Sociological Approach to Human Language 27-11-2020

What is Sociology of language? - Sociology [ˌsəuʃɪ'ɔləʤɪ] / [soʊ॒siɒləʤi] is the study of society or of the way society is organized.

- Sociology of language is the study of the relations between language and society.
- It is closely related to the field of sociolinguistics [səuſıəulıŋ'gwɪstıks] or [səʊsɪəʊlɪŋ'gwɪstɪks], which focuses on the effect of society on language.

- Sociolinguistics is the descriptive study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context, on the way language is used, and society's effect on language.
- It differs from sociology of language, which focuses on the effect of language on society. Sociolinguistics overlaps considerably with pragmatics. It is historically closely related to linguistic anthropology, and the distinction between the two fields has been questioned.

- The term sociolinguistics is used generally for the study of the relationship between language and society. This is a broad area of investigation that developed through the integration of linguistics with a number of other academic disciplines.
- It has strong connections with anthropology through the study of language and culture, and with sociology through the investigation of the role language plays in the organization of social groups and institutions.
- It is also tied to social psychology, particularly with regard to how attitudes and perceptions are expressed and how in-group and out-group behaviors are identified. We use all these connections when we try to analyze language from a social perspective.

- It also studies how language varieties differ between groups separated by certain social variables (e.g., ethnicity, religion, status, gender, level of education, age, etc.) and how creation and adherence to these rules is used to categorize individuals in social or socioeconomic classes.
- As the usage of a language varies from place to place, language usage also varies among social classes, and it is these sociolects ['səʊsɪə(ʊ)lɛkt, 'səʊʃɪə(ʊ)-] (Oxford Dic) that sociolinguistics studies.

Sociolinguistics is the study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context, on the way language is used.

- Sociolinguistics divided into two: g Macro-sociolinguistics
- the study of language related to how the society treats the language.
- Example: status of English and French in Québec.
 Micro-socialinguistics

- the study of language in relation to society deals with small group of people in certain community. Example at a party.

Basically, the essential difference between prestige, function, and status is the difference between past, present, and future.

The prestige of a language depends on its record, or what people think its record to have been. The function of a language is what people actually do with it.

The status of a language depends on what people can do with it, its potential. Status, therefore, is the sum total of what you can do with a language-legally, culturally, economically, politically and, of course, demographically.

What is the Sociology of language? - The sociology of language studies society in relation to language, whereas Sociolinguistics studies language in relation to society.

 For the former, society is the object of study, whereas, for the latter, language is the object of study.

- The sociology of language studies social groupings and powers in relation to language, whereas Sociolinguistics studies language in relation (of exercising power) to society.
- For the former, society is the object of study, whereas, for the latter, language is the object of study.

the Sociology of language? On the other hand, sociology of language (also known as macrosociolinguistics ['mækrau]; sociolinguistics [soulioulinguistiks] [səʊsɪəʊlɪŋ'gwɪstɪks] Oxford AMED) studies society and how it is impacted by language.

Andreas Pickel states,

"Religion and other symbolic systems strongly shaping social practices and shaping political orientations are examples of the social significance such languages can have."

The basic idea is that language reflects, among several other things, attitudes that speakers want to exchange or that just get reflected through language use.
 These attitudes of the speakers are the sociologist's information.

 Sociology of language seeks to understand the way that social dynamics are affected by individual and group language use.

 Language can be considered to be a social value within this field, which researches social groups for phenomena like multilingualism and lingual conflict. What is Sociolinguistics? [,səuʃɪəulɪŋ'gwɪstɪks] or [,səʊsɪəʊlɪŋ'gwɪstɪks] - In other words, sociolinguistics studies language and how it varies based on the user's *sociological background*, such as gender, ethnicity, age, status, and socioeconomic [,səusɪəu i kə'nomīk,-ˌɛkə-] class.

What is dialect in sociolinguistics?

- Dialect ['darəlekt] (n.) is a regionally or socially distinctive variety of language, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures.

- idiom ['IdIam] in Sociolinguistics:
- the dialect of a people or part of a country

What is language variety in sociolinguistics?

Language variety [və'raīətī] (n.) any form of language characterized by systematic features;

- in reference to a distinct language, a particular form of a language spoken by a specific group of people, the speech of a single person, the way a person speaks in a particular context

What is isogloss?

- isogloss ['AISƏ(ʊ)glos] an imaginary boundary or line drawn on a map that separates particular linguistic features, for example the line across England separating Northerners who pronounce the STRUT and FOOT vowels roughly the same from Southerners who don't.
- isogloss ['AISƏ(0)glDs] is a line on a map marking an area having a distinct linguistic feature
- Origin: early 20th cent.: from iso- 'equal' + Greek glossa 'tongue, word'

What is dialect in sociolinguistics?

- Spoken dialects are usually also associated with a distinctive pronunciation, or accent.
- Any language with a reasonably large number of speakers will develop dialects, especially if there are geographical barriers separating groups of people from each other, or if there are divisions of social class.
- One dialect may predominate as the official or standard form of the language, and this is the variety which may come to be written down.

- The social aspects of language were in the modern sense first studied by Louis Gauchat in Switzerland.
- Gauchat studied the French language spoken in Switzerland. In 1899 he founded 'Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande' ('Glossary of dialects of Frenchspeaking Switzerland'), an institution to publish comprehensive studies of Switzerland's French dialects.

What is dialect continuum in sociolinguistics?

- In sociolinguistics, a term used to describe a chain of dialects spoken throughout an area; also called a dialect chain. At any point in the chain, speakers of a dialect can understand the speakers of other dialects who live adjacent to them; but people who live further away may be difficult or impossible to understand.
- For example, an extensive continuum links the modern dialects of German and Dutch, running from Belgium through the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria to Switzerland.
- See also post-creole continuum.

What is Post-creole continuum in sociolinguistics?

- Post-creole continuum [kən'tınjuəm]
- A post-creole continuum (or simply creole continuum) is a dialect continuum of varieties of a creole language between those most and least similar to the superstrate language (that is, a closely related language whose speakers assert or asserted dominance of some sort).

A Sprachbund (German: ['**ʃ**p**ʁ**aːxb**ʊ**nt], "Federation of Languages"

- A Sprachbund (German: ['ʃpʁaːxbʊnt], "federation of languages"), also known as a linguistic area, area of linguistic convergence, diffusion area or language crossroads, is a group of languages that have common features resulting from geographical proximity and language contact. They may be genetically unrelated, or only distantly related. Where genetic affiliations are unclear, the Sprachbund characteristics might give a false appearance of relatedness.
- Areal features are common features of a group of languages in a Sprachbund.

What is dialect continuum in sociolinguistics?

- It is usually said that people speak different languages when they do not understand each other. But the so-called 'dialects' of Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese, etc.) are mutually unintelligible in their spoken form. (They do, however, share the same written language, which is the main reason why one talks of them as 'dialects of Chinese'.).
- And the opposite situation occurs: Swedes, Norwegians and Danes are generally able to understand each other, but their separate histories, cultures, literatures and political structures warrant Swedish, Norwegian and Danish being referred to as different languages.

- Sociolinguistics in the West first appeared in the 1960s and was pioneered by linguists such as William Labov /lə'boʊv/ in the US and Basil Bernstein in the UK.
- In the 1960s, William Stewart and Heinz Kloss introduced the basic concepts for the sociolinguistic theory of pluricentric languages, which describes how standard language varieties differ between nations (e.g. American/British/Canadian/Australian English; Austrian/German/Swiss German; Bosnian/ Croatian/ Montenegrin/Serbian Serbo-Croatian.

 Language has to do with who is 'authorized' to use what language, with whom and under what conditions.

What is idiolect?

Idiolect ['IdIəlɛkt]

- an individual's distinctive and unique use of language, including speech. This unique usage encompasses vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation.
- ^Ø the speech habits peculiar to a particular person
- every speaker has his own idiolect, no two speakers of a language or dialect speak in the exact same way – also, speaker speaks differently in different contexts

What are the variables?

Status ['ste**ītə**s]

Social positions that society assigns to its members, or the differences between social groups, in terms of the prestige associated with them by others;

Variable ['veərīəbl]

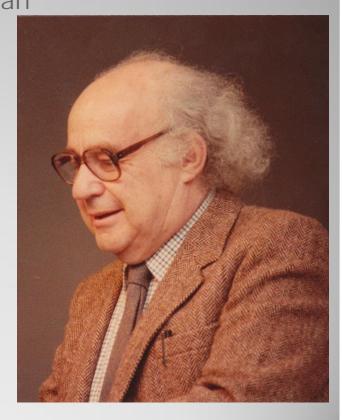
The abstract representation of a source of variation, realized by at least two variants, for example, gonna and will are variants of the variable future temporal reference;

Varian

The different expressions, or actual realizations, of a variable, for example, pronouncing the suffix -ing as "ing" or "in".

Communication, language of power hypocricy

John Joseph Gumperz (1922 –2013]) was an American linguist and academic. Gumperz was, for most of his career, a professor at the University of California, Berkeley. His research on the languages of India, on code-switching in Norway, and on conversational interaction, has benefited the study of sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, linguistic anthropology, and urban anthropology.



Communication, power, prejudice and understanding between cultures

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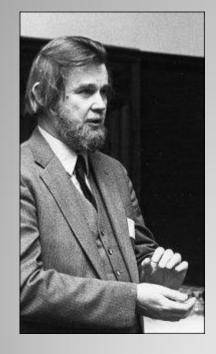
Communication, power, prejudice and understanding between cultures

Communication, language of power hypocricy

Hello, my name is Ruth Benedict and I am considered one of the pioneers of anthropology. I was born on June 5th, 1887 and died September 17th, 1948. I earned my PhD from Columbia University in 1923 and studied under Franz Boas while I was there. I am best remembered for my studies with the national character of many different culture groups especially the Japanese around the time of World War II. Books that I have written are The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture, Zuni Mythology, Patterns of Culture, and Race: Science and Politics.

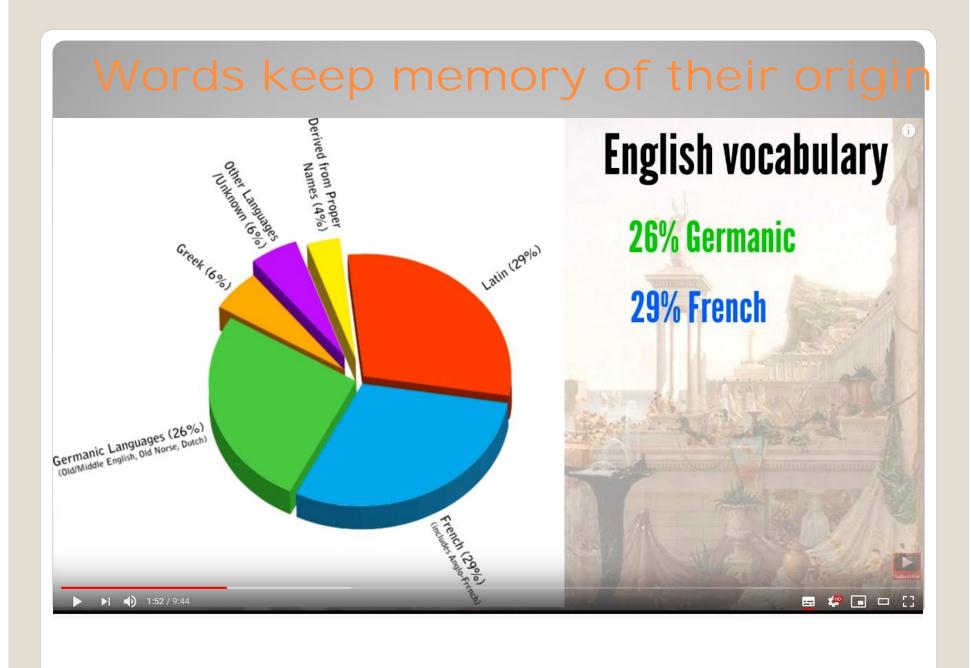
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Dell Hathaway Hymes (b.1927) - a linguistic anthropologist, linguist, and a folklorist. Hymes was the first person to describe his studies as linguistic anthropology and not anthropological lingusitics. In fact, he eventually coined the term "the ethnography of communication" to wrap all of his disciplines into one easy title.

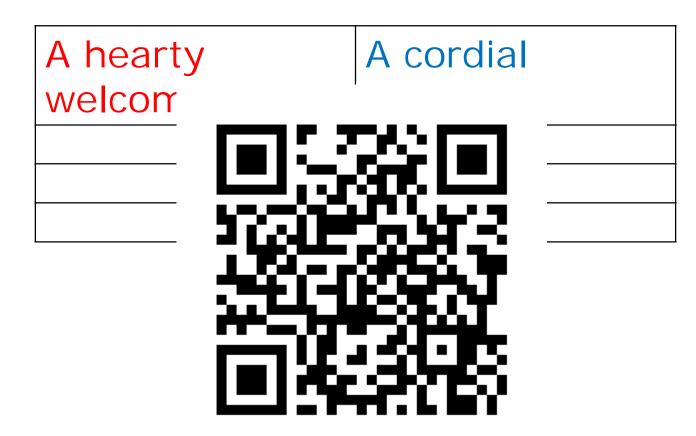
Through out his life, Hymes wrote many books on linguistics, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, ethnopoetics, and many other topics. He was a professor at Harvard University, University of California at Berkley, University of Pennsylvania, and retired while teaching at the University of Virgina. In his writings and teachings Hymes tried to get his colleagues to look at every form of discourse in an attempt to see how they differ across cultures. He Communication, power, prejudice and understanding petween cultures tried to change the ways scholars thought about linguistics because Hymes disagreed with Chomskyan approach to linguistics, which was the approach

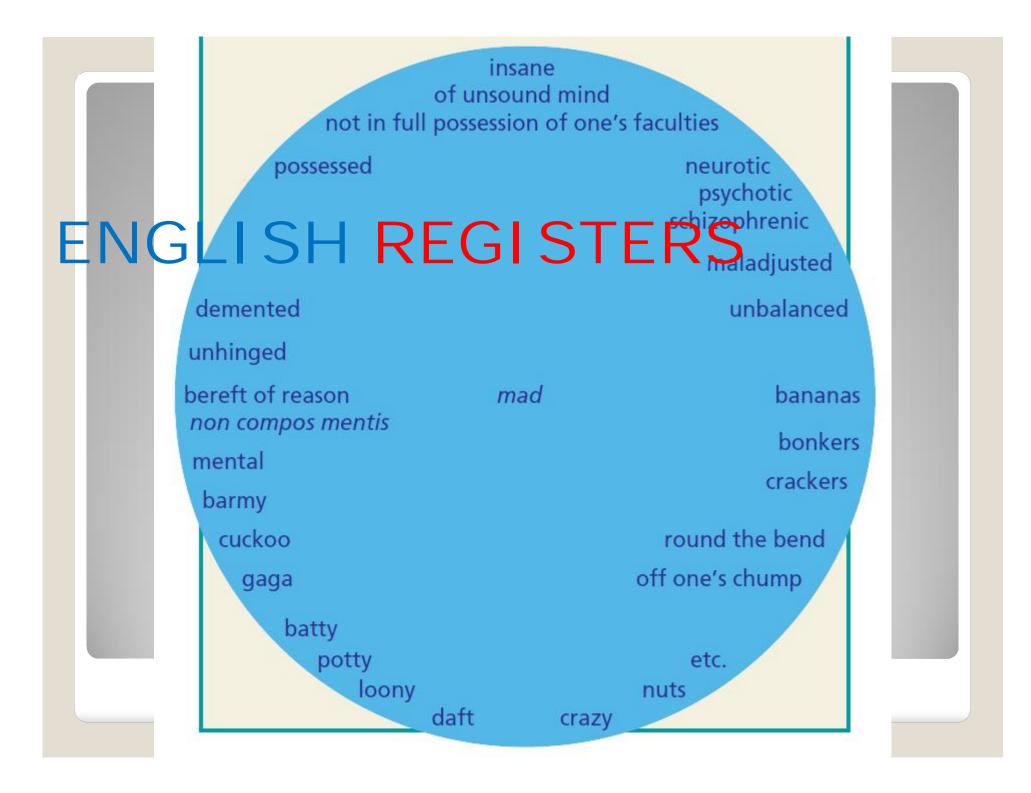


Words keep memory of their origin

Pairs of equivalent words for animals & food Gwynedd Sea Animals (Germanic) Food (French) rewsbury Beef (from French boeuf) Cow (from OE **cū**) Pork (from French porc) Pig (from OE picga) Hereford Sheep (from OE sceap) Mutton (from French mouton) Wallingford Escargot (from French escargot) Snail (from OE **snægl**) Ramsbury "Pig" comes from Old English "picga" but "pork" comes French "porc" Flanders

PRESTIGE VARIETY REGISTER





What is the Sociology of language?

Language has to do with

- how an individual or group identity is established by the language that they have available for them to use.
- <u>Sociology of Language</u> seeks to understand individual expression, which makes the investment in the linguistic tools that one has access to in order to bring oneself to other people.

What is the Sociology of language?

Sociology of language, particularly American sociolinguistics, was regarded to have been founded in the early 1960s, mainly by William Labov /Iə'boʊv/, who developed much of the methodology

The sociolinguistic interview is an integral part of collecting data for sociolinguistic studies.

What is the Sociology of language?

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The matched-guise test by Wallace Lambert is a sociolinguistic experimental technique used to determine the true feelings of an individual or community towards a specific language, dialect, or accent.

Deviation from standard language varieties

The existence of differences in language between social classes can be illustrated by the following

table:

Bristolian Dialect	Standard English
(lower class)	
I ain't done nothing	
I done it yesterday	
It weren't me that done it	

Deviation from standard language varieties

The existence of differences in language between social classes can be illustrated by the following

table:

Bristolian Dialect	Standard English
(lower class)	(higher class)
I ain't done nothing	I haven't done anything
I done it yesterday	I did it yesterday
It weren't me that done it	I didn't do it
	Etc.

Deviation from standard language The existence of differences in Varieties

The existence of differences in language between Standard English and BEV

- a. Someone asked, Is she married? and someone answered, She been married. Do you get the idea that she is married now? Yes _____
 - No
- - have known for a long time _____

What is Speech community?

Speech community is a concept in sociolinguistics that describes a distinct group of people who use language in a unique and mutually accepted way among themselves.

This is sometimes referred to as a Sprechbund.

What is Speech community?

To be considered part of a speech community, one must have a communicative competence.

That is, the speaker has the ability to use language in a way that is appropriate in the given situation.

It is possible for a speaker to be *communicatively competent* in more than one language.

What is Speech community?

Speech communities can be members of a profession with a specialized jargon, distinct social groups like high school students or hip hop fans, or even tightknit groups like families and friends. Members of speech communities will often develop slang or jargon to serve the group's special purposes and priorities.

What is Community of Practice?

A community of practice (CoP) is a group of people who share a craft or a profession.

Presently the term jargon /'dʒɑːgən/ most often refers to the words particular to a given profession.



What is Community of Practice?

A community of practice (CoP) is a group of people who share a craft or a profession. Argot ['ɑːɡəʊ] (noun) a specialized type of slang, often originally associated with thieves' talk Argot ['ɑːɡəʊ] is the jargon or slang of a particular group or class: teenage argot. Origin: mid 19th cent. (originally denoting the jargon or slang of criminals): from French, of unknown origin.

What is Community of Practice?

A community of practice (CoP) is a group of people who share a craft or a profession.

Slang [slæn] – about vocabulary, idiom, etc., that is not appropriate to the standard form of a language or to formal contexts, may be restricted as to social status or distribution, and is characteristically more metaphorical and transitory than standard language.

anti-languages

 anti-languages - the language used by oppositional subcultures within a society, usually used to reverse or twist, the standard meaning of words for social or political ends.

eye dialect

The use of non-standard spellings to represent pronunciations of individual words that match those of almost all English speakers, for example, duz (does), wurd (word).

What is Community of Practice?

A community of practice (CoP) is a group of people who share a craft or a profession.

Slang [slæŋ] consists of words, expressions, and meanings that are informal and are used by people who know each other very well or who have the same interests.

Slang [slæŋ] is a type of language that consists of words and phrases that are regarded as very informal, are more common in speech than writing, and are typically restricted to a particular context or group of people: 'Grass' is slang for marijuana.

What is Community of Practice?

Community of Practice allows for sociolinguistics to examine the relationship between socialization, competence, and identity. Since identity is a very complex structure, studying language socialization is a means to examine the micro-interactional level of practical activity (everyday activities). The learning of a language is greatly influenced by family but it is supported by the larger local surroundings, such as school, sports teams, or religion. Speech communities may exist within a larger community of practice.

What is Community of Practice?

Members of (CoP) may have somethin g in common:

- A. Shared topics or subject of interest
- B. Shared activities and interactions;
- C. Shared repertoire, tools and strategies, ideas and results (maybe also involvement, transparency of meanings and emotional connections).

What is Community of Practice?

Members of (CoP) may have something in common:

- A. Shared topics or subject of interest
- B. Shared activities and interactions;
- C. Shared repertoire, frames, tools and strategies, ideas and results;
- D. Shared background (e.g. age)and values. Now watch the video:



Prestige [prɛ'stiːʒ] generally means high status or reputation achieved through success, influence, wealth, etc.

Sociolinguistic prestige is especially visible in situations where two or more distinct languages are in use, and in diverse, socially stratified urban areas, in which there are likely to be speakers of different languages and/or dialects interacting frequently.

Prestige linguistic constructions. For example, the use of *whom* in *Whom did you see?* or the placement of *never* at the front of the sentence *Never have I seen a more gruesome sight* might be considered prestige variants in some social contexts.

Prestige [prɛ'sti:3] is the level of regard normally accorded a specific language or dialect within a speech community, relative to other languages or dialects. The concept of prestige in sociolinguistics provides one explanation for the phenomenon of variation in form, among speakers of a language or languages. Prestige varieties are those varieties which are generally considered, by a society, to be the most "correct" or otherwise superior variety.

Prestige [prɛ'stiːʒ] is the level of regard normally accorded a specific language or dialect within a speech community, relative to other languages or dialects.

Different languages and dialects are accorded prestige based upon factors, including

"rich literary heritage, high degree of language modernization, considerable international standing, or the prestige of its speakers".

The prestige variety, in many cases, is the standard form of the language though there are exceptions, particularly in situations of covert prestige where a non-standard dialect is highly valued.

In addition to dialects and languages, prestige is also applied to smaller linguistic features, such as the pronunciation or usage of words or grammatical constructs, which may not be pronounced enough to constitute a separate dialect.

What is Prestige [prɛ'sti:**3**]? overt prestige

Positive or negative assessments of variants that are in line with the dominant norms associated with sounding "proper" and that people are aware of, often coinciding with the norms of the media, educational institutions, or higher socioeconomic classes

covert prestige

A norm or target that speakers unconsciously orient to, with a sort of hidden positive evaluation that speakers give to other (presumably non-standard) forms. The linguistic equivalent of street credibility. Social constraints versus Linguistic constraints

Inguistic constraint
 A linguistic factor that governs the use of a particular variant

9 social constraint
A social factor like sex or age that governs
the use of a particular variant

There are thus the concepts of overt and covert prestige. Whereas overt prestige is related to standard and "formal" language features and expresses power and status; covert prestige is related more to vernacular and often pathen, and expresses solidarity, community and group identity more than authority.

Prestige varieties are often those that are regarded mostly highly within a society. As such, the standard language, the form promoted by authorities and considered "correct" or otherwise superior, is often the prestige variety.

However, there are many exceptions to this rule, such as Arabic, in which Egyptian Arabic is widely used in mass media aimed at international audiences, while Literary Arabic (also known as Standard Arabic) is a more prestigious form.

Prestige varieties are usually the language varieties of the prestigious social classes.

Therefore, the prestige variety of a given language community or nation-state has symbolic significance and may act as an instrument of political power.

The notion of a "standard" language in a speech community is related to the prestige of the languages spoken in the community. In general, "greater prestige tends to be attached to the notion of the standard, since it can function in higher domains, and has a written form. While there are some counterexamples, such as Arabic, "prestigious and standard varieties [tend to] coincide to the extent that the two terms can be used interchangeably."

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The terms and conditions of prestige assigned to a language variety are subject to change depending on speaker, audience, situation and context. A dialect or variety which is considered prestigious in one context, will not carry the same status in another. *The relative status of language* varies according to audience, situation and other contextual elements is highly local. *Covert prestige* refers to relatively high value placed on a non-standard form of language.

The prestige accorded to the churchmen, lawyers and scholars who used Latin was transferred to the language itself. Latin was held to be noble and beautiful, not just the thoughts expressed in it or the people who used it. What is called 'beauty' in a language is more accurately seen as a reflection of the prestige of its speakers.

- This phenomenon is not limited to Englishspeaking populations.
- In Western Europe, multiple languages were considered to be of high prestige at some time or another,
- including "Italian as the Mediterranean Lingua Franca and as the language of the Renaissance;
- and the 17th-18th century French of the court culture".

Language differences

- Telling a language from a dialect may be a matter of prestige.
- "Language differences are not only marks of differential group membership, but also powerful triggers of group attitudes".
- Such fuzziness has resulted in the aphorism

"A language is a dialect with an army and a navy."

Language difference

 A canonical example of this is the Scandinavian languages, including Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian, where language differences "constitute barriers to but do not wholly block communication" but are considered distinct languages because they are spoken in different countries.

What is Koine ['kɔɪneɪ]?

- Koine ['kɔɪneɪ] (UK: /'kɔɪni/, US: /kɔɪ'neɪ, 'kɔɪneɪ, kiː'niː/(n.) is a common language among speakers of different languages; a bridge language, a lingua franca (the latter one being viewed as any 'bridge language').
- Etymology:
- from Greek koinē dialektos common language.

What is Koine ['kɔɪneɪ]?

- Koine['kɔɪneɪ] (n.) means the spoken language of a locality which has become a standard language or lingua franca.
- There are such notions in use as (for Old English) 'West Saxon literary koine'
- or (for US-influenced British English) 'mid-Atlantic koine'.

What is Vernacular [və'nækjʊlə] and Patois ['pætwɑː]?

Additionally, which varieties, registers or features will be considered more prestigious depends on audience and context.

Vernacular [və'nækjulə] the vernacular is the commonly spoken language or dialect of a particular people or place.

Pators ['pætwa:: French patwa] is an unwritten regional dialect of a language, esp of French, usually considered substandard.

What is Koine ['kɔɪneɪ]?

- Koine['kɔɪneɪ] (n.) means the spoken language of a locality which has become a standard language or lingua franca.
- The term was originally used with reference to the Greek language used throughout the eastern Mediterranean [medit(ə)'reiniən] countries during the Hellenistic [heli'nistik] and Roman periods; but it is now applied to cases where a vernacular [və'nækjulə] has come to be used throughout an area in which several languages or dialects are spoken.

Social causes for differences in dialects

- While some differences between dialects are regional in nature, there are also social causes for differences in dialects.
- Researcher John Joseph Gumperz observed that the lower prestige groups sought to imitate the higher prestige speech patterns and that over time, it had caused the evolution of the prestige away from the regional standard, as higher prestige groups sought to differentiate themselves from lower prestige groups.

Social causes for differences in dialects

One notable example of the relationship between dialect and social stratification in English is William Labov's 1966 study of the variable pronunciation of r in New York City. Labov went to three department stores that catered to three clearly delineated socioeconomic groups—Saks (high), Macy's (middle), and S. Klein (low)—and studied how their employees pronounced the phrase "fourth floor". His results demonstrated that the employees at Saks pronounced r most often, Macy's employees pronounced r less often, and at S. Klein, seventy-nine percent of the respondents said no r at all.

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Real time study

real time study -

a study that samples a speech community at two or more points in time

panel study

a real time study that looks at the same members of a speech community at two (or more) points in time, for example, 20 years apart.

trend study

A real time study that studies different members of a speech community at different times, for example, talking to people who are 20, 40, and 60 now and then other people who are 20, 40, and 60 twenty years in the future.

What is Prestige [prɛ'sti:**3**]?

Labov attributed his findings to the perceived prestige of each dialect. He noted that New York City's "dropped 'r' has its origins in posh British speech", but after World War II, "with the loss of Britain's imperial status 'r'-less British speech ceased to be regarded as 'prestige speech'".

Labov on Prestige and Gender

"[American linguist William Labov developed] three principles regarding the linguistic behavior of men and women:"

1. For stable sociolinguistic variants, women show a slower rate of stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men (Labov 2001: 266)

2. In linguistic change from above, women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men (Labov 2001: 274)

In linguistic change from below, women use higher
 frequencies of innovative forms than men do (Labov 2001: 292)

Labov on Prestige and Gender

"Ultimately,

Labov formulates the corresponding Gender Paradox:" Women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not.

(Labov 2001: 293)

"All these principles and the Gender Paradox itself appear to be fairly robust findings with almost universal applicability in contemporary sociolinguistics."

 Style-shifting – an individual's speech changes according to differences in interlocutor(s), social context, personal goals, or external factors

Speaker design - using different styles to present oneself differently

Audience design

The idea that speakers style shift on the basis of who they are speaking with or who might overhear them, that is, their audience members

Convergence [kən'va

Accommodation toward your interlocutors, that is, trying to sound more like the people you're talking to. Divergence [da1'v3:03en(t)s]

Accommodation away from your interlocutors, that is, trying to sound less like the people you're talking to

Passing

Adopting behaviors from another group in order to be taken as authentic members of that group

Dragging

When people use features that both they and their audience know are associated with another group Crossing

When speakers use language features or linguistic styles associated with another ethnic group

Fleeing

Avoiding linguistic features associated with another social group

- In his department store study, Labov included another subtle element that allowed him not only to investigate the type of social stratification, but also speech style as a social feature of language use. The most basic distinction in speech style is between formal uses and informal uses.

– Formal style is when we pay more careful attention to how we're speaking and informal is when we pay less attention. They are sometimes described as 'careful style' and 'casual style'. A change from one to another is called style-shifting.

- As we look more closely at variation in speech style, we can see that it is not only a function of speakers' social class and attention to speech, but it is also influenced by their perception of the listeners.
- This type of variation is sometimes described in terms of 'audience design', but it is more generally known as speech accommodation, defined as our ability to modify our speech style toward or away from the perceived style of the person(s) we're talking to.

Stylistic register

- Another influence on speech style that is tied to social identity derives from register.
- A register is a conventional way of using language that is appropriate in a specific context, which may be identified as [situational] (e.g. in church), [occupational] (e.g. among lawyers) or [topical] (e.g. talking about ballet).

- Studies, such as those by William Labov in the 1960s, have shown that social aspirations influence speech patterns. This is also true of class aspirations.
- In the process of wishing to be associated with a certain class (usually the upper class and upper middle class) people who are moving in that direction socio-economically will adjust their speech patterns to sound like them.

hypercorrection

- However, not being native upper-class speakers, they often hypercorrect, which involves overcorrecting their speech to the point of introducing new errors.
- The same is true for individuals moving down in socio-economic status.

What is Covert Prestige [prɛ'sti:**3**]?

The idea of covert prestige was first introduced by William Labov, who noticed that even speakers who used non-standard dialects often believed that their own dialect was "bad" or "inferior". Labov realized that there must be some underlying reason for their use of the dialect, which he identified as a signal of group identity.

 It can be realised on the level of the individual sound/phoneme, as Labov discovered in investigating pronunciation of the post-vocalic /r/ in the North-Eastern USA, or on the macro scale of language choice, as realised in the various diglossia that exist throughout the world, where Swiss-German/High German is perhaps most well known.

- An important implication of the sociolinguistic theory is that speakers 'choose' a variety when making a speech act, whether consciously or subconsciously.
- The terms acrolectal (high) and basilectal (low) are also used to distinguish between a more standard dialect and a dialect of less prestige.
 Basilect ['basɪlɛkt, 'beɪsɪ-] is a less prestigious dialect or variety of a particular language, contrasted with acrolect ['akrə(ʊ)lɛkt].

- Crucial to sociolinguistic analysis is the concept of prestige; certain speech habits are assigned a positive or a negative value, which is then applied to the speaker.
- This can operate on many levels.

What is Prestige [prɛ'sti:**3**]?

- Peter Trudgill observed that more working class women spoke the standard dialect than men.
- Farida Abu-Haidar performed a similar study in Baghdad of prestige in the Arabic language, after which she concluded that in Baghdadi Arabic, women are more conscious of prestige than are men.

Adstratum ['adstra:təm, ad'stra:təm] is a language or group of elements within it that is responsible for changes in a neighbouring language

- When different languages or language varieties come in contact with one another, a variety of relationships can form between the two, all typically influenced by prestige.
- When the two contact languages have equal power or prestige, they form adstratum, as exemplified by Old English and Norse, which shared elements with each other more or less equally.

Prestige in Language contact

 Far more common is for the two languages to have an unequal power relationship, as is the case of many colonial language contact situations.

Prestige in Language contact

- In the case of pidgins and creoles, it is usually noted that the low prestige language provides the phonology while the high prestige language provides the lexicon and grammatical structure.
- Creole ['kri:əʊl] is a language that has its origin in extended contact between two language communities, one of which is generally European It incorporates features from each and constitutes the mother tongue of a community

Lingua Franca [ˌlɪnguʌˈfræŋkə]

- Lingua Franca [,lɪnguʌ'fræŋkə], lingua francas or linguae francae ['frænsiː] has a few meanings:
- 1) a language used for communication among people of different mother tongues;
- 2) a hybrid language containing elements from several different languages used in this way;
- 3) any system of communication providing mutual understanding.

Lingua Franca [ˌlɪnguʌˈfræŋkə]

Lingua Franca [,līnguʌ'fræŋkə], lingua francas or linguae francae ['frænsi:]
is a term used in sociolinguistics, and often in everyday speech, to refer to an auxiliary language used to enable routine communication to take place between groups of people who speak different native languages; also sometimes called an interlingua.

Lingua Franca [ˌlɪnguʌˈfræŋkə]

- English is the world's most common *lingua franca*, followed by French;
- Other languages are also widely used as lingua franca:
- In East Africa, for example, Swahili [swə'hiːli, swɑː-] is the lingua franca;
- in many parts of West Africa, Hausa ['hausə] is used.

- A pidgin / pidʒin/, or pidgin language, is a grammatically simplified means of communication that develops between two or more groups that do not have a language in common:
- typically, its vocabulary and grammar are limited and often drawn from several languages. It is most commonly employed in situations such as trade, or where both groups speak languages different from the language of the country in which they reside (but where there is no common language between the groups).

- Fundamentally, a pidgin is a <u>simplified</u> means of linguistic communication, as it is constructed impromptu [Im'promptju:], or by convention, between individuals or groups of people.
- A pidgin is not the native language of any speech community, but is instead learned as a second language.

- A pidgin may be built from words, sounds, or body language from a multitude of languages as well as onomatopoeia [one mæte/pi:e].
- As the lexicon of any pidgin will be limited to core vocabulary, words with only a specific meaning in lexifier language may acquire a completely new (or additional) meaning in the pidgin.

Pidgins are usually less morphologically complex but more syntactically rigid than other languages, usually have fewer morphosyntactic irregularities than other languages.

Characteristics shared by most pidgins:

- A. Typologically most closely resemble isolating languages;
- B. Uncomplicated clausal structure (e.g., no embedded clauses, etc.);
- C. Reduction or elimination of syllable codas;
- Reduction of consonant clusters or breaking them with epenthesis;
- E. Elimination of aspiration or sound changes;
- F. Monophthongization is common, employment of as few basic vowels as possible, such as [a, e, i, o, u].

Characteristics shared by most pidgins:

- A. Lack of morphophonemic variation;
- B. Lack of tones, such as those found in West African, Asian and many North American Indigenous languages;
- C. Lack of grammatical tense; use of separate words to indicate tense, usually preceding the verb;
- D. Lack of conjugation or declension;
- E. Use of reduplication to represent plurals, superlatives, and other parts of speech that represent the concept being increased.

Pidginization (pidginai'zeijan) or pidginisation (n)

Pidginization (pidginai'zeijan) or pidginisation (n)

is the process when a language becomes made up of elements of two or more other languages and used for contacts, esp trading contacts, between the speakers of other languages.

Prestige versus Equal Merit

The prevailing view among contemporary linguists is that regardless of perceptions that a dialect or language is "better" or "worse" than its counterparts, when dialects and languages are assessed "on purely linguistic grounds, all languages—and all dialects—have equal merit".

Characteristics shared by most pidgins:

Linguists admit that pidgins can become creole languages when a generation of children learn a pidgin as their first language, a process that regularizes speaker-dependent variation in grammar.

Creoles can then replace the existing mix of languages to become the native language of a community (such as the Chavacano language in the Philippines, Krio in Sierra Leone, and Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea). However, not all pidgins become creole languages; a pidgin may die out before this phase would occur (e.g. the Mediterranean Lingua Franca).

A creole language, or simply creole ['kri:əul]

A creole language, or simply creole ['kri:əul], is a stable natural language that develops from the simplifying and mixing of different languages within a fairly brief period of time: often, a pidgin evolved into a full-fledged language. While the concept is similar to that of a mixed or hybrid ['haɪbrɪd] language, creoles are often characterized by a tendency to systematize their lexifier (e.g., by eliminating orthographic irregularities or regularizing the conjugation of irregular verbs).

A creole language, or simply creole ['kri:əul]

Like any language, creoles are characterized by

- A. a consistent system of grammar,
- B. possess large stable vocabularies,
- c. and are acquired by children as their native language.

These three features distinguish a creole language from a pidgin.

The tem substrate and superstrate

The terms substrate ['sʌbstreɪt] and superstratum [suːpə'straːtəm, -'streɪtəm] are often used when two languages interact.

However, the meaning of these terms is reasonably well-defined only in second language acquisition or language replacement events, when the native speakers of a certain source language (the substrate) are somehow compelled to abandon it for another target language (the superstrate).

The tem substrate and superstrate

The terms substrate ['sʌbstreɪt] and superstratum [suːpə'strɑːtəm, -'streɪtəm] are often used when two languages interact. Superstratum [suːpə'strɑːtəm, -'streɪtəm] is the language of a conquering or colonizing population as it supplants that of an indigenous population, as for example French and English in the Caribbean

The tem substrate and superstrate

The terms substrate ['sʌbstreɪt] and superstratum [suːpə'strɑːtəm, -'streɪtəm] are often used when two languages interact.

The outcome of such an event is that erstwhile speakers of the substrate will use some version of the superstrate, at least in more formal contexts.

The substrate may survive as a second language for informal conversation.

The term substrate superstrate; adstratum ['adstr**ɑːtə**m]

The language replacement model may not be appropriate in creole formation contexts, where the emerging language is derived from multiple languages without any one of them being imposed as a replacement for any other. Adstratum ['adstra:təm, ad'stra:təm] (ad-stratum noun pl. adstrata) is a language or group of elements within it that is responsible for changes in a neighbouring language

The test substrate and superstrate

The distinction may be meaningful when the contributions of each parent language to the resulting creole can be shown to be very unequal, in a scientifically meaningful way. In the literature on Atlantic Creoles, "superstrate" usually means European and "substrate" non-European or African.

Decreolization

Decreolization [,di: ,kri : _əl aɪ 'zeɪʃ ə n -,kreɪ-, -,•əʊl-, -ɪ'•- AmE \ -ə 'zeɪʃ-] Since creole languages rarely attain official status, the speakers of a fully formed creole may eventually feel compelled to *conform their speech to one of the parent languages*. This decreolization process typically brings about a post-creole speech continuum characterized by large-scale variation and hypercorrection in the language.

Decreolization

Decreolization [,diː ,kri ː _əl aɪ 'zeɪʃ ə n - ,kreɪ-, - ,•əʊl-, -ɪ'•- AmE \ -ə 'zeɪʃ-] is the process of evolving from a creole into a standard language or a variety of a standard language.



Decreolization

 Over time, continued contact between the creole and the prestige language may result in decreolization, in which the creole begins to more closely resemble the prestige language.

Decreolization: creole continuum

- Decreolization thus creates a creole continuum, ranging from an acrolect (a version of the creole that is very similar to the prestige language), to mesolects (decreasingly similar versions), to the basilect (the most "conservative" creole).
- An example of decreolization described by Hock and Joseph is African American Vernacular English (AAVE), in which older, more conservative versions preserve features such as the completive marker done while newer, less conservative versions do not.

mesolect ['mezə lekt, 'mesə-, 'mēzə-, 'mēsə-]

 Diglossia [dal'gloste] means a situation in which two distinctly different language varieties co-exist in a speech community, acting as social registers, in which the high variety is used in the low bariety is used in the low variety among friends

Diglossia [dat'glostə] means a situation in which two languages (or two varieties of the same language) are used under different conditions within a community, often by the same speakers.

The term is usually applied to languages with distinct 'high' and 'low' (colloquial) varieties, such as Arabic...

Diglossia [daɪ'glbsɪə] is the fact of co-existence in a language of a high, or socially prestigious, and a low, or everyday, form, as for example, (High) German and Swiss German in Switzerland.

A situation where three varieties or languages are used with distinct functions within a community is called triglossia. An example of a triglossic situation is the use of French, Classical Arabic and Colloquial Tunisian Arabic in Tunisia, the first two being rated High and the last Low. Tunisia [tju:'nɪzɪə] ; Тунис - Republic of Tunisia

Some instances of contact between languages with different prestige levels have resulted in diglossia [daɪ'glosɪə], a phenomenon in which a community uses a high prestige language or dialect in certain situations, usually for newspapers, in literature, on university campuses, for religious ceremonies, and on television and the radio, but uses a low prestige language or dialect for other situations, often in conversation in the home or in letters, comic strips, and in popular culture.

The examples of diglossic societies:

 In most African countries, a European language serves as the official, prestige language (Standard French, English, Portuguese), while local languages (Wolof, Bambara, Yoruba) or creoles (Ivorian French, Nigerian English) serve as everyday languages of communication.

Diglossia [daɪ'glɒsɪə] should not be mixed with bilingualism [baɪlɪŋgwəlɪzəm].

Bilingualism is the ability to speak two languages equally well...

asymmetrical bilingualism

- a bilingual situation in which the less powerful linguistic groups are expected to adopt the language of the powerful group in order to access education or government services or jobs.

The examples of diglossic societies:

- in the Middle East and North Africa, Standard Arabic and vernacular Arabics;
- in Greece, Katharevousa καθαρεύουσα γλώσσα, and Dhimotiki – δημοτική;
- in Switzerland, Swiss Standard German and Swiss German;
- and in Haiti, Standard French and Haitian ['heijian, -j(a)n] Creole ['kri:aul].

In diglossic societies, the prestigious language tends to be very conservative and resist change over time while the low-prestige language, the local vernacular, undergoes normal language change.

Polyglossia (pronunciation: / polr'glostə/)is a noun that refers to the coexistence of multiple languages (or distinct varieties of the same language) in one society or area. It was first used in the 1970s in the Academic journal International Migration Review". Polyglossia is a useful term for describing situations where more than two distinct varieties are used for clearly distinct purposes.

Diglossia [daɪ'glɒsɪə]& Triglossia In his 1959 article, Charles A. Ferguson defines diglossia as follows:

DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Linguistic situation is a sociolinguistic characteristic of a particular locality, historical or geographical area, ethnic region, some state or its administrative units, or a group of states and territories of any other kind, within which areal and social relationships, as well as the functional interaction of the forms (and styles) of that or another language or several languages are considered and assessed.

The classification of language situations is based on principles and criteria that can be combined into several groups. There are quantitative, qualitative, and evaluative (estimative) group of characteristics.

Quantitative paremeters of language situations include:

The number of components of the language situation (the degree of linguistic diversity), that is the number of idioms in the research area. There may be mono-component and polycomponent language situations. The poly-component situations overweigh, monolingual regions included , since in almost all languages of the world territorial and social varieties differ.

The number of carriers of each of the idioms, defined as the percentage of the population groups speaking each of the idioms in a particular language region (demographic power of idioms). Language situations with an equal or different number of speakers of language forms (demographically equilibrium and non-equilibrium language situations) are distinguished.

The number of areas of communication in which each of the idioms is used in relation to the total number of such areas (communicative power of idioms). In varying degrees of the communicative power of idioms, language situations are divided in the same way as in demographic power into equilibrium and non-equilibrium.

Number of functionally dominant idioms. In nonequilibrium situations, the presence of one or more functionally dominant idioms is noted, in connection with which unipolar and multipolar language situations are distinguished.

Qualitative features include:

The linguistic nature of the language situation, which includes either different forms of one language, or different languages. On this basis, single-language and multilingual language situations are distinguished.

The degree of structural and genetic proximity of idioms is language situations with similar and dissimilar, closely related and unrelated idioms.

Linguistic situations with typologically similar idioms are called homomorphic, with related idioms - homogeneous, with typologically dissimilar idioms - heteromorphic, with unrelated idioms - heterogeneous.

Since structural similarities and genetic relationships are not interconnected, linguistic situations can be characterized simultaneously by combination of two features: a homogeneous and homomorphic situation, a homogeneous and heteromorphic situation, etc.

Functional equivalence or inequality of idioms. Linguistic situations in which linguistic forms have equal official status are called harmonious, linguistic situations with unequal status idioms are called disharmonious.

The nature of the origin of the dominant idiom (metal) on a state scale. On this basis, linguistic situations are distinguished with a local idiom (endoglossic) and with a foreign idiom (exoglossic).

Evaluation features

Signs of one or another idiom can differ according to internal and external estimates.

I dioms can be evaluated by their prestige, aesthetic characteristics, functionality, etc.

Differences in internal ratings given by the native speakers to their native idiom (positive, neutral, negative) determine the degree of so-called loyalty of the language community and affect the degree of stability and preservation of the language.

Evaluation features

If there is diglossia in the language situation, diglossic language situations are distinguished (all others, respectively, are non-diglossic).

A. D. Schweitzer and L. B. Nikolsky divide linguistic situations into two groups:

exoglossic - sets of languages:

- balanced language situations (with the functionally equivalent languages or language subsystems making up the situation);
- unbalanced language situations (with components distributed by areas of communication and social groups);
 endoglossic sets of subsystems of the same language:
- balanced language situations;
- unbalanced language situations.

exoglossic [,ɛksə(ʊ)'glɒsɪk] - adjective denoting or relating to a non-indigenous language that is used as an official or second language in a particular country or community Compare with endoglossic

Origin: 1980s:

from exo-, Greek glossa 'language, tongue', and -ic endoglossic [,ɛndə(ʊ)'glosɪk] - adjective denoting or relating to an indigenous language that is used as the first or official language in a country or community

Compare with exoglossic

Origin: 1980s:

from endo-, Greek glossa 'language, tongue', and -ic

A medium of instruction

A medium of instruction (plural: media of instruction, or mediums of instruction) is a language used in teaching. It may or may not be the official language of the country or territory. If the first language of students is different from the official language, it may be used as the medium of instruction for part or all of schooling. Bilingual or multilingual education may involve the use of more than one language of instruction. **UNESCO*** considers that "providing education in a child's mother tongue is indeed a critical issue"

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Linguistic relativity Edward Sapir (1884–1939) claimed that 'we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages . . . by the linguistic systems in our minds.' So we can talk about different language pictures of the world, or a peculiar worldview predetermined by a certain language...

Linguistic relativity, also known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, is named after Edward Sapir (1884–1939) and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941), although neither scholar used the term.

Strong versions of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggest that an individual's language has a profound thinks and acts, while the weaker version proposes that language has merely a moderate influence on an individual's behavior.

Some linguists argue that if individuals were truly so profoundly different as a result of their languages, then it would be immensely difficult to translate works between cultures and languages.

However, there are Linguistic universals that occur in most, if not all, natural languages. Cross-linguistic and cross-cultural translations happen everyday, some even in a fraction of a second thanks to Artificial intelligence linguistic models such as Google Translate.

Inuit ['Inju:It] snow lexicon

Although there may not be hundreds of distinct Inuit words for snow, snow expert Matthew Sturm agrees that the English snow lexicon is overall "clearly inferior" to the Inuit snow lexicon.

Usage: The peoples inhabiting the regions from the central Canadian Arctic to western Greenland prefer to be called Inuit ['Inju:It] rather than Eskimo, and this term now has official status in Canada. The language is also known, esp. to its speakers, as Inuktitut [I'nuktItut].By analogy, the term Inuit is also used as a synonym for Eskimo in general. However, this latter use, in including people from Siberia who are not Inupiaq-speakers, is, strictly speaking, not accurate. Since neither Inupiaq nor Yupik ['ju:pIk] (with around 3,000 speakers) is in common US usage, only Eskimo includes all of these peoples and their languages, belonging to one of the three branches of the Eskimo-Aleut language family.

Inuit ['ɪnjuːɪt] snow lexicon

Despite also having several words for snow, such as 'snowdrift', 'snowflake', and 'flurries', the vast majority of English snow-related words all have the same root: 'snow'. Moanwhile, in Inuit, there are multiple independent terms for snow. For example, aput means 'snow on the ground', gans means 'falling snow', piqsirpoq means 'drifting snow', and qimuqsuq means 'a snowdrift'. All four of these terms for snow have independent roots of each other. This is similar to how there are several independent terms use to describe water in English, such as 'water', 'river', 'ocean', and 'dew'. Since snow is such a vital part of Inuit society, it is natural that their language has more nuance ['nju:c:n(t)s] for snow than does the English language.

The interlingual approach

Interlingua (n.) is a term used in machine translation for a proposed inter-mediate representation constructed to facilitate the automatic translation of one language into another.

In an interlingual approach, the source language is given a highly abstract representation which captures all the syntactic and semantic information necessary for translation into several target languages.

The interlingua would usually be a specially constructed formal language, but other artificial languages have been proposed (such as Esperanto [espə'ræntəu]), and in theory a natural language could also be used.

The difficulty of developing a model of syntactic or semantic universals has limited the applicability of this approach.

Chinese-English bilinguals

Mandarin Chinese is a language that lacks absolute tense. In other words, it is not necessary to specify the temporal location of an event in Mandarin. Instead, one or two words can be added to the beginning or end of a sentence to denote tense. It is usually assumed that the speaker is using present tense, but the listener may also have to depend on context clues to determine the tense.

Chinese-English bilinguals

Researchers Yang Li, Manon Jones, and Guillaume Thierry from Bangor University have conducted a study that suggests that fluent Chinese-English speakers did not explicitly recognize time misalignments in complex English sentences, as opposed to native English speakers.

The study involved analyzing N400 (neuroscience) modulations to determine when the participants took additional semantic processing effort to recognize tense misalignments.

Code-mixing

Code-mixing is similar to the use or creation of pidgins; but while a pidgin is created across groups that do not share a common language, code-mixing may occur within a multilingual setting where speakers share more than one language.

What is a Code?

The concept of the 'code' is central in structuralist semiotics.

While Saussure dealt only with the overall code of language (la langue), he did of course stress that signs are not meaningful in isolation, but only when they are interpreted in relation to each other.

What is a Code?

The concept of the 'code' is central in structuralist semiotics.

It was another linguistic structuralist, Roman Jakobson, who emphasized that the production and interpretation of texts depends upon the existence of codes or conventions for communication (Jakobson 1960 and 1971c).

What is a Code?

Influenced by communication theorists, he substituted the distinction of code from message for the Saussurean distinction of langue from parole (Jakobson 1990, 15).

Since the meaning of a sign depends on the code within which it is situated, codes provide a framework within which signs make sense. Indeed, we cannot grant something the status of a sign if it does not function within a code.

Codes organize signs into meaningful systems which correlate signifiers and signifieds through the structural forms of syntagms and paradigms.

We live in encoded reality

"Some of the social codes which constitute our reality are relatively precisely definable in terms of the medium through which they are expressed skin color, dress, hair, facial expression, and so on."

John Fiske, TELEVISION CULTURE



Extralinguistic [skstrəling'gwistik]

Extralinguistic (adj.) - in its most general sense, this term refers to anything in the world (other than language) in relation to which language is used – the extralinguistic situation.

The term extralinguistic features is used both generally, to refer to any properties of such situations, and also specifically, to refer to properties of communication which are not clearly analyzable in linguistic terms, e.g. gestures, tones of voice. Some linguists refer to the former class of features as metalinguistic; others refer to the latter class as paralinguistic.

Paralanguage ['pærəˌlæŋgwɪdʒ]

Paralanguage ['pærə læŋgwidʒ], also known as vocalics, is a component of meta-communication that may modify meaning, give nuanced meaning, or convey emotion, by using techniques such as prosody, pitch, volume, intonation, etc. It is sometimes defined as relating to nonphonemic properties only. Paralanguage may be expressed consciously or unconsciously.

Paralinguistics [pærəliŋ'gwistiks] is the non-lexical component of communication by speech, for example intonation, pitch and speed of speaking, hesitation noises... When at large – pieces of non-verbal semiotics, such as body language included (e.g. gesture and facial expression). The study of paralanguage is known as paralinguistics.

Paralanguage ['pærəˌlæŋgwɪdʒ]

The term para language is combination of two words-"para"' means like and "language" means mode of communication.

Thus, para language literally means "like language".

In the words of Prof. Barker and Gaut,

"A language alongside of language and includes vocal characteristics such as pitch, range, resonance, tempo and quality and various vocal sounds such as grunts, groans and clearing the throat."

Mutual intelligibility

Mutual intelligibility

the idea that if speakers of one language variety can understand speakers of another variety, and vice versa, we can say that these varieties are mutually intelligible and therefore they are dialects of the same language

Mutual intelligibility

Mutual intelligibility

Exceptions to mutual intelligibility Cantonese and Mandarin- spoken differently but have the same writing system

Papago and Pima- sound the same but politically and socially divided

[Papago ['papəgəʊ, 'pɑː-] is the Uto-Aztecan language of the Papago, a form of Pima with around 10,000 speakers; American Indian people of the south-western US and northern Mexico;

Pima ['piːmə] American Indian people living chiefly along the Gila and Salt Rivers in Arizona and in northern Mexico

– Q-01. Forms of language being



Check yourself!

Sociology of language @ Sociolinguistics

sociolect	dialect	language varieties
idiolect	status	socioeconomic class
<u>subsratum</u>	adstratum	superstratum
pidgin	creole	decreolization
Lingua Franca	koine	macrosociolinguistics
interlingua	endo(exo-) glossic	political correctness
bilingualism	code-mixing	code-switching
vernacular	patois	diglossia [daɪˈɡlɒsɪə]
acrolect	mesolect	basilect
argot	Sprechbund	Linguistic relativity hypothesis
slang	Gender-inclusive	jargon
paralanguage	Dialect continuum	medium of instruction
gender	Socioling.interview	The matched-guise test
code	register	Style-shifting