Over half the world’s population is bilingual and many people are multilingual. They acquire a number of languages because they need them for different purposes in their everyday interactions. Kalala’s experience in the Democratic Republic of the Congo-Zaire, described at the beginning of chapter 2, illustrated this. One language was his ethnic or tribal language, another was the language of his education, another served as a useful language of wider communication in particular contexts, such as the market-place, or with outsiders or tourists. This chapter examines the labels and the criteria that sociolinguists use to distinguish between different varieties or codes in multilingual communities.

Example 1

Mr Patel is a spice merchant who lives in Bombay. When he gets up he talks to his wife and children in Kathiawari, their dialect of Gujarati. Every morning he goes to the local market where he uses Marathi to buy his vegetables. At the railway station he buys his ticket into Bombay city using Hindustani, the working person’s lingua franca. He reads his Gujarati newspaper on the train, and when he gets to work he uses Kacchi, the language of the spice trade, all day. He knows enough English to enjoy an English cricket commentary on the radio, but he would find an English film difficult to follow. However, since the spice business is flourishing, his children go to an English-medium school, so he expects them to be more proficient in English than he is.

The fact that India is one of the most multilingual nations in the world is reflected in Mr Patel’s linguistic repertoire, just as the linguistic heterogeneity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo-Zaire was reflected in Kalala’s repertoire. With a population of over a billion, Indians use hundreds of different languages – the exact number depends on what counts as a distinct language, and what is rather a dialect of another language. With this kind of linguistic diversity, it is easy to understand the problems facing the country at the national level. Should a country use the same language for internal administration and for official communications with other nations? Which language or languages should be used by the government and the courts? In order to assess the relative claims of different languages, it is necessary to look at their status and the functions which they serve.

Sociolinguists have developed a number of ways of categorising languages, according to their status and social functions. The distinction between a vernacular language and a standard language is a useful place to start.
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. There are hundreds of vernacular languages, such as Buang in Papua New Guinea, Hindustani in India and Bumbar in Vanuatu, many of which have never been written down or described. In a multilingual speech community, the many different ethnic or tribal languages used by different groups are referred to as vernacular languages. Vernaculars are usually the first languages learned by people in multilingual communities, and they are often used for a relatively narrow range of informal functions.

There are three components of the meaning of the term vernacular, then. The most basic refers to the fact that a vernacular is an uncodified or unstandardised variety. The second refers to the way it is acquired – in the home, as a first variety. The third is the fact that it is used for relatively circumscribed functions. The first component has been most widely used as the defining criterion, but emphasis on one or other of the components has led to the use of the term vernacular with somewhat different meanings.

Some have extended the term to refer to any language which is not the official language of a country. An influential 1951 Unesco report, for instance, defined a vernacular language as the first language of a group socially or politically dominated by a group with a different language. So in countries such as the USA where English is the language of the dominant group, a language like Spanish is referred to as a Chicano child’s vernacular. But Spanish would not be regarded as a vernacular language in Spain, Uruguay or Chile, where it is an official language. In this sense, Greek is a vernacular language in Australia and New Zealand, but not in Greece or Cyprus. The term vernacular simply means a language which is not an official language in a particular context. When people talk about education in a vernacular language, for instance, they are usually referring to education in an ethnic minority language in a particular country.

The term vernacular generally refers to the most colloquial variety in a person’s linguistic repertoire. In a multilingual community, this variety will often be an unstandardised ethnic or tribal language. The vernacular is the variety used for communication in the home and with close friends. It is the language of solidarity between people from the same ethnic group. By extension, the term has been used to refer in a monolingual community to the most informal and colloquial variety of a language which may also have a standardised variety. The term ‘vernacular’ is used with this meaning by sociolinguists studying social dialects, as we will see in chapter 6.

Finally the term vernacular is sometimes used to indicate that a language is used for everyday interaction, without implying that it is appropriate only in informal domains. Hebrew, for example, used to be a language of ritual and religion with no native speakers. It was no one’s ‘parental tongue’, and was certainly not considered a vernacular language. Sociolinguists have described the process of developing it for use as the national language of Israel as ‘vernacularisation’. Its functions were extended from exclusively H functions to include L functions. From being a language of ritual, Hebrew became a language of everyday communication – a vernacular language. In this sense, vernacular contrasts with ritual or classical language. The Catholic church at one time used Latin for church services, rather than vernacular languages such as English, French and Italian. Using this definition, any language which has native speakers would be considered a vernacular. This is a very broad definition,
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and it is generally not as useful as the more specific definition which contrasts vernacular languages with standardised languages used for more formal functions.

Exercise 1
(a) Using the first definition above, which of the languages used by Kalala in chapter 2, example 1, and Mr Patel in example 1 above, qualify as a vernacular language?
(b) Is Dyirbal, described in chapter 3, example 6, a vernacular language? Use the three criteria introduced in this section to help you come to a decision.

Answers at end of chapter

Standard languages

Example 2
Do not take the termes of Northern-men, such as they use in dayly talke, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or of their best clarkes all is a matter; nor in effect any speach used beyond the river Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southern English is, no more is the far Westerne mans speach; ye shall therefore take the usuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within LX myles, and not much above.

This is George Puttenham’s sixteenth-century view of where young authors would find the most acceptable variety of English. Good English speech was to be heard, in Puttenham’s opinion, at Court and from gentlemen who lived within 60 miles of London. He was largely right in identifying the social and regional origins of the variety which we now regard as standard British English.

The term standard is even more slippery than vernacular because it too is used in many different ways by linguists. Here is one definition which can serve as a useful starting point.

Standard variety

A standard variety is generally one which is written, and which has undergone some degree of regularisation or codification (for example, in a grammar and a dictionary); it is recognised as a prestigious variety or code by a community, and it is used for H functions alongside a diversity of L varieties.

This is a very general definition and it immediately excludes most of the world’s four or five thousand languages. Only a minority of the world’s languages are written, and an even smaller minority are standardised in the sense of codified and accepted by the community as
suitable for formal functions. It will be useful to look at an example to illustrate what the
definition means in a particular context.

Standard English emerged ‘naturally’ in the fifteenth century from a variety of regional
English dialects, largely because it was the variety used by the English Court and the influential
merchants of London, as Puttenham noted. The area where the largest proportion of the English
population lived at that time was in a neat triangle containing London, where the Court was
based, and the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge. In addition, the East Midlands was an
important agricultural and business area, and London was the hub of international trade and
exports to Calais. It was also the centre of political, social and intellectual life in England.

So it was the dialect used in this area which was the basis for what we now think of as
standard English. It was prestigious because of its use in Court. It was influential because it
was used by the economically powerful merchant class. People who came to London from
the provinces recognised this and often learned it, and this of course made it useful. The
more people who used it, the less effort people had to make to understand regional varieties.
It is easy to see how such a code would rapidly develop formal H functions in the context
of administration and government.

Standard varieties are codified varieties. Codification is usually achieved through grammars
and dictionaries which record, and sometimes prescribe, the standard forms of the language.
Dictionary writers (or lexicographers) have to decide which words to include in the dictionary
as part of the standard variety, which forms to mark as dialectal, and which to omit altogether.
They generally take the usage of educated and socially prestigious members of the community
as their criterion.

The codification process, which is part of the development of every standard variety, was
accelerated in the case of English by the introduction of printing. In 1476, William Caxton,
the first English printer, set up his printing press in Westminster. He used the speech of the
London area – the newly emerging standard dialect – as the basis for his translations. In other
words, he used the vocabulary, the grammar and the pronunciation of this dialect when look-
ing for words, constructions and spellings to translate works from French. Selecting forms
was not always straightforward, however. Caxton comments, for instance, on the problems
of deciding between egges and eyren, alternative forms used for ‘eggs’ at the time. This choice
involved grammar as well as pronunciation since these forms represented alternative ways
of pluralising words (the -en plural marker has survived in oxen, for instance). Like other
codifiers, he reported that he consulted the best writers of the upper class for judgements
on usage problems.

The development of standard English illustrates the three essential criteria which characterise
a standard: it was an influential or prestigious variety, it was codified and stabilised and it served
H functions in that it was used for communication at Court, for literature and for administration.
It also illustrates that what we refer to as a standard language is always a particular dialect
which has gained its special position as a result of social, economic and political influences.
A standard dialect has no particular linguistic merits, whether in vocabulary, grammar or
pronunciation. It is simply the dialect of those who are politically powerful and socially
prestigious. Once it begins to serve as a norm or standard for a wider group, however, it is likely
to develop the wider vocabulary needed to express the new functions it is required to serve.

Standard languages developed in a similar way in many other European countries during
the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Italy, Spain, France and Romania, for
example, there were a variety of dialects of the vernacular languages (which all derived from
varieties of colloquial Latin) which served the L functions of their communities, alongside
classical Latin, the H language. From these dialects there gradually emerged a standard, generally based on the dialect of the political, economic and social centre of the country. Some dialects had extra help – the Italians, for example, established a language academy as early as 1582 to make pronouncements on what counted as standard Italian – but most were natural births.

Exercise 2

Look up the meaning of ‘standard’ in a good dictionary. Which of the meanings listed seems closest to the definition provided in this section?

Answer at end of chapter

World Englishes

Once a standard dialect develops or is developed, it generally provides a very useful means of communication across areas of dialect diversity. Its status as a prestige variety guarantees it will spread. Standard English has served as a useful variety for communication between areas of dialect diversity, not only within Britain but also in countries where the British have had a colonial influence. Local varieties of English, with distinctive linguistic features, have developed in many multilingual countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, India and many African countries, where English has served as a valuable language of wider communication in a multilingual context.

The terms ‘World Englishes’ and ‘New Englishes’ have been used to emphasise the range of different varieties of English that have developed since the nineteenth century. In contexts where multilingualism is the norm, relatively standard varieties, such as formal Singapore English, expressing global concepts shared across nations, co-exist alongside more ‘nativised’ varieties of English, influenced by local languages. Singlish, a very informal, colloquial variety of Singapore English, is a well-described example. These nativised varieties may express the local aspirations and identities of a wide range of communities, and this is reflected in linguistic characteristics such as stress patterns, vocabulary from local languages, grammatical features which indicate the influence of local languages, and semantic concepts drawn from the other languages spoken in the communities where they are used. Singlish has a frequently occurring ethnic final tag *lah*, for example, as well as distinctive intonation patterns, grammar and vocabulary. *Chin chye lah* in answer to a query means something like ‘it’s up to you, I don’t mind’. Indian English also has a very distinctive stress pattern, an end-tag *kya* meaning ‘right?’, and many words from local languages are woven into Indian English conversations. Many New Englishes use just one invariant tag form: e.g. *he is going there isn’t it; she loves you isn’t it*. These varieties, typically used by those for whom English is a second language, have been labeled by Braj Kachru as *outer-circle* varieties of English to distinguish them from varieties used by native speakers or *inner-circle* varieties (see figure 4.1).

The local varieties of English which have developed in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the USA, where most of the populations are monolingual English speakers, are examples of inner-circle English varieties. Kachru also identified an *expanding circle* of those who were learning English as an additional, adjunct or foreign language for a wide range of reasons such as trade or access to higher education, as in China or Japan. English is a foreign language in the expanding circle, serving no crucial communication functions within a country.
Chapter 4 Linguistic varieties and multilingual nations

Exercise 3

The concept of inner, outer and expanding circles of English presents some problems when we think about the way English is used on countries such as India and Singapore, where it is the first language of some people. Can you think of a better way of distinguishing between different varieties of English across the world?

*Answer at end of chapter*

While there is a range of variation in spoken varieties at all linguistic levels of analysis, the degree of variation in written standard varieties has not been so great in the past. Countries like Australia and New Zealand have established their own standard Englishes, both spoken and written, but in some countries the standard English of Britain has served as a norm until relatively recently. In Singapore, for instance, British English is still endorsed, at least tacitly, by the government as the appropriate target variety in schools and official communications. The dialect which emerged as the standard in Caxton’s time – the ancestor of all standard Englishes – has been influential well beyond the borders of its original dialect area. However, globalisation means there are now many more speakers of English in the outer and expanding circles than in the inner circle, and with English as the global language of the internet, and computer-mediated communication, it seems likely that variation in old and new Englishes, both written and spoken, is likely to continue to develop.
English has clearly served as a language of wider communication in many pluralistic contexts, and in many multilingual countries. Alternatively a particular vernacular or local language may develop the role of a language of wider communication in a multilingual area. Such languages are labelled *lingua francas*, and they are the topic of the next section.

### LINGUA FRANCAS

**Example 3**

In the 1960s, a Catholic nun, Sister Dominic, was sent to Rome for a meeting between nuns from different countries. She spoke no Italian but she had been managing pretty well with her French and English until she lost her purse one evening. She simply could not explain what had happened to the local police officer. A priest overheard her struggles and came to her rescue. They proceeded to explore their linguistic repertoires trying to find a language they shared. He came from Brazil and spoke Portuguese and Spanish, but he had been living in Rome for some time, and so he was by then familiar with the local variety of Italian. Finally they found a language in which they could communicate – Latin! At that time, Latin was still the language of church services and both had learned Latin to university level. As Sister Dominic described it, the result was a very funny encounter, with her explaining her predicament in formal Latin and the priest then translating into the local Italian dialect.

In this particular encounter, Latin functioned as a lingua franca – a language of communication between two people. In the meeting Sister Dominic was attending between nuns from South America, Africa, Ireland and France, the language of wider communication or lingua franca was English. When academics and experts meet at international conferences, or when politicians arrange summit meetings, a world language such as English, French or Spanish is often used as the lingua franca. In these examples, a particular language serves as a lingua franca in a particular situation. More generally, however, the term *lingua franca* describes a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community.

**Example 4**

In the heart of the north-west Amazon near the border between Colombia and Brazil, there is a group of Indians who live along the Vaupés river. The river is their food source as well as their communication line with other Indians and the outside world. Tuka is a young Indian girl who lives with her family and five other families in a longhouse on the river. The language of her longhouse and the language she learnt first is her father’s language, Tuyuka. In a sense then, in this community, the father’s language is what is usually referred to as the ‘mother tongue’ (i.e. the first language learned). Tuka has learnt her mother’s language, Paneroa, as well, however, and speaks it fluently. She knows some Spanish which she learned from a couple of the older men who spent time working on rubber plantations when they were younger and then returned to the longhouse. And she knows Tukano, the language used along the river to communicate with Indians who do not speak the longhouse language. Since there are over twenty languages used...
by other longhouses within reasonable paddling distance of her longhouse, Tukano is a very useful language for communicating with a wider group. It is the lingua franca of her area of the Vaupés. When a group of visitors arrive in their canoes they begin by giving the ritual greetings in their own language, providing information such as where they have come from, and how long they have been travelling. Then, if they do not know Tuyuka, in order to communicate more specific information and to exchange gossip, they switch to Tukano, the lingua franca for Tuka’s area.

A lingua franca is a language used for communication between people whose first languages differ. Between the Colombian Indians, Tukano is the main lingua franca, and it can be used with Indians who live in the Vaupés area of the north-west Amazon on both sides of the border between Colombia and Brazil. If Indians want to communicate with non-Indians in the area they need a second lingua franca, since non-Indians rarely learn Tukano. Colombians use Spanish, and Brazilians use Portuguese.

Map 4.1a The Vaupés River and the borders with Columbia and Brazil
Map 4.1b The Negro and Amazon Rivers and surrounding countries
In some countries, the most useful and widely used lingua franca is an official language or the national language. In Tanzania, for instance, Swahili is the language people tend to choose first when they are speaking to someone from a different tribal group. In Papua New Guinea, Tok Pisin (or Neo-Melanesian) is the most widespread lingua franca, though, not surprisingly in a country with over 800 different vernaculars, there are also other regional lingua francas, such as Hiri Motu, which is used widely in the province of Papua. In the former Soviet Union, where about a hundred different vernaculars were spoken, Russian served as a lingua franca as well as being the national and official language of the USSR. Throughout the Arabic-speaking world, varieties of Classical Arabic, the sacred language of Islam, are used as a lingua franca among the educated. In other countries, educated people often use the language of the former colonial power as a lingua franca.

In multilingual communities, lingua francas are so useful they may eventually displace the vernaculars. When people from different ethnic groups marry in the Democratic Republic of the Congo-Zaire or Tanzania or Papua New Guinea, they often use the lingua franca of their area as the language of the home, and their children may therefore learn very little of their father’s and mother’s vernaculars. The reason that this has not happened in the Vaupés area, i.e. that Tukano has not displaced the many languages of the different longhouses, is related to the marriage patterns, which are exogamous. People must marry outside their language and longhouse group, and the taboo against marrying someone who speaks the same language is very strong. So a husband will speak to his wife in the longhouse language, while the wife replies in her own language. Maintaining linguistic distinctiveness is important in this multilingual community. If linguistic distinctiveness is an important identifying value for a group, then ethnic languages and vernaculars tend to survive, often for a considerable time. But, as discussed in chapter 3, there are many factors which may contribute to their replacement, and the usefulness of lingua francas in multilingual areas is certainly one relevant factor.

Lingua francas often develop initially as trade languages – illustrating again the influence of economic factors on language change. In West Africa, Hausa is learned as a second language and used in nearly every market-place. In East Africa, Swahili is the most widely used trade language and it was this – the fact that it was known and used so widely – which led the Tanzanian government to select it for promotion as the country’s national language. (Swahili’s progress to national language is described in the next chapter.) The history of Tok Pisin is similar. It spread as a useful lingua franca for trade in Papua New Guinea and became so widely known and used that it was adopted as an official language. Some believe it is the front runner as a choice for national language, though others think this unlikely in the current political climate. Tok Pisin began life as a pidgin language.

**Exercise 4**

The usefulness of lingua francas which have emerged naturally in a multilingual context has often resulted in them being selected as national or official languages.

What factors do you think will be relevant when selecting a language to promote as an official or national language? Are they likely to be mainly linguistic or non-linguistic factors?

*Answer at end of chapter*
There have been many successful attempts to create a language for communication between people who use different languages. From a linguistic and sociolinguistic point of view, the most interesting lingua francas in many respects are pidgin and creole languages.

### Pidgins and creoles

#### Pidgins

**Example 5**

Bipo tru igat wanpela liklik meri nau nem bilong em Liklik Retpela Hat. Em i save slip wantaim Mama na Papa bilong em long wanpela liklik haus. Papa i save wok long bus, i save katim paiawut na ol man save baim long em. Orait i gat lapun meri i stap long narapela haus. Dispela lapun emi Tumbuna Mama.

**Translation**

A long time ago, there was a little girl named Little Red Riding Hood. She lived with her mother and father in a little house. Father worked in the bush, cutting trees for firewood, which he sold to people. Now there was a very old lady who lived in another house. This old lady was Little Red Riding Hood’s grandmother.

Most people have a predictable reaction to pidgin languages. They find them amusing. If you read a children’s story in a variety of pidgin English, it is easy to understand why – it sounds a lot like baby-talk. But even if we take a serious article from the newspaper, many speakers of English still find pidgin languages humorous or babyish. It is very difficult for native speakers of a language to overcome these attitudes to pidgins which are based partly on their language. Yet pidgins and creoles are real languages, not baby-talk. They are used for serious purposes, and each has a describable and distinctive linguistic structure.

### Why do pidgins develop?

A *pidgin* is a language which has no native speakers. Pidgins develop as a means of communication between people who do not have a common language. So a pidgin is no one’s native language. Pidgins seem particularly likely to arise when two groups with different languages are communicating in a situation where there is also a third dominant language. On Caribbean slave plantations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, West African people were deliberately separated from others who used the same language so as to reduce the risk of their plotting to escape or rebel. In order to communicate with each other, as well as with their overseers, they developed pidgins based on the language of the plantation bosses as well as their own languages.

On sea-coasts in multilingual contexts, pidgins developed as languages of trade between the traders – who used a colonial language such as Portuguese, or Spanish or English – and the Indians, Chinese, Africans or American Indians that they were trading with. In fact, many of the meanings which have been suggested for the word *pidgin* reflect its use as a means of communication between traders. It may derive from the word ‘business’ as pronounced in the
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Initially, then, pidgins develop with a narrow range of functions. Those who use them speak other languages, so the pidgin is an addition to their linguistic repertoire used for a specific purpose, such as trade or perhaps administration. In terms of the dimensions identified in chapter 1, pidgins are used almost exclusively for referential rather than affective functions. They are typically used for quite specific functions like buying and selling grain, or animal hides, rather than to signal social distinctions or express politeness. Consequently, the structure of a pidgin is generally no more complicated than it needs to be to express these functions. Nobody uses a pidgin as a means of group identification, or to express social distance, and so there is no pressure to maintain referentially redundant features of a language or complicated pronunciations whose main purpose is to signal how well educated you are.

What kind of linguistic structure does a pidgin language have?

Example 6
Bislama is a variety of Melanesian Pidgin which is used by nearly everyone in Vanuatu, an archipelago of about 80 islands and a population of around 200,000 in the south-west Pacific. Like the Caribbean pidgins, it originated because of the need for a lingua franca among plantation workers. But the Melanesians who worked in the nineteenth century on the sugar-cane plantations of Queensland (Australia), and later Fiji, were not slaves. They were ‘indentured’ or contract workers. The pidgin then spread because it was so useful to traders in sandalwood and seashells (or beche de mer, from which the language’s name derives). The usefulness of a lingua franca in Vanuatu, a country with over 100 different vernacular languages, guaranteed its survival there. Today Bislama is a fully functioning creole which has been adopted as Vanuatu’s national language, as we will see in chapter 5.

Example 7
Juba Arabic is a pidgin language spoken in the southern Sudan. It has a small vocabulary of words for trade and basic communication, and borrows when necessary from native languages of the Sudan or from colloquial Arabic. It has a very simple sound system and has almost entirely eliminated the complicated morphology of Arabic (which has inflections for gender, number and person on the noun, and tense and negation on the verb). Juba Arabic has its own distinct structure, and it is a stable variety. Though it is easier for an Arabic person to learn than for an English speaker, it does require learning and cannot be just improvised for an occasion.
Pidgin languages are created from the combined efforts of people who speak different languages. All languages involved may contribute to the sounds, the vocabulary and the grammatical features, but to different extents, and some additional features may emerge which are unique to the new variety. Nevertheless, it has been found that when one group speaks a prestigious world language and the other groups use local vernaculars, the prestige language tends to supply more of the vocabulary, while vernacular languages have more influence on the grammar of the developing pidgin. The proportion of vocabulary contributed to Tok Pisin by English, for example, has been estimated at 77 per cent, compared to about 11 per cent from Tolai, the local vernacular which has contributed the largest amount of vocabulary. The language which supplies most of the vocabulary is known as the lexifier (or sometimes superstrate) language, while the languages which influence the grammatical structure are called the substrate. So in Papua New Guinea, English is the lexifier language for Tok Pisin, while Tolai contributes to the substrate.

Because pidgins develop to serve a very narrow range of functions in a very restricted set of domains, they tend to have a simplified structure and a small vocabulary compared with fully developed languages. Pacific pidgin languages have only five vowels, for example: [a, e, i, o, u] compared to around twenty in most varieties of English (see Appendix 1). Consonant clusters tend to be simplified (e.g. pes for ‘paste’), or vowels are inserted to break them into two syllables (e.g. silip for ‘sleep’). Affixes are dispensed with. So words generally do not have inflections, as in English, to mark the plural, or to signal the tense of the verb. Nor are affixes used to mark gender, as in Spanish and Italian. Often the information affixes convey is signalled more specifically elsewhere in the sentence, or it can be deduced from the context, or it is referentially redundant. Every learner of French or Spanish, for example, knows that the grammatical gender of objects is strictly dispensable if you are interested in communication as opposed to impressing people.

Exercise 5
Consider table 4.1. What evidence can you find to support the claim that pidgin languages signal only a minimum of grammatical information explicitly?

Table 4.1 Comparison of verb forms in four languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tok Pisin</th>
<th>Cameroon pidgin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>je vais</td>
<td>I go</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu vas</td>
<td>you go</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elle/il/va</td>
<td>she/he/it goes</td>
<td>em</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nous allons</td>
<td>we go</td>
<td>yumi go</td>
<td>wi go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vous allez</td>
<td>they go</td>
<td>yupela</td>
<td>wuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elles/ils vont</td>
<td></td>
<td>ol</td>
<td>dem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: From Todd 2005: 2.

Answer at end of chapter
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The discussion of inflections has illustrated that pidgin languages tend to reduce grammatical signals to a minimum. This makes them easier to learn and to use for the speaker, although it puts a greater burden on the listener. In other respects, pidgins are difficult for the learner, since they tend to be full of structural irregularities.

The vocabulary needed for a trade language is very small compared to the vocabulary of a fully fledged language. While estimates vary widely, it has been suggested that the average monolingual English-speaking adult has a vocabulary of around 20,000 word families. For a pidgin language which is used only for trade, a few hundred words is sufficient. But, as in fully developed languages, one form may do a great deal of work. Tok Pisin pas can mean a pass, a letter, a permit, ahead, fast, firmly, to be dense, crowded or tight, to be blocked or shut. In Cameroon Pidgin English, the word water can mean lake, river, spring, tear or water. This linguistic feature (polysemy) is particularly characteristic of the vocabulary of pidgin languages. Every form earns its place.

Attitudes

Example 8

Young visitor to Papua New Guinea.

When I first heard Pidgin English I just thought it was baby-talk. I thought anyone can do that. It had words like liklik for 'little' and cranky for wrong and nogut for 'bad'. It just made me laugh. Then I began to realise it wasn’t as easy as I’d thought. People kept correcting me when I tried, and they got annoyed if I didn’t take it seriously. I soon learned better.

Example 9

A Papua New Guinean stumbled against a white woman coming out of the theatre. When questioned about what had happened, the Papua New Guinean replied: ‘Mi putim han long baksait bilong misis’ ['I touched the woman’s back with my hand']. As Suzanne Romaine reports: ‘The answer cost him half a tooth, his job, and three months in prison, due to the confusion between the meaning of Tok Pisin baksait meaning “back”, and English backside.’
To sum up, a pidgin language has three identifying characteristics:

1. it is used in restricted domains and functions
2. it has a simplified structure compared to the source languages
3. it generally has low prestige and attracts negative attitudes – especially from outsiders.

Pidgins often have a short life. If they develop for a restricted function, they disappear when the function disappears. In Vietnam, a pidgin English developed for use between the American troops and the Vietnamese, but it subsequently died out. A trading pidgin usually disappears when trade between the groups dies out. Alternatively, if trade grows, then more contact will generally lead to at least one side learning the other’s language, and so the need for the pidgin disappears. In some cases, however, pidgins go on to develop into fully-fledged languages or creoles.

Exercise 6

Can you guess which European languages have contributed to the vocabulary of the languages illustrated in the following sentences?

(a) mô pe aste sa banan I am buying the banana
(b) de bin alde luk dat big tri they always looked for a big tree
(c) a waka go a osu he walked home
(d) olmaan i kas-im chek the old man is cashing a cheque
(e) li pote sa bay mo he brought that for me
(f) ja fruher wir bleiben yes at first we remained
(g) dis smol swain i bin go fo maket this little pig went to market

Answers at end of chapter

Creoles

Example 10


Tok Tru Olgeta

Olgeta tok hia mekim long dispela pepa emi tru tasol. Mi soim pinis olgeta pei mani bilong mi bilong dispela yia . . .

Declaration

I, the person making this return, declare that the particulars shown herein are true in every particular and disclose a full and complete statement of the total income derived by me during the twelve months from . . .
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A creole is a pidgin which has acquired native speakers. Many of the languages which are called pidgins are in fact now creole languages. They are learned by children as their first language and used in a wide range of domains. Tok Pisin (which was used to illustrate some of the features of pidgins in the previous section) is one obvious example of a pidgin which has developed into a creole language. This makes it clear that the label of a language is not an accurate guide to its status as pidgin or creole. Despite its name, Tok Pisin is a creole because it has been learned as a first language by a large number of speakers, and has developed accordingly to meet their linguistic needs.

As a result of their status as some group’s first language, creoles also differ from pidgins in their range of functions, in their structure and in some cases in the attitudes expressed towards them. A creole is a pidgin which has expanded in structure and vocabulary to express the range of meanings and serve the range of functions required of a first language.

■ Structural features

Example 11
Australian Roper River Creole

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) im megim ginu</td>
<td>he makes a canoe</td>
<td>[present tense]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) im bin megim ginu</td>
<td>he made a canoe</td>
<td>[past tense]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) im megimbad ginu</td>
<td>he is making a canoe</td>
<td>[present continuous]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) im bin megimbad ginu</td>
<td>he was making a canoe</td>
<td>[past continuous]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The linguistic complexity of creole languages is often not appreciated by outsiders. I mentioned above that pidgin languages do not use affixes to signal meanings such as the tense of
a verb or the number of a noun. Creole languages, however, do develop ways of systematically signalling meanings such as verb tenses, and these may develop into inflections or affixes over time. By comparing the different sentences from Roper River Creole (also known as Australian Kriol) in example 10, you should be able to work out how the past tense and the continuous aspect are expressed.

The past tense is signalled by the particle *bin*, while the progressive aspect is marked by the suffix *-bad* which is attached to the verb. An example from Tok Pisin can illustrate the process by which a creole develops systematic ways of concisely expressing additional meanings as the demands made on the language by the speakers increase.

**Example 12**

**Tok Pisin at different stages**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>baimbai yu go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>bambai yu go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>bai yu go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>yu bai go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>yu bfgo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In its pidgin stage, reference to future events, Tok Pisin used the adverb *baimbai* which derived from the English phrase *by and by*.

This is illustrated in sentence (a) *baimbai yu go*. As the pidgin developed into a creole, the adverb gradually shortened to *bambai* or *bai* as in (b) and (c). Sentence (d) illustrates an alternative position used for *bai* while (e) shows how it eventually became attached to the verb as a regular prefix signalling future tense. The meaning is expressed more concisely but also less obviously – a common outcome.

The substrate is another source of structural complexity for a creole. Table 4.1 showed that Tok Pisin has two first person plural pronouns, *yumi* and *mipela*. Most Oceanic languages make a distinction between an inclusive plural form, such as *yumi*, which refers to the speaker and the addressee, and an exclusive plural form, such as *mipela*, which refers to the speaker and some third party, but not the addressee. Since this inclusive/exclusive distinction does not occur in English (the lexifier language), it is a clear example of substrate influence on Tok Pisin, and it is found widely in Pacific pidgins and creoles.

Pidgins become more structurally regular as they undergo creolisation, the process by which a pidgin becomes a creole. The lists in table 4.2 illustrate a linguistic strategy which regularises the structure of words with related meanings, and so makes the forms easier to learn and easier to understand.

The meaning relationship between the words in the first column and the third column is exactly the same and this is reflected in the form of the creole, but not in English. So once you recognise the pattern it is possible to form new words in the creole language, and to guess the English translation. If you knew the Tok Pisin word for ‘hot’ was *hat* you could predict that the word meaning ‘to make hot’ or ‘to heat’ would be *hatim*. You can similarly guess that the English verb missing from the list above is ‘to dirty’ or ‘make dirty’. Notice that English is nowhere near so regular in form. While we can sometimes find patterns like *black/blacken,*
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Table 4.2 Tok Pisin forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tok Pisin</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tok Pisin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bik</td>
<td>big, large</td>
<td>bikim</td>
<td>to enlarge, make large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brait</td>
<td>wide</td>
<td>braitim</td>
<td>to make wide, widen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daun</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>daunim</td>
<td>to lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nogut</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>nogutim</td>
<td>to spoil, damage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pret</td>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>pretim</td>
<td>to frighten, scare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doti</td>
<td>dirty</td>
<td>dotim</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

soft/soften, wide/widen, it is not long before an irregular form trips up the unwary learner of English. While there is a word *shorten* in English, there is no word *longen*, for instance.

Exercise 7
Can you work out the patterns and fill in the gaps in the following list?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tok Pisin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gras</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mausgras</td>
<td>moustache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gras bilong fes</td>
<td>beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gras bilong hed</td>
<td>———</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gras antap long ai</td>
<td>eyebrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gras nogut pisin</td>
<td>weed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gras bilong pisin</td>
<td>———</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gras bilong dog</td>
<td>———</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gras bilong pusi</td>
<td>———</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han bilong pisin</td>
<td>———</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Answer at end of chapter

As the creole develops, paraphrases like these become more compact and concise, often at the cost of semantic ‘transparency’. This is clearly a normal process in language. So *washman* is a combination of elements meaning ‘man employed to do the washing’ (a bit like English ‘washerwoman’ – an interesting example of a cultural difference in gender roles too). But though its meaning is clear when you know it, and therefore easy to remember, there is no reason why it could not mean ‘man who washes the streets’, for instance, and have derived from a longer phrase spelling out that meaning more explicitly. Once it has compacted into *washman* its precise meaning has to be learned. Similarly *daiman* could mean ‘executioner’ or ‘hangman’, but in fact means ‘corpse’. When concise compounds like these develop from longer phrases they become less transparent, and this is a common process in the development of languages.

In fact, one of the reasons linguists find the study of pidgins and creoles so fascinating is precisely that they provide laboratories of language change in progress, and for testing
hypotheses about universal linguistic features and processes. Opportunities to observe the development of new creole forms at first hand are not easy to find, but one recent example is Nicaraguan Sign Language, a creole which is developing among schoolchildren in Nicaragua. The children’s overwhelming social need to communicate with each other and to express their ideas and feelings is driving the process. Hence, study of pidgins and creoles clearly demonstrates the crucial role of social factors in language development. It is the need to express more complex meanings which motivates structural changes, and the functional demands which lead to linguistic elaboration.

**Functions**

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**Example 13**

**Cameroon Pidgin English**

Foh di foh dis graun oh foh no bi seh - dat na di ting wei i di bring plenti hambag.

Wehda na sohm behta sehns sei mek man i tai hat

Foh di shap ston an shap stik dehm foh bad lohk wei dehm di wohri man foh dis graun,

Oh foh kari wowo ting foh fait dis trohbul wei i big laik sohliwata so?

To be, or not to be – that is the question;

Whether ’tis nobler in the mind to suffer

The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune

Or to take arms against a sea of troubles

And by opposing end them?

*Hamlet, III. i*

---

Many present-day creoles are spoken by descendants of the African slaves in the USA and the Caribbean. As mentioned above, the common language of the plantation was generally a pidgin, and children naturally acquired the pidgin as a first language. As the families’ communicative needs expanded, so did the resources of the language they used. The pidgin developed into a creole.

Alternatively, a pidgin can become so useful as a lingua franca that it may be expanded and used even by people who share a tribal language. In multilingual speech communities, parents may use a pidgin so extensively during the day, in the market, at church, in offices and on public transport that it becomes normal for them to use it at home too. In this case, too, children will often acquire it as their first language and it will develop into a creole. Tok Pisin is the first language of many children in Papua New Guinea.

Once a creole has developed it can be used for all the functions of any language – politics, education, administration (including tax forms, as illustrated in example 10), original literature (and translations of Shakespeare too, as in example 13), and so on. Tok Pisin is frequently used as the language of debate in the Papua New Guinea Parliament, and it is used for the first three years of education in many schools. Creoles have become accepted standard and even national and official languages, as illustrated in the next chapter. Once developed there is no evidence in their linguistic structure to reveal their pidgin origins. A linguist doing a present-day (or synchronic) analysis of, say, Afrikaans would not be able to identify it as a creole, though many believe it has creole origins. The features which might suggest such origins are all features which can be found in other well-established languages with no
history of creolisation that we can know about. (Even English has been described by some as a latter-day creole, with French vocabulary superimposed on a Celtic/Old English base.) This is fascinating and provocative since, as mentioned above, it suggests that the processes of pidginisation and creolisation may be universal processes which reveal a great deal about the origins of language and the ways in which languages develop.

### Attitudes

Though outsiders’ attitudes to creoles are often as negative as their attitudes to pidgins, this is not always the case for those who speak the language. Tok Pisin has status and prestige for people in Papua New Guinea who recognise its usefulness as a means of communication with a wide range of influential people as well as in getting a decent job. The code-switching example 17 in chapter 2 demonstrated its use as a language signalling the speaker’s community status, even though it was not strictly necessary for communication purposes. The Buang Taxi Truck Company similarly use Tok Pisin for their meetings, even though all present speak Buang. It is also a language of solidarity between Papua New Guineans with different vernaculars. Though Haitian Creole is the L language alongside prestigious French in Haiti, nevertheless the majority of the people who are monolingual in the creole express strong loyalty to it as the language which best expresses their feelings.

#### Haitian Creole text

Tout moun fèt lib, egal ego pou diyite kou wè dwa. Nou gen la rezon ak la konsyans epi nou fèt pou nou aji youn ak lot ak yon lespri fwatènite.

**Translation**

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. (Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) [http://www.omniglot.com/writing/haitiancreole.htm](http://www.omniglot.com/writing/haitiancreole.htm)

#### Origins and endings

**Example 14**

Some words seem to turn up in many different pidgin languages. The Portuguese word *savi* meaning ‘know’, for instance, and *palava* meaning ‘trouble’ are found in many English-based pidgins and creoles. The word *bell* is heard in both Tok Pisin and Chinese Pidgin. *Grease* is rendered as *glease* in Chinese Pidgin, and in an American pidgin known as Chinook Jargon, and as *gris* in Tok Pisin.

Despite their huge geographical spread – they are found in every continent – many similarities are found among pidgins and creoles. Over a hundred have been identified, but the lexifier language for most (about 85) is one of seven European languages: English (35), French (15), Portuguese (14), Spanish (7), German (6), Dutch (5) and Italian (3). So perhaps the similarities are not surprising.
Chapter 4 Linguistic varieties and multilingual nations

But the fact that similarities have been found between pidgins from quite different geographical regions, and in pidgins where quite different languages have contributed to their development, suggests things are not quite so straightforward. Some have argued that all pidgins and creoles had a common origin. They claim that most pidgins can be traced back to a single fifteenth-century Portuguese pidgin, and perhaps further to a Mediterranean lingua franca, Sabir. Others argue that each pidgin arises and develops independently. They account for the similarities by pointing to two types of constraints on their development which they all share. Firstly, pidgins arise in different contexts but for the same kinds of basic functions – trade, barter, and other essentially transactional and referentially oriented functions. Secondly, these functions are expressed through structural processes which seem universal to all situations of language development – processes such as simplification and reduction of redundant features (like gender markers). It is argued that these processes will be found in any context where basic communication is the aim, so there is no need to argue for a common origin for all pidgins. It is easy to see the fascination of the debate – and it is one which seems likely to continue for some time.

There is almost as much debate about what ultimately happens to a creole. There are a variety of answers depending on the social context. In societies with rigid social divisions, a creole may remain as a stable L variety alongside an officially sanctioned H variety, a situation illustrated in diglossic Haiti where Haitian Creole is the L variety alongside French. Where social barriers are more fluid, the creole may develop towards the standard language from which it has derived large amounts of vocabulary. When a creole is used side-by-side with the standard variety in a community where social barriers are not insuperable, features of the creole tend to change in the direction of the standard variety. This process is described as decreolisation.

Eventually there may exist a continuum of varieties between the standard language and the creole – sometimes described as a post-creole continuum. In this situation, linguists label the variety closest to the standard an acrolect (where acro means ‘high’), whereas the variety closest to the creole is labeled the basilect or ‘deep’ creole. These two varieties are often mutually unintelligible. Varieties in between these two extremes are described as mesolects or intermediate varieties. Examples can be found in Jamaica and Guyana. So in Guyanese Creole the acrolectal form ‘I told him’, used by educated middle class people, has a mesolectal form ‘I tell im’, used by lower middle class people, and a basilectal form ‘mi tell am’ used by old and illiterate rural labourers. Over time a creole in this situation may be engulfed by the standard language, as Negerhollands has been by Dutch in the Dutch West Indies. One further possibility, as we shall see in chapter 5, is that a creole may be standardised and adopted as an official language, as Tok Pisin was in Papua New Guinea, or become a national language, as did Indonesian, a language which developed from pidgin Malay.

Exercise 8

Using the social dimensions introduced in chapter 1 – solidarity, status, formality, and function – consider the social characteristics of the following linguistic varieties described in this chapter.

(a) vernacular
(b) standard
(c) lingua franca
(d) pidgin
(e) creole

Answer at end of chapter
Exercise 9
Most research on creoles has focused on the relationship between the creole and the (usually European) lexifier language. But in the East Maroon community of Pamaka, the lexifier language (English) is never heard in daily interaction and nor is it an official language of Suriname. Rather people switch regularly between two creole languages, one the local rural community language Pamaka, and the other an urban creole, Sranan Tongo. What are the implications for decreolisation in such a context?

Answer at end of chapter

Answers to exercises in chapter 4

Answers to exercise 1
(a) Shi is Kalala’s vernacular. It is his tribal language, learned first and used in the home and with members of his ethnic group. In this sense, Kathiawari, a dialect of Gujarati, is Mr Patel’s vernacular (even though Gujarati is a written language with a literary tradition).

(b) Dyirbal can be classified as a vernacular language on all three criteria. It is unstandardised and unwritten. It is, or was, acquired in the home and is used between members of the same tribe for everyday interaction. Its functions are relatively circumscribed.

Answer to exercise 2
The following definition is the closest in the Collins Dictionary of the English Language (1991).

Standard: ‘an accepted or approved example of something against which others are judged or measured’.

Note the definition stresses the notion of a model or norm without giving any indication of how that norm is determined or where it derives its status from. Sociolinguists emphasise the social and non-linguistic factors which contribute to the emergence of a particular variety as the standard. They point out that purely linguistic considerations are rarely important. Though linguists may be involved in codification, their recommendations are generally guided by cultural or social factors such as prestige and usage, rather than by the intrinsic linguistic features of alternatives. This point is illustrated in chapter 5.

Answer to exercise 3
Over time, it has been recognised that the distinctions between the circles are very difficult to maintain using the criterion of native vs non-native speakers. An alternative approach is to think of the circles as identifying people with different degrees of proficiency: those in the inner circle are those with high or native-like proficiency (whether they are native speakers or not), and the outer and expanding circles represent decreasing levels of proficiency, usually reflecting a more limited range of functions and less frequent use. Another approach would focus on the range of functions English serves, from all functions for those in the inner circle, through to a more limited range of functions as one moves out to the expanding circle.
Answer to exercise 4
Possible answers to this question are provided in the next chapter and you will find that the relevant factors are almost entirely non-linguistic. Any linguistic problems can be resolved relatively easily after the selection is made on other grounds.

Answer to exercise 5
Note that the verb in French changes its form with each pronoun (though in speech there would be no distinction between *we* and *us*). Grammatical information about the subject is expressed twice therefore, once by the form of the pronoun and once by the verb form. In English, the verb has two different forms (*go/goes*) distinguishing the third person singular verb form from the form with other subjects. In Tok Pisin and Cameroon Pidgin, the form of the verb is the same throughout. The pronoun alone signals the change in person and number of the subject. Note, however, that the pronoun system in Tok Pisin is grammatically more complex than the other languages since Tok Pisin distinguishes inclusive *we* (*you and me*) from exclusive *we* (*me and some other(s)*).

Answers to exercise 6

(a) Seychelles Creole: French based/French is the lexifier language.
(b) Roper River Creole: English-based/English is the lexifier language.
(c) Sranan: English-based/English is the lexifier language.
(d) Cape York Creole: English-based/English is the lexifier language.
(e) Guyanais: French-based/French is the lexifier language.
(f) Papua New Guinea Pidgin German: German-based/German is the lexifier language.
(g) Cameroon Pidgin: English-based/English is the lexifier language.

Answers to exercise 7

* hair
* feather
* dog's fur
* cat's fur
* wing of a bird

Answer to exercise 8
Vernacular languages contrast with standardised varieties predominantly on the status and formality dimensions. Vernaculars are generally low status varieties used to express solidarity or construct aspects of social identity in informal contexts. Standard dialects are prestigious varieties which may be used in more formal situations.

Lingua francas and pidgin languages can perhaps be best described in terms of their functions. They are both primarily means of expressing referential functions – they are associated with informal but information-oriented contexts.

Pidgins and creoles are generally regarded as low status linguistic varieties, though we will see in the next chapter that steps can be taken to raise the status of creoles which have been selected for promotion for political reasons.

Answer to exercise 9
Decreolisation is most unlikely in a situation where the lexifier language, English, is not in regular use in the community.
An introduction to sociolinguistics

■ Concepts introduced

Vernacular
Standard
Inner-circle, outer circle and expanded circle varieties of English
Lingua franca
Pidgin
Lexifier or superstrate
Substrate
Creole
Creolisation
Acrolect, basilect and mesolect
Decreolisation

■ References

The concepts introduced in this chapter are discussed further in the following sources:

Fasold (1990)
Holm (2000)
Todd (2005)

The following sources provided material for this chapter:

Bickerton (1975) on Guyanese Creole
Chew (2007) on Singapore English and Singlish
Chua (2011) on Singapore English and Singlish
Collins Dictionary of the English Language (1991: 1504–5) for definition of ‘standard’
Crowley (1990) for example 6
De Camp (1977) for example 7
Ethnologue: http://www.ethnologue.com/. This is an encyclopedic reference work cataloging the world’s known living languages
Hancock (1977) for statistics on pidgin and creole languages
Kachru (1992, 1997) on inner-circle and outer-circle Englishes
Mihalic (1971) and Romaine (1988) on Tok Pisin
Migge (2007) on Suriname creoles (exercise 8)
Nation (2001) on average adult vocabulary size
Pandit (1979) for example 1
Romaine (1988) for list used in exercise 6 and most of examples in exercise 5
Senghas (1995) on Nicaraguan Sign Language
Sharpe and Sandefur (1976) for data from River Roper Creole
Siegel (2009) on Tok Pisin
Sorensen (1972) on Northwest Amazon
Unesco (1953)
Valdman (1988) on Haiti

■ Quotations

Example 2 is an excerpt from George Puttenham The Art of Poesie, 1589, which is quoted in Shaklee (1980: 46).
Example 5 has been attributed to Paul Freyburg, who worked as a translator for Kristen Press in Papua New Guinea in 1963. Despite efforts, no published source has been located.

Example 9 is from Nelson (1972), reported in Romaine (1988: 11–12).

The speech from *Hamlet* in example 13 was translated by R. Awa and is quoted in Crystal (2003: 14).

**Useful additional reading**

Crystal (2010), Ch. 55  
Kirkpatrick (2010)  
Mesthrie *et al.* (2009), Ch. 9  
Meyerhoff (2011), Ch. 11  
Myers-Scotton (2005), Ch. 5  
Romaine (2000), Ch. 4  
Siegel (2008, 2009)  
Wardhaugh (2010), Ch. 3