Today

• This unit:
  • The language–society nexus
    • language variation (synchronic variation in usage and implications for linguistic description)
    • language attitudes (social and cultural functions of language, treatment of speakers, functional roles language plays)

• Research into language attitudes in creole settings
  • The “standard view” of attitudes to language
  • Research into the social meanings ascribed to contact-induced linguistic varieties
  • Interactions between attitudes, codification, elaboration and standardization (selection)

• Language Sketch
Key terms

• Sociolinguistics vs. Linguistic Anthropology

• Criteria for language standardization:
  1. **Codification** – development of the form (linguistic structure) of the language, including a phonology, grammar, lexicon and orthography
  2. **Elaboration** -- expansion (elaboration) of the adequacy of the language to be used to communicate in a range of social domains.
  3. **Acceptance** – lay loyalty
  4. **Standardization** – selection of some kind of model (structural norm) for the language.

• **Ideology**: sets of beliefs or values held in a particular domain (politics, education, morality, kinship, community, science)

• **Language ideology**: sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use.
Key terms

• **Social meaning**: the spectrum of social roles, positions, groupings, attitudes, norms that language may carry or signal to native and non-native speakers; the value systems and ideology a language encodes, and the interactional purposes it serves (Adendorff, 3)

  - **covert prestige**: positive evaluations that speakers hold but are unlikely to openly express

  - **overt prestige**: positive evaluations that speakers express publicly

• **Metalinguistic commentary**: direct discussion about language; one method for obtaining attitude information.

Audio: “It Dred inna Inglan”, Linton Kwesi Johnson
A framework for considering attitudes...


Lay loyalty is one criterion for becoming a “standard language”:
1. **Codification** – development of the form (linguistic structure) of the language, including a phonology, grammar, lexicon and orthography
2. **Elaboration** – expansion (elaboration) of the adequacy of the language to be used to communicate in a range of social domains.
3. **Acceptance** – lay loyalty
4. **Standardization** – selection of some kind of model (structural norm) for the language.

“minimal variation in form, maximal variation in function”

Bernstein’s (1962) desiderata regarding the path that ‘underdeveloped’ languages must take to become adequate instruments for a modern nation.
Research into language attitudes

Rickford, 1983 “Standard and non-standard language attitudes in a creole continuum”
• The so-called “standard view”: The binary opposition between creole and standard. “Creole bad; standard good”
  • at issue: orientation toward a single variety alone

• Limitations of the “standard view”:
  -- fails to take into account the language attitudes and patterns of use of other than the highest social classes in the community
  -- is taken from anecdotal, not systematically assembled, data
  fails to explain why hasn’t the creole been eliminated?

• Shows that language attitudes are more complex than “loyalty” suggests
Why is the study of language attitudes important?
  ... to study of synchronic variation?
  ...to language planning?
  ...to study of diachronic change?

I. Method
  • Matched-guise technique (Lambert, 1967)
  • 5-part sociolinguistic interview (production data under casual and careful speech settings)

II. Research questions:
  1. Clarify attitudes toward Guyanese creole
  2. Critique notion of “standard view of creole continua”
  3. Characterize the complex system of attitudes
Results Summary

• Part I: Job scale
  • Non-estate (UMC) and Estate (WC) –class respondents show similar evaluations: acrolect-dominant guise associated with jobs of higher socio-economic status, mesolect guise with jobs of lower status, basilect with jobs of lowest status.

• Does either result corroborate the “standard view?”
• Why does Rickford claim that language use can help us to interpret the surprising “friend scale” responses?

• Part II: Friend scale
  • NEC and EC respondents show differing evaluations: NEC respondent ratings appear to corroborate the standard view; EC opposed
Research into language attitudes

Interpretation:

• Job scale elicited attitudes about shared social norms regarding language and the social order. The friend scale elicited a different type of attitude, covert attitudes, having to do with identity, solidarity, and community.
Research into language attitudes

- Prestige (Trudgill, 1986):
  - **covert prestige**: positive evaluations that speakers hold but are unlikely to openly express
  - **overt prestige**: positive evaluations that speakers express publicly

  *Where attitudinal behavior patterns simultaneously along different dimensions, a **multi-valued attitude system** is said to operate.*
Research into language attitudes

- The concept of “prestige”
- Trudgill:
  - **covert prestige**: positive evaluations that speakers hold but are unlikely to openly express
  - **overt prestige**: positive evaluations that speakers express publicly

*Where attitudinal behavior patterns simultaneously along different dimensions, a **multi-valued attitude system** is said to operate.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool:</th>
<th>Dimension Measured:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job scale</td>
<td>notions about social (‘ly preferential) status,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend scale</td>
<td>notions about (personal preferences regarding) solidarity, identity, and community</td>
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</table>
Reinterpretation of friend scale responses:

-- metalinguistic commentary: overt comment about language
    NEC: language use contributes to socioeconomic standing
    EC: language use simply reflects the state of the social order

Attitudes to language, revisited:
Standard view, revisited--Too simplistic. Attitudes to language will
emerge differently according to several independent factors:
1. social class of the respondent
2. dimension of the attitudinal system being tapped
3. whether overt or covert commentary is targeted
Researching Language Ideology

- Linguistic ideologies: “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use.” (Silverstein 1979; Irvine and Gal 2000)
  - Indexicality: ability of a linguistic form to stand in a symbolic relation

- Schieffelin and Doucet (1998) Language ideologies are places to find images of “self/other” or “us/them”

- Following Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskity (1998) claim that in settings where nationhood is under negotiation, every aspect of language (from description to prescription) is contested.

- Contestation can have an impact on language change. Social meanings are negotiated.

  Ethnography: a set of methods involving analyst’s participation, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for a period of time, collection of data clarifying the social groupings, symbolic resources and social meanings salient for community members, allowing members to make sense of the world. e.g., Participant observation
Attitudes and ascribed social meaning

South Africa
- 12 official languages (incl. Xhosa, Zulu, English, Afrikaans)
- 1 Creole (creoloid): Afrikaans
- Afrikaans:
  - 3 official dialects
  - variant of Dutch
  - lexical and syntactic borrowings from Malay, Bantu, Khoisan, Portuguese
- 1 Mixed Language: Camtho
  - aka Tsotsitaal (Zulu~Afrikaans)
- 1 (workforce) Pidgin: Fanakalo
  - also spoken in Congo, Zimbabwe

- 70% of the vocabulary in Zimbabwe comes from Zulu, 24% from English, 6% from Afrikaans. Influenced by Bemba in Zambia.

source: Ethnologue.com
Attitudes and ascribed social meaning

(Adendorff, 1993)

Purpose: determine the social meaning and motivations for use of Fanakalo (Pidgin Zulu).

Methods:

1. Ethnographic survey of use of F in written sources
   - sources suggest a different evaluation of F for 2 subsets of the South African population
2. Survey of oral data
3. Explore “marked” and “unmarked” domains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>unmarked domains</th>
<th>marked domains</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>traditional settings of use (workforce)</td>
<td>-- non status-quo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonaffective settings</td>
<td>-- affective settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker is White, addressee is Black</td>
<td>-- any other ethnic distribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power relationship is asymmetrical</td>
<td>-- solidary relationships</td>
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</table>
Attitudes and ascribed social meaning

The Fanakalo Study, South Africa, cont.

- Fanakalo as an interactional resource
  -- Assumes a shared orientation toward the range of unmarked and marked functions of F
  -- Does the same language encode different meaning for different speakers?
- Reconsider “The Standard View” and attitudes toward Fanakalo
- Which, if any, standardization criteria does F meet?
Imaging JC

Language-internal evidence of historical attitudes -- pejoration

e.g., JC ‘nyam’ to eat

Jamaica Observer, July 1992
Attitudes and codification

Cameroonian Pidgin English (Wilt, 1994) English~various (Lamso)

- Republic of Cameroon
- Former colony of both France and Britain
- Official languages: English and French
- 279 living languages
- 2 Expanded Pidgins: CPE (daughter of Krio), CPF
- CPE, CPF are of differential status: CPE is lingua franca spoken in both anglo- and francophone areas; ongoing debate regarding officialization of CPF
Attitudes and codification

Cameroonian Pidgin English (Wilt, 1994)   English~various (Lamso)

- Which, if any, standardization criteria does CPE meet?
- Summary of Findings:

Attitudes to language not correlated to level of education, but whether or not speaker is presently studying

How related to the “standard view” for creoles?
   --shows elasticity of attitudes to language in the midst of pressures associated with other factors: ex., gender roles, general value of education, regional affiliation, concerns about the stability of mother tongue
Attitudes and codification

Cameroonian Pidgin English, cont.

1.) Findings, by factor group
   a.) Mother tongue:
      -- no significant difference
   b.) Age (2 oldest cohorts only: 40+, 20-39)
      -- no significant differences
   c.) Education
      Groups with differing educational levels: 14 adults with primary-level
education vs. 12 adults with >= 5 yrs secondary school.
      --Mamfe: student preferences biased toward CPE forms closest to CSE
      -- no significant differences in preference of CPE vs. CSE forms in adults who
         were not in school (graduates and non-graduates)

Students vs. non-students:
   -- preferences are influenced by education, BUT...
   -- the influence of CSE on CPE speakers diminishes once they are out of school
Attitudes and codification

Findings, cont.: 
d.) Sex:
   -- negligible effect everywhere but in Kumbo

“That the women’s preferences...may be important diachronically in
pushing the Kumbo Pidgin variety towards the Limbe-Kumba variety
would seem possible...” (p. 58-9)
Considerations regarding ideology and lay loyalty:

1. How does “acceptance” interact with codification, elaboration and standardization (selection)?
2. Attitudes are expressed in different ideological domains.
   1. E.g. community/civil life (how social order should work), education, morality, science
   2. Conflicts with ideologies can influence language attitudes. Examples?
Common language~attitude embeddings

• Types of linguistic variation in creole settings
  • Post-creole continuum (e.g., Rickford, Guyana; Jamaica).
    ✓ One speaker will command only a portion of the continuum.
    ✓ “Standard view” of attitudes toward the Creole assumed (but problematic): Binary, dispositions oriented toward the end of the continuum linguistically closest to the lexifier
    ✓ Multi-valued attitude systems more common
  • Bilingualism (e.g., Wilt, Cameroon)
    ✓ All speakers are bilingual
    ✓ Multi-valued and possibly shifting attitudes toward Creole
  • Distributed bilingualism (e.g., Adendorff, South Africa)
    ✓ Some speakers are fully bilingual; others have receptive abilities only. Codeswitching is the unmarked choice; switching distributed differently among social groups
    ✓ Social meaning differs for different groups; attitudes vary by group more than situation
  • Bilingualism with diglossia
“Crossing”

• Rampton, Ben. (1995) Crossing: Language and Ethnicity Among Adolescents

• **Definition:** language crossing is the practice of using a language variety that belongs to another group.

• Crossing includes a wide range of sociolinguistic practices such as the "outgroup use of prestigious minority codes"
  • ex. 1: white suburban teenagers using African-American English speech markers to affiliate with hip hop culture
  • ex. 2: pejorative secondary foreigner talk (the mocking use of a foreign accent to convey distance from a particular ethnic group).