



WEEK 4 - Diglossia and Code-switching

Diglossia and Code-switching

Special uses of language

- Switching between two different varieties of language in different areas of life:
 - **Diglossia**
- Switching between two (or more) different languages in a single conversation:
 - **Code-switching**

Part 1: Diglossia

Four distinguishing properties

- [1] Two distinct varieties of the same language are used by speakers in a population.
 - For example German-Speaking Switzerland
 - **Standard German** : Auf Wiedersehen → H
 - **Swiss German**: Uf Widerluege → L
 - Quite different from each other
 - One variety is labeled '**H**' (**high**), and the other is referred to as the '**L**' (**low**).
- [2] H and L varieties each have different functions – used in different areas of life.
 - In situations where *H* is appropriate, *L* would not be used. Vice versa.

- H and L are in 'complementary distribution.
- **[3] H and L are learned at different times and in different environments.**
 - L is learned at home, first.
 - Later, H learned in school.
- **[4] The H variety is never used in informal conversation.**

Two additional properties.

- **[5] The H variety (but not L) may often be standardized.**
- **[6] Literature/Writing is predominantly in H.**
 - L is not normally used for writing – only for cartoons, and advertisements on billboards – and is now used by younger people on Facebook, Twitter, and in text messages.

Examples of diglossia/diglossic situation

- **Switzerland**
 - H = Standard German;
 - L = Swiss German
- **Arabic-speaking countries**
 - H = Classical Arabic + Modern standard Arabic;
 - L = Regional, colloquial forms of Arabic (e.g. Moroccan, Egyptian, Iraqi Arabic)
- **Haiti**
 - H = French;
 - L = Haitian Creole
- **Greece in the 20th century**
 - H = Katharevousa Greek;
 - L = Dhimotiki Greek
- **Tamil Nadu, South India**

- H = Literary Tamil;
- L = Colloquial Tamil
- **Imperial China**
 - H = Classical Chinese;
 - L = Regional forms of colloquial Chinese

Domains of H/L use

- Religious activities are carried out in H, not L.
- Political discussion and government administration make use of H.
- Newspapers and technical/academic writing are regularly in H, not L.
- News programs are broadcast in H.
- TV soap operas are in L.
- L is always used with family and friends.

Extended diglossia

- Diglossia technically involves two varieties of the **same language** patterning in H and L ways.
- Extended diglossia = **two distinct languages** patterning in the typical H and L ways.
 - Example: **Paraguay**
 - H = Spanish
 - L = Guarani
 - Spanish and Guarani are two distinct languages

Triglossia

- Triglossia is a situation where there are three varieties/languages in H/L relations to each other.
 - Example: **Tanzania**

- 2 H varieties = **English | Swahili**
- L = **regional/tribal language**
- Example: Medieval England.
 - 2H varieties = French and Latin
 - L = English

Arabic

- The first mention of Arabic: 6thC c.E
- Varieties of Arabic spoken in the Arabian and Syrian deserts
- Key historical moment:
 - 7thC the *Koran* is written.
 - It Fixes the way Arabic is written to the present day (never changed).
 - '*Classical Arabic*'
- The spread of Arabic 7-8thC → **Contact-Induced change**
 - As Arabic is carried to different areas, it comes into contact with speakers of other languages:
 - Coptic (Egypt)
 - Berber (Morocco)
 - Spanish (Spain)
 - The **spoken** form of Arabic changes, under influence of local languages. New local spoken forms of Arabic emerged.
 - But the **written** form stays the same.

Regional colloquial Arabic vs. Classical Arabic/CA

- New local spoken forms of Arabic emerge:
 - Including *Moroccan Arabic*, *Egyptian Arabic*, *Iraqi Arabic*, *Syrian Arabic*...
- Differences in:

- **pronunciation** (like the different accents of English)
- **grammar** (differing word order, inflections)
- **vocabulary** (like differences in English pairs such as read – peruse, rich – affluent)
- Common attitude:
 - Great respect for CA (Classical Arabic).

Updating Classical Arabic for use in the modern world

- The vocabulary of Classical Arabic has been expanded with new words for science, technology, and modern life.
- Words carefully created from internal sources to blend well with CA.
- Result:
 - **Modern Standard Arabic**/MSA, learned in school as H
 - Regional colloquial Arabic functions as L is rarely written — only very informally, in Twitter, texts, and cartoons.

Regional colloquial Arabic/RCA

- RCA is used at home, at work, with all family and friends, and in most spoken interactions, as L.
- Rarely written – only very informally, in Twitter, texts, and cartoons.
- CA and RCA = H and L varieties in widespread diglossia in the Arabic world.

Greek

- Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire from 400 years, to 1832.
- Major languages of the Ottoman Empire:
 - Turkish, Persian, and Arabic.
- When Greece became independent, it wanted to establish a form of Greek as the new national language.
- Three proposals for the NL

- [1] Make colloquial Athens' Greek the model for the new NL.
- [2] Make a new 'pure' form of Greek by purging all the foreign, borrowed words.
- [3] Make Ancient Greek the new NL.
- Diglossia emerged:
 - **Khatarevousa = H functions** (formal communication, writing, etc.)
 - **Dhimotiki = L functions** (informal speech)
- Eventually, Dhimotiki became accepted in more and more H-like domains
 - **Dhimotiki** developed into **Modern Standard Greek**
 - Respectability took 150 years to achieve

Paraguay (Example of extended diglossia)

- The only country in South America where a majority of the population know a single indigenous language: Guaraní
 - Government makes Guaraní into the NL.
- Leads to extended diglossia:
 - H = Spanish
 - L = Guaraní

Domains	Language used
government business	Spanish
Church, confession	Spanish
to superiors	Spanish
to friends and family	Guarani
telling jokes	Guarani
to well-dressed strangers	Spanish
to poor-dressed strangers	Guarani
to grandparents	Guarani (solidarity wins out over power)

Domains	Language used
among upper-class speakers	Males use more Guarani than females. Guarani stresses solidarity and Spanish stresses education/status.
in courtship, dating	Spanish first, then later Guarani.
when drinking alcohol	Guarani, then later Spanish.

General attitudes to H and L

- Negative attitudes to L:
 - L is not respectable enough for writing or religion.
- Positive attitudes to L:
 - The best way to express your feelings is with L.
- Positive attitudes to H:
 - H is prestigious and makes speakers sound educated.
- Negative attitudes to H:
 - Using H makes speakers sound unfriendly and distant.

Part 2: Code-Switching

- Code-Switching/CS refers to switching between different languages in a single conversation or within a single sentence.
- Examples of CS from Educator
 - Quechua-Spanish CS
 - Japanese-English CS

Four sub-types/levels of CS

- **Level 1: “Sentence-boundary CS”.**
 - Profile: Each sentence is entirely in one language, but speakers alternate between languages in different sentences.
- **Level 2: Extra-sentential CS**

- k.a. 'tag-insertion'
- Profile: short phrases or single words 'tags' in L1 are inserted at the **beginning or end** of a sentence in L2.
- **Level 3: Inter-sentential (Clause-boundary) CS**
 - Profile: Switches between L1 to L2 are made at clause boundaries.
 - What is a clause? A part of a sentence with its own subject and verb.
 - John said | Mary left already. (Sub V | Sub V)
- **Level 4: Intra-sentential CS**
 - Profile: switches are made within clauses, often multiple times.
 - k.a. 'code-mixing'
 - Requires the highest level of skill and knowledge of L1 and L2.

How can you distinguish borrowing from a one-word CS?

- If you hear one word from one language embedded in a sentence in another language, is this a borrowed word or a (very short) CS?
- If a sentence with a word from a second language is produced by a monolingual speaker → must be a borrowing - monolinguals don't CS
- Answer: It depends on how the intruder is pronounced
 - Borrowed words are often changed in their pronunciation so that monolingual speakers can produce them more easily
- Example:
 - Chinese → English borrowing:
 - gongfu → Kung Fu
 - bak-king → Peking
 - An example of a French intruder into English - CS or borrowing?
 - 'Tomorrow I'm going to Paris with Sue.'
 - Paris as "Paris" is an English word;

- Paris as “Paree” is a CS French word
- Similar example”::
 - ‘Tomorrow I’m going to Hong Kong’
 - If Hong Kong is produced in the Cantonese way, as Heung Koong, it is a CS.

Two Analyses of CS:

Insertional CS

- Words from L2 are inserted into the L1 base.
- A good model for CS which just involves single-word switches, where most of the sentence is in one language.

Alternational CS

- In some CS sentences, it is difficult to identify any base language – both L1 and L2 appear in equal amounts.
- Analysis: ‘two base languages’ – both L1 and L2 are switched on fully in alternation with each other.
- A good analysis of Level 3 and Level 4 CS.
 - Level 3: L1 → L2
 - Level 4: L1 → L2 → L1 → L2 → L1 → L2 → L1 → L2

What causes people to CS?

- Three major factors:
 - [1] **Imbalance in the knowledge of L1 and L2**
 - [2] **Stylistic reasons**
 - [3] **Identity-related reasons**

[1] Imbalance in the knowledge of L1 and L2

- Most people are not fully balanced bilinguals

- L1 and L2 are used for talking about different topics, in different situations.
- Therefore, it's easier for speakers to find words for certain topics in one of their languages
- Typical symmetric distribution of L1 and L2 dominance:

L1	L2
home	schoolwork
family	science-technology
friends	politics
emotions	history

- Cantonese → English
 - 'Ngoh kam=yat maai-joh yat-goh.. hard drive ... and today I'll have to install it'

[2] Stylistic Reasons for CS

- Speakers often say that they CS for fun, to vary the style of their speech.
- Similar to stylistic variety used in texting and messaging, using abbreviations, symbols, and emoticons.
- Speakers also CS sometimes to emphasize what they are saying, repeating their words in both L1 and L2:
 - 'Setz dich hin! Sit down!!'

[3] Identity-related reasons

- CS is often done to stress solidarity-closeness with others and membership of the same group.
 - Many people in Hong Kong CS Cantonese and English. This distinguishes them from neighboring people in mainland China, who just use Cantonese.
 - Young Puerto-Ricans in New York CS in different ways to signal where in NY they come from.
 - Japanese-Americans/Canadians CS in different ways according to their generation.

Generation	CS level	Characteristic
1 the 'isseis'	1 + 2	mostly Japanese base
2 the 'nisseis'	3 + 4	alternational CS
3 the 'sanseis'	1 + 2	mostly English base

- CS is often carried out to express friendliness and narrow social distance:
 - **'Convergence/Accommodation'**
 - **Accommodation** = making aspects of our behavior more like that of other people we are interacting with. Our behavior 'converges' on patterns used by others.
 - In Canada, English-French CS is sometimes used between L1 speakers of English and French to acknowledge the primary language of the other group. 'Mutual convergence'.
 - In this case, CS is often carried out to express friendliness and narrow social distance:
 - **Divergence**
 - **Divergence** = the opposite of linguistic accommodation and convergence.
 - Divergent CS may be carried out to signal unfriendliness and social distance.
 - ▼ A common pattern of divergence in level 1 CS:
 - Speaker 1 uses his/her language L1
 - Speaker 2 replies in his/her language L2
 - Speaker 1 continues in L1
 - Speaker 2 continues in L2
 - **'Linguistic dueling'**.
 - ▼ Examples of linguistic divergence
 - A man comes to a French-testing center in Quebec, Canada.
 - Man: Could you tell me where the French test is?

- Receptionist: Pardon? [What's that?]
- ▼ Examples of linguistic divergence
 - Taiwan 1980s. Madarin = red, Taiwanses = blus.
 - Taxi driver: beh kkhi thuwii? [Where do you wanna go?]
 - Passenger: wo qu Dan Shui ye-shi [I want to go to Dan Shui night market]
- ▼ Inter-generational linguistic divergence/non-accomodation

CS used for strategic reasons

- In multi-lingual societies, we may expect to hear different languages being used in different situations.
- The language conventionally used in situation X is the “**unmarked language**” for that situation.
- A language that is not usually used in situation X, is a “**marked language**” (unexpected) for that situation.

Language	Typically used in:
English	politics, higher education, formal interactions
Swahili	banks, buses, government buildings
other tribal languages	informal colloquial interactions

Special effects from strategic language switching

- Switching from an unmarked language to a marked language has special effects.
- Example 1: downwards shifting – to stress solidarity.
- Example 2: upwards shifting – to show education.
- Manipulating un/marked language use can also be done to express disapproval, social distance, and even anger.

Can attitudes to CS be predicted?

- Answer: To some extent.

- Differences in attitude to CS may vary according to:
 - (a) size of the population where CS occurs: large=more positive
 - (b) speakers' abilities in L1 and L2: high in L2 = more positive
 - (c) speakers' age: young = more positive

Size of Groups	abilities in L1 and L2	speaker's age
large = more positive	high = more positive	young = more positive
smaller = less positive	low L2 = less positive	older = less positive