkish language used as the medium of instruction in higher education in Turkey. *Electronic Turkish Studies* 9(12).

Kırkgöz, Y. (2017). English education policy in Turkey. In Robert Kirkpatrick (ed.), *English Language Education Policy in the Middle East and North Africa* . Cham: Springer, 235–256.

Klaus, D. (2003). The use of indigenous languages in early basic education in Papua New Guinea: A model for elsewhere? *Language and Education* 17(2): 105–111.

Kloss, H. (1968). Notes concerning a language–nation typology. In J. A. Fishman, C. A. Ferguson, and J. Das Gupta (eds.), *Language Problems of Developing Nations* . New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Konnelly, L. and E. Cowper (2020). Gender diversity and morphosyntax: An account of singular *they* . *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 5(1): 40.

Kulyk, V. (2019). Identity in transformation: Russian-speakers in post-Soviet Ukraine. *Europe-Asia Studies* 71(1): 156–178.

Lee, L. (2002). When English is not a mother tongue: Linguistic ownership and the Eurasian community in Singapore. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 23(4): 282–295.

Lin, A. M. Y. and P. W. Martin (2005). From a critical deconstruction paradigm to a critical construction paradigm: An introduction to decolonisation, globalisation and language in education policy and practice. In A. M. Y. Lin and P. W. Martin (eds.), *Decolonisation, Globalisation: Language-in-Education Policy and Practice* . Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1–19.

Lippi-Green, R. (2012). *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States* . 2nd edn. New York: Routledge.

Mair, C. (2006). *Twentieth-Century English* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Malone, S. and P. Paraide (2011). Mother tongue-based bilingual education in Papua New Guinea. *International Review of Education* 57(5–6): 705–720.

Martin-Jones, M. and I. da Costa Cabral (2018). The critical ethnographic turn in research on language policy and planning. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 71.

McCarty, T. L. (2002). *A Place to be Navajo: Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Indigenous Schooling* . New York: Routledge.

Meganathan, R. (2011). Language policy in education and the role of English in India: From library language to language of empowerment. In Hywel Coleman (ed.), *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language* . London: The British Council, 57–85.

Mühlhäusler, P. (1996). *Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region* . London: Routledge.

Nance, C. (2018). Linguistic innovation among Glasgow Gaelic new speakers. In Bernadette O'Rourke, Joan Pujolar, and Fernando F. Ramallo (eds.), *New Speakers of Minority Languages: The Challenging Opportunity* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 213–230.

Nance, C., W. McLeod, B. O'Rourke, and S. Dunmore (2016). Identity, accent aim, and motivation in second language users: New Scottish Gaelic speakers' use of phonetic variation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 20(2): 164–191.

Nelson, C. L., C. G. Proshina, and D. R. Davis (eds.) (2019). *The Handbook of World Englishes* . Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Nettle, D. and S. Romaine (2000). *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Newman, M. and M. Trenchs-Parera (2015). Language policies, ideologies and attitudes in Catalonia. Part 1: Reversing language shift in the twentieth century. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 9(7): 285–294.

Newman, P. (2003). The endangered language issue as a hopeless cause. In M. Janse and S. Tol (eds.), *Language Death and Language Maintenance* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nonaka, A. M. (2012). Language ecological change in Ban Khor, Thailand: An ethnographic case study of village sign language endangerment. In Ulrike Zeshan and Connie de Vos (eds.), *Sign Languages in Village Communities: Anthropological and Linguistic Insights* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 277–312.

Nonaka, A. M. (2014). (Almost) everyone here spoke Ban Khor Sign Language – until they started using TSL: Language shift and endangerment of a Thai village sign language. *Language & Communication* 38: 54–72.

O'Donnell, P. and A. Toebosch (2008). Multilingualism in Brussels: 'I'd rather speak English!' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 29(2): 154–169.

O'Rourke, B., J. Pujolar, and F. Ramallo (2015). New speakers of minority languages: The challenging opportunity – Foreword. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231, 1–20.

Paraide, P. (2014). Challenges with the implementation of vernacular and bilingual education in Papua New Guinea. *Contemporary PNG Studies* 21: 44.

Pauwels, A. (2003). Linguistic sexism and feminist linguistic activism. In Janet Holmes and Miriam

Meyerhoff (eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* . Oxford: Blackwell, 550.

Pauwels, A. (2011). Planning for a global lingua franca: Challenges for feminist language planning in English(es) around the world. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 12(1): 9–19.

Pavlenko, A. (2013). Multilingualism in post-Soviet successor states. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7(4): 262–271.

Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the Discourses of Colonialism* . London: Routledge.

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillipson, R. (2003). *English-Only Europe? Challenging Language Policy* . London: Routledge.

Phillipson, R. (2006). Language policy and linguistic imperialism. In T. Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy* . Oxford: Blackwell.

Pujolar, J. and M. Puigdevall (2015). Linguistic mudes: How to become a new speaker in Catalonia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231: 167–187.

Quenot, S. (2020). Public policy for the Corsican language: From revitalisation to normalisation? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 261: 145–162.

Rathod, K. (2018). Official languages of India: An overview. *Academic Journal of Literature and Language* 1(1): 16–20.

Reger, J. (2014). Micro-cohorts, feminist discourse, and the emergence of the Toronto Slut Walk. *Feminist Formations* , 49–69.

Ricento, T. (2000). Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal* *of Sociolinguistics* 4(2): 196–213.

Ricento, T. (ed.) (2006). *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* . Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Ricento, T. (2018). Globalization, language policy, and the role of English. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 221–235.

Robinson, C. (2019). Literacy in my language? Principles, practices, prospects. In Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Bernadette O'Rourke (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Minority Languages and Communities* . London: Palgrave Macmillan, 405–429.

Romaine, S. (2017). The impact of language policy on endangered languages. In Matthias Koenig (ed.), *Democracy and Human Rights in Multicultural Societies* . New York: Routledge, 217–236.

Rubdy, R. (2001). Creative destruction: Singapore's Speak Good English Movement. *World Englishes* 20(3): 341–355.

Schneider, E. W. (2003). The dynamics of New Englishes: From identity construction to dialect birth. *Language* 79(2): 233–281.

Sebba, M. (2006). Ideology and alphabets in the former USSR. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 30(2): 99–125.

Sibomana, E. (2015). Postcolonial language-in-education policies in Africa: The case of Kenya. *Rwandan Journal of Education* 3(1): 37–51.

Singapore in Figures (2019). Department of Statistics Singapore. https://www.singstat.gov.sg/-/media/files/publications/reference/sif2019.pdf

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and D. Fernandes (2008). Kurds in Turkey and in (Iraqi) Kurdistan: A comparison of Kurdish educational language policy in two situations of occupation. *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 3(1): 43–73.

Smith-Christmas, C. (2016). What is family language policy? In *Family Language Policy: Maintaining an Endangered Language in the Home* . London: Palgrave Pivot, 1–19.

Smith-Christmas, C. (2019). When X doesn't mark the spot: The intersection of language shift, identity and family language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 255: 133–158.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spolsky, B. (2019). A modified and enriched theory of language policy (and management). *Language Policy* 18(3): 323–338.

Stormbom, C. (2020). Singular they in English as a foreign language. *Applied Linguistics Review* 1 (ahead-of-print).

Stroud, C. and L. Wee (2007). Consuming identities: Language planning and policy in Singaporean late modernity. *Language Policy* 6(2): 253–279.

Thomason, S. G. (2015). *Endangered Languages* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Urla, J., E. Amorrortu, A. Ortega, and J. Goirigolzarri (2018). Basque standardization and the new speaker: Political praxis and the shifting dynamics of authority and value. In Haley De Korne, James Costa, and Lane Pia (eds.), *Standardizing Minority Languages (Open Access)* . London: Routledge, 24–46. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781138125124

Van der Jeught, S. (2017). Territoriality and freedom of language: The case of Belgium. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 18(2): 181–198.

Walsh, O. (2016). *Linguistic Purism: Language Attitudes in France and Quebec* . Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wee, L. (2002). When English is not a mother tongue: Linguistic ownership and the Eurasian community in Singapore. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 23(4): 282–295.

Wee, L. (2014). Linguistic chutzpah and the Speak Good Singlish movement. *World Englishes* 33(1): 85–99.

Wee, L. and W. D. Bokhorst-Heng (2005). Language policy and nationalist ideology: Statal narratives in Singapore. *Multilingua* 24(3): 159–183.

Wodak, R. and K. Savski (2018). Critical discourse-ethnographic approaches to language policy. In James W. Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 93–112.

Woolard, K. A. (2018). Language, identity, and politics in Catalonia. *Brown Journal on Third World Affairs* 25: 21.

Zamyatin, K. (2015). The evolution of language ideology in post-Soviet Russia. In Heiko F. Marten (ed.), *Cultural and Linguistic Minorities in the Russian Federation and the European Union: Comparative Studies on Equality and Diversity* . Cham: Springer, 279–313.

Zeshan, U. and C. De Vos (eds.) (2012). *Sign Languages in Village Communities: Anthropological and Linguistic Insights* . Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Glossary

accent:
a way of speaking, often identified with a region or social group; refers to pronunciation only. Compare with *dialect* and *variety*

accommodation:
modifying one's speech to be more similar to or different from the speech of the addressee or hearer; see *convergence* and *divergence*

achievement gap:
the disparity in academic performance between different groups of students (often defined by racial or ethnic group membership), usually measured in terms of the dropout rate or standardized test scores

acquisition planning:
language planning which focuses on the teaching and learning of language

acrolect:
a term used in creole linguistics to refer to the form of a creole language which is closest to the superstrate language and a prestige variety; compare with *basilect* and *mesolect*

act sequence:
in ethnography of communication research, the term used to refer to the linguistic form and content of the communicative event

***actuation problem* :**
why language changes occurs when and how it does

adjacency pair:
a term used in *discourse analysis* to refer to a single stimulus–response sequence (e.g., a question and an answer, a greeting and another greeting, etc.)

affricate:
a sound which combines a stop with a fricative (e.g., the 'ch' sound in English)

African American

a variety of US English that is associated with African *Vernacular English (AAVE):* American speakers and has certain nonstandard features; see *creole origin* and *Anglicist hypothesis*

Afrogenesis hypothesis:

a hypothesis about the origins of creole languages which suggests that Portuguese-based pidgins which developed in Africa are the basis of most creole languages

age-grading:

the idea that some aspects of language use change over time within the speech of an individual; that is, they may use a particular feature when younger and then not use this feature when they reach adulthood

/ai/ monophthongization:

the pronunciation of the diphthong /ai/ (found in words like 'pie' or the pronoun 'I') without the glide (i.e., /a/)

allophone, allophonic

an allophone is a phonetic realization of a *phoneme* ; *variation:* allophonic variation is different phonetic realizations which do not change meaning in a particular language (e.g [p] and $[p^h]$ (i.e., aspirated and unaspirated /p/) in English)

Anglicist hypothesis:

the idea that African American Vernacular English grew up in the context of many different English dialects in contact

apparent time:

a construct used in sociolinguistic studies which is based on the idea that a speaker's core linguistic features do not change over time, thus comparing the speech of different age groups at a given point in time shows language change

applied:

the use of theories, methods, and findings to address issues and solve problems having to do with language in society, the term 'applied linguistics' is used in some cases to refer to language teaching in particular, but may also be used to refer to other domains of application, for instance language policy or translation

arbitrary, arbitrariness:
a feature of language; the relationship between linguistic form and meaning is random

audience design:
an approach to studying language variation based on the idea that speakers orient their speech based on their audience

awareness program:
a type of educational program for children whose home variety is not the variety used in mainstream education; makes use of the home variety of the children for some tasks and also incorporates learning about the social process through which a particular variety becomes the standard and language of education

axiom of categoricity:
the idea that a speaker always (i.e., categorically) uses certain linguistic features (compare with *variation*)

backchanneling:
the responses interlocutors make to indicate they are listening; includes minimal responses such as *mhm* or *uhuh* , phrases such as *oh* , *okay* , or *I see* , and nonverbal cues such as nodding or gaze

banal nationalism:
see *nationalism*

basilect:
a term used in creole linguistics to refer to the variety of a creole language most remote from the prestigious superstrate; compare *acrolect* and *mesolect*

bilingual mode:
when a speaker of two languages has both languages activated for use

change from above:
language change that comes from above the level of consciousness, usually because speakers want to

sound like a higher-status group; appears in more formal speech first

change from below:
language change that occurs without speakers being aware of it; appears in the vernacular first

chronotope:
how language represents or indexes a particular time and space

cisgender, cisnormativity:
used to refer to people whose sex category is perceived as matching their gender; compare with *transgender*

***citizen sociolinguistics* :**
the engagement of non-professional linguists in linguistic research

closing:
a term used in *discourse analysis* to describe the turns which end a conversation

code:
a word used in sociolinguistics to mean a variety of a language; it is intentionally neutral and does not specify if the variety is a particular dialect (e.g., 'Cockney') or a broader category (e.g., 'English'); compare with *language* , *dialect* , *register* , *genre* , and *style*

codeswitching:
a term used to describe the use of two or more varieties, or codes, in an interaction; see *code* , *multilingual discourse*

codeswitching constraints:
rules which govern the structure of codeswitching

collective identity:
identification of long-standing, socially established groups; compare with *personal identity* and *group identity*

collocation:
words which occur together; often, part of a corpus linguistics analysis

common ground:

a factor in a relationship which focuses on similarities in background and experience among speakers

commonsense knowledge:

understanding of everyday life which allows people to operate in and understand the world around them; relies on a static idea of social reality

communicative competence:

the ability to produce and understand utterances which are socially appropriate in particular contexts; contrasts with *competence*

communicative event:

a sequence of related turns in communication

community of practice:

a group defined according to interaction around a common endeavor; although speakers may have different linguistic repertoires and backgrounds, common linguistic practices emerge through regular interaction

competence:

a person's unconscious knowledge of the grammatical rules of a language; contrasts with *performance* and *communicative competence*

constative utterance:

an utterance which is a descriptive statement which can be said to be either true or false

constitutive rules:

rules which are necessary to make something what it is, that is, constitute it

construction of social

the concept of social identities as not being fixed attributes *identities:* of the self but as things which emerge out of linguistics (and other social) behavior; see also *social constructionist*

contact languages:

a general term used to describe languages which have developed in multilingual contexts; includes *pidgins* , *creoles* , and *mixed languages*

contextualization:

signals (verbal and nonverbal) which help interlocutors to process and interpret the utterances in a conversation

convergence:
modifying one's speech so that it resembles that of other interlocutors

conversation analysis (CA):
a particular method of *discourse analysis* which studies conversational structure and coherence, based on *ethnomethodology*

conversational overlap:
when more than one speaker is talking at the same time in a conversation; may be cooperative or an attempt to interrupt

cooperative principle:
from Gricean pragmatics; the principle that participants in a conversation are assumed to be trying to communicate

***copula* (see also *zero copula*):**
the verb *to be*

corpus linguistics:
the study of language in real-world texts comprising large, electronically readable corpora, which are analyzed using computerized analytical tools

corpus planning:
a type of *language planning* which involves the selection and codification of language norms

correlational studies:
research which shows a relationship between a particular *social variable* (e.g., age) and the use of a particular *linguistic variable* (e.g., the lexical item 'ice box'); it does not imply a causal relationship

cosmopolitan:
drawing on different cultural influences

covert prestige:
prestige (of a linguistic variety or form) which is derived from its importance in ingroup interaction; this variety or form does not have prestige in the wider society

CRAAVE:

stands for Cross-Race African American Vernacular English, AAVE, which is used by non-African Americans who have picked up some features of this dialect; see *crossing*

creole (language):

a type of contact language, usually assumed to be elaborated and nativized; compare with *pidgin* and *mixed language*

creole continuum:

a construct which is based on the idea that a creole language contains a spectrum of varieties from those most similar to the *superstrate* language to those quite different from it; see *basilect* , *mesolect* , and *acrolect*

creole formation:

the process of the development of a creole language

creole origin:

a term used in discussion of the development of African American Vernacular English to refer to the theory that a plantation creole developed in the Southern United States during times of slavery, and features of contemporary AAVE can be traced back to this creole language

critical analysis:

an analysis that seeks to find underlying ideologies in social practices, particularly those that mask and naturalize the reproduction of inequalities

critical discourse analysis

an approach to *discourse analysis* which seeks to discover *(CDA), critical discourse* how inequalities are encoded in and reproduced through *studies:* language use

critical sociolinguistics:

the branch of sociolinguistics that examines how language functions in society to reproduce ideologies, particularly those related to social inequalities

crossing:

use of a variety associated with a group in which the speaker is not considered a member; see also *CRAAVE*

cultural borrowings:
loanwords which are brought into a language because they denote new concepts or items entering the culture

culturally transmitted:
a property of language; it is learned from other people, and is not innate (although the ability to learn language is innate)

culture:
knowledge about how a society works, its values and practices

Cyrillic script:
an alphabetic writing system; currently used for Russian among other languages of Europe and Asia

decontextualization:
a term used in *discourse analysis* to describe taking language use out of its original context; see also *recontextualization*

decreolization:
a concept from creole linguistics which describes a situation in which the standard language which provided the superstrate for the creole language begins to exert influence on the creole, making it become more like the standard; this concept is criticized by some scholars

deficit model:
used to refer to work on language and gender which portrays women's language as deficient in comparison with men's language

dense social network:
a *social network* in which the people who have ties to ego also have ties to each other; compare with *loose social network*

dependent variable:
see under *variable*

descriptive:

a systematic analysis of the structure of language as it is spoken in a particular group; compare with *prescriptive*

Devanagari script:
an alphabetic writing system; currently used to write Hindi and Sanskrit, among other languages of India

diachronic (linguistics):
the study of languages from a historical perspective

dialect:
the term used to refer to a particular way of speaking a language which is associated with a particular region or social group

dialect atlas:
collections of maps showing regional patterns of language use

dialect boundary:
a bundle of *isoglosses* ; the border between two varieties of a language

dialect continuum:
gradual change of language over space; while the varieties at either end of the continuum may not be mutually intelligible, the adjacent varieties are

dialect geography:
the study of regional dialects

dialect mixture:
a variety which has features associated with distinct regional dialects

dialogical:
involving a dialogue or exchange

difference (or two cultures)
in the study of language and gender, an approach which *approach:* focuses on men and women as members of different subcultures, with differences in how they use language

diffusion:
the spread of a linguistic feature through a language, region, or period of time

diglossia:

the use of two languages (in the original definition, two dialects of the same language) with strict separation by domains

diphthong:
a vowel which is comprised by two sounds within one syllable

Discourse(s):
language use combined with other social practices which produce and reproduce social categories and their values

discourse analysis:
a term used to describe a wide range of approaches to the study of texts and conversation, some of which are sociolinguistic in nature; see *conversation analysis* and *critical discourse analysis*

discreteness:
a property of language, meaning that it is made up out of discrete units which can be combined to form larger units:
e.g., sounds form morphemes, morphemes form words, words form sentences

displacement:
a property of language; humans can communicate about things in the past and future, and hypotheticals

dispreferred responses:
a term used in *discourse analysis* to describe responses to speech acts which are not the unmarked or hoped-for reply; for instance, the refusal of a request

divergence:
adjusting one's language use to make it less like that of the interlocutors

divergence hypothesis:
the hypothesis that AAVE is becoming less like dialects of American English spoken by White speakers in the same regions

domain:
a concept which refers to language use as determined by topic, setting, and speakers; often used to discuss

the choice of a particular variety of language

dominance approach:
an approach to the study of language and gender which is based on the idea that men's dominant position in society is reflected and reproduced in conversation

Ebonics:
a term for the variety of English which sociolinguists call *African American Vernacular English* ; although the term has not been widely adopted by academics, it is a commonly used term in US society

elaborated code:
term used to refer to a variety of language which is used in more formal situations, characterized in part by not being reliant on extralinguistic context to derive meaning; compare with *restricted code*

elite bilingualism:
bilingualism which is considered to be socially advantageous, usually involving high-status speakers and prestigious languages

elite closure:
a situation in which language policy and the patterns of language use by elite members of society effectively prevent non-elites from access to the linguistic resources they need to gain social, cultural, and economic capital

endangered languages:
languages which are in danger of not being spoken any more due to an aging population of speakers and language shift among younger members of the speech community

ends:
in ethnography of communication research, the term used to refer to the expected outcome and goals of a particular communicative event

enregisterment:
the process through which linguistic forms are linked with specific varieties

entextualization:

taking discourse from one context and circulating it as a bounded entity

epistemological factors:
discussed in language policy and planning research as factors which have to do with the paradigms of knowledge and social theories which are applied in different phases of the development of this field of study

essentialist, essentialism:
the view that a single identity category (e.g., 'African American' or 'woman') is synonymous with a pre-existing, homogeneous group, regardless of context

ethical proposition:
a term used in pragmatics to describe a proposition which is used to create a value statement

ethnic dialects/ethnolects:
dialects associated with particular ethnic groups

ethnography, ethnographic:
an approach to research which is an attempt to describe a culture and its practices from an insider's point of view

ethnolinguistic vitality:
the potential of a minority language (often one associated with a particular ethnic group) to be maintained

ethnomethodology:
an approach to the study of how people organize and understand the social world around them, focusing on the phenomena of everyday activities

ethnonational, ethnonational
the view of national belonging as based on ethnic and *ideology:* racial categorization

expanding circle:
the outermost circle of English, in which speakers learn English as a foreign language and the language plays an increasing role in the economic development of the country; compare with *inner circle* and *outer circle*

externally motivated

language change which is motivated by contact with *language change:* other codes

face:

a person's positive self-image

face-threatening act:

a speech act which can potentially damage the *face* of the speaker or addressee; see *positive face* and *negative face*

face work:

the linguistic efforts made to maintain the face of the speaker or addressee

family-tree account of

a conception of language development as being similar to *language change:* human genealogy, with a mother language and the languages which develop from it being considered sisters

feedback (as part of

the final part of a three-part exchange in which the *classroom exchange patterns):* instructor comments on the *response* given by a student

felicity conditions:

a term from speech act theory that describes the situation necessary for a particular speech act to be successfully performed

floor management:

used in *discourse analysis* to refer to how turns are organized in conversation

focal area:

in dialect studies, an area which is the source of innovation, usually also economic and cultural centers in a region

focus particle:

a linguistic element that serves to indicate what the important information is in an utterance

fossilization:

in second language acquisition, incomplete acquisition of particular aspects of speech which become fixed in a speaker's *interlanguage*

free variation:

variation in pronunciation which does not change the meaning of the word; considered rare in sociolinguistics, as *variants* often have different social meanings even if they share denotative meaning

fricatives:

sounds made by forcing air through a restricted area of the vocal tract (e.g., /s/ or /f/ in English)

gender:

a socially constructed aspect of identity, linked to ideas about biological *sex categories* but often discussed in terms of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' (as opposed to 'male' and 'female')

gender exclusive language:

linguistic features which are used only by members of one gender group or another

gender preferential language:

linguistic features which are associated with the way in which members of a particular gender group speak

gender variation:

differences in linguistic performance between different gender groups

General American:

a term used to refer to a variety of English spoken in North America that is considered 'mainstream,' without strong regional features

generic pronoun:

a pronoun which does not indicate gender; e.g., English *one*

genre:

a variety of a language which evokes a particular speech event or function; this term/concept is also part of the ethnography of communication research paradigm

glocal, glocalization:

developments in language and culture which involve a mixture of global and local influences

glottal stop:

a sound produced when air flow is restricted by the glottis closing, as in ‘uh-oh!’ in English; in some dialects, an *allophone* of /t/

gradient stratification:
when the linguistic distinctions between groups is a step-like progression; usually assumed to be typical of phonological variation; compare with *sharp stratification*

gradualist model, gradualism:
the idea in the study of pidgin and creole languages that the elaboration of a pidgin happens over several generations, and not necessarily as the result of nativization

grammar:
the structure of a language, including its sound system, word order, word formation rules; see also *prescriptive* and *descriptive*

grammatical judgments:
the opinions of speakers of a language about whether a particular construction is acceptable in their language

graphization:
the development and modification of writing systems

group identity:
the construction of group boundaries and membership; compare with *social identity* and *collective identity*

habitual be:
the use of the verb form *be* to indicate repeated and habitual action

hegemony, hegemonic
ideologies which are dominant due to consensus, *ideologies:* including the complicity of people for whom the ideologies are not beneficial; although competing ideologies are possible, they must refer to the hegemonic ideology

heritage language, heritage
this term is used to refer to a language which is, or has *speakers:* been, spoken by an individual’s family;

it does not imply any particular level of proficiency in the language, but an association with the language through identification with a cultural group that speaks it

heteronormativity:
the underlying assumption that heterosexuality is the norm for all people

heterosexist:
ideologies or attitudes which assume and privilege heterosexuality and heterosexuals

historical linguistics:
a branch of linguistics which looks at the development of languages over time

homosocial:
preferring the company of other people who share your gender

hot nationalism:
see *nationalism*

hybrid, hybridity,
the process of combining aspects of two different *hybridization:* languages, cultures, identities, and so on; involves the inherent assumption of the *essentialist* nature of these original entities

hypercorrection:
the use of linguistic forms which overshoot a target which is considered 'correct,' producing forms which do not appear in the standard; can also be used to refer to using a particular variant more frequently than speakers of the variety one is trying to emulate

icon:
a symbol which resembles that which it represents; compare with *arbitrary* and *index*

identity:
in sociolinguistics, this term is used to mean a socially constructed affiliation with particular social categories which is shifting, multiple, and *dialogical*

ideology:
a societal system of ideas and values which underlies cultural behaviors

illocutionary act:
a term used in speech act theory to refer to an act performed by making an utterance

illocutionary force:
the intended effect of an *illocutionary act*

imagined community:
used to talk about the nation; members of this community do not know all their fellow members, but they have ideas about their traits

immersion:
a method for teaching a second or foreign language which involves exposure to the target language without use of the learner's first language

immigrant bilingualism:
the bilingualism which arises due to migration of individuals and groups from one language area to another; often stigmatized, compare with *elite bilingualism*

implicature:
the term from Gricean pragmatics used to refer to the implied meaning of an utterance

implicit association test:
an experimental method for testing associations and thus (language) attitudes

implicit meaning:
meaning which is not stated explicitly, but which is implied or must be derived from shared knowledge

independent variable:
see under *variable*

index, indexicality:
the association of a code or linguistic form with a particular social meaning; an index 'points to' a particular social category, stance, etc.

indicator:
a linguistic feature of a particular variety which is not salient to speakers of that language but can be studied through systematic observation

indirect speech act:

a speech act that has as its intended meaning an *implicature* , not the literal meaning of the utterance

informant:
a term used to refer to speakers of language or dialects who provide linguists with data about their variety; currently preferred term is ‘consultant’

initiation (as part of
an utterance by the teacher, often a question, which aims *classroom exchange patterns):* to elicit a *response* from the students

inner circle:
in the study of World Englishes, the term used to describe the areas in which English is used in most spheres for the majority of the population; compare with *outer circle* and *expanding circle*

instrumental program:
a type of program in primary and secondary education which uses the minority home language of the pupils in instruction; compare with *accommodation program*

interactional sociolinguistics:
an approach to *discourse analysis* which incorporates the analysis of conversations with attention to broader macro-societal norms, values, and ideologies

interdiscursivity:
the incorporation of linguistic material that carries specific meanings or connotations from one *Discourse* or context into another

interlanguage:
term used to refer to the developing grammar of a second/foreign language learner

internally motivated
a view of language change as being motivated by processes *language change:* which rely on the structures within the language; compare with *externally motivated language change*

intersectional,

the concept that aspects of identity such as gender, *intersectionality:* ethnicity, or social class (among others) are not independent of each other, or the perspective on identity as including these intertwined aspects

intertextuality:
the relationship between texts, where meanings created in one are carried over into another

isogloss:
a line which marks the distinction between the use of one *variant* and another for a particular linguistic feature

judgment sample:
see under *sample*

language attitudes:
the beliefs and feelings individuals have about particular ways of using language

language documentation:
work done by linguists to make records (e.g., grammar, dictionaries) about languages, especially *endangered languages*

language gap:
the idea that children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds have less linguistic input and this contributes to poorer school performance; refuted by sociolinguists (see *opportunity gap*)

language ideologies:
ideas about language with regard to society; often unconscious ideas about the values of certain ways of speaking

language maintenance:
the continued use of a minority language; compare with *language shift*

language planning:
efforts to develop a language, or its use, in a particular direction

language policy:
legal efforts (making of policies or laws) intended to support language planning

language shift:
when speakers cease to use a minority language and instead adopt the majority language for ingroup use; compare with *language maintenance*

language socialization:
the process of becoming an active, competent participant in a particular cultural group, viewed as taking place through language practices

level of significance:
a term used in statistical analyses to indicate the probability that the relationship between the variables being analyzed could occur by chance

leveling:
the elimination of differences between varieties over time; may lead to the formation of a new, uniform variety

lexical diffusion:
a term used to refer to how sound change spreads through the words in a language

lexifier language:
the language which contributes most of the lexicon in the development of a pidgin or creole language, usually the socially dominant language and not the native language of any of the speakers; see also *superstrate*

LGBTQ:
stands for 'lesbian, gay, bisexual, *transgender* and queer/questioning,' used as an inclusive term which also recognizes diversity

life cycle model:
a model of pidgin and creole formation which relies on the idea that a *pidgin b* ecomes a *creole* when it is spoken to children and becomes their native language; through nativization elaboration ensues

lifestyle:
sets of practices which separate individuals into different hierarchically organized groups

Limited English Proficiency

term used in the US public school system to refer to *(LEP):* learners of English

lingua franca:
a common language used to communicate in situations in which speakers of different languages interact

linguistic anthropology:
the sub-field of anthropology which deals with language as social behavior; overlaps with sociolinguistics

linguistic constraints
the linguistic context which conditions the use of *(on variation):* particular variants

linguistic ethnography:
an approach in which ethnography is used to complement an analysis of specific linguistic practices, incorporating microanalyses of conversations with the study of cultural norms and ideologies

linguistic inequality:
a situation in which languages have varying levels of social value, and this leads to inequality among different linguistic groups

linguistic landscapes:
the visual display of languages through signs, billboards, advertisements, graffiti, and so on

linguistic marketplace:
the context in which particular ways of speaking take on different symbolic values

linguistic universals:
aspects of language which can be found in all languages

linguistic variable:
see *variable*

linguistic variation:
a term used to describe the different linguistic forms which can be used to express the same denotational meaning (which generally have different social meanings); see also *variant*

locution:
a meaningful utterance

loose social network:
a social network (see definition below) in which the people who have ties to ego do not have ties to each other; compare with *dense social network*

macrolinguistic studies:
studies in sociolinguistics which are 'macro' both in the sense that they analyze large amounts of data and that they focus on societal issues

macro-sociolinguistics:
the part of sociolinguistics that addresses larger societal patterns of language use (e.g., language attitudes, etc.); compare with *micro-sociolinguistics*

macro-sociopolitical factors:
one of three types of factors looked at in language policy and planning research, having to do with social and political developments on a state or national level

marker:
a linguistic feature that carries social meaning which is apparent to speakers; compare with *indicators* and *stereotypes*

matched guise:
a method to study language attitudes; research participants are asked to judge speakers of different languages, based on a recording of their voices, for a variety of characteristics; unbeknownst to them, the same speaker is given to them in different 'guises' (i.e., speaking two different *codes*)

membership categorization
aspects of language which allow us to assign people and *devices:* things into particular social categories

mesolect:
term used to describe the variety of a creole language that is in the mid-range on the continuum between the *superstrate* and the variety furthest from the superstrate; compare *basilect* and *acrolect*

metaphorical codeswitching:

the use of a code as a means to symbolically redefine the interaction; compare with *situational codeswitching*

metrolingual:
the use of multiple languages in ways that do not assume an index of a variety and a particular social group

microlinguistic studies:
studies about specific linguistic features used by particular speakers or groups and their social meanings

micro-sociolinguistics:
the part of sociolinguistics that addresses the relationship between the use of specific varieties or linguistic features and social structure and categories; compare with *macro-sociolinguistics*

minimal pairs:
two words with different meanings but which differ in only one sound, indicating that this particular sound is a phoneme in the language:
for instance 'pen' and 'pin' in many dialects of English

mixed language:
term used to refer to a type of contact language which is a combination of two languages:
the grammar is mostly from one language and the lexicon mostly from the other (although there are variations on and exceptions to this general pattern)

monogenetic, monogenesis:
the idea that creole languages all share a single, common origin

monoglossic ideology:
the idea that languages are distinct entities and should be kept strictly separate in their use

monophthongization:
the pronunciation of a diphthong (a sound including two vowels in one syllable) as a single vowel sound

morpheme:
the smallest grammatical unit which can be assigned semantic meaning

morphophonemic variation:
changes in the phonological forms of a morpheme in different linguistic contexts

muda (singular),
a term used to describe a point when a language user *mudes (plural):* changes their linguistic repertoire and identification as a user of a particular language

multilingual:
a person able to speak more than one language, or the *multilingualism:* situation in which speakers can and do speak more than one language

multilingual discourse:
the use of linguistic elements from more than one *variety* in a conversation or text

multiple negation:
the use of more than one negative particle to indicate negation; in English, this is nonstandard, but it is part of standard grammar in other languages (e.g., French and Spanish)

multiplex social network:
a *social network* in which each tie represents several different types of relationship, for example, a relative is also a colleague and a neighbor

mutability of style:
the idea that the social meaning of a particular style or variant is not fixed but emerges in the discourse

mutual intelligibility:
capability of being understood by both sides; used to discuss different languages or dialects and whether the speakers can understand each other

nationalism:
feeling of loyalty to a nation

hot nationalism:
actions motivated by nationalism

banal nationalism:
everyday displays of nationalism

***native speakerism* :**
the privileging of so-called native speakers as the only true owners and arbitrators of a language

negative face:

a term from politeness theory which refers to an individual's desire to not be imposed upon by others; compare with *positive face*

negative politeness:

a term from politeness theory which refers to the linguistic strategies used by speakers to not threaten the negative face of others; see *face - threatening acts* and *negative face*

neo-colonial:

pertaining to the use of a combination of globalization, capitalist enterprise, and cultural imperialism by one country to exert influence over another; draws a parallel to colonialism in which influence is gained through direct military or political dominance

neoliberal:

a form of liberalism which favors free market capitalism

Newscaster English:

one term used to refer to what is considered a standard dialect of North American English

non-binary:

used to refer to people who do not identify exclusively as either male or female

non-native:

a speaker who has not learned a language as a child; a controversial category

norms:

although this term may refer to value-laden attitudes about any type of social behavior, here this term is used to refer to ideas about the values of certain ways of speaking

normative:

oriented to a particular way of being or acting as correct or better than other ways

Northern Cities Vowel Shift:

a chain shift which has been studied in dialects in northern cities of the United States; see link in the online material for chapter 5 for more details of this phonological change in progress

null variant:
a variant that has no overt form

observer's paradox:
the aim of sociolinguistic research is to study how people speak when they are not being observed, but the data are only available through systematic observation

opening:
term used in *discourse analysis* to refer to the beginning of a conversation

opportunity gap:
the idea that differences between social groups in terms of school achievement are linked to societal problems which prevent them from success; see *language gap*

outer circle:
in the study of World Englishes, term used to refer to regions in which English is used in many institutions but is, or was originally, a non-native language for most speakers; compare with *inner circle* and *expanding circle*

palatalization:
the production of a sound with the tongue in or closer to the palatal position

panel study:
a type of real-time study in which the speech of the same research participants from two different points in time is analyzed

participants:
in ethnography of communication research, the term used to refer to the people who are part of the communicative event being studied

P/C languages:
abbreviation for pidgin and creole languages which recognizes the lack of a clear distinction between these two terms

perceptual dialectology:

the study of attitudes and views about how people speak in different regions

performance:

(i) language in use, that is, actual utterances as they are produced; compare with *competence* ; (ii) the actions one does to position one's self socially; see *social constructionism*

performatives, performative utterance:

an utterance which performs an action simply by being uttered (e.g., an apology, baptism, or promise); compare with *constative utterance*

periphrastic constructions:

a means of expressing grammatical categories which uses a separate word or words instead of an inflection, such as the English future constructions *will* or *going to*

perlocutionary force:

the particular effect an utterance has on the addressee or audience

perlocutions:

the effect of an *illocution*

personal identity:

the ways in which an individual constructs themselves, with a focus on what makes them unique; compare with *group identity* and *collective identity*

phatic, phatic communication:

the type of communication which is primarily focused on the interaction as a means to create social connection; the content of the utterance is secondary (e.g., formulaic greetings, discussion of the weather)

phoneme:

a perceptually distinctive unit of sound which carries meaning in a particular language (e.g., in English /b/ and /p/ are different phonemes, but /p/ and /p ^{h} / (aspirated /p/) are not); see *allophone*

phonemic coalescence:

when a contrast between phonemes is lost in a language

phonemic split:

when a contrast between two allophones develops into phonemic difference

pidgin (language):
a language which develops in a situation of language contact and limited exposure to the target language; compare with *creole language*

pidgin formation:
the process through which a *pidgin language* develops

pluralism, pluralist ideology:
a way of thinking in which all linguistic varieties, ways of speaking, and ways of being (i.e., cultural behaviors) are valued, not only mainstream or majority cultures and languages

polygenesis:
the idea that *creole languages* have multiple origins

polylanguaging:
the use of all of a language user's linguistic resources, regardless of which languages they are linked to; see *translanguaging*

positive face:
a concept from politeness theory that refers to an individual's desire to be appreciated by others

positive politeness:
in politeness theory, the linguistic strategies used to avoid damaging another's *positive face* ; see also *face-threatening act*

postmodern theory:
a general term for theoretical developments in the late twentieth century which include an analysis of underlying assumptions and ideological positions in discourse and text

post-national:
the situation in which a nation-state and national identity are less important than supranational groupings or identities

power:
the ability to control the actions of one's self and others

practical reasoning:
how people apply their *commonsense knowledge* to conduct their lives

pre-closing signals:
term used in *discourse analysis* to refer to turns which indicate that the speakers are moving toward ending the conversation; see also *closing*

prescriptive:
the view that one variety of language is inherently correct and that this way of speaking ought to be imposed on all speakers of that language; compare with *descriptive*

pro-drop language:
a language which marks grammatical information on a verb which renders pronouns unnecessary

productivity:
a feature of language; humans can create an infinite number of novel messages by combining linguistic elements

proposition:
the sense, or meaning, of a declarative utterance

pluricentric:
not having one central focus, but multiple foci

principle of accountability:
if it is possible to define a set of *variants* , all members of this set must be taken into account in doing the analysis

qualitative:
the term used to refer to studies which do not look at quantitative data; can involve a variety of methodologies, types of data, and epistemological stances

quantitative:
the term used to refer to studies that look at frequency and distribution of particular linguistic features, usually using statistics; the aim is to discover general principles regarding the structure of language in relation to particular *social variables* (see *correlational studies* , above)

quantitative (variationist)
an approach in sociolinguistics in which the frequency of *sociolinguistics:* linguistic features is correlated with social factors

quotative:
a linguistic element which introduces reported speech

raciolinguistics:
the study of how language is used to construct racial categories and how ideas about race influence language use

random sample:
see *sample*

real time:
in sociolinguistics, refers to a study in which data are collected at different points in time to assess language change; compare with *apparent time*

Received Pronunciation:
the most common term for the variety of British English which carries the most prestige

recontextualization:
the insertion of text or discourse from one context into another; since the meaning is dependent on context, this involves a shift in meaning or communicative purpose

reduplicative, reduplication:
the repetition of a linguistic feature to form a new word with a different, often intensified, meaning; for instance, in Jamaican Creole /yɛloyɛlo/ can mean 'very yellow'

reflexivity:
the concept that while interactions are shaped by the context in which they occur, they are simultaneously creating the social context

regional dialect:
a way of speaking which is associated with residents of a particular geographical region

register:
a way of speaking a language which is associated with a particular occupational or activity group

regularization:

the development of grammatical paradigms to be uniform, that is, the elimination of forms which do not fit with general rules for grammatical categories; for instance, elimination of irregular past tense verbs in favor of those which apply the regular *-ed* suffix

regulative rules:

rules which are stated explicitly and for which there are sanctions if they are broken; not the kind of rules which apply to language

relexification hypothesis:

a theory in the study of creole linguistics which suggests that the grammatical structure from a single source language has been essentially translated word for word (i.e., maintaining the structure but changing the lexicon) to create other creole languages: see *monogenesis*

reliability:

in research design, the extent to which the means of assessment of the variables produce stable and consistent results

relic area:

an area in which older forms of a dialect have been preserved, in contrast with surrounding regions

remnant dialect:

a variety spoken in a *relic area*

response (as part of

the second part of an exchange, in which a student *classroom exchange patterns):* answers an *initiation* turn by the teacher

restricted code:

term used to refer to a variety of language which is used in informal situations, characterized in part by being reliant on extralinguistic context to derive meaning; compare with *elaborated code*

r-lessness:

the lack of pronunciation of an /r/ in post-vocalic position in a word; for instance the word ‘car’ pronounced as /ka/

Roman script:
the alphabetic writing system used for many modern-day languages, including English

Russification:
the promotion of Russian language (and culture) through the Soviet Union

sample:
the group of research participants in a given study

***judgment sample* or**
sample in which the researcher begins with certain
quota sample: demographic criteria and selects research participants who fit into these predetermined categories

random sample:
a sample in which everyone in the population has an equal chance of being selected; generally impossible to achieve in sociolinguistic studies

stratified sample:
sampling based on separation of the population into supposedly homogeneous sub-groups; selection of research participants within these groups should be random, and groups at all levels of stratification should be included

sampling:
the process of specifying how research participants will be selected

Sanskritization:
promotion of words of Sanskrit origin (as opposed to, in particular, English origin) in modern-day Hindi

setting and scene:
the term used in the ethnography of communication to refer to the time, place, and cultural description for a particular communicative event

sex categories:
social categories which are based on the assumption of biological distinction; typically include ‘male’ and ‘female’ but may also include other, culturally specific categories

sexist:

distinguishing between the sexes in a way which assumes that all men/women share certain characteristics and implies superiority of one sex over the other

sexuality:
identification based on sexual orientation, preferences, and activity; includes but is not limited to identities as heterosexual or *LGBTQ*

sharp stratification:
clear-cut differences between two groups in the use of linguistic features, usually associated with grammatical features; compare with *gradient stratification*

sign :
a unit of language used to designate meaning

situational codeswitching:
choice of code based on the norms of the situation; compare with *metaphorical codeswitching*

social class:
hierarchical categories based on social and economic factors

social constructionist:
the idea that our social reality (including social identities) is brought into being through social behavior, including language use; see also *construction of social identities*

social dialect, social
the language spoken within a particular social group, the *dialectology:* study of such varieties

social distance:
a means of evaluating the relationship between two people based on affect, solidarity, and familiarity

social group:
any grouping of people, but most often in sociolinguistics used to refer to socioeconomic classes or ethnic groups

social network:
described from the perspective of a particular individual (ego), the social connections (called

‘network ties’) of different types that form their regular interactions and influences:
see *dense social network* , *loose social network* , and *multiplex social network*

social power:
the ability of a group or institution to control the acts and worldview of other groups

social variable:
see *variable*

society:
a general term for a group of people drawn together for particular purpose(s) and who share at least some cultural norms

sociology of language:
the study of how social structure can be better understood through the study of language; see *macro-sociolinguistics*

solidarity:
a common bond between individuals, usually associated with identification with the same social group

speaker agency:
a perspective on language choice and linguistic variation which focuses on the speaker’s strategic use (intentional but not necessarily conscious) of particular ways of speaking

speech community:
a term used to describe a group of people who share linguistic norms; some definitions also focus on shared speech patterns

stable variation:
variation between two or more forms which is not part of ongoing change but continues to occur as part of formal/informal variation in a language

stance, stancetaking:
the use of language to position oneself with regard to other interlocutors as well as attitudes and ideologies being discussed

Standard American English:

a term to describe the normatively prescribed dialect of English in the USA

standard language ideology:
the ideology that there is one dialect which is superior to others, and that this is a ‘natural’ order of things

standardized language:
a dialect of a language which is considered superior to other dialects:
Received Pronunciation has this status in British English

standardization:
the process of recognizing a particular way of speaking as the norm or prestigious, and codifying this dialect

status planning:
a type of *language planning* which focuses on changing (usually elevating) the position of a language in a particular society

stereotype:
a generalization about members of a group based on the idea that all members of the group will share certain personal characteristics

stereotype (linguistic variable):
a linguistic feature which is consciously and commonly associated with a particular social group; may not actually be part of the ways of speaking of members of that group

stops:
also called ‘plosives,’ a term used to refer to sounds which are formed through the stopping of air flowing through the vocal tract; examples from English include /p/ or /t/

strategy factors:
factors in language planning and policy research which have to do with the goal of the research

stratified sample:
see *sample*

structuralism:

a theoretical framework which analyzes societies in terms of their social systems which exist separate from agents and imagined realities

style:

the level of formality in the way of speaking; there are more formal and less formal styles of every variety

substrate:

a term used to refer to the native languages of the speakers who participate in the formation of pidgin and creole languages; compare with *superstrate*

substratist:

a position in the study of *P/C language* formation that focuses on the role of the substrate languages

superdiversity:

a term used to denote diversity which goes beyond the presence of several identifiable groups

superstrate:

a term used to refer to the target language in the formation of pidgin and creole languages; see also *lexifier language* , and compare with *substrate*

synchronic (linguistics):

the study of a language at a given point of time; compare with *diachronic linguistics*

time on task:

a term used in the discussion of language learning to discuss the factor of amount of exposure to the target language

transfer:

in second language acquisition, the use of features from one's first language in production of the language being acquired

transgender:

a term used to refer to people whose gender expression does not match their assigned sex category; independent of sexual orientation

transition relevant place:

a moment in a conversation in which a speaker's turn could plausibly end, and the next speaker could begin his or her turn

translanguaging:
the incorporation of all aspects of a speaker's repertoire into discourse, including elements from different varieties, registers, and styles

transmission:
the acquisition of language by children

transnational:
related to contact and identification with more than one nation

trend study:
a type of *real-time* study in which different members of the same community are studied at different points of time; compare with *panel study*

tu and vous forms:
using the words for the French pronouns, this term is used to refer to all such informal and formal pronoun forms across languages

turn-taking:
the switch from one speaker to another within a conversation

two-way (or dual language)
a type of bilingual education in which half of the pupils in *immersion:* a classroom are speakers of the majority language and half are speakers of the minority language; all students are instructed in both languages

unilingualism:
a situation in which only one language is supported in terms of language use in politics, economics, legal contexts, and public social life

unmarked choice:
the expected code for a particular situation

validity:
in research design, the extent to which the data collected address the research question appropriately

VARBRUL:
a set of statistical programs designed to analyze linguistic variation in sociolinguistic research

variable:
a unit in language which is subject to *variation*

dependent variable:
a linguistic variable which is assumed to fluctuate with changes in the social factors being studied

independent variable:
a social variable (e.g., age, ethnicity, social class) which is being studied in a sociolinguistic analysis; thought to correlate with particular linguistic variables

variant:
a linguistic form which is one of several forms which can be used to express a particular meaning; for example, *wasn't* and *weren't* may both be used in the same linguistic context in some varieties of English (e.g., *I wasn't* or *I weren't*)

variation:
the idea that there are a variety of ways of saying things, and which code, lexical item, pronunciation, and so on is used has social meaning

variationist sociolinguistics:
see *quantitative sociolinguistics* and *variation studies*

variation studies:
one school of research within sociolinguistics

first-wave variation studies:
primary focus on the correlation of dependent and independent variables

second-wave variation studies:
built on the first wave to include ethnographic information about social factors and speaker agency

third-wave variation studies:
shift from looking at how language reflects membership in particular social categories to how language is used to construct social identities

variety:
a word used to refer to a particular way of speaking, usually associated with a particular region or group of speakers; see *code* , *language* , and *dialect*

verbal -s marking:

use of the - *s* morpheme on verbs; in Standard English, this is only in third-person singular contexts (e.g., ‘she goes’); this may be absent in some dialects of English, or be used in another linguistic context (e.g., ‘the preachers likes’)

verbal guise:

a method for looking at language attitudes in which research participants hear different speakers and rate them, the idea being that the varieties they speak influence their ratings; compare with *matched guise*

vernacular:

a way of speaking that is colloquial and casual; has the connotation of being the native, ingroup way of speaking for a social group

vernacular norms:

norms in a vernacular (i.e., nonstandard) variety which are associated with ingroup solidarity as opposed to wider social prestige

vowel reduction:

the articulation of an unstressed vowel as a mid-central vowel (i.e., /ə/)

wave account of language

an approach to the study of language change which uses *change:* the metaphor of waves to describe how changes flow and overlap

Whorfian hypothesis:

also called the Sapir Whorf hypothesis, this hypothesis represents a view of the relationship between language and thought proposed by US linguist Edward Sapir (1884–1939) and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941). It includes the idea that language determines (or at least influences) the way we think, and that distinctions found in one language are not directly translatable into another

worldview:

way of seeing the world, or how reality is structured; often used in discussion of the *Whorfian hypothesis*

zero copula:

the non-use of a form of the verb ‘to be’; a feature of AAVE (e.g., ‘they tall’ (Standard English, ‘they are tall’))

Index

a

b

C

d

e

f

g

h

i

j

k

l

O

p

q

r

S

t

U

V

W

y

Z

WILEY END USER LICENSE AGREEMENT