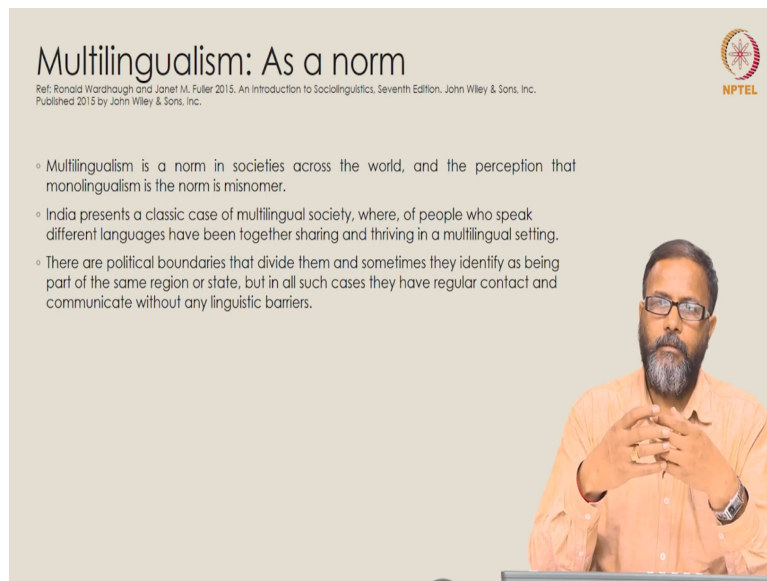


**Fundamental Concepts in Sociolinguistics**  
**Professor Dr. Om Prakash**  
**School of Humanities and Social Sciences**  
**Gautam Buddha University, Greater Noida**  
**Multilingual Societies and Multilingual Discourse**

Welcome to class. Today, we are going to talk about language in contact. What happens when speakers of many languages stay together, live together? This is number one. Number two, what happens when speakers have two or three or more languages in their verbal repertoire to interact with other members of the society. Situation three, what happens when multiple languages are spoken in the same society.

Look at the case of India. India is a multilingual society and we have multilingual discourses. India has survived centuries with this multilingual fabric and all the languages here negotiate with each other, they are in contact with each other, they influence each other. The change goes in both directions and we see a lot of conversions, linguistic conversions. Specifically in the Southern region of the country. And linguistic conversions happen, which refers to the situation where two languages merge, two languages in close contact for a longer period of time and then another variety emerges, which is not essentially a third variety, but a variety which contains properties of both the languages. And both the languages change each other, and one the Dakhini Hindi-Urdu for that matter is one example of emergence. And we find many in Southern states. So today we are going to talk about language in contact as a phenomenon and multilingual societies and multilingual discourse, its dynamics and the circumstances and contexts in which they are used. Our linguistic attitude, how will you get it? The linguistic ideologies. So lots of things in this context. So we are going to talk about multilingual societies and multilingual discourse today.

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The slide features a title 'Multilingualism: As a norm' at the top left. Below the title is a reference: 'Ref: Ronald Wardhaugh and Janet M. Fuller 2015. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Seventh Edition. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Published 2015 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc.' To the right of the title is the NPTEL logo. The main content consists of three bullet points. In the bottom right corner, there is a photograph of a man with a beard and glasses, wearing an orange shirt, with his hands clasped in front of him.

### Multilingualism: As a norm

Ref: Ronald Wardhaugh and Janet M. Fuller 2015. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Seventh Edition. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Published 2015 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

NPTEL

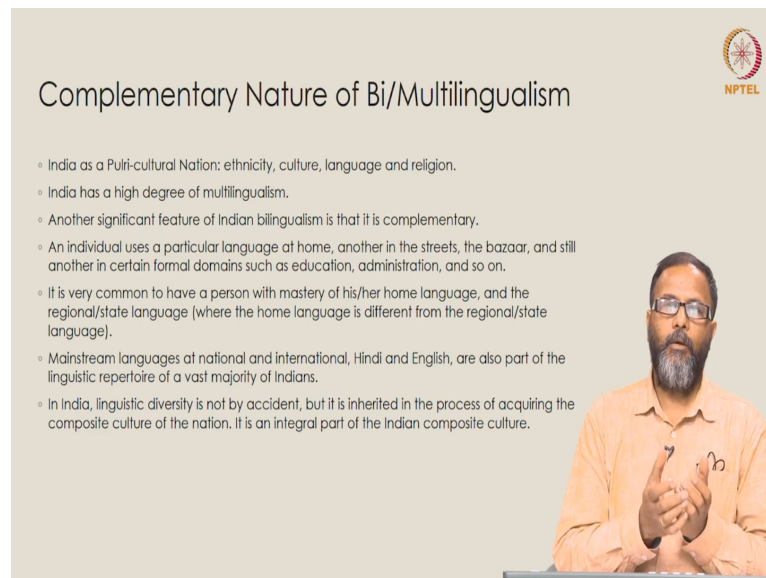
- Multilingualism is a norm in societies across the world, and the perception that monolingualism is the norm is misnomer.
- India presents a classic case of multilingual society, where, of people who speak different languages have been together sharing and thriving in a multilingual setting.
- There are political boundaries that divide them and sometimes they identify as being part of the same region or state, but in all such cases they have regular contact and communicate without any linguistic barriers.

The content for this discussion has broadly been extrapolated from the Wardhaugh and Fuller book 2015. An introduction to sociolinguistics Seventh Edition. So the construct of this discussion owes it that work and publication. I just wanted to mention it in the beginning. Multilingual is a norm in societies across the world. So this is not India alone. African, entire African continent. Part of the European continent. And the perception that monolingualism is a norm is misnomer. And I will come to this point why we consider monolingualism or a single language, one language, one society, one language, one Nation. It is a European idea. It does not fit into the South Asian region.

And India presents the classic case of multilingualism and a multilingual society. Where people who speak different languages have been together, sharing and thriving in a multilingual setting. There are political boundaries of course. Because one state and the other state, there are political boundaries. There are social boundaries. But languages cut across all such political, social, and religious boundaries. And the languages apparently maybe seem divided. But actually, there is a continuum. So, these boundaries do not work at all in terms of language. So Telegu is not restricted only to Andhra or Telangana. And Tamil is not restricted only to Tamil Nadu. Tamil is present in the North as well. Lots of Tamil speakers have settled in North India. So these state boundaries, these geographical boundaries, class boundaries, region boundaries, religion boundaries. I mean Tamil Muslims speak Tamil the way Tamil Hindus speak. Tamil is Tamil. You find a little deviation when we take a political position in the North where we see Hindi and Urdu as two separate different languages that are marked by a religious boundary. But if we look at it actually, it is difficult to find out what language

one is speaking. Is it Hindi or is it Urdu? So the position on Hindi-Urdu may be political, maybe religious but linguistically speaking they are the same and Gandhi termed it as Hindustani.

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The slide features a title 'Complementary Nature of Bi/Multilingualism' at the top left. To the right of the title is the NPTEL logo. Below the title is a list of seven bullet points. On the right side of the slide, there is a photograph of a man with a beard and glasses, wearing an orange shirt, speaking at a podium with his hands clasped.

### Complementary Nature of Bi/Multilingualism


- India as a Pluri-cultural Nation: ethnicity, culture, language and religion.
- India has a high degree of multilingualism.
- Another significant feature of Indian bilingualism is that it is complementary.
- An individual uses a particular language at home, another in the streets, the bazaar, and still another in certain formal domains such as education, administration, and so on.
- It is very common to have a person with mastery of his/her home language, and the regional/state language (where the home language is different from the regional/state language).
- Mainstream languages at national and international, Hindi and English, are also part of the linguistic repertoire of a vast majority of Indians.
- In India, linguistic diversity is not by accident, but it is inherited in the process of acquiring the composite culture of the nation. It is an integral part of the Indian composite culture.

But one thing is for sure in such societies many languages remain in contact for a very long period of time and give a new variety with conversions. The bilingualism or multilingualism phenomena in India are complementary in nature. So it does not disrupt, in fact it enriches the repertoire of the speaker. And these languages do not stand in a position to each other. But we find mutual intelligibility, sharing and continuation. So, we find language in continuum in this country. It is a Pluricultural nation where ethnicity, culture, language and religion are so varied and diverse. And India represents a very high degree of multilingualism.

My own case, as a native speaker of Bhojpuri, then I learnt Hindi as another language in school. On the street, Hindi is heavily loaded with Bhojpuri accent and words mixed with words. English in my higher education. And I understand Bangla for that matter. I cannot speak very fluently but I do understand Bangla very well. And Punjabi very well and some other languages I understand. So, communication will not break down if I talk to a Punjabi speaker. Communication will not break down if I speak to a Gujarati Speaker. Though I do not speak Gujarati, though I do not speak Punjabi, what I am saying is that the differentiation, difference in our quotes that we are using does not necessarily restrict to communication. So, a level of intelligibility is there. And that is the beauty of this diverse multilingual society.

An individual uses a particular language and take your own case for example. If your mother tongue is not the dominant language of your locality, for example you are staying in Tamil Nadu and if Tamil is not your mother tongue, you are speaking some other language at home. Then your case is a classic case of multilingualism. You are native speaker or speaker of that particular language 'x' at home, you learn Tamil which is a dominant regional language, an official language of the state you live in. You learn Tamil, you acquire Tamil as native speaker. So, you have two languages, you are a compound bilingual. And then you go to Hindi-medium or English-medium school to learn English and if you move out of Tamil Nadu and let us say you settle in the North, Hindi becomes your first choice. So, look at your own case. And this is the case of millions of Indians. And go to any part of the country. But that we are, by design we are multilingual. And what we call language boundaries that I know Tamil, I know English, I know Hindi, I know Telugu. They are not district boundaries. They are porous and overlapping. So, this is the typical case of India in terms of multilingual society.

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### Competencies and Convergence

◦ Sridhar (1996, 50) says, [as quoted in Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015]

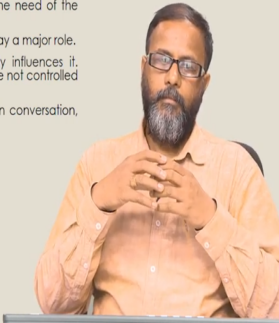
◦ Multilingualism involving balanced, native-like command of all the languages in the repertoire is rather uncommon. Typically, multilinguals have varying degrees of command of the different repertoires. The differences in competence in the various languages might range from command of a few lexical items, formulaic expressions such as greetings, and rudimentary conversational skills all the way to excellent command of the grammar and vocabulary and specialized register and styles.

◦ In multilingual contexts, the level of competence in a code is developed based on the need of the speaker to use a language in a particular domain or for a particular activity.

◦ In such cases multiple factors such as topic, speakers, and setting on language choice play a major role.

◦ They also recognize that context does not determine language choice, but merely influences it. Speakers draw on the social norms and meanings that are shared in a community, but are not controlled by them.

◦ In such situations, that is, when speakers master multiple languages and use them all in conversation, there may be linguistic consequences.



Now do you mean to say that we are equally competent in all the languages that we know, understand and speak. Or competencies in different languages may vary. So, we will talk about competencies and convergence and I will quote S N Sridhar, as quoted in Wardhaugh and Fullers book. And he says Multilingualism involving balanced native like command of all languages in the repertoire is rather uncommon. And this is normal. Typically, multilinguals have varying degrees of command of the different repertoire. The differences incompetence in various languages might range from a command of a few lexical items,




formulaic expressions such as greetings and rudimentary conversational skills all the way to excellent command of the grammar and vocabulary and specialized register and styles.

So, when we say multilingual or bilingual, we do not essentially refer to the equal level of competency in all languages. The competency in one language may vary depending on the mode and the circumstances, context in which you acquired them. If your acquisition of language happens in early childhood, you will be a very proficient speaker of that language. At the same time it is need driven, it is context driven. Timing is very important, when did you acquire that language. If it is early bilingualism or multilingualism, you have a high level of competency like native speakers in other languages. But if your acquisition is delayed, if your learning of the second, third, fourth language is delayed you have restricted competencies in that language and it can vary from just a few words which enable you to communicate or formulaic expression like, the typical expressions, for example bargaining in the market, buying vegetable in the market, hiring a taxi, talking to your banker. So, these are formulaic expressions that you can converse. From there to your competency like native speaker where you have different registers and styles in their command. So, this competency varies and not necessarily if you know five languages, four languages you have equal competency in all four.

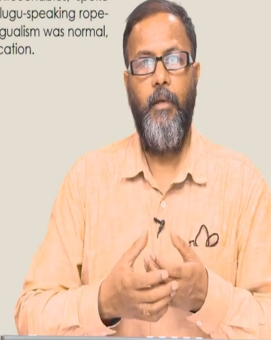
So, we have to keep this in mind. In a multilingual context, the level of competency in a code or a language is developed based on the need of the speaker to use language in a particular domain or for a particular activity. And you can check, you can test this phenomenon on your own. That if you have started with a home language in a particular area let us say, let us take the example of Tamil speaking community. So, if your mother tongue is not Tamil and you are staying in Chennai, you were born in Chennai, you were raised in Chennai, the capital of Tamil Nadu. You will be very proficient in your home language and when you step out you acquire Tamil and you become a compound bilingual. Later on, you go to English-medium school, you learn English. And if you travel frequently to North or go for a job in North, you also pick up Hindi. But the time of learning and picking up a particular language is different and your competencies will be different. At the same time because home language is restricted in a particular domain, a very personal domain. And if you happen not to use it so frequently. Possibly, you will develop excellent competency in Tamil, you will develop excellent competency in English and your learning of and use of mother tongue will be restricted to a particular domain. So, this will vary depending on the need and the way you acquired it, the way you learnt it.

They also recognize the context does not determine the language choice but merely influences it. The speakers draw on social norms and meanings that are shared in a community but not controlled by them. What is the factor behind choosing a particular language out of your multilingual verbal repertoire. There are multiple factors, it is a context. It may be the topic, for example you will be very comfortable in talking about a particular technical topic in a public meeting in English, even if you are a Tamil speaker. Your education and training enable you to feel comfortable in talking about something in English formally. So, the choice depends on the context, the choice depends on the need, the choice depends on the communication partner. And such factors also play a major role in choosing a particular language to be used in a particular socio-cultural situation and context. And in such situations where a speaker masters multiple languages and use them in all conversations there may be linguistic consequences.

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- One possibility is the development of **contact languages**.
- In other cases, the consequence is diffusion of certain features from one language to the other(s) as a result of the contact situation, particularly certain kinds of syntactic features. This phenomenon has been observed in the south of India, and Sri Lanka.
- Gumperz and Wilson (1971) reported that in Kupwar, a small village of about 3,000 inhabitants in Maharashtra, India, there was convergence among the four languages spoken: Marathi and Urdu (both of which are Indo-European), Kannada (a non-Indo-European language), and Telugu (also a non-Indo-European language spoken by only a few people in the village). The languages were distributed mainly by caste. The highest caste, the Jains, spoke Kannada, and the lowest caste, the untouchables, spoke Marathi. People in different castes also needed to speak to one another and to the Telugu-speaking rope-makers. The Urdu-speaking Muslims also needed to be fitted in. Bilingualism or even trilingualism was normal, particularly among the men, but it was Marathi which dominated inter-group communication.
- convergence in syntax
- vocabulary differences maintained
- the variety of multilingualism response to local needs.



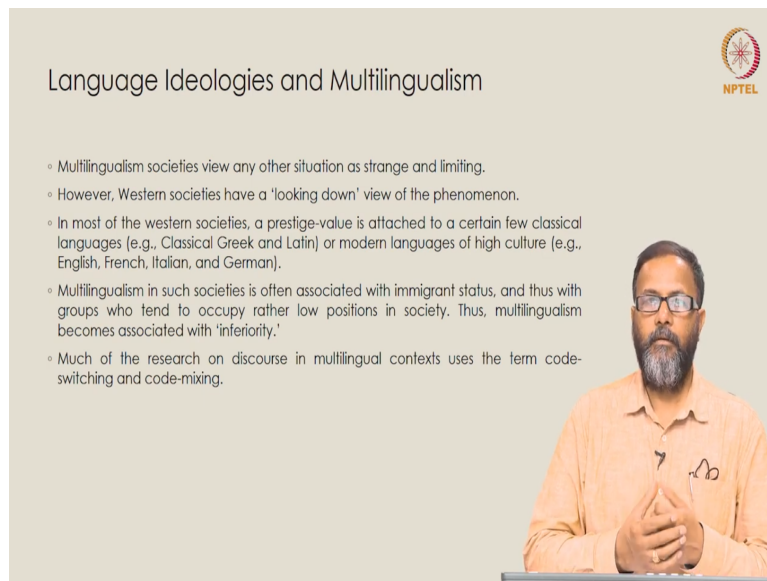
And what are these consequences? It develops a contact language. The consequence is diffusion of certain features from one language if you are using frequently, two or three different languages. If you are in a multilingual context with other speakers who are also multilingual, there a minimal negotiated version emerges. So, these languages converge and give a minimally negotiated version which is acceptable to all the speakers and becomes a linguistic norm. We call it contact language. Gumperz and Wilson way back in 1971 conducted a survey in India, conducted a study in India. And this is what their report I borrow from Wardhaugh and Fuller. As it has been quoted. So Gumperz and Wilson 1971 reported that in Kupwar, a village of about 3,000 inhabitants in Maharashtra, India. There was

convergence among the four languages spoken. So, in this small village with 3000 inhabitants, four languages existed. Marathi and Urdu both are Indo-European languages, Kannada a Dravidian language, Telugu also a Dravidian language. And spoken by only a few people in the village the languages were distributed mainly by caste and the highest caste, the Jains spoke Kannada. And the lowest caste, the untouchables spoke Marathi.

People in different castes also needed to speak to one another and to Telugu speaking rope-makers. The Urdu speaking Muslims also needed to be filled in. Bilingualism or even trilingualism was normal, particularly among the men. But it was Marathi that dominated inter-group communication. I unquote, this is from Gumperz and Wilson study. And this is just one study by the American anthropologist and linguist. But you on your own can find such a situation where in a locality you will find two-three dominant languages present. And because of globalisation, nobility and technological advancements, such caste hierarchy and boundaries are blurred. We are mixing frequently.

But you find a negotiated variety which becomes lingua franca of the multilingual speakers and different classes, different social status speaks a different language. And then there is a consensus on a contact language or a particular negotiated language which becomes the lingua franca of the community. But this is a very, quite a common phenomenon across the entire country, so wherever you go you find such. I have experiences in the North-East for example; in Shillong, maybe in Arunachal, Itanagar. Go to let us say Imphal or Assam, where three languages converge, three language families basically, Assam shares borders with all other Tibeto-Burman speaking states, Assamese is an Indo-Aryan language. And you find a lot of labourers and cultivators in tea gardens who are essentially Austroasiatic Munda speakers. And you find such converses and convergence in contact in those areas. There is a variety called Begonia for that matter and Begonia refers to Began. Began means tea garden. There is a variety which is a result of convergence and contact of Indo-Aryan, Assamese partly Borro and Munda languages. So, such a situation gives birth to convergences intact but vocabulary is something that differentiates and maintains a distinction. And the kind of variety of multilingualism that you find in this village reported by Gumperz and Wilson. This is a response to local needs to communicate and share. And such a dynamic situation exists all over the country.

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Language Ideologies and Multilingualism

- Multilingualism societies view any other situation as strange and limiting.
- However, Western societies have a 'looking down' view of the phenomenon.
- In most of the western societies, a prestige-value is attached to a certain few classical languages (e.g., Classical Greek and Latin) or modern languages of high culture (e.g., English, French, Italian, and German).
- Multilingualism in such societies is often associated with immigrant status, and thus with groups who tend to occupy rather low positions in society. Thus, multilingualism becomes associated with 'inferiority.'
- Much of the research on discourse in multilingual contexts uses the term code-switching and code-mixing.

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Moving on to language ideologies and multilingualism. It is important to see how non-multilingual speakers look at multilingualism. And I am referring to western societies. How they look at multilingualism. The majority of these societies are isoglossic in nature. So, they find isogloss, monoglossic in that way, a single language. So, the majority of western societies assign prestige value to classical languages like Greek, Latin and others. And they subscribe to a dominant popular elite variety of the language like French in France, English in England. Spanish in Spain. So, they look at multilingual societies as a deficient. They do not consider it in a very positive way. And as opposed to these monolingual societies, multilingual societies look at this phenomenon as restricting. And this is vice versa, opposite.

The monolingual societies look at multilingual societies as deficient. Multilingualism in such societies is often associated with immigrant status. Like if we look at European history, if we look at American history many immigrants have arrived and settled in those states, those countries. And they have their own mother tongue, like Arabic for example or this African slaves in American society. Europeans in American society, Spanish speakers for example, Italian speakers for example. So, the status and because these migrants migrate to these places and they occupy lower jobs on the value chain. So, the attitude towards a speaker is reflected and projected to the attitude towards the language they speak. So, they look at it as inferior. Because they took low jobs on the value chain. And that is why the attitude towards the people of this class, immigrant class is also projected on the language they speak. So, that is a problem with these countries. So multilingualism in such societies is often associated with immigrant status and thus with groups who tend to occupy rather low positions in

society. Multilingualism becomes associated with inferiority. Much of the research on discourse in multilingual context uses the term code-switching and code-mixing. Now code-switching and code-mixing, it is still used as a theoretical framework to understand such mixing and switchings. But now we use it as, now we call it multilingual discourse. We do not essentially indicate mixing and switching in terms of isolated quotes.

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## Linguistic Landscapes

- A recently emerged area of study in the sociolinguistics of multilingual societies is linguistic landscapes, the display of languages in public spaces, including signs, billboards, advertisements, and graffiti.
- A linguistic landscape is not a straightforward reflection of the official statuses of the languages used, the linguistic diversity present in the city, nor the relationship between languages.
- It reflects how languages appear in public space provides evidence about underlying ideologies concerning particular codes and their speakers (H.Jot et al. 2012).
- The ways in which languages are used both reflects and impacts their perceived values (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009).

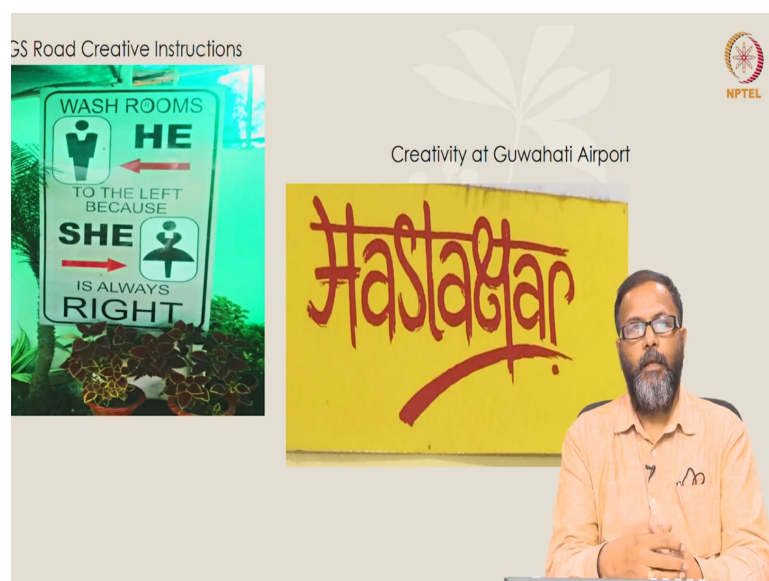


Now another emerging idea and framework is the linguistic landscape. And what is that? The physical presence of multiple languages in the public sphere, in public display in terms of signboard, billboards, posters, pamphlets, graffiti. So, if you look at a public space of multilingual society we find many languages even if they are using the same construct. Possibly I may be using Roman script for my Hindi billboard. but you find the presence of multiple languages. And it has emerged as a subfield in social linguistics, linguistic landscape.

A recently emerged area of study in sociolinguistics of multilingual societies is linguistic landscape, the display of languages in public spaces including signs, billboards and advertisements and graffiti. A linguistic landscape is not a straightforward reflection of the official status of the languages used. The linguistic diversity present in the city, not the relationship between languages. So, there are other political factors, they also factor it. It reflects how languages appear in public space and this provides evidence about underlying ideologies concerning particular quotes and their speakers. The way in which languages are used both reflect the impact of the perceived values. So not necessarily if you have 2-3 languages present, they reflect the actual linguistic situation. There are political, ideological

and judgmental values attached to it. For example, in India when the Kothari Commission suggested three language formula that seemed to be a negotiated harmonist position taken by the Government of India. And you see if you travel in an Indian train and go to any station, any part of the country you will essentially find at least a trilingual signboard. On railway stations, on bus stations, bus depots, on government buildings. One is the local language, be it Tamil, be it Gujarati, be it Punjabi. One is Hindi and one is English. So, you find these trilingual signages and boards all over. But it is interesting to notice that you find a lot of English signboards, English only signboards in the Bazaar, streets and other shops. Even if there are some signboards with Tamil, there are some boards with Gujarati, there are some signboards with Punjabi in that particular area. But English dominates the linguistic scape of a public space. And that shows the aspirations of the speakers and users in India. So, this is what it means that it reflects how language appears in public space. It provides evidence about underlying ideologies concerning particular codes and their speakers.

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Look at some examples. I just shot it from my own camera. If you go from Guwahati to Shillong by road. On the highway, you find a food outlet, small resort kind of thing, a small restaurant and happen to see the creative imagination of the user out in terms of a signboard. That also encodes the cultural ethos and our beliefs and a kind of anecdote about women. Look at this; washrooms, he to the left, so it is indicating a male toilet towards the left and she to the right. But look at the subtle interplay of the sentence. He is to the left because she is always right, interesting. Look at a board at Guwahati airport. It says 'Hastakshar', a Hindi

word written in Roman script except for one letter 'sh' H A S T A and 'sh' Hindi, Devanagari and then A R, Hastakshar.

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Look at yet another example. This is what is shot in Chennai. Sauchalay, mard, toilet, gents. Sarkari thandi beer ki dukan and look at the spelling. It is a child bear, chilled beer. It captures are popular imaginations, English is so important and dominant. Look at the locality in the background and you understand nobody speaks English there. It is exclusively for Hindi speakers. but look at the board, just one line, that has to be there to announce the global connectivity of the speaker and user. So, a Hindi signboard followed by an English one despite the errors and problems

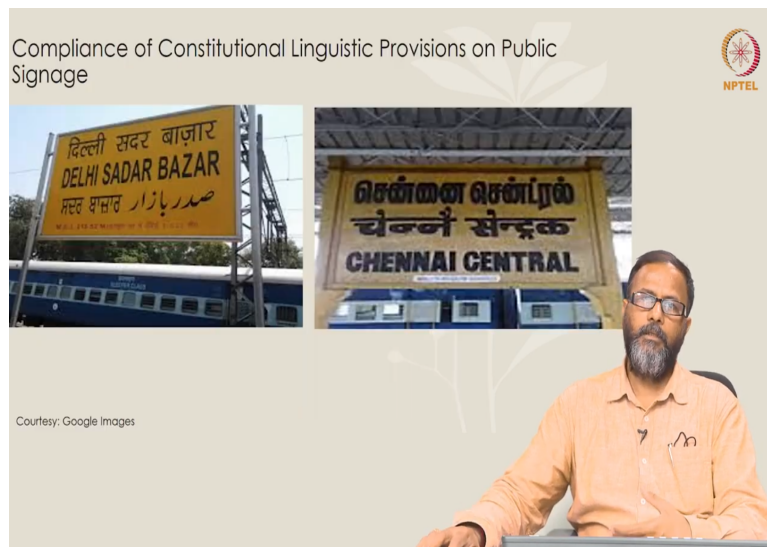
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Look at the system admin room. This is quite common.

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Delhi Sadar Bazar. Look at four languages there, Hindi, English, Punjabi and Urdu. And look at Chennai central. Telugu, Hindi and English.


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So, this is, look at any bazaar, look at any bazaar. I happened to find these pictures on Google. But you can find it in real terms when you go to the market and just have a look around. Spend some time and look around. Look at the one bazaar scene in the picture on the left. It is not a very cosmopolitan city. It is a normal, typical middle-class city. And you find Apna hotel veg and no-veg. And a lot of other signboards exclusively in English. And it is difficult to find Hindi or Tamil or Telugu or Punjabi or other languages signboards here. The

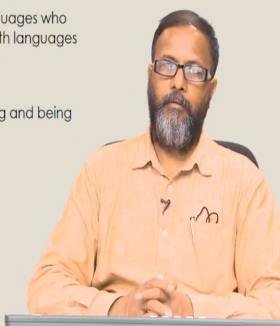
display or the presence of English in the Indian landscape, in a public place speaks about the significance of English in the country. Even a roadside vendor prefers to use English and Hindi or local language. Dragon momo corner, look at the background scene and the frame, the kind of clientele he has, majority of them do not speak English. So this is the ideology and preference that we were talking about.

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### Language Attitudes in Multilingual Settings

- Not only are particular languages stereotyped, but the mixture of two or more languages is often, even usually, stigmatized.
- Many people have a monoglossic ideology, that is, they believe that languages should be kept strictly separate, and this is true of monolingual and multilinguals alike. They may even use derogatory terms to describe what they hear.
- Such dismissal of the phenomenon demonstrates serious misunderstanding.
- What we have are speakers with a sophisticated knowledge of both languages who are also acutely aware of community norms. These norms require that both languages be used in this way so that speakers can show their familiarity or solidarity.
- The ability to mix codes in this way is often a source of pride.
- These writings show a pluralist ideology, in which multiple ways of speaking and being are valued.



Then language attitudes in multilingual settings. As I told you, usually multiple use of languages is seen as inferior and stigmatised. There is something called the deficit hypothesis, we have already talked about it in one of our languages in videos on bilingualism and code mixing. But multilingualism should be seen as an enriching phenomena where a speaker has multiple repertoires to refer to, multiple linguistic resources to refer to. Many people have a monoglossic ideology. They believe that languages should be kept strictly separate and you might have seen such a puritan attitude where everyone wants to use pure language in courts, pure language.

As a linguist, as a sociolinguistic that there is nothing called pure language, nothing is pure. Language by nature is multilingual. If I ask Hindi speakers, aachaar, pickles or kainchi, scissors, Haspatal, are they Hindi words, are they pure words or you can take any example in your own mother tongue. A number of words are from different languages which over a period, you have borrowed, assimilated, and adopted. File for example in Hindi. Road for example in Hindi. How many of us say sadak? Highway for example in Hindi. So these are all English words but we have adopted them and acculturated them and customised them in such a way that now we have started using grammatical features, morphological feature with

this word; filon or filon mei, filon ko table pe rakh do, keep all the files on the table, tablon par. Case marking, English word with Hindi case marking. And this is a very normal phenomenon. So, but people have this isoglossic, monoglossic ideology. And such dismissal where they believe that language should be strictly kept apart and pure language should be used is misunderstood and misnomer. There is nothing of such kind that exists. We aspire but in reality, nobody speaks any language which is pure. There is nothing called pure language at all. It does not exist. And nobody speaks a language by the way.

We all speak a variety. We all speak a dialect. Which Telugu you consider to be the real Telugu for that matter. Go around Andhra and Tamil and Telangana you find variations. Which Telugu is the real Telugu? So the socio-politically elite class becomes the benchmark and that Telugu is considered standard Telugu. That is Telugu, that Telugu is used in media, that Telugu is used in textbooks. That became standard. But mind you that is one of the varieties of Telugu. It has got social support, it has got institutional support. And it has got supremacy over the rest of the varieties. But none of us speak any pure language. So, this monoglossic attitude towards language is seriously problematic and it does not work. It does not exist; it does not work. It is artificially created. Language by nature is multilingual. What we have, we have speakers with sophisticated knowledge of both languages who are also acutely aware of community norms. What does it mean? It means that if I am speaking three, four, five languages, I do know where to speak what. Or where to choose which language. So, my choice of language is not determined randomly by me but my choice of the variety that I am going to use in a particular conversation situation, communication situation will depend on multiple factors like my identity, like the context, like the topic. Also, it depends on the partner, who is our communication partner? With whom are you speaking? So it is a very dynamic phenomena and this understanding that language is naturally a multilingual entity and there is nothing called pure language. And we have to get away from this monoglossic ideology and respect the speakers and the users to have an in fact in multilingual societies it is celebrated unlike western societies who are monoglossic in nature.

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## Diglossia




◦ Diglossia is the term used to describe a situation in which there are two distinct codes with clear functional separation; that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set. Ferguson (1959, 336) has defined 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.*



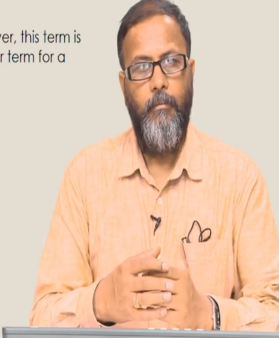
Ferguson 1959 underlined a sociolinguistic situation where two varieties of the same language or two other varieties coexist together. And this is a stable sociolinguistic situation, a stable linguistic situation. So, people are socially bilingual, at least socially bilingual where they use one language in all formal situations; in media, in governance, in administration, in education, in publication. And the other variety in all informal settings. So, the same speakers in the same speech community have two different codes or two different languages for two different sets of purposes. This phenomenon is called diglossia and we talked about high variety and low variety, H variety, superimposed variety and L variety which is a commoner's variety, used for common informal settings. To know more about diglossia, you can watch the video on diglossia and you can know more about it, it was a sociolinguistic phenomenon proposed by Charles Ferguson in 1959.

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## Multilingual Interactions and Social Identities

- In most multilingual settings, there are no strict or explicit guidelines for what language to speak. People must select a particular code whenever they choose to speak, and they may also decide to switch from that code to another or to mix codes even within sometimes very short utterances.
- In sociolinguistics to refer to this phenomenon was **code-switching**. However, this term is losing currency, and we choose the term **multilingual discourse** as a cover term for a number of different linguistic patterns.



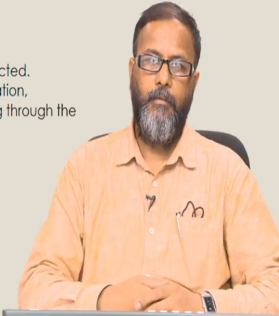
And then identity also plays a very significant role in multilingual discourse. And in most multilingual settings, there are no strict or explicit guidelines for what language to speak. People much select the particular code whenever they choose to speak and they may also decide to switch from one code to another or mix codes even within sometimes very short utterances. In sociolinguistics it refers to code switching and we call it multilingual discourse now. So, people have tendencies to switch from one language to another. And this switching is done because of multiple sociolinguistic factors. We have already discussed it in the class and if you want to know more about it watch the video on code switching and code mixing and also language hybridity.

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## Major Theoretical Models

- There are some major theoretical models which address the underlying principles, often unconscious, that guide speakers in making their linguistic choices.
- **Markedness Model** (Myers-Scotton 1983, 1993, 1998).
  - for a given interaction, there is an unmarked choice, that is, a code which is expected in the specific context. The relative markedness of a code varies by situation.
- **social constructivist** approach
  - identities are not seen as fixed but as fluid, multiple, and culturally constructed. Identities might align with pre-existent categories such as gender, occupation, ethnicity, and so on, but should be thought of as being brought into being through the interaction with others.



Moving on there are theoretical models to predict the choice of language. And it addresses underlying principles, often unconscious, that guides speakers to make a choice of which language to speak when. One by Myers and Scotton 1983, 93, 1998. Model is called the Markedness model. What does it mean? For a given interaction there is an unmarked choice, natural choice, unmarked means natural, spontaneous, that is called unmarked for which you do not have to make a choice. It is unmarked and spontaneous and natural. But sometimes it is marked when you deliberately choose a different language and code to speak.

For example, I meet you and I want to keep other people listening to what we are talking, I choose English, assuming the fact that others are not a party to our conversation. Sometimes you want to exclude others. Sometimes other identity needs for that matter. If I want to sound intellectual and serious, unfortunately in the Indian context we use English. Just to show that you are educated, you have mixing words with English words in Tamil, in Punjabi, in any other language. There are multiple sociolinguistic factors which make it marked and we choose a separate language deliberately.

So, the Markedness model produces by Myers and Scotton in 1983. It says for a given interaction there is an unmarked choice, that is a code which is expected in the specific context. The relative markedness of a code varies by situation. So, it is all because of other socio-political factors and the communication partners, who are communicating, the topic, what are we communicating on? What are we talking about? The topic, the situation, the setting, the partner, your identity issue, multiple factors play a role. Then there is another approach to understand this situation, the social constructivist approach, which says that identities are not seen as fixed but fluid. We all have multiple identities. Multiple and culturally constructed. Identity might align with pre-existent categories such as gender, occupation, ethnicity, and so on. These are all social determinants to mark our identity. But should be thought of as being brought into being through the interaction with others. So, this choice is not purely linguistic but there are other social factors, there are other sociolinguistics factors which play a role, like social determinance like gender, social determinants like male-to-male talk and male-female talk will differ, degree of formality will differ depending on the communication partner.

Look at this Martha Vineyard Island study by William Labov. The people population from the age group 31 to 45 considered them to be custodian of laws and culture of the island. And they typically and deliberately tried to sound different by raising the central vowels. So, there

are multiple complex factors which play a role in selection of a particular variety of tone and accent and a code. But one thing is for sure that it definitely talks about the ability and the efficacy of the user or the speaker to have this rich linguistic resource to choose from. So, the monoglossic attitude is misnomer, is misunderstood and problematic. Language by nature is multilingual and we as multilingual speakers, multilingualism is a norm and it is not an exception. With these ideas, we end here and we will continue our discussion on other aspects of multilingualism and multilingual discourse in our next videos. This is it for now. Thank you.