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FACULTY OF ARTS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE AND ENGLISH

Third Year Linguistics Lectures

(Semester 5)

Teacher in Charge:

Dr. Fatma ZAHALI

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Content

Lecture 1: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand the relationship between linguistics and sociolinguistics
- Distinguish between micro- and macro-linguistics
- Understand what is sociolinguistics: its emergence, scope, and aim

Content of the Lecture

1.1. Introduction

Language is the essence of what makes us humans and differentiates us from the other species. It is still one of the most complex phenomena as it is part of all human aspects: identity, personality, religion, culture, history, belonging, ethnicity, mind, brain, education, politics, economy, media, communication, technology, etc. For that reason, there is no single definition that can explain what the human language mean exactly. Our understanding of language grows all the time with the development of the field of language study, which is increasingly enlarging its scope to highlight new perspectives. Language has always attracted the attention of scholars and thinkers since ancient times. Yet, the scientific study of language is relatively new as it became an autonomous field only at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Third year linguistics is a continuation to the two previous years: first year deals primarily with an introduction to language and linguistics, while second year focuses on: 1) the distinction between traditional language studies and modern linguistics and 2) schools of thought in linguistics, including structuralism, functionalism, behaviourism, and generativism. So, this course goes beyond theoretical as it tackles two major branches sociolinguistics in the first semester and psycholinguistics in the second.

Lecture 1, *"An Introduction to Sociolinguistics"*, aims to clarify for the students the relationship between linguistics and sociolinguistics. It begins first with a brief overview of modern linguistics and how it developed since 1916. Then, a distinction between micro- and macro-linguistics is drawn to make students able to situate sociolinguistics within the broad field of linguistics. Finally, light is shed on sociolinguistics: its definition, aim, scope, and emergence are all highlighted.

1.2. A Brief Overview about Modern Linguistics

The publication of de Saussure's lectures *"Cours de Linguistique Générale"* in 1916 marked the beginning of "Linguistics" with its modern version, that is concerned primarily with the scientific study of human language. This has contributed to the development of linguistics as an autonomous field of study which concerns itself with investigating all aspects of language relying on modern methods of inquiry, instead of studying language in relation to other fields such as philosophy, religion, history, etc. unlike what traditional grammarians did. Accordingly, linguists have enriched our understanding of what human language means and clarified how it is different from other systems of communication.

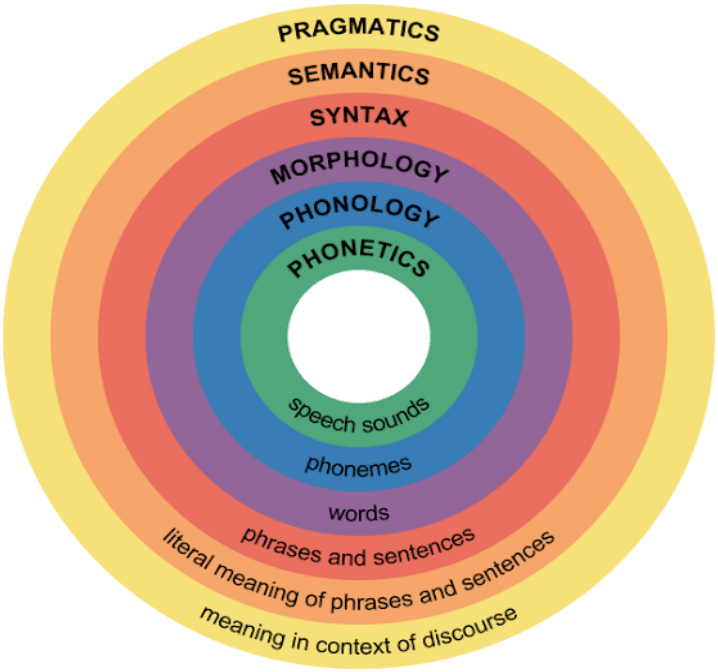
The different levels of linguistics (phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics) have been studied in details thanks to the scientific contributions of many linguists who set the ground for the construction of the study of language and linguistics. Amongst the most widely known figures in this field are Ferdinand de Saussure, Leonard Bloomfield, Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Benjamin Lee Whorf, Roman Jacobson, Noam Chomsky, and others, who did not only develop the different levels of linguistics but they also studied language from different perspectives and helped in explaining the different angles of human language, which is considered as one of the most complex human phenomena that cannot be easily defined. Hence, many schools of linguistics emerged (mainly Structuralism, Functionalism, Behaviourism, and Generativism) that study language differently but at the same time have complementary findings, as a better understanding of the nature of human language requires taking into account all of the results they obtained.

With the development of linguistics, more and more aspects of language started to be studied leading to a further enrichment of this science as well as uncovering many new features of language. Therefore, the field of linguistics has been opened to include many sub-branches that study scientifically the correlation between language and other extra-linguistic aspects (such as society, culture, history, geography, human mind, education, politics, economy,

technology, etc.); though linguistics in its beginning emphasised the autonomy of language study that deals only with "language in itself and for itself" and strived to disregard all features that are external to language system. Actually, language can never occur in a vacuum, as it is always related to other aspects since it represents the complexity of the human being.

1.3. Micro- and Macro-Linguistics

According to what has been stated above, the scientific study of language can be classified into two categories. First, micro-linguistics, studies the language system in isolation from external features (see figure 1 below). It has been first initiated by Ferdinand de Saussure as a reaction against traditional language studies, which studied language as part of other disciplines such as philosophy, religion, history, etc. Micro-linguistics on the other hand focus on the language system "in itself" (its components, structure, grammar, etc.) and "for itself" (for the sake of understanding the nature of the human language rather than using it as a means to understand other features like religion, human mind, history, and so on). This has led to the development of what is often referred to as the levels of linguistics: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, that have contributed to our understanding of what is the human language.



Phonetics: studies the production, the transmission and the reception of speech sounds.

Phonology: studies the arrangement and the functions of speech sounds within structures.

Morphology: the study of word structure.

Syntax: the study of sentence structure.

Semantics: studies meaning in words and sentences.

Pragmatics: studies language use in communication / in its context.

Figure 1.1. Micro-Linguistics (Levels of Linguistics)

Second, macro-linguistics, on the other hand, deals with the correlation between language and other extra-linguistic aspects (see figure 2 below). Indeed, language study is interdisciplinary because it is not only about grammatical rules but it is, rather, tied to any human phenomenon since language is structured according to the structure of such external features like geography, society, history, technology, politics, etc. As a result, many branches of linguistics have developed to shed light on the correlation between language and these aspects; i.e. these branches deal with how language systems are influenced by these extra-linguistic items.

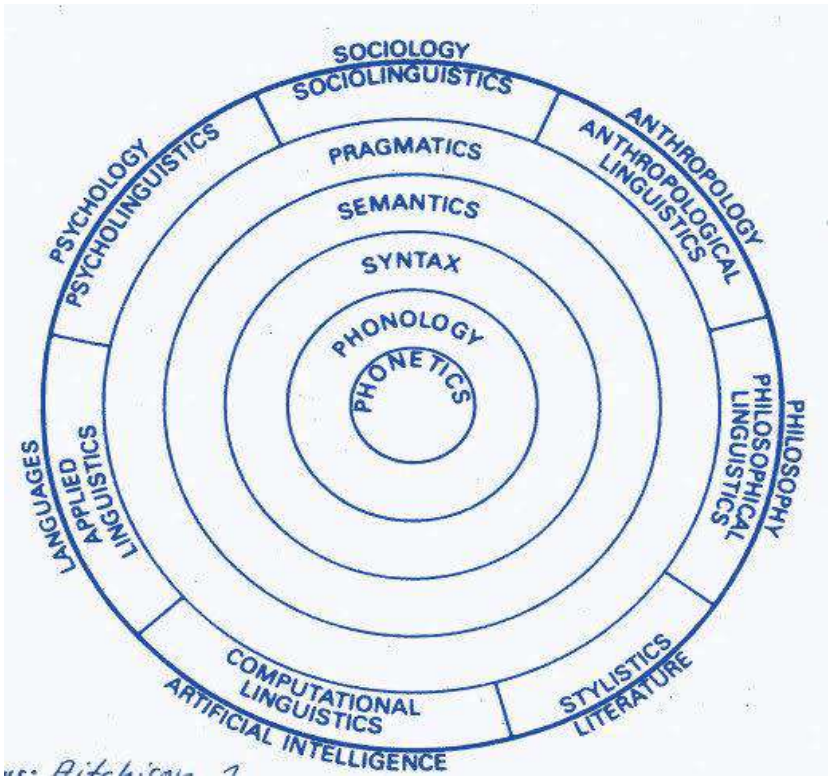


Figure 1.2. Macro-Linguistics

Sociolinguistics, as the name implies, attempts to study the link between language and society. It is one of the branches of linguistics that enhanced our understanding of language as a social phenomenon, as it is actually used by people in different social situations rather than mere descriptions of its structures and rules that are not static but they vary because of the impact of social variables and contexts.

1.4. Sociolinguistics Defined

This branch to language study emphasises the fact that language is not an individual but it is mainly a social practice because when we speak, we do not only highlight our individuality,

but we show our ties to a group, or a community as well. The task of sociolinguistics is to study the interaction between our linguistic practice and the social phenomena that affect it. Therefore, sociolinguistics is a term that refers to the study of the relationship between language and society. It is the outcome of the research pioneered by the brilliant linguists in the 1960s; namely William Labov, Charles Ferguson, Joshua Fishman, and Peter Trudgill, among others, who were applying their keen analytical abilities to discover and explore a variety of systematic correlations between language and society. That is, sociolinguistics is a developing branch of linguistics and sociology which examines the individual and the social variation of language.

It is a research with a relatively short history, a very rich and rapidly expanding field of inquiry. That is, there are clear attempts at re-grounding linguistics on a new basis. The emphasis on linguistic variations and actual performance is in clear opposition with theoretical linguistics that has been developed by previous linguists such as de Saussure, Bloomfield and Chomsky who focus on the internal system of language rather than on how it is actually used by people in the different language situations. Accordingly, the study of language and society goes beyond mere descriptions of linguistic items and focuses on how these systems vary according to the impact of social variables as well as social contexts. This angle of language has not been tackled by theoretical linguists.

In other words, variability within a language or a dialect and variations across languages have not been central concerns in the dominant linguistic theories of the 20th century Saussurean theory, American and Prague school structuralism, and Chomskyan theory. One consequence of this is that linguistic theories are largely based on standardised forms of languages rather than on the more variable forms of naturalistic speech that do really exist and prevail people's actual linguistic practices in every day communication. Besides, sociolinguists observe that linguistic scholars do not only focus on uniform states of languages, but also equate this uniformity with structuredness. That is, they believe that only uniform states can be structured and tend to dismiss variability in language.

Thus, sociolinguistics deals with how linguistic aspects, including vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation, are affected by social variables such as age, gender, social class, education, regional belonging, religion, culture, etc. Besides, due to the interdisciplinary nature of the field, the study of this correlation can either focus more on language than society or vice versa, depending on the aim of the study.

Interestingly, sociolinguistics goes beyond mere descriptions of how language is influenced by social variables. It actually deals with broader perspectives such as the interplay between society, politics, economy, and language. For instance, it attempts to explain how and why certain varieties or forms of language are taken up while others are discarded, relating aspects of language uptake or decline to various social contexts. In addition, people's attitudes towards language also constitutes an interesting issue in this field. Sociolinguists in this respect try to examine why are some forms of language are viewed as "better" or "worse" than others and what impacts do such views have on the different types of people and language use itself.

Moreover, in complex language situations that involve more than one form, it is of a paramount importance to shed light on what people do with these varieties. In other words, what functions they employ within society. Besides, in multilingual contexts, consequences of language contact, both at the micro as well as the macro levels, also attract the attention of scholars. In tune with multilingual contexts, another aim of sociolinguistics is to account for the future of languages all over the world in the globalisation era.

Consequently, the course deals with the interaction between language and society from two different perspectives: micro- and macro-sociolinguistics (see lecture 2) due to its interdisciplinary nature. Students will also explore the major factors that paved the way for the emergence of sociolinguistics alongside many other topics related to the aims of sociolinguistics, including language varieties, language and dialect, multilingualism, diglossia, language planning, and globalisation.

1.5. Major Aims of Sociolinguistics

- It studies the ways in which language and social contexts interact.
- It explains how linguistics forms interact with social categories such as socio-economic status, gender, age, and other factors.
- It examines differences in language use according to people's age, social class, ethnicity, gender, education, etc.
- It identifies the variation in language and its relationship with social factors.
- It explains how and why people speak differently in different social contexts.
- It describes the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context on the way language is used.
- It analyses patterns of language use and attitudes towards language.

- It uncovers the social relations in a community. For instance, a person probably would not speak the same way to a boss at work as s/he would do with friends, or to strangers like family members.
- It describes how shifts in speech contexts cause variations in speaking styles.
- It lists the reasons why "standard" national dialects are problematic propositions.
- It studies what people do with their languages and the functions attributed to the different varieties by society.
- It identifies factors of multilingualism and consequences of language contact.
- It examines factors of language choice.
- It studies globalisation and its impact on languages all over the world.

1.6. Conclusion

In a nutshell, sociolinguistics can simply be defined as a branch of study in the broader field of linguistics that has developed as an independent discipline since the 1960s. It can be applied to any area of research that combines between any aspect of human's daily social experiences and linguistic practices. Thus, *"the sociolinguist's task is then to show the systematic co-variance of linguistic structure and social structure"* (Bright, 1966: n.p.). It is, hence, a hybrid field of study as it draws on various disciplines; namely linguistics, sociology, anthropology, history, social psychology, among others.

Lecture 2: Approaches of Sociolinguistics

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand the two approaches of sociolinguistics
- Identify differences between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics
- Understand the complementary nature of the two approaches
- Classify and investigate research issues according to the approach of study

Content of the Lecture

2.1. Introduction

As has been explained previously, sociolinguistics is an interdisciplinary field as it comes at the intersection of at least two different sciences; including linguistics, sociology, anthropology, history, among others. This has led to the hybridity of the discipline as it draws on insights from different sources resulting accordingly to two major dimensions of language study in correlation with society. The focus depends on the aim of the study; that can be arranged either within the micro-end of sociolinguistics or the macro-end. Yet, scholars agree that a clear cut between the two approaches is not always possible as there is an overlap between the two. In order to reach the learning objectives, the lecture targets the following points: 1) definition of micro-and macro-sociolinguistics, 2) differences between the two approaches, and 3) how they overlap.

2.2. Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics

Since sociolinguistics is a meeting ground of both linguistics and sociology, themes can be tackled from two different perspectives depending on the angle that language scholars emphasise: the study may lean either more towards language or towards society. That is, the

former focuses on the social aspects of language (the focus is on language) and it is more likely to be investigated by linguists, dialectologists and others in language-centred fields. The latter, however, seeks to understand the linguistic aspects of society (the focus is on society) and it is more frequently taken up by sociologists and social psychologists. These approaches to language study are referred to as micro- and macro-sociolinguistics respectively or alternatively sociolinguistics in the narrow sense and the sociology of language in a broader one.

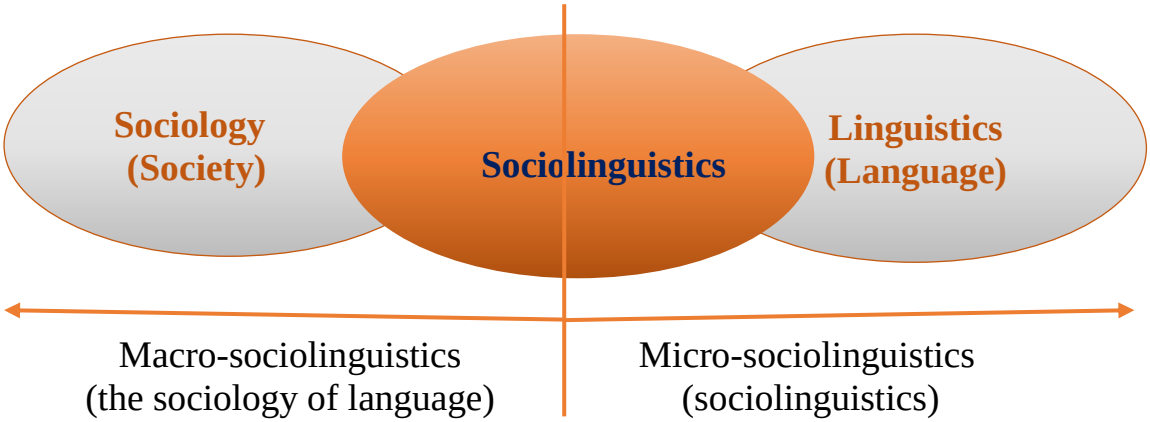


Figure 2.1. Approaches of Sociolinguistics

In other words, though sociolinguistics deals with the correlation between language and society, the study can either focus on linguistics variants (in vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation) at a narrow scale or on broader social phenomena (such as culture, politics, economy, education, ethnicity) in relation to language. This distinction is often referred to in the literature as micro- and macro-sociolinguistics.

2.3. Definition of Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics

As has been stated above, there is a clear distinction between the two approaches of sociolinguistics depending on the aims of each, as the former targets language more than society while the latter focuses on society more than language. The following is a selection of some definitions of leading figures in the field of sociolinguistics.

- According to Spolsky (1998):

> *At what is often called the micro end of sociolinguistics, the sociolinguist's goal might be to show how specific differences in pronunciation or grammar lead members of a speech community to make judgements about the education or economic status of a speaker (…). At the other – the macro – end of the spectrum, sometimes labelled the sociology of language as distinct from sociolinguistics, the scholar's primary attention turns from the specific linguistic phenomena to the*

whole of a language or variety (…). In macro-sociolinguistics, we treat language (and a specific language) alongside other human cultural phenomena.

- In Coulmas' (1997) terms:

Micro-sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varies and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex, and age. Macro-sociolinguistics, on the other hand, studies what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement (…).

- For Fishman (1972: 53-6):

The more linguistically oriented a particular study may be, the more likely it is to remain content with micro-level analysis (…). However, the more societally oriented a particular sociolinguistic study may be, the more concerned with investigating social processes and societal organisation per se, the more likely it is to seek successively more macro-level analyses.

Thus, the definitions exhibit clear opposition of the goals of both levels of sociolinguistics.

2.4. Distinction between Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics

The aforementioned definitions distinguish between the two approaches of sociolinguistics. Micro-sociolinguistics (also labelled sociolinguistics), focuses on linguistic variations (items) such as aspects of grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation that result from the impact of social variables (factors) like gender, age, social class, region, ethnicity, etc. Bright (1966: n.d.) assumes in this respect that: *"the sociolinguist's task is then to show the systematic co-variance of linguistic structure and social structure"*. So, the focus of this approach is language and how it is influenced by social factors. A sociolinguist in this case, for instance, may seek to figure out differences in vocabulary and language choice between males and females. In this topic, the researcher's aim is to investigate variation in language use and choice because of the impact of gender, i.e., it is a linguistic-oriented research not sociological.

Macro-sociolinguistics (also labelled the sociology of language), however, is more a societally oriented discipline, as it goes beyond linguistic aspects and seeks to find out explanations from broader social factors such as history, politics, economy, people's attitudes,

etc. Referring to the same example mentioned above (gender differences in language use), macro-sociolinguistics would study it differently since the focus will not be on language but rather on the factors that lead to the systematic differences between males and females in language use. In this respect, researchers assume that language is used differently across genders because females tend to use more prestigious, standard, and polite speech forms as a strategy/resource to overcome the culturally-constructed gender roles, power relationships, and gender stereotypes, while males use casual styles to disclose themselves from feminine speech. Thus, the emphasis in this angle of study is not differences in language, but the possible social and cultural factors that determine such differences.

Micro-Sociolinguistics

- It identifies language variation amongst age groups (young and old people, for instance).
- It describes the structure, grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation of Tamazight in Algeria.
- It studies differences in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation between language varieties. For instance, there are clear differences between American English (AE) and Ebonics/Afro-American English (AAE). Among the most commonly discussed features of Ebonics are: **1)** omission of (*to be*) in sentences like *"Larry sick*", *"Sharen gon home"*; **2)** double negation as in *"she don wan nothing"*; **3)** lack of subject-verb agreement, as in *"he do"*; **4)** the use of (*steady*) to indicate persistence in constructions like *"she steady talking"* to mean *"she persists in talking"*, etc. So, the focus in these examples is on language rather than on society.

Macro-Sociolinguistics

- It attempts to explain why young people speak differently from old people and what are the reasons behind language change.
- It explains why is Tamazight in Algeria still maintained in spite of all social changes and political policies.
- It studies people's attitudes towards language varieties: why some forms are viewed as "better" or "worse" than others and what impacts do such assumptions have on different types of people and language use itself. For instance, differences between AE and AAE date back to the history of slavery and descendants suffered from discrimination for a long time and so does their language variety as it has always been associated with their dark history and their dark skin. Therefore, AAE is often restricted to informal usages rather than being used as a language of instruction in education or in administration, official documents, and books.

Figure 2.2. Illustrations of the Differences between the Approaches of Sociolinguistics

Thought the two approaches have clearly defined objectives, some scholars argue that the distinction between them is not always possible, as they are arranged in a continuum that stretches from language-oriented to social-oriented studies in the field of sociolinguistics.

2.5. Is there a Clear Cut between Micro- and Macro- Sociolinguistics?

In spite of the fact that the two approaches of study have different research agendas, there is a general agreement that both perspectives are indispensable for a full understanding of language as a social phenomenon. Coulmas (1997) says in this respect that: *"the divorce of sociolinguistics from the sociology of language is often one of appearance rather than substance. There is no sharp dividing line between the two"*. In other words, most sociolinguistic researches involve an overlap between features from different angles rather than focusing only on one angle, as explanations are often provided alongside illustrations of linguistic phenomena.

2.6. Conclusion

In a nutshell, the themes tackled in sociolinguistics point to its interdisciplinary/hybrid nature in which aspects from linguistics and sociology, in addition to other human sciences, are joined together to study how language is influenced by the social structures in which it operates. Indeed, the study of language as a form of social and cultural behaviour is not the prerogative domain of any particular discipline. It is a field of enquiry where different disciplines meet and share related set of data. Therefore, an understanding of the advent of sociolinguistics involves, in part, an indication of how linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and dialectology have helped to lay down theoretical basis, and paved the way for the emergence of a field of study that is mainly based on empirical data of actual language use in different social contexts. Thus, sociolinguistics constitutes a confluence of disciplines sharing, in part, the same subject matter. This relatively new sub-discipline of linguistics may, in turn, hold out greater promise for a more systematic examination of language variability and communicative competence.

Lecture 3: Factors that Led to the Emergence of Sociolinguistics

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand the different factors that led to the emergence of sociolinguistics.
- Understand the concept of language variation and its reasons and importance in the field.
- Define what is meant by communicative competence.
- Differentiate between linguistic competence and communicative competence.
- Understand the theory of linguistic relativity and the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.
- Understand what is dialectology, its characteristics, history, and how it has been integrated into sociolinguistics.

Content of the Lecture

3.1. Introduction

Sociolinguistics is said to emerge and develop since the 1960s as an independent branch within the broader field of linguistics thanks to the important research pioneered by sociolinguists like Peter Tradgill, William Labov, Joshua Fishman, Charles Ferguson, to name but a few. This branch of language study came to highlight the correlation between language and society and how language is actually used in the act of communication by people in everyday life in different language situations. There is, therefore, a clear opposition between sociolinguistics and theoretical linguistics that has developed since 1916 thanks to the major leading names such as Ferdinand de Saussure, Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Benjamin Lee Whorf, Roman Jacobson, Leonard Bloomfield, and Noam Chomsky, among others. It is of a paramount importance at this level to uncover the most important factors that paved the way for the

emergence of sociolinguistics. The lecture sheds light on four major factors that did not only contribute to the birth of sociolinguistics but they are also considered among the most important issues and aims of the field. These factors are: 1) language variation, 2) communicative competence, 3) linguistic relativity, and 4) dialectology.

3.2. Language Variation

Variability in language is a natural consequence of language use in a particular social context. This includes who the user of language is and the situation in which the language is being used. To put it in other words, a language varies, on the one hand, according to the user's age, gender, education, economic background, regional belonging, religion, social class, etc. Indeed, aspects of people's social belonging are indicated through the way they speak, since their speech provides clues to others about who they are and where they come from. For instance, just as regional variation of language can provide a lot of information about the place the speaker is from, social variation tells about the roles performed by a given speaker within a community.

On the other hand, the way people speak is influenced by the social context of language use. This context includes who is talking (his/her age, gender, regional belonging, social class, education, etc.), to whom (wife, husband, boss, worker, a friend, etc.), the setting (home, work, school, etc.), and the topic of discussion (politics, sports, religion, gossip, cooking, etc.). That is, everyone can modify the way they speak depending on who they are with or what the situation is. This notion has been labelled by the American sociolinguist, Joshua Fishman: the domain theory. A domain of language use involves typical interactions, between typical participants in typical settings about a typical topic. Examples of these domains are family, friendship, religion, education, employment, etc. Furthermore, setting is the physical situation or the place where speech interactions occur. It has a close link with code choice; that is to say, linguistic practices vary according to the settings where communication takes place (such as home, mosque, church, school, office, etc.). See the following figure for more clarification:

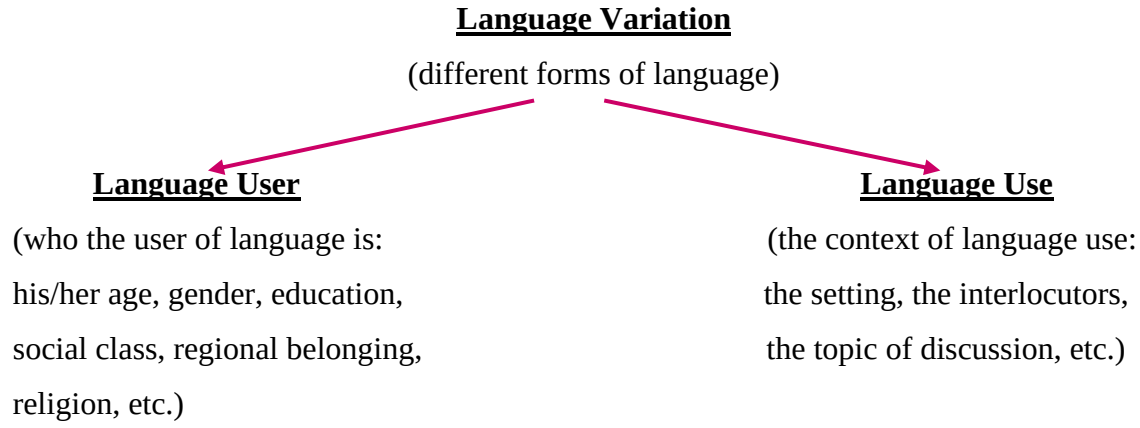


Figure 3.1. Factors of Language Variation

Thus, one of the most important factors that led to the emergence of sociolinguistics as an integral branch in linguistics is the fact that language variations did not constitute part of the theoretical linguists' agenda, though they claimed a descriptive research approach that aims primarily to describe objectively linguistic phenomena as they occur in real-life situations. Moreover, they also neglect the fact that when people communicate with others they do not only rely on their knowledge about language (linguistic competence) because their speech is also determined by their knowledge about society (communicative competence).

3.3. Communicative Competence

In this respect, Dell Hymes (1972) asserts that *"there are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless"*. Language use, then, involves two complementary categories of rules: grammatical as well as social. We need to know, in addition to the innate grammatical rules, the social norms that determine the appropriate language use according to particular social situations. Hymes (1972: 277) states that:

> *We have to account for the fact that a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not to speak, and as what to talk about with whom, when, where in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events and so evaluate their accomplishment by others. This competence, moreover, is integrated with attitudes, values, and motivations concerning language, its features, uses....*

Given this new dimension of language appropriateness, Hymes (1972), proposes an expansion of Chomsky's competence to include contextual and social rules. He advances the notion of

communicative competence that stands in opposition with Chomsky's linguistic competence, marking the beginning of a new revolution in the field of language study.

Though Noam Chomsky put forward an alternative linguistic paradigm to the previously prevalent structural linguistics, his theories were criticised in turn. The new paradigm, labelled transformational generative grammar, sought to characterise the system of knowledge located in the mind\brain of a native speaker and allowing him to produce and understand a particular language. That is, the fundamental object of linguistics, according to Chomsky, is to account for the native speaker's innate linguistic abilities which enable him/her to make infinite use of finite means, in other words, to produce and understand by means of a finite set of rules an endless number of sentences. Chomsky (1965) proposed the terms competence and performance in modern linguistics to distinguish between the innate grammatical knowledge and the actual use of such a knowledge in real-life situations. Thus, competence is an abstract formal system subject to systematic investigation, whereas performance is a random set of individual variable utterances. However, Hymes was unsatisfied about this categorisation and considered it as insufficient for the accurate description of what actually constitutes the human language.

There are, thus, two complementary types of competence (linguistic and communicative) which together ensure the appropriate performance; that is, the appropriate use of language in concrete social settings. Such an interplay can be illustrated as follows:

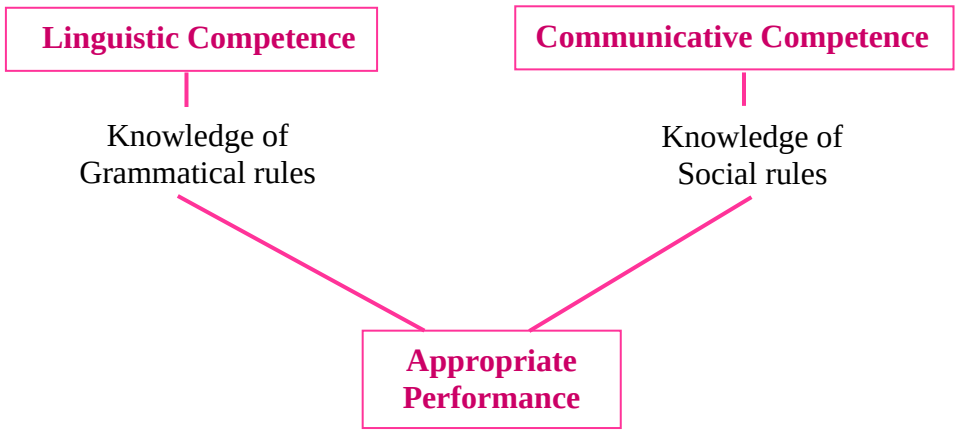


Figure 3.2. Hymes' (1971) Idea of Communicative Competence

In short, Linguistics has now widened its scope in such a way to account for both linguistic competence (generative grammar) and communicative competence (sociolinguistics).

In addition to the notions of language variation and communicative competence, sociolinguistics owes a lot to the idea of linguistic relativity that has been introduced by the linguists who were concerned about the correlation between language and culture at the beginning of the 20th century.

3.4. Linguistic Relativity

Linguistic relativity refers to a number of assumptions and hypotheses about the relationship between language and culture. In one version it is argued that since the linguistic representation of the world is arbitrary, each language constitutes a system that is incommensurable with other systems (languages). Another version claims that such linguistic diversity has implications for perceiving and thinking. These ideas which were first articulated by the German diplomat and linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767- 1835), were popularised in the US (at the beginning of the 20th century by the structuralists Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, and Benjamin Lee Whorf) and elsewhere through what came to be known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.

The theory of linguistic relativity became a standing point in the field of linguistic anthropology. It assumes that language is an instrument of culture, that is, as the voice, tool, and foundation of any human experience. In other words, linguistic relativity emphasises differences between the different systems of human communication due to the fact that each language is strictly tied to the culture it represents. Hence, in spite of the fact that these early American anthropologists were structuralists and their methods of language study were energised by the principles of modern linguistics, they have had their own way of perceiving language that differentiates them from other European structuralists. They were different in two major features: 1) they studied language in relation to culture and 2) they pointed to the differences between languages (they were arguing against overgeneralisations that would obscure differences between languages and believed that the material content of words – meaning of lexical items – is language specific, though there are a number of grammatical categories that are likely to be found in all languages). I.e., language systems are different because they are linked to the cultures they represent: linguistic relativity.

In other words, sociolinguistics came to highlight language variations that are the outcome of the correlation between language and society. This angle has been neglected by theoretical linguists who paid much attention to language struturedness and uniformity. However,

American structuralists pointed to it and linked the language system to an extra-linguistic item (culture). This can be considered as one of the factors that paved the way for the emergence of a branch of language study that deals with the different realisations of language due to the impact of external aspects. Furthermore, regional variations in language have been given credit in scholarly investigations even before the emergence of modern linguistics itself. The field of dialectology that flourished in the 19th century became now an integral part of the field of sociolinguistics.

3.5. Dialectology

Dialectology constitutes an early attempt to deal systematically with dialectal variation, regional dialects in particular. Its main tasks are to study the way in which dialects vary gradually from one region to another and to map the distribution of linguistic forms (features of pronunciation, grammar, and lexis). According to Spolsky (1998), "dialectology is the search for spatially and geographically determined differences in various aspects of language. For each village or region that they study, dialectologists want to know the typical local vocabulary or pronunciation". In other words, dialectologists study scientifically differences in linguistic aspects (vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar) across different regions, which are supposed to speak the same language (but they exhibit differences due to geographical distance like the case of the differences between the different Arabic or English dialects that are spoken in different regions).

Traditionally, the subjects of choice of dialectology were usually old people who have lived all their lives in one location and who have had minimum of education because they were looking for "pure" and "original" language. Besides, they were also interested in the historical development of linguistic items. That is to say, though dialectology tackled one of the variations of language (regional variations), it was heavily influenced by the principles of traditional grammar (subjectivity, selection, diachronic study, and lack of exhaustiveness). Actually, many features that characterise sciences were missing in their studies; their findings did not reflect the language spoken by all people such as the varieties spoken by young and educated people as well as urban dialects, which were considered as "impure" and "deviations" from the "original" form of language. Modern linguistics, however, was primarily devoted to establish a science for language study that relied on scientific methods like objectivity, exhaustiveness, and consistency and rejected accordingly the ways in which traditional grammarians studied language, including traditional dialectology.

In recent years, dialectology has been adopted into sociolinguistics and it is paying much attention to social rather than geographical variations. Factors such as age, gender, social class, and ethnicity are now seen as critical alongside regional variations. Yet, no one can deny the important contributions of traditional dialectologists who relied on very humble and traditional methods to accomplish their studies. For instance, The "Atlas Linguistique de la France", which was published in 13 volumes in the period between 1902 and 1910, stands as the most influential work in the history of dialectology. Dialectology nowadays has benefitted enormously from the development of techniques, using tape recorders, computers, and software programs for quantitative content analysis, among many other methods of empirical research. Nevertheless, there are fewer big regional dialect projects because of the large costs involved in collecting, analysing, and publishing dialect data; but it is also partly due to the new direction dialectal studies have taken (studying social factors and urban rather than rural dialects).

Therefore, interest in language variation has existed a long time before the emergence of linguistics (1916) and sociolinguistics (1960s). Regional varieties have been studied in details in many countries especially in France and Germany, while social varieties have only recently been subject of scholarly investigations as a result of interest in social variables that influence people's language use.

3.6. Conclusion

To conclude, the lecture tackles the major factors that paved the way for the emergence of sociolinguistics. First, this field of study has developed mainly as a result of the shortcomings of twentieth-century theoretical linguistics, which focused primarily on standard languages and neglected language variations that result from the impact of society. Consequently, twentieth-century linguists based their research on Langue/linguistic competence (knowledge about language) without paying attention to the fact that knowledge about grammar alone does not fit different language situations that require communicative competence as well. Another interesting factor that led to the emergence of sociolinguistics is the important research contribution of American Structuralists at the beginning of the twentieth century, who could develop theories on the link between language and culture. This issue has been adopted and further elaborated by sociolinguists. Last but not least, the branch of sociolinguistics has also benefited from former contributions of traditional dialectologists who succeeded to a great extent to study scientifically regional dialects. Dialectology today has become part of sociolinguistics, though it preceded the emergence of modern linguistics itself.

Lecture 4: Language Varieties

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand the different factors that led to the emergence of sociolinguistics.
- Understand the concept of language variation and its reasons and importance in the field.
- Define what is meant by communicative competence.
- Differentiate between linguistic competence and communicative competence.
- Understand the theory of linguistic relativity and the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.
- Understand what is dialectology, its characteristics, history, and how it has been integrated into sociolinguistics.

Content of the Lecture

4.1. Introduction

Variations of language constitute an important topic in sociolinguistic studies. It is the outcome of the impact of social factors (region, age, social class, education, among others) on linguistic aspects, such as vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, etc. This impact may lead to distinguishable linguistic systems that are the outcome of the correlation between language and a particular social feature. For instance, people who belong to the same region or share the same profession tend to speak differently from others in other regions or other professions. Similarly, teenagers, adults, and old people also exhibit clear language differences. In other words, one

language contains several forms/varieties/linguistic systems due to the fact that language varies considerably according to the language situations or the language users.

4.2. What is Meant by Language Varieties?

In sociolinguistics, language variety is **a general term** for any **distinctive form** of a language. Linguists commonly use language variety (or simply variety) as **a cover term** for any of the **overlapping subcategories of a language**, including dialect, idiolect, register, and social dialect. Linguistic variety is used interchangeably with the term **"lect"**, i.e. they are used to refer to the same concept.

In The Oxford Companion to the English Language (1992), Tom McArthur identifies two broad types of language variety:

- **User-related varieties** are associated with a **particular people** (i.e. a variety can be determined by who the language user is: his/her age, gender, education, ethnicity, social class, regional belonging, etc.). A variety can also be related to a place or a community such as American English (referring to the place where English is spoken) and Afro-American English (referring to the Afro-American community).
- **Use-related varieties** are associated with the functions performed by the variety, such as the language of courts, contracts, literary texts, Internet conversations, etc. like business English, advertising English, medical English, and so on.

Some scholars feel the need for **a more open-ended term** which signifies **any linguistic variety**, whether defined by its **geographical distribution** or by **its use** by people from different social classes, castes, ages, genders, and so on. Lect/variety is intended **to cover all such varieties** – geographical dialect, sociolect, idiolect, and so on – (Lyle Campbell, Historical Linguistics: An Introduction, 2nd ed. MIT Press, 2004). In addition, Suzanne Romaine notes in "Language in Society" (2000), **"Many linguists now prefer the term variety or lect to avoid the sometimes pejorative connotations that the term 'dialect' has"**. That is, the terms variety and lect have neutral meaning that the terms language and dialect often lack, as they have positive and negative connotations respectively. Accordingly, variety has proved to be **a fairly safe term**, allowing language scholars:

- **to avoid being too specific** about kinds of speech and usage on occasions when being specific is not necessary and/or

- **when there is a risk of being charged with discrimination against a group** by calling its usage ‘a dialect’.

4.3. Language Varieties

This lecture covers seven different language varieties: dialect, accent, idiolect, speech style, register, jargon, and slang.

4.3.1. Dialect

The term dialect refers to **the form of language** used by **a group of people** who belong to a specific **area, location, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, or any other group**. It is used to describe features of **grammar** and **vocabulary** as well as **pronunciation** that are used by a particular group of people and **that distinguish them from others around them**. Linguists distinguish between **two types of dialects**:

- **Regional dialects** are varieties of language that are spoken by **a particular group** of people who belong to **the same geographical location**, like British and American English or Algerian and Egyptian Arabic.
- **Social Dialects**, on the other hand, refer to differences in vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation **across social groups**, rather than regional groups. Upper class people speak a different dialect from lower class people even if they belong to the same region. This type of dialect is also often labelled as **“sociolect”**.

It is important to recognise, from a linguistic point of view, that **none of the varieties** of a language is **inherently “better”** than any other; they are simply **different**. From a social point of view, however, some varieties do become **more prestigious**. For example, dialects spoken in **urban** areas are often considered to be more **prestigious** than the ones used in **rural** areas, though they only have **differences** in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. So, prestige is not **linguistically** determined but it is the outcome of people’s **judgements** and **attitudes**.

“Some people think of dialects as **sub-standard** varieties of a language, spoken only by **low-status groups**--illustrated by such comments as **'He speaks correct English, without a trace of dialect.'** Comments of this kind fail to recognize that **standard English is as much a dialect as any other variety**--though a dialect of a rather **special kind**, because it is one to which **society has given extra prestige**. **Everyone speaks a dialect**—whether urban or rural, standard or non-standard, upper class or lower class" (Crystal, 2006).

4.3.2. Accent

Accent is often, **mistakenly**, **used interchangeably** with the term dialect, while they are quite different. Accent refers only to **distinctive pronunciation** (or variation in **phonology**), whereas dialect, as explained above, refers to differences in grammar and vocabulary as well. That is to say, accent can be perceived as being **part of dialect** as it is restricted only to variation in pronunciation. Accent may identify:

- **The locality/region** in which its speakers reside (for instance, you can recognise whether the person speaks American or British English from the way s/he pronounces words and expressions).
- **The socioeconomic status or the social class** of its speakers (e.g. accent of the working class and upper class is different).
- **The speakers' native language** because the pronunciation of a foreign language is often influenced by the mother tongue features, that's why it is sometimes easy to recognise the native language of a person speaking a foreign language. For example, the accents of Indian, French, Spanish, and Arab speakers of English can differ considerably and their mother tongue can be easily recognised.

Usually, **speakers of different dialects** have **different accents** (British English, American English, Canadian English are different in accent as well as in grammar and vocabulary); but speakers of **the same dialect** may have **different accents too**. The dialect known as **"Standard English"** is used throughout the world, but it is spoken in a vast range of **regional accents**. In this respect, people from different countries would read **the same text** written in Standard English **in different accents**.

Thus, whether we think we speak a standard variety of English or not, **we all speak with an accent**. It is **a myth** that some speakers **have accents** while **others do not**. We might feel that some speakers have very **distinct** or **easily recognised** types of accent whereas others may have subtle or **less noticeable** accents but, still, **every language user speaks with an accent**.

4.3.3. Idiolect

Probably **no two people are identical** in the way they use language. Minor differences in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary are normal, so that everyone has, to a limited extent, a **'personal dialect'**. It is often useful to talk about the linguistic system as found in a **single speaker**, and this is known as an idiolect. That is, idiolect refers to **an individual way** of

speaking. Like a fingerprint, idiolect is unique to a one person because it **represents** his/her **identity**, which differs from others'.

In fact, when a language is investigated, there is **no alternative** but to begin with the speech habits of **individual speakers**: idiolects are the first objects of study. Dialects can thus be seen as **an abstraction**, deriving from analysis of **a number of idiolects**; and languages, in turn, are **an abstraction** deriving from **a number of dialects**.

4.3.4. Speech Style

Speech style is **a social feature of language**. The most **basic distinction** in speech style is between **formal** and **informal** uses. Formal style is when we pay more **careful attention** to how we are speaking and informal style is when we pay **less attention**; they are sometimes described as **"careful style"** and **"casual style"** respectively. A change from one to the other by an individual is called **style-shifting**. People tend to shift between styles several times per a day depending on **the situation of language use**, sometimes without even being aware of that. The situation may include who **the interlocutors** are, **the setting** of the conversation, and **the topic** of discourse. That is, people shift from one speech style to another depending on **the use not on the user of language** because **the same person** uses **different styles** in **different situations**.

Interestingly, people **do not only** switch between formal and informal speech styles but they switch between **several levels of speech** that are arranged in **a continuum** stretching from the most formal to the most informal style:

- **Frozen or oratorical:** extremely formal manner of discourse. It is frozen in the sense that it is not subject to variation. It is a style for print, street signs, warnings, notices in public places.
- **Formal:** a manner of discourse used in situations when the speaker is very careful about pronunciation, choice of words, and sentence structure.
- **Consultative:** a style of participation and interaction. It is the norm for most conversations in English. Its main linguistic features consist of less formal terms such as might, could, would.
- **Casual:** a style used amongst insiders, i.e. friends, colleagues, mates, etc.
- **Intimate:** as the name implies, this style is used between people having very close and friendly relationship.

4.3.5. Register

Register is **a variety of language** used in **a particular situation**, for **a particular purpose**. It is also often used to describe **the conventional way** of using language that is **appropriate** in a specific **context**, which may be identified as **situational** (in a mosque), **occupational** (among lawyers), etc. We can recognise specific features that occur in the religious register, linguistics register, and so on. In other words, register is **different** from social or regional **dialects** which are determined by **who** the users of language are **not** by **the situation** of discourse. The best **example** of registers might be the case of the different **registers** of English used in the different **modules** like linguistics, civilisation, literature, methodology, etc. Though **only English is used** in these different situations, the **language varies** considerably from one module to another. These are called different registers because they are quite **different**, yet **they are neither different languages nor dialects**. The most important feature that **distinguishes** between registers is **the kind of vocabulary** that is specific to every field of discourse.

4.3.6. Jargon

One of the defining features of a register is the use of jargon, which is the **special technical vocabulary** associated with **a specific area of work or interest**. In social terms, jargon, helps to create and maintain **connections** among those who see themselves as **"insiders"** in some way and to exclude **"outsiders"**. Accordingly, it is the special words used in a particular profession, a group, or occupation and may not be understood outside its context. So, jargon constitutes **a part of register** and it helps in **the distinction** between the different **fields of discourse**, as it is only about the **technical terms** and **expressions** used in a particular situation. For example, the language used in this handout is English, **the register** is specific to **the field of linguistics** (other fields have other registers), and what distinguishes it from other registers is the technical terms and expressions used (vocabulary), or simply **the linguistics register** is identified by its **linguistics jargon.** Hence, language varies in this case because of the field of language use (not the user of language) and variation occurs only in vocabulary (not grammar and pronunciation).

4.3.7. Slang

Whereas **jargon** is the specialised vocabulary used by those **inside established social groups** (doctors, lawyers, teachers, politicians, etc.), **slang** is more typically used among those

who are **outside established higher-status groups** (used by common people is informal situations like friends discussing outside). That is to say, both of jargon and slang are only about **vocabulary**, yet they are different in **the kind of expressions** involved; as the former is used in **formal context** and it requires thus **technical terms**, while the latter is used in the most **informal situation**s and this type of vocabulary is also **informal**. Therefore, slang or **"colloquial speech"** describes words or phrases that are used instead of the more everyday terms amongst **younger speakers**. Slang is mainly identified by the following characteristics:

- Like clothing and music, slang is an aspect of a social life that is **subject to fashion**, especially amongst adolescents.
- It can be used by those **inside a group** who share ideas and attitudes as way of **distinguishing themselves from others**.
- Slang expressions are usually **introduced** by members of a particular social group; they may **remain the property** of that group ad serve as **a badge of group identity** or they may instead **become much more widely known and used**.
- The majority of slang forms are **transient**; they are used for **a few months** or **a few years** and then they **pass out of use** to be **replaced** by even **newer slang terms**.

4.4. Conclusion

As a conclusion, **language variation** has been one of the major **factors** that led to **the emergence** of sociolinguistics because it has long been **neglected** by theoretical linguists in addition to the fact that it constitutes an indispensable **part** of the actual language use in people's everyday life. In other words, though **linguistic theories**, introduced in the beginning of the 20th century, **revolutionized** the ways of language study, **they did not consider** the fact that a language is used **differently** in **different situations** and by **different people**. The following figure clarifies the link between language, language variation, and varieties.

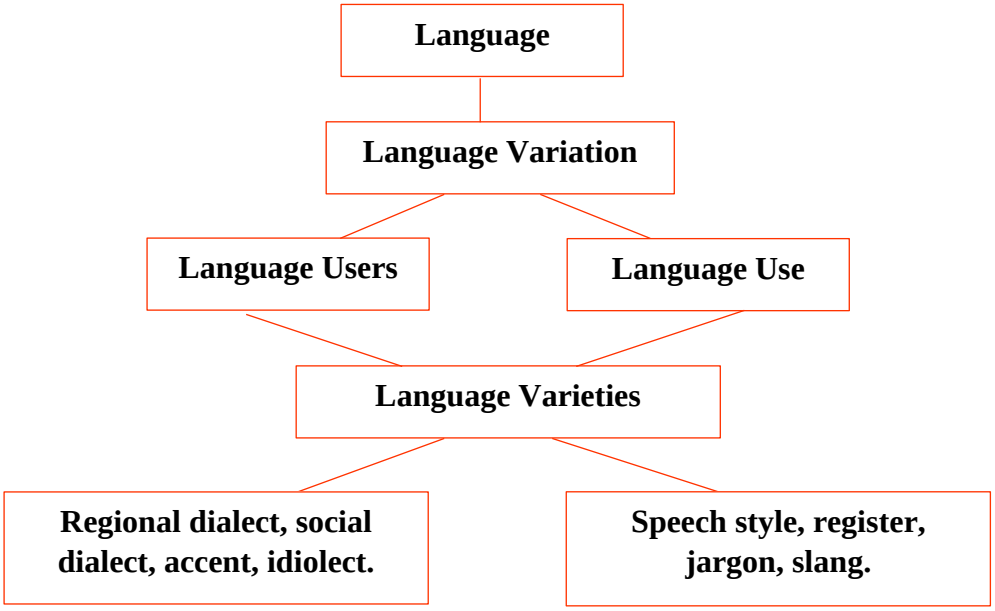


Figure 4. 1. Language Variations and Varieties

It is also of a paramount importance to mention that many language users have an active command of more than one sociolect and/or dialect, and actively switch between the various elements of their **linguistic repertoire**. At the same time, the repertoire of lects/varieties of the individual speakers in a **speech community** is not the same. Different people master different dialects, sociolects, technical sublanguages, stylistic registers, and even if we consider a single lect as a linguistic system, the individuals' knowledge of the lect may diverge considerably. Furthermore, this correlation between language and society can be studied from different perspectives, depending the sociolinguists' orientation.

Lecture 5: Language and Dialect

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand the basis of distinction between language and dialect.
- Distinguish between language and dialect.
- Recognise the fact that language has no linguistic merits over dialect.
- Comprehend that language is not only a linguistic entity but it is rather tied to people's sociocultural identity.
- Understand that the distinction between language and dialect is arbitrary as it depends on particular contexts of particular communities.
- Understand new concepts in sociolinguistics, namely mutual intelligibility and standardisation.
- Draw the link between language and people's sociocultural identity.

Content of the Lecture

5.1. Introduction

One of the most important tasks of sociolinguistics is to account for linguistic diversity (also called language variability). This admits the co-existence of a number of varieties of a single language within one speech community (a group of people/society) as well as different languages within a single society. In other words, sociolinguistics is interested to investigate variations of the same language in addition to the use of different languages in one society.

Linguistic diversity poses a serious problem in the classification of varieties as "language" or "dialect" (to decide whether a specific variety is to be called a language or a dialect is not an

easy task to do as it seems to be). For most languages the distinction between language and dialect is fairly a clear cut (like the case of Arabic, for instance, it is widely accepted that Standard Arabic is the language while all other varieties spoken in the different regions are dialects – such as Algerian Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Syrian Arabic, etc.).

This lecture tackles the dilemma of language versus dialect. It is an attempt to dive into the many factors that blur the line which separates between them. In this respect, the paper begins with defining both concepts as a means to figure out the differences as well as the reasons that make the distinction a difficult task to do. Besides, in order to attain the objective of the lecture, two relevant issues are to be tackled, mutual intelligibility and standardisation.

5.2. What are the differences between Language and Dialect?

In order to understand the differences between language and dialect, we need first to define each one of them.

5.2.1. Definitions of Language

As has been mentioned in the previous lectures, the human language is so complex that no single definition can cover all of its aspects. It has been defined differently in different disciplines depending on the angle studied. Here are some of the selected definitions proposed in the field of linguistics:

- Language, [is] a system of conventional spoken, manual (signed), or written symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in its culture, express themselves. The functions of language include communication, the expression of identity, play, imaginative expression, and emotional release (Crystal, et al., 2021).
- Language is the expression of ideas by means of speech-sounds combined into words. Words are combined into sentences, this combination answering to that of ideas into thoughts (Henry Sweet).
- Language is the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols (Hall, 1968).
- From now on I will consider a language to be a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements (Chomsky, 1957).

- A language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group cooperates (Bernard Block and George L. Trager, 1942).
- Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols (Sapir, 1921).

Differences in these definitions prove once again that language is a complex human phenomenon, each of them places special emphasis on some of the features. Excessive weight is especially put on its nature (a set of symbols), structure (made up of speech-sounds combined into words, words combined into sentences), function (used for communication, to express ideas, emotions, identity, etc.), arbitrariness, creativity (from a finite set of rules and elements we can construct infinite number of sentences), and so on.

Interestingly, meanings of all the above definitions of language are also applicable to dialect. Dialect is also a system of communication, which is non-instinctive and purely human, used to communicate ideas, emotions, etc. Indeed, linguists in these definitions do not emphasise the socially-constructed connotations associated with both concepts. However, the term "language" is often equated with the standard language, which is used in pedagogical grammar books, education, workplaces, and the government. The term "dialect", on the other hand, is used to refer to the varieties which are lesser versions and sub-divisions of language. So, is the distinction based only on linguistic basis? The answer to this question will be reached after analysing different cases in the world.

5.2.2. What is Dialect?

At first glance, it seems clear that a language contains several sub-versions spoken in particular regions or by particular social groups. For example, British English, American English, Canadian English, and Australian English are considered to be dialects of the English language. Similarly, Algerian Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Syrian Arabic, etc. are dialects of Arabic. Besides, Muslim, Cristian, and Jewish people in Baghdad speak different dialects of Arabic. Ethnic groups in America (such as white Americans, Afro-Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Latino Americans, etc.) also speak different dialects of American English.

Accordingly, dialects of a language in this sense are substantially different systems of communication that may impede but do not prevent mutual comprehension (Crystal, 2021). That is to say, speakers of different dialects of the same language are supposed to exhibit

systematic differences at the levels of grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation but they still can understand each other. In this vein, language can be considered as a broader term and dialect comes under its shade. To put it in other words, language plays the role of a parent and dialects stem from it.

The following figure sums up some of the major differences between language and dialect.

Language	Dialect
➢ Language has a wide geographic reach ➢ Languages are so different at all levels: phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels. ➢ Speakers of two languages have trouble understanding each other.	➢ Dialect is more concentrated geographically. ➢ Dialects are closely related varieties of one language, though they have differences at different levels. ➢ Speakers of two dialects can understand each other.

Figure 5.1. Differences between Language and Dialect

However, there are many other cases in the world that blur the dividing line between language and dialect and that make the distinction goes beyond linguistic boundaries. Actually, it is a bit harder to determine the difference between the two concepts. For instance, Portuguese and Spanish are considered as different languages, yet a Portuguese speaker can read a paper written in Spanish. Does this enable us to name them as dialects rather than languages? In addition, in Italy, there is one recognised official language (standard Italian), while other varieties such as Romanesco, Occitan, and Sicilian (recognised by the UNESCO) are considered dialects. Likewise, countries like Peru, Spain, and Columbia speak the same language but all these versions are different from each other. So, intelligibility between varieties, which has been used as a criterion for distinction, differs from one case to another due to many factors and its reliability is accordingly questioned.

5.3. Mutual Intelligibility

In many cases, mutual intelligibility is used as a major criterion of distinction between language and dialect, supposing that if people can understand each other in spite of language variations (in grammar, vocabulary, and accent) without training, they speak different dialects of the same language; if they can’t, they speak different languages.

However, in hundreds of cases, considerations of this kind are in conflict with each other. The best known conflicts occur when the criteria of national identity and mutual intelligibility do not coincide. In other words:

- people may live in one country (they have the same national identity) but they do not understand each other (there is no mutual intelligibility) or
- people may belong to different countries (having different national identities) but they can understand each other (they are mutually intelligible).

The most common situation is one where two spoken varieties are mutually intelligible but for political and historical reasons, they are referred to as different languages, like:

- Scandinavia: Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian are said to be mutually intelligible though they are considered to be different languages not dialects,
- Yugoslavia: Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian are also said to be mutually intelligible though they are considered to be different languages not dialects, and
- India: Hindi and Urdu are also said to be mutually intelligible though they are considered to be different languages not dialects.

These languages are mutually intelligible because they used to be dialects of the same language and they were declared as languages after the division of the countries. Hence, in such cases, political and linguistic identity merge (politics determine linguistic identity – the language that identifies the speaker's belonging).

Different languages can also be mutually intelligible when they are in close proximity (they share geographical borders); they often borrow words, sounds, and grammatical structures from each other. In this way, languages seem more alike than they really are and analysists may believe them to be dialects of the same language (not dialects of different languages). So, because of geographical proximity, varieties may be arranged in a dialect continuum, a chain of adjacent (neighbouring) varieties are mutually intelligible but pairs taken from the opposite ends of a chain are not (it means mutual intelligibility reduces whenever we get farther: neighbouring dialects are sometimes mutually intelligible though they belong to different languages and they might be mutually unintelligible with other dialects of the same language because of the huge geographical distance). One such a chain is said to link all dialects of German, Dutch and Flemish that stretches from Switzerland through Austria and Germany to

the Netherlands and Belgium and another chain links dialects of Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, French, and Italian. See map of dialect continuum in Europe below.

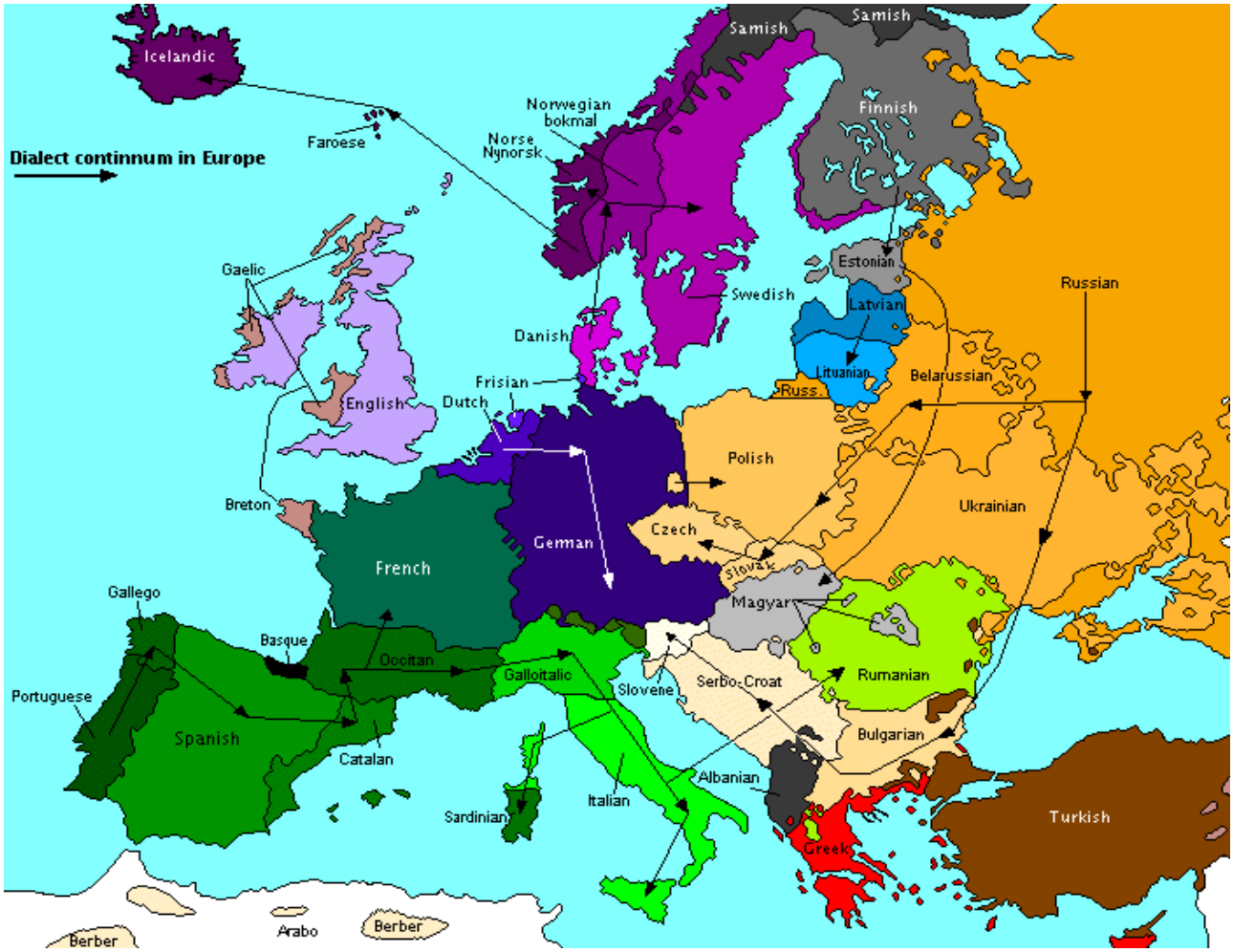


Figure 5.2. Dialect Continuum in Europe

The opposite situation is also quite common. In some situations, spoken varieties are mutually unintelligible but for political, historical, or cultural reasons they are nonetheless called dialects. For example, Mandarin and Cantonese are considered to be dialects of Chinese, though they are mutually unintelligible. This is also similar to the case of Berber varieties spoken in different regions in North Africa, they are called dialects while speakers do not always understand each other. In addition, intelligibility between the varieties of Arabic is not necessarily mutual, as some claim that they understand the other varieties (such as the Maghrebi people) whereas others assume they do not understand some Arabic dialects (like people of the Middle East do not understand the dialects of the Maghreb).

Thus, mutual intelligibility is not really a relation between varieties but between people since it is they and not the varieties that understand each other. So, the degree of mutual

intelligibility depends not just on the amount of overlap between the linguistic items of the two varieties but on the qualities of the people concerned. On the one hand, this is determined by the extent to which people are motivated to understand speakers of other varieties and how much experience do they have of these varieties, on the other. Interestingly, motivation and experience are not always reciprocal, that's why intelligibility is not necessarily mutual. For instance, it is easier for speakers of non-standard varieties to understand speakers of the standard one than the other way round, because the former generally have more experience of the standard variety (mainly through education and media) than vice versa, and they may also be more motivated to minimise the differences between them and speakers of the standard variety, while the latter may not want to do so, but rather they may even want to emphasise the differences.

For example, the case of Afro-Americans, who speak a different variety from the dominant social group, have more experience in Standard American English because they are exposed to it all the time through media and education. In addition, they also have more motivation to learn it for pragmatic purposes such as success in education and in their social life in general (because their mother tongue – Afro-American English – is so different from Standard American English, the one used in high domains). The dominant group, however, does not necessarily have the same experience nor motivation to acquire Afro-American English, which was one day a dialect of the descendants of the slaves that is not used in media, administration, education, and many other high domains. Yet, things started to change recently due to many social and political reasons, such as attempts of the Afro-Americans to standardise their dialect as well as the emergence of influential social figures (like singers, actors, etc.) who contributed to the amelioration of their dialect's prestige.

Another typical example is the case of the Arabic varieties, in which intelligibility is not always mutual between the different speakers. Maghrebi people are said to understand people of the Middle East due to the fact that they have more experience in the dialects of this area because of media. Middle Each countries have a rich tradition of media industry. They also have many TV channels that have been launched a long time before the emergence of Maghrebi channels. Besides, most non-Arab movies and soap operas, which became so popular amongst Arab audiences mainly Turkish series, have been dubbed into Syrian and Lebanese dialects. However, Maghreb countries have had less TV broadcasts because of many social and political factors, that's why they were consumers of the Middle East productions and they accordingly have had more experience in their dialects, while the dialects of the Maghreb region were not

transmitted to the other Arabic-speaking countries. This has widened the gap between the different dialects of Arabic to the extent of unintelligibility. Yet, things are changing recently, especially because of the impact of media and social networking sites as well as people's attitudes.

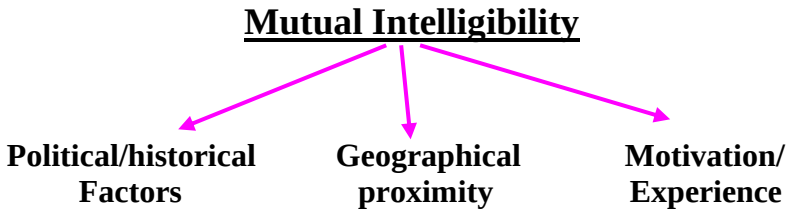


Figure 5.3. Factors of Mutual Intelligibility

Therefore, the aforementioned cases illustrate very clearly the arbitrariness of the distinction between 'language' and 'dialect', since this has never been based on linguistic features but on socio-cultural and political factors. Indeed, language is often described as: "a dialect with an army and a navy". In addition, due to the fact that a language enjoys more prestige, it is often the one which is standardized.

5.4. Standardisation

Standardisation is the process through which a dialect becomes a standard language. It is based on turning linguistic varieties into standard languages in two senses:

- First, the selected and accepted variety will be used as a norm above all other vernacular, dialectal, and colloquial varieties in certain domains like literatures, science, education, media, administration, the public sectors, etc.
- Second, it is a regular and codified normative system of reference supported by a standard orthography (written form), grammar, and dictionaries.

Therefore, a standard variety will enjoy recognition by the whole speech community and reflect linguistic (possibly national or even ethnic) identity. It will also serve as a high variety used for written communication in official domains on regional, national, or international level.

According to Haugen (1966), the process of standardisation involves:

- 1) selection of a norm (a form to be followed and used as a standard by everyone),
- 2) acceptance by the community (because if the variety chosen is not accepted by the other subgroups, conflicts and discontent will take place),

- 3) codification of form (fixing its orthography, lexicon, and grammar), and
- 4) elaboration of function (once the chosen variety is codified it will be ready for utilitarian functions like education, administration, etc.).

In other words, for a country to standardise a dialect among the many existing ones, selection is the first step to undertake. The government should be very careful about the choice, because if this is not successful, it may lead to internal conflicts and even division. In other words, selection is often based on social, economic, political, and cultural parameters so that acceptance of the community will be guaranteed. So, people's attitudes paly an important role in this process. After the variety is chosen and accepted, it will be codified for usage.

In fact, there were steady developments in the definitions of the concept in question. The first definitions were based mainly on the codified form of the variety which is selected, accepted, and used as a model by the members of the speech community. Recent definitions, however, started to shed light on the functions employed by this variety and its cultural dimensions. In other words, once the chosen variety is codified, it will be distributed to several social and cultural domains to fulfil the different communicative needs of its speech community *"that has either achieved modernisation or has the desire of achieving it"* (Mejdell, 2006: 06). Subsequent definitions emphasise on another important angle that is incorporated in the selection of a variety to be codified for general social and cultural functions, as it is often the prestigious linguistic form used by a social or an educated elite.

> *[The] socially favoured variety of a language, often based on the speech of the educated population in and around the cultural and/or political centre of the language community. Such standard dialects are imitated and used as auxiliary language by speakers of other regional and social dialects for the purpose of formal discourse and writing as well as for teaching the language to foreigners.* (The linguistic dictionary of Hartmann and Stork, 1976 [1772])

That is to say, the choice of a variety for the process of standardisation is often associated with prestige as it is mostly used by the elites, an important social group in the country. This prestigious variety will be imitated by other groups who do not speak it as a mother tongue for many utilitarian functions, mainly formal discourse.

Thus, a standard language is a particular dialect which has gained its special position as a result of social, economic, and political circumstances. A standard language has no linguistic

merits, whether in vocabulary, grammar, or pronunciation. It is simply the dialect of those who are politically powerful and socially prestigious. Besides, criteria of choice defer from one community to another. What makes a variety prestigious in a country is not necessarily the same in another. This can be because of religion like the case of Arabic and Hebrew, social class like in most western nations, etc.

It is important to draw a distinction between standard and official language (a language which may be used for governmental business, its function is primarily utilitarian used in official domains). In this sense, an official language must be standard, while the standard language is not necessarily official. For example, Standard Arabic is an official language in Algeria whereas English is not, though English is standard and used in education, business, international treaties, the oil and gas sectors, etc.

The official language (اللغة الرسمية) is also contrasted to a national language (اللغة الوطنية). The latter refers to the language of a political, cultural, and social unit. It is generally developed and used as a symbol of national unity (unlike the official language which has only utilitarian functions and does not symbolise unity and national identity). Its functions are to identify the nation and unite its people.

A distinction is also drawn between standard and non-standard languages/dialects (referred to as vernaculars). The term vernacular is used in a number of ways. It generally refers to a language which has not been standardised and which does not have official status. It is also the variety which is usually acquired by people as a first language at home. This term has been used since the Middle Ages, first to describe local European languages (which have had low prestige) in contrast to Latin (high prestige), then to characterise any non-standard and spoken version of a language used by lower-status groups. Thus, the vernacular speech of a particular community is the ordinary speech used by the people (like Algerian Arabic).

5.5. Conclusion

Presenting the details about language and dialect prove once again the complexity of the human language. It is indeed not only a set of symbols used for the sake of communication but it is rather part of every aspect of the human life. Throughout this lecture, we have seen how it is related to the sociocultural, political, historical, and geographical components of the identity of communities. These components should be taken into account in the different decisions made by governments because national identity is based on linguistic identity, among others. For that

reason, many conflicts rise around the world as a result of linguistic marginalisation. Therefore, language is not only defined by its grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, but it has to do with who the speakers of the language are. That is, ignoring a language variety means ignoring a whole community, with its history, civilisation, culture, and existence. This what explains the many cultural movements in the world that call for their linguistic rights.

Lecture 6: Multilingualism

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand the concept of multilingualism from different perspectives.
- Distinguish between individual and societal multilingualism.
- Recognise the difference between the various classifications of types of bilingualism and multilingualism.
- Comprehend the main causes of multilingualism.
- Understand some of the major consequences of multilingualism from both micro- as well as macro-approaches.
- Figure out the reasons why multilinguals choose a particular code rather than another in different language situations.

Content of the Lecture

6.1. Introduction

As has been mentioned previously, sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society, it does not only deal with variations of the same language but it also tackles contact between different languages in multilingual societies. So, one can imagine what may happen in communities where more than one language co-exist, especially that most of the world's population is bilingual or multilingual rather than monolingual. Indeed, five to eight thousand different ethnic groups reside in approximately 160 nation states (Stavenhagen, 1990).

Besides, scholars estimate that there are over 5000 distinct languages spoken in these states. That is, few nations in the world are either monolinguals or mono-ethnic. Hence, it is interesting to explore the factors of multilingualism, understand what is multilingualism from a sociolinguistic point of view, and discuss consequences of language contact in different cases, and finally factors of language choice.

6.2. Definition of Multilingualism

Multilingualism has been defined differently by different scholars depending on the approach from which it is studied. For Clyne (2007), *"the term multilingualism can refer to either the language use or the competence of an individual or to the language situation in an entire nation or society"*. This definition implies, on the one hand, the fact that language use is different from language competence, as in some situations people may use a language that they are not competent in (like the case of old illiterate people in Algeria, they often have to use Standard Arabic and French for official documents in spite of their lack of competence in these languages). In addition, some individuals might be competent in languages that they cannot use all the time (such as the case of Algerians who muster foreign languages like Turkish, Spanish, Chinese, Russian, and so on but they cannot use them with others unless if they communicate with native speakers via the Internet, for instance). On the Other hand, multilingualism can be tackled from two perspectives: either from the individual or societal angles. The following diagram sums up the most important aspects of the definition of multilingualism adopted in this lecture.

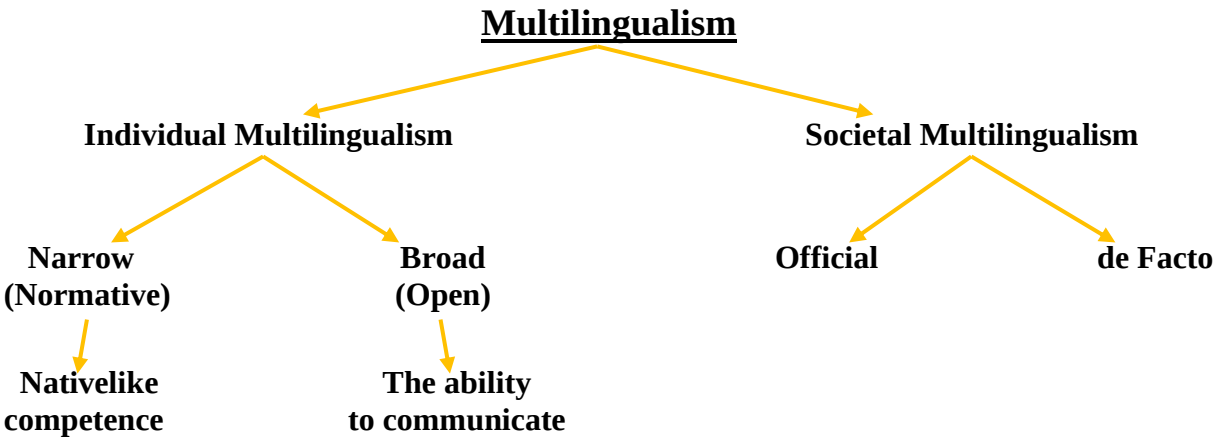


Figure 6.1. Aspects of the Definition of Multilingualism

6.2.1. Individual Multilingualism

Early definitions of multi/bilingualism emphasised on the idea that for people to be considered as multilinguals or bilinguals, they must have equal competence in the languages concerned and they accordingly can express themselves in either language in the same contexts; yet this has been proved to be unrealistic (Van Overbeke, 1972 and Haugen, 1973 cited in ibid). Recent definitions, however, focus on language use rather than having equal competence in languages in defining the concept in question. Thus, definitions now are becoming more general to include many cases as multi/bilingualism, which have been excluded from early definitions that have been very narrow and implied native-like competence in the languages.

That is to say, definitions like: *"the ability to use more than one language"* or *"competence in more than one language"* are open to cover different levels of command (competence) or use of the various languages. In this respect, Sridhar (1996: 50 quoted in Wardhaugh, 2006: 96) says:

> *Multilingualism involving balanced, nativelike 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 specialised register and styles.*

In other words, people's competence in two, or more, languages may be arranged in a continuum of different levels that stretches from little to nativelike command; i.e. multi/bilinguals might have different degrees of competence in each of the four skills. In this sense, the degree of bilingualism refers to the levels of linguistic proficiency a bilingual must achieve in both languages.

6.2.2. Societal Multilingualism

At the societal level, many issues, as far as multilingualism is concerned, are tackled. In this case, languages are seen in a general way in the entire nation or speech community, not at the individual level. So, the languages used, the domains in which they are used, factors that determine their choice, language contact, and many other phenomena are interesting to be tackled from a societal perspective.

A distinction is made between the official status of languages and the real linguistic situation of a country; as in many cases, multilingualism is not officially recognised (like the case of most European countries which ignore minority and immigrant languages) or an officially multilingual country does not imply the fact that individuals are multilinguals (in Switzerland, for instance, multilingualism is based on a territorial principle). Hence, there is a difference between "de facto" and "official" multilingualism. The former refers to the real linguistic situation that is not openly declared in the constitution, while the latter is about the status of languages declared by the government that does not necessarily reflect reality. For example, Canada is officially a bilingual country, with both of English and French as its official languages, but it is a de facto multilingual country, since many immigrant languages are widely used by their native speakers (like Chinese, Indians, etc.) who often prefer to live in communities to practice their ethnic and linguistic identities.

6.3. Causes of Multilingualism

Many **factors** contribute to the spread of multilingualism in the world, such as **international migration** (as in America, Europe, and Australia), **colonisation** (such as Africa, Latin America, and India), **international borders** (like the border between Austria and Slovenia), and **the spread of international languages** (for example, English and Arabic). Other causes like religion (the spread of Islam led to the spread of Arabic all over the world), media (television contributed to the spread of English, for instance), Internet, business, trade, education, intermarriage, and so on. Thus, languages spread out of their original home-town because of several factors to settle and develop elsewhere, with taking new forms through time and with interaction with other languages in different contexts. This led to the emergence of many forms and consequences of bilingualism and multilingualism in the world.

6.4. Types of Multilingualism

Because there are very different types of bilinguals and multilinguals, much effort in the study of multilingualism has gone into developing categories which might make the measurement and description of these differences possible. The categories used to describe different types bilinguals reflect different researchers' interests on focusing on specific aspects of bilingual ability or experience. Here are two categories of classifications; the first one is based on the way languages are acquired and the second is based on bilinguals' competence abilities.

Researchers concerned about the age of acquisition of languages, for example, classify the different cases as either early or late bilingualism. Others subdivide the phenomenon into simultaneous or successive bilingualism according the way languages have been acquired, either at the same time or one after the other. It should be noted also that in this type, there are different cases as well, because children also can acquire two languages at an early age sequentially. A third classification might be the case of persons who choose to study a second language and those who grow up in communities where several languages are used. The former is referred to as elite, academic, and elective bilinguals, while the latter are called natural, folk, and circumstantial bilinguals.

On the other hand, other classifications of bilingualism are based on competence abilities of bilinguals. For instance, there is a distinction between balanced and non-balanced bilingualism. The first one describes people who have high level of proficiency in both languages; i.e. they have a perfect control of both languages in all contexts and they are fully competent in both languages. The second one represents the kind of people who muster one language more than the other one. Another classification considers the functional abilities of the languages; this includes either passive or active bilingualism. The former is about the case of persons who have receptive rather than productive abilities; i.e. they understand the second language but they have difficulties producing it. The latter, however, describes people who can express themselves in either language. Finally, the classification of coordinate and compound bilingualism depends on psychological dimensions, relying on how the two languages are represented in the mind. The first one is about bilinguals who have two semantic bases, each joint to a language because the two languages have been acquired differently (one acquired at home and another at school) and used for different purposes. Besides, moving from one language to another in speech requires a kind of translation. Compound bilingualism is when the two languages have a single semantic base; i.e. they have one system of word meanings used for both languages. Hence, the bilingual is at ease in both languages in all language situations.

As stated above, the usefulness of these labels and categories depend largely on the specific interest a researcher has in bilingualism/multilingualism. Emphasis of this lecture is placed on the social aspects of the phenomenon under question in order to meet the objectives of the course. Therefore, issues like consequences of language contact and factors of language choice are to be discussed here.

6.5. Consequences of Language Contact

The different varieties used in the same speech community, in various language situations, are not going to stay intact from each other, but rather they keep influencing one another at the different linguistic levels (phonology, lexicon, and grammar) in different contact situations. In this respect, many sociolinguistic phenomena emerge as a result of contact between the different languages used. This issue of language contact can be tackled from two different perspectives; focus can be either placed at the linguistic level (micro-sociolinguistic approach) or on broader socio-cultural perspective (macro-sociolinguistic perspective).

As far as the linguistic consequences are concerned, the lecture sheds light on how bilinguals use the two languages alternatively in communication; as they often use both of them in the middle of the same conversation. These usages *"can take place between or even within sentences, involving phrases or words or even parts of words"* (Spolsky, 1998: 49). Thus, there can be several forms of language alternation; 1) between sentences, 2) within a sentence with preserving the original form of the words/expressions used, and 3) within a sentence with adapting the words/expressions used. These forms are generally referred to as: code-switching, code-mixing, and linguistic borrowing respectively.

It is important to note that there is no consensus in the literature about what exactly constitutes each form and what distinguishes between them, if there is a distinction at all since some of them are used as umbrella terms that incorporate other forms. As far as such issues of terminology and confusion are concerned, Edwards (1994: 76) assumes that: *"whatever labels we apply – interference, code-switching, mixing, transference, etc. – it is clear that in all cases something is 'borrowed' from another language"*. In other words, in the alternative use of codes, different elements are put together from at least two languages in the same conversation.

The paper before hands adopts Herbert's (2001: 225-226 quoted in Gafaranga, 2007: 23) definition, which makes a three-way distinction between the aforementioned concepts:

> *Borrowings and code mixes are incorporated lexical items, which vary along temporal and spatial considerations. Borrowed forms are typically known and used by both bilingual and monolingual speakers, they are widely distributed through the community and they typically reveal a process of historical incorporation. Code mixes on the other hand are synchronic incorporation of lexical material from one*

language into a second. The term codeswitching is thus reserved for instances in which the operative grammar in conversation changes.

Thus, this definition distinguishes between the three concepts. While borrowing and code-mixing imply adopting lexical items (vocabulary/words), code-switching incorporates changing the whole grammatical structure. A distinction is also drawn between linguistic borrowing and code-mixing in spite of the fact that they are both concerned with inserting words rather than whole sentences. The former term is often used to refer to the lexical material that has been adapted to (assimilated into) the phonological, morphological, and semantic patterns of the recipient language. In addition, loan words are widely used throughout the whole community, known by both bilinguals and monolinguals, and they are mainly the result of linguistic adaptations that occurred through different stages of history. The latter, however, refers to the synchronic adoption of lexical items by bilinguals in conversations without adapting them.

Another focus of the consequences of multilingualism might be the broader phenomena that emerge as a result of the interaction between different languages in contact situations on the one hand and other social, cultural, economic, political, historical factors, on the other. Amongst the consequences of multilingualism that are widely researched and investigated by sociolinguists are:

- **language spread**: when a language goes beyond its original borders (such as Arabic, French, Spanish, and English),
- **language attrition**: loss of language skills in the individual's first language (like the case of the children of immigrants),
- **language shift**: when people shift completely to other languages leaving behind their mother tongues; this happens through generations (like the case of some immigrants, or Berbers surrounded by Arabic-speaking communities in Algeria in areas like Tipaza),
- **language change**: a variation over time in a language's features (at the phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels),
- **language death**: when a language cease to be used as a mother tongue or to exist as a spoken language (like Latin), and
- **language maintenance**: when a language is preserved in spite of the many factors of eradication (like the case of Arabic during the period of European colonisations, Berbers throughout history in North Africa, or many immigrants in the world).

- **Pidgins and creoles**: these are systems of communication that emerge and develop in contact situations in which there is no **lingua franca**.

6.6. Language Choice

Bilingualism/multilingualism gives people the chance to alternate between languages in different possibilities. This can be via inserting words, parts of words, sentences, parts of sentences, or even speech sounds from language A to language B. Borrowing items can be in their original form and structure or can be adapted according to the grammatical, phonological, and semantic aspects of the recipient languages. Besides, using elements from another language can be intra-sentential (within sentences) or inter-sentential (between sentences). Interestingly, all these linguistic practices are primarily determined by the context of language use, including who the speaker is, to whom s/he is talking to, the setting (where and when), and the topic of conversation. Wardhauf (2006) discusses many of the factors that may cause the choice of a particular code rather than another.

- Code-switching can arise from individual choice or be used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers.
- Codeswitching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations.
- Choice of a particular code may become a form of political expression, a move either to resist some other power, or to gain power, or to express solidarity.
- The motivation of the speaker is also an important consideration in the choice, such motivation need not to be all conscious. So, the choice can be an accommodation to listeners or for perceived social and cultural distance (talking to strangers or a boss at work).
- Codeswitching is usually situational; one variety is used in a certain set of situations and another in an entirely different set.
- Your choice of code also reflects how you want to appear to others; i.e., how you want to express your identity and/or how you want others to view you: listeners are affected by code choices when they judge what speakers say to them. Certain codes are deemed more appropriate for certain messages than other codes; code and message are inseparable. Indeed, we do not necessarily adapt to the style of the interlocutor and accommodate to his/her expectations, but rather to the image we have of ourselves in relation to our interlocutors. Speaking is not merely a social act that involves others; it

is also a personal act in that it helps create the identity one wishes to be seen as having a particular set of circumstances.

Thus, codeswitching is not a uniform phenomenon; the norms vary from group to another, even within what might be regarded as a single community.

6.7. Conclusion

The concept of bi/multilingualism has always been a matter of interest for not only language scholars but also thinkers and researchers from different disciplines especially philosophy and language pedagogy. Throughout this lecture, light was shed on how definitions of the phenomena under question evolved from focusing on competence of individuals to language use in different situations. In other words, more emphasis on society rather than individuals is taking place. Indeed, the phenomenon is seen from broader points of views as what societies do with their languages; what impacts do languages have on people's social, cultural, political, economic spheres, etc. In addition, topics like language contact and its consequences both at the micro- as well as the macro-levels also take a considerable share of the area, both synchronically and at the long run. Actually, it is of a paramount importance to uncover the correlation and the mutual impact between both of language(s) and society because this will help in understanding people's identities and psyche and this has benefitted experts from different fields like economy, commerce, politics, education, etc.

Lecture 7: Diglossia

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand the concept of diglossia.
- Distinguish between the classical and subsequent definitions of diglossia.
- Be aware of the different defining features of diglossic situations.
- Comprehend differences between diglossia and bilingualsim.
- Understand the difference between diglossia, triglossia, and plyglossia.
- Understand different cases of diglossia in the world.

Content of the Lecture

7.1. Introduction

Diglossia was first introduced to the field of sociolinguistics by Ferguson (1959). It has not only been widely accepted by sociolinguists and sociologists of language, but it has been further extended and refined since then. The lecture, then, sheds light on the different definitions of the concept that kept developing since its first advent to the field of sociolinguistics. It begins with the classical definition and then more details on subsequent refinements are presented. Throughout these details, students will understand better what is meant by diglossia, what are its characteristics, and what led to the radical change of the meaning of the phenomenon. Two further objectives will be attained; a better understanding of the social aspect of language, as language varieties can be treated differently depending on socio-cultural considerations. Accordingly, this leads students grasp the second part, which is the correlation between language and society from a macro-perspective, which enables them develop critical thinking skills related social phenomena.

7.2. Classical Definition

The original definition proposed by Ferguson is often referred to in the literature as classical definition. The term was initially used to describe a stable language situation in which two genetically-related varieties co-exist within the same speech community, with each serving distinct but complementary social functions. On the one hand, the High variety is used in high domains such as education, administration, media, religion, political discourse, etc. The Low variety, on the other hand, is reserved for informal situations like everyday conversations at home, in the street, in lower work sphere, and so on. In Ferguson's (1959: 245) terms:

> *Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (…), there is a very divergent, highly codified (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 this definition, a distinction is made between the two varieties in diglossic situations. Nine differences have been observed by Ferguson, which are widely classified into linguistic and sociocultural categories. The former includes differences in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, while the latter incorporates differences in prestige, standardisation, function, acquisition, literary heritage, and stability. The classical definition described only four cases to be diglossic: The Arabic-speaking world, the German-speaking Switzerland, Haiti, and Greece because it concerned itself only with genetically related varieties that share complementary roles within society. Subsequently, however, more refinements have been proposed that allowed for a broader definition and included, accordingly, more other cases to be diglossic.

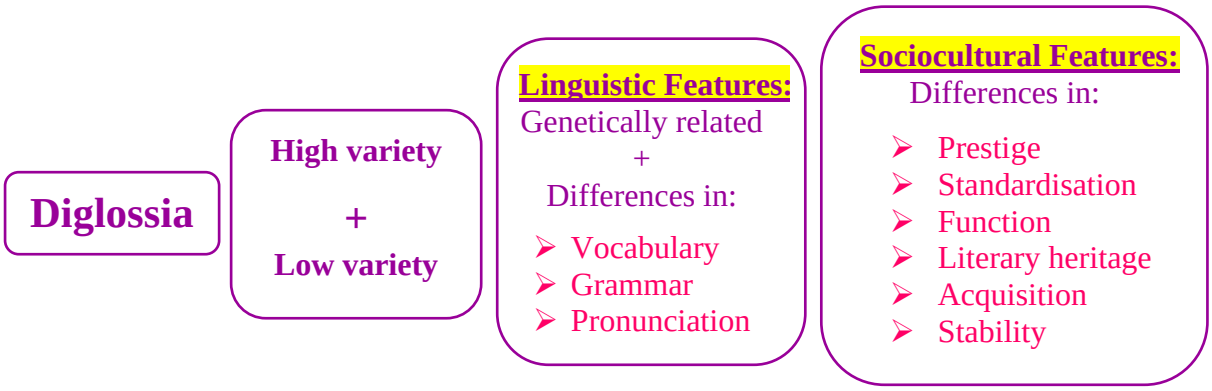


Figure 7.1. Features of the Classical Definition of Diglossia

7.2.1. Linguistic Features

- **Vocabulary**: Vocabulary of the high and low varieties is shared, but they exhibit considerable variation in form and in meaning. For example, the word "table" is (طاولة) in Standard Arabic and (طابلة) in Algerian Arabic.

- **Grammar**: Grammatical structure is one of the most striking differences between the two varieties. The "H" variety has more complex grammatical categories at all levels: phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic aspects. For instance, words in standard Arabic have three marked ending cases (التنوين) like in:
  (كتابٌ - كتابًا - كتابٍ), but all dialects of Arabic do not have this feature.

- **Pronunciation**: There are considerable differences between the two varieties at the phonological level as well. For example, in Arabic the sound (ق) exhibits considerable variations across dialects; it is pronounced (ق), (ڤ), (ɂ), or (ك) depending on the regional or social belonging of the speaker.

7.2.2. Sociocultural Features

- **Prestige**: Speakers of the language consider the high variety as superior, more elegant, with higher value, and more prestigious than the low variety. Prestige of the former is the outcome of sociocultural reasons that are context-dependent; i.e., parameters of prestige differ from one community to another. The Arabic-speaking community, for instance, value Standard Arabic more than their vernaculars because the former is associated with religion and their identity.

- **Standardisation**: The high variety is strictly standardised while this is not the case for the low variety because the prestigious variety is always the one which is more likely to be standardised (see lecture 5). That is, the former is privileged in the sense that it is widely codified and studied by experts in language studies at all levels; it has treasures of dictionaries, fixed grammatical rules, pronunciation guides, and text-books.

- **Function**: One of the most important defining features of diglossia is the different roles attributed to each of the high and the low varieties. So, though they are genetically-related they are used for different but complementary domains. Because the former is

more prestigious and standardised, it is used in high domains, like political discourse, religious speech, education, administration, media, etc. However, the latter is primarily used in low domains such as at home, in the street, conversations with family members, friends and strangers, folk literature, personal letters, social media, and so on.

- **Literary heritage**: The high and the low varieties in diglossic situations also differ considerably in the type of literature they have. While the "H" variety has a sizable body of written literature of several genres (prose, poetry, plays, stories, etc.), the "L" variety has a rich tradition of oral literature.

- **Acquisition**: The low variety is the first to be acquired by children as a mother tongue because it is the one used in low domains. However, the high variety is acquired mainly at school because it is standardised and used in high domains.

- **Stability**: Ferguson believes that diglossia is a stable language situation because both of the high and the low varieties are stable and preserved throughout history; the former is stable primarily because it is standardised and the latter because it is the mother tongue of the speakers. A language which has a written form is preserved for ever even after its death (like Latin) and the language that serves as a mother tongue is also likely to be maintained due to its strong link with its speakers' identity. This is exactly the case of Arabic diglossia which is said to exist even before the coming of Islam.

7.3. Extended Definitions

The theoretical framework of Ferguson's model has been refined and discussed extensively by several subsequent studies. A major amendment to the theory was introduced by Fishman (1967, 1972) who extended the notion to include even varieties which are genetically unrelated, provided that they are in a complementary distribution. This suggestion (that diglossia includes bilingualism) is a main factor responsible for refinement as well as change of the original meaning of diglossia. The extension of the notion may include all bilingual speech communities in which languages are not treated equally and perform different functions as a result of social and cultural considerations.

In Nigeria for instance, Yoruba and English share complementary roles though they are not genetically related. The same is found in Paraguay, where Guarani and Spanish do not have the same social functions. Yet, a distinction should be made between diglossia which implies a

societally-based functional distribution of languages and bilingualism, which carries no such implications; i.e. the different languages can have the same functions within society, like the case of English and French in Canada.

Accordingly, Fishman (1972) distinguishes between three cases:

- **Diglossia without bilingualism:** the two varieties that are in complementary distribution in the same speech community are genetically related (the original definition of Ferguson).
- **Bilingualism without diglossia:** the two languages used in society do not have complementary roles, as they can both be used in high as well as low domains.
- **Diglossia with bilingualism:** this includes cases in which the two varieties that are attributed to different roles in society are completely different languages (not genetically related.

Interestingly, the fact that different varieties may have different functions does not only imply the co-existence of genetically-related varieties or two different languages but more than two languages used by the same people can also have complementary roles. In other words, the term diglossia does not really fit all such multilingual situations, as different labels have been proposed as alternatives depending on the number of languages involved: diglossia, triglossia, and polyglossia have been used to describe language situations that entail two languages/language varieties, three, and four languages respectively (Clyne, 2007). As a result, diglossia is not really about the number of languages involved, but it is about what people do with these language varieties in society. In other words, it is mainly a social feature that characterises the functions that different varieties have in the same society depending on particular social and cultural factors. For example, in Algeria several varieties are used for different functions (see the figure below).

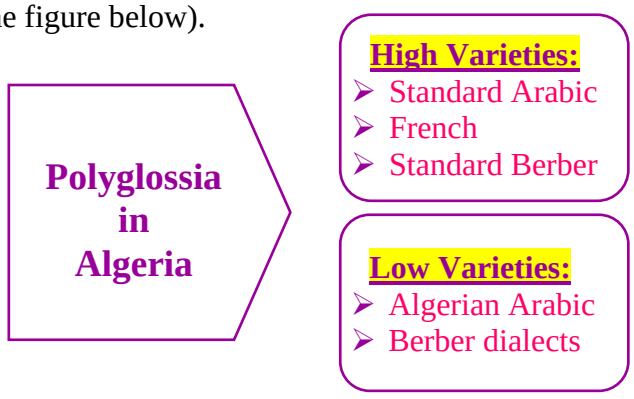


Figure 7.2. Polyglossia in Algeria

7.4. Conclusion

To sum it up, diglossia was first introduced to refer to cases in which two genetically-related language varieties co-exit within the same speech community but which they never substitute one another, as each of them has clearly predetermined social roles to play. However, this narrow definition proposed by Ferguson (1959) was revised by several other scholars mainly Fishman (1967 and 1972) who extended it to include bilingual situations where the two different languages are not treated equally by people. In this sense, the H and the L varieties are different languages not different dialects of the same language. Furthermore, multilingual situations also can be diglossic, when the languages involved have different functional distribution. Interestingly, the Arabic case of diglossia has triggered research from Arabic-speaking communities and led to the development of important research papers that contributed to a more understanding of Arabic diglossia, on the one hand, and to the emergence of Arabic sociolinguistics, on the other.

Lecture 8: Globalisation

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand the concept of globalisation from different perspectives and disciplines.
- Discuss the factors of globalisation of English.
- Be aware of the different defining features of global English.
- Comprehend the consequences of the globalisation of English.
- Understand what is meant by World Englishes.

Content of the Lecture

8.1. Introduction

We have seen throughout the previous lectures how language and society overlap and interact in very complex ways leading to many interesting phenomena that attracted the attention of scholars from different disciplines. What is interesting about this interrelation is that it does not occur only within communities but rather it transcends all boundaries, especially in a period in which the whole world is becoming a "global village". Indeed, globalisation has had profound impact and it is one of the widely discussed issues in the field of sociolinguistics. You will see in this lecture what is meant by globalisation, its causes, and consequences. Emphasis will be particularly placed on the sociolinguistic outcomes, especially the emergence of English as a global language and how it is influencing other languages in the world.

8.2. What is Globalisation?

Globalisation is open to various interpretations as it is associated with multiple domains and disciplines and it is therefore defined differently in each field. Yet, they all agree that

globalisation involves processes that transcend national boundaries, nations are becoming more and more interconnected in all domains: economic, social, political, cultural, etc. Yet, globalisation viewed in this way, leads us to think about similar processes that existed since ancient times with the Greek, Phoenician, Babylonian, Roman, and Muslim civilisations that controlled large territories for long times, as they exhibited similar characteristics. Hence, whatever globalisation is, it is not new because international relations have a long history stretching back to early periods in the history of mankind. However, literature about globalisation has been boomed only by the 1990s. Actually, what is special and striking about the spread of interconnectedness between nations is the rapid evolution of processes; human exchange of goods and information have been accelerated and facilitated in an unprecedented way due to developed means of transportation and communication.

Hence, globalisation is the process by which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected as a result of massively increased trade and cultural exchange. This has led to:

- Increased international trade,
- Companies operating in more than one country,
- Greater dependence on the global economy,
- World recognition of companies such as McDonalds, Starbucks and others,
- Rapid spread of information,
- Interconnection of nations, etc.

For instance, the war between Russia and Ukraine has affected the whole world, either negatively or positively. Besides, information spreads like the spread of fire in ashes; details about the war are transmitted to the entire world at the same time of their occurrence due to the new information and communication technologies. Prices of goods, including gas, petroleum, gold, are getting up and down each time as a result of the conflict. Another interesting example is the spread of Covid 19, or what is known as Corona virus, and its several versions that developed since the end of 2019. It has affected the entire world and all domains without exception, it has even changed the way we live, we study, work, get in touch with others, etc. It has affected economy, trade, business, culture, politics, traveling, and so on. That is why, globalisation in this era is profound and no other civilisation in pervious periods reached this state of interconnectedness and interdependency. Obviously, because this is a sociolinguistic course, we will shed light on the sociolinguistic consequences of globalisation; the focus will

be mainly placed on the emergence of English as the global language and what impacts does this have on other languages.

8.3. English as a Global Language

English is widely described in the literature as a global language as it is the pre-eminent world language used in almost all countries in the world. It is actually no longer the property of its native speakers since speakers of English as a second language outnumbered its native users. Besides, it is increasingly used in international settings, international business and commerce, international relations and politics. Moreover, it is widely used as a lingua franca of the Internet and it dominates the fields of technology and international communication in general. It is also the language of tourism, urbanity, scientific research, education, literature, new genres of entertainments like video games, travel, media, among others. It is, therefore, a linguistic gateway to economic prosperity as its users are privileged to access attractive job and business opportunities. Interestingly, its global reach does not stem from its geographical spread only but also because it is dominant in different domains, contexts, in a range of different forms, functions, discourses, and media (spoken and written).

Thus, the spread of English into new territories, domains, and functions contributed to its development and variation because it has been adopted to meet the new contexts of use. This gave rise to new vocabulary, new ways of speaking and writing, new grammatical forms. Further, contact of English with other languages and cultures in other localities has also had profound impact on the language since it has been adapted to meet people's communication needs (linguistic and cultural). Accordingly, many varieties of English emerged (mainly regional dialects and registers), some of them are so different to the extent of unintelligibility. In this respect, the development of English led to debates amongst language researchers about whether the term global language refers to a standard form of English used worldwide or to these emergent varieties, widely known as World Englishes.

8.4. World Englishes

The term World Englishes was first coined by Kashru (1985) to refer to the different varieties of English spoken in different regions. He classified the spread of English worldwide into three categories, he called them the *Inner*, the *Outer*, and the *Expanding* Circles:

- **The Inner Circle**: includes countries where English is spoken as a native language like: USA, UK, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.
- **The Outer Circle**: includes the former colonies of Britain where English is installed as an official language (considered as a second language) such as in India, Ghana, Singapore, Nigeria, Namibia, etc.
- **The Expanding Circle**: includes countries where English expands to be given priority for foreign language education, though it has no official status like in China, Japan, Algeria, Egypt, and increasingly the rest of the world.

The following figure clarifies the details proposed in Kachru's (1985) tripartite model.

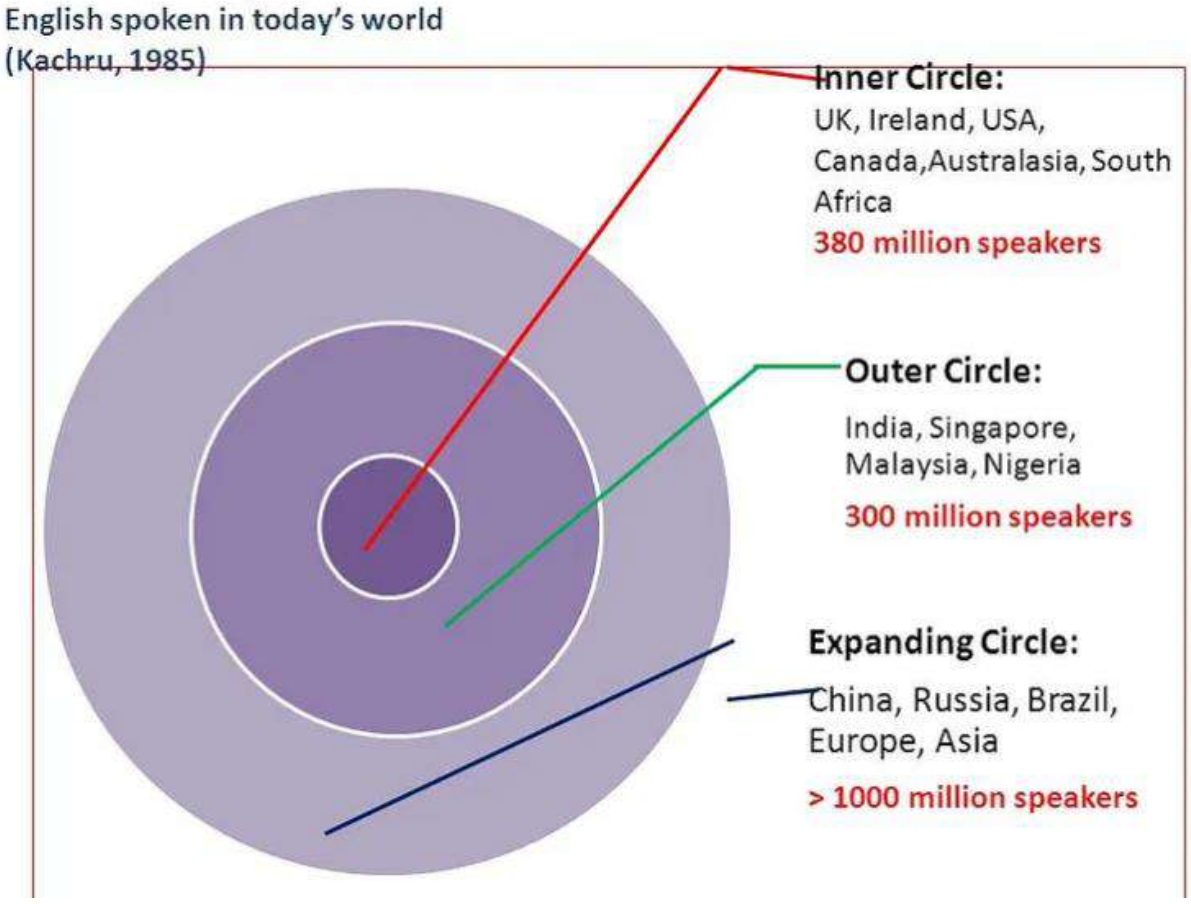


Figure 8.1. Kachru's (1985) Three Circles Model of World Englishes

8.5. Factors of the Global Spread of English

One might wonder about what explains the global spread of English instead of another world language such as Chinese, Spanish, French, or Arabic. Among the reasons lies in the legacies of history; due to Britain's colonial expansion, English has been taken from its birth

place to many countries around the world. After the independence of these colonies, English was maintained as it serves as a lingua franca, a language of intercommunication among groups whose mother tongues differ (especially African countries that have hundreds of languages and English facilitated communication for them).

Besides, the rise of US as a leading power in the twentieth century went hand in hand with the spread of the language to different economic, technological, and cultural domains. According to David Crystal, why a language becomes global has little to do with the number of people who speak it. It is much more to do with who those speakers are. A language, for him, becomes an international language for one chief reason: the political power of its people – especially their military power. He further explains that the dominance of the international language is not solely the result of military might. It may take a militarily powerful nation to establish a language, but it takes an economically powerful one to maintain and expand it.

8.6. Conclusion

At this level, it is interesting for university students of English to understand from a sociolinguistic point of view why studying English? English has succeeded to transcend not only geographical boundaries, but it installed itself in different fields such as economy, international relations, business, education, entertainment, tourism, Internet, etc. So, amongst the clearest consequences of globalisation is the emergence of English as the pre-eminent global language that could monopolize different domains and wipe out accordingly several rival languages both at the international settings as well as in small localities. Consequently, many see that it is a "killer" language and that it is a new form of cultural/linguistic imperialism. Besides, English as a global language has also contributed to globalisation, as it is not only a consequence but it is a cause as well. It has facilitated interconnectedness since it became the world's lingua franca in almost all domains. So, people do not need to learn several languages for economic and business relations, for tourism, research, communication and so on; they need rather to have a certain command of English.

Lecture 9: Language Planning

Learning Objectives

By the end of the lecture, students will be able to:

- Understand what is language planning.
- Be aware of the relationship between language and politics.
- Distinguish between the different types of language planning.
- Understand what are the motives and the orientations of language planning.
- Understand why different nations undertake different types of language planning.
- Understand the role of language planning in education and multilingual communities.

Content of the Lecture

9.1. Introduction

Language plays a crucial role in people's life. It is used as a major means of communication and it is an important agent in the representation of identities, social values, and cultures. It also has to do with history, civilisation, education, economy, and politics. That is to say, it is part of the social structures in which it operates. For that reason, governments place particular emphasis on language in the construction of their nations. Indeed, in the constitutions of many countries, language is given a considerable attention and the role it employs in society, is most of the times; clearly stated. The lecture attempts first to explain what is meant by language planning. Then, types of language planning will be tackled, including status, corpus, and acquisition planning. Light will be shed on important aspects; orientations of language

planning that determine the process undertaken. Finally, language planning and multilingualism is an important constituent of the lecture.

9.2. Definition of Language Planning

Language planning as a discipline is concerned with the study of language use in society. Hence, it is part of applied linguistics, which studies language in use instead of abstracting it away from extra-linguistic features; unlike twentieth-century linguistics. Interestingly, this field is often approached from a political dimension to language study, as it has strong ties with political decisions that determine language roles in society – though language planning is also related to language form and use. Language planning, in fact, is characterised by its interdisciplinary nature as it draws on several sciences such as linguistics, political sciences, anthropology, etc. Therefore, definitions differ considerably due to the different angles tackled.

For instance, according to Cooper (1989: 45): *"language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes"*. In the same vein, Rubin and Jurnudd (1971 cited in Daoust, 1997: 438) assume that it is *"a future-oriented intervention in language which aims to influence language and language use"*. To put it in other words, implementing language plans attempts to reach particular **changes in the future** as far as language status, structures, acquisition, and functions are concerned. That is to say, it is a deliberate activity that aims at **changing linguistic behaviours** in particular contexts. Accordingly, four major types of the discipline have been distinguished.

9.3. Types of Language Planning

It is important so far to know what aspects of language and language use are involved in the different language planning activities. This paper discusses the three widely studied types in the literature: 1) status planning, 2) corpus planning, and 3) acquisition planning.

9.3.1. Status Planning

The status/corpus dichotomy introduced by Kloss (1969) provides useful insights into the object of language planning. The former is concerned with attempts **to issue rules and norms that determine language use** (Spolsky, nd.) and role within society. I.e., it is the activity that is primarily **undertaken by the government** that aims to change the social position of

particular varieties, leading to lowering or raising the social status of a language (Kloss, 1969). Status planning in this respect targets the official standing of languages and enacts constitutional laws and regulations for their use in public administration (**Bianco,**). Cases of status planning may include for example a decision **to make a language official or to ban another from use in school** (Spolsky, nd.).

Such kind of language planning has been observed **in Algeria**, for instance, during the period of colonisation (1830-1962) and after independence. While the French invaders banned the education of Arabic and excluded it from administrations, the Algerian regime after independence attempted displace French in favour of Arabic. Besides, after several cultural movements undertaken by the Amazigh Algerians calling for their **linguistic rights**, Tamazight was finally declared as a national language alongside Arabic in 2002 and it has been later recognised as a second official language in 2016.

9.3.2. Corpus Planning

Corpus planning, on the other hand, is concerned with direct interventions in language structures via fixing or modifying them (ibid). This process is undertaken once the status of the language in the country is fixed for use in a particular situation. Thus, due to its link to linguistic aspects rather than socio-political, **language experts** will be in charge of it because they are responsible of producing dictionaries, grammar books, textbooks, etc. In other words, corpus planning entails any activity that aims **to modify the language itself** (Kloss, 1969). Removing **Arabic words** from Turkish, adopting **a different script** of writing to represent Turkish instead of Arabic, French efforts to **clean** the language from English words, **modernising** Arabic after the independence of the Arab countries in the twentieth century, reviving classical Hebrew after the creation of the settlement of Israel are all cases of corpus planning.

9.3.3. Acquisition Planning

It is often referred to as language-in-education planning. This is mainly related to cases in which new language forms acquire new status; i.e. some people find themselves in a situation in which they have to learn the official language that is not their mother tongue, for instance. **Minorities** throughout the world often need to learn the language of the majority in addition to their indigenous language, which is most of the times not taught in schools because it is not official. Examples of this are the Berbers in North Africa, Maori people in New Zealand,

Basques in the frontiers of Spain and France, etc. Another interesting case of language-in-education planning is government decisions about **foreign language education**. The best example of this is how **English** is recently gaining priority for foreign language education in most countries in the world. In Algeria, for instance, it is even replacing French in universities.

9.4. Language Ideologies and Orientations

The decisions or actions that affect language position, form and function in society are generally determined by the socio-cultural context in which these planning procedures take place. In other words, these decisions are context-dependent rather than universal and they are dictated by language ideologies. Indeed, these procedures reflect particular conceptualisations (assumptions/beliefs) about language that are influenced by political, economic and moral interests and that are also shaped by their cultural setting and social experiences. That is, the kind of language planning implemented is determined by particular motives.

Language ideologies in this sense can be defined as: *"morally and politically loaded representations of the nature, structure, and use of languages in a social world"* (Irvin, 1989 cited in Woolard, 2020: 1). Accordingly, language planning is not purely a linguistic activity, for it incorporates an interplay of various aspects. Cooper (1989) believes in this respect that language planning is mainly a political and administrative as well as linguistic activity used for solving language problems in society.

Thus, the nature of language planning efforts in any context indicates the government's basic orientations towards language and its role in society (Ruiz, 1984: 15). Actually, languages are perceived differently in different contexts. They can be viewed as a problem, a resource, or a right and the kind of language planning used depends on these orientations (ibid). Consequently, assimilationist language planning is the outcome of the perception that multilingualism is a problem and a threat to unity, for instance. This has been noticed in the language planning procedures undertaken by twentieth-century Europe and post-independent Arabic-speaking countries. Another different kind of language planning is the case of Australia, for instance, that promotes multilingualism, which is considered as a resource rather than a threat. Finally, minorities in governments that adopt assimilationist language planning often call for their linguistic rights as a form of cultural and linguistic resistance against marginalisation; such as the Berber communities in North Africa, and Galicians and Basques in Spain.

9.5. Language Planning in Education

Education constitutes an important part of language planning as it is the main instrument, among others, used for the attainment of the goals designed, especially that it is compulsory and controlled by the government. Besides, *"schools are one of the key agencies of socialisation; school pupils are a captive audience, and the curriculum affords the state unequal opportunities to shape the attitudes and behaviours of the next generation"* (Ferguson, 2006: 33-34). As has been mentioned above, the type of language planning is determined by particular orientations. In this sense educational reforms mirror these policies. If the policy is assimilationist, for instance, governments use only one medium as a language of instruction in schools. Recently, with the growing impact of globalisation, multilingualism is widely promoted through education.

Indeed, education is an important tool that may bring about radical changes at the social, cultural, political, economic, and linguistic levels. This is due to the fact that education is massive and occurs at a young age and it has accordingly long-term consequences. Amongst the possible outcomes of 'acquisition planning' is increasing the numbers of users/speakers of particular languages; displacing languages; the role of mother tongues in the educational process; the choice of second/foreign languages as curricular subjects of instruction, etc.

9.6. Conclusion

Language planning and policy show clearly that language is not a mere means of communicating content but it is so complex that it extends to various aspects of human life. Thus, language planning is not only a linguistic activity but it is rather a social, cultural, economic, and political action that is designed primarily for future-oriented changes.

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