

2015

Language in Culture Course Handouts

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Language in Culture

Course Handouts

Compiled by Prof. Petko Ivanov

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Connizdat

New London, Connecticut

2015

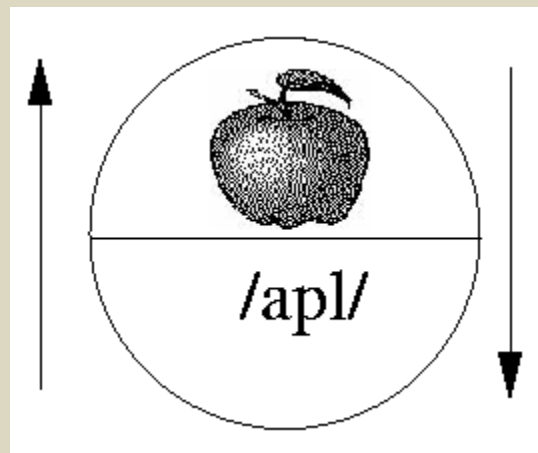
Norman Rockwell

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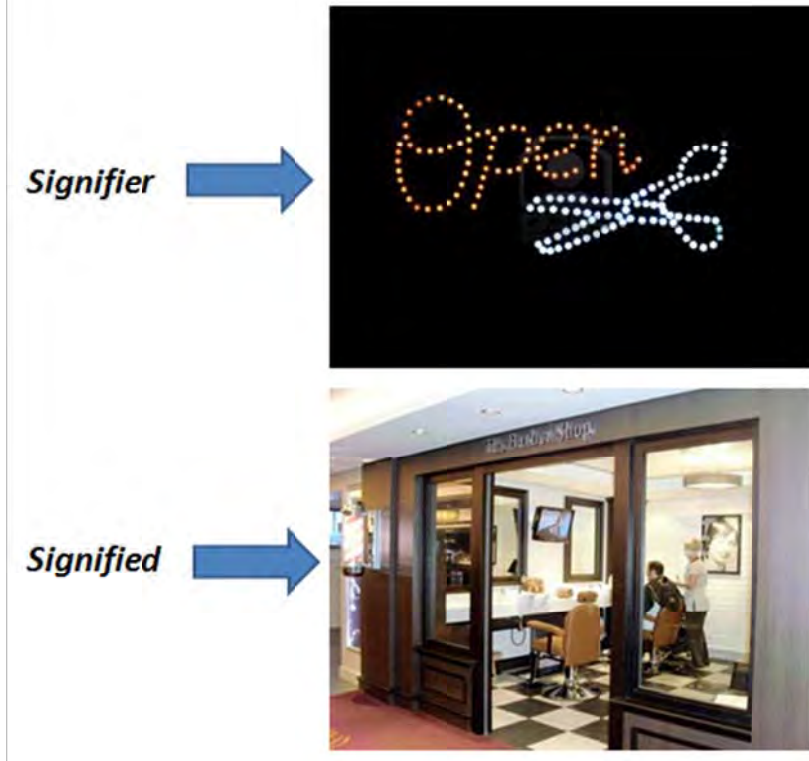
Petko Ivanov

The (Socio)Linguistic Sign (Saussure)



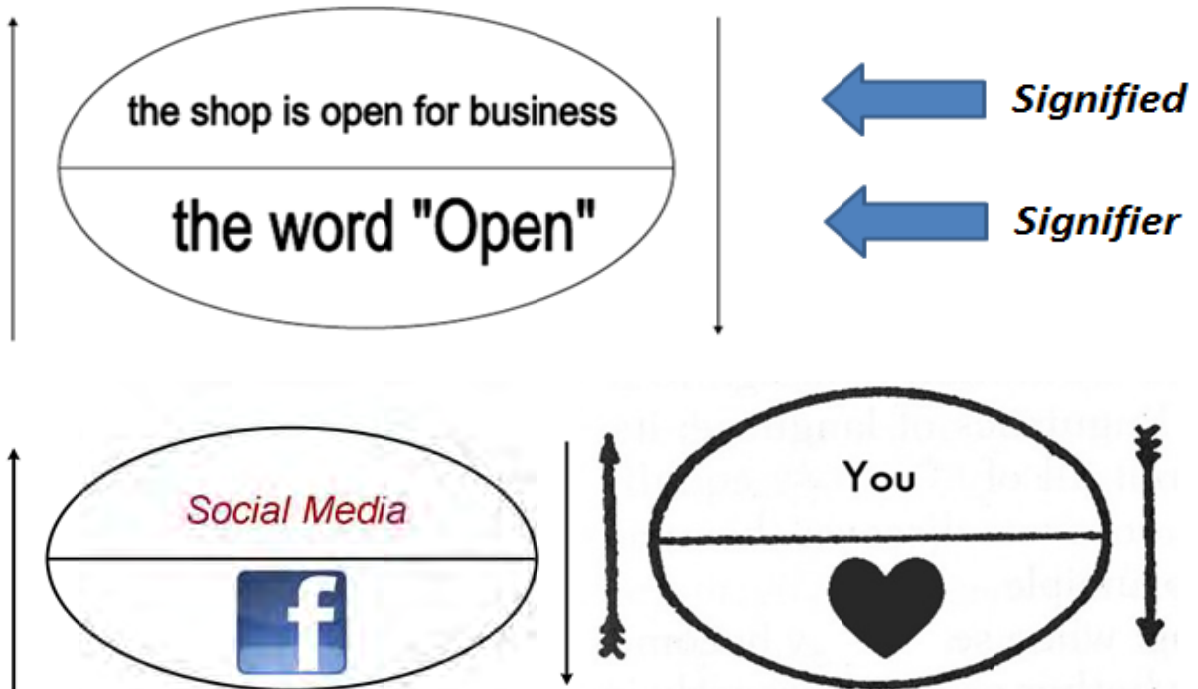
Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

What is a Sign?



Source: ▲ "Semiotics: A Powerful Communication Tool For Designers" // snap2objects (2009) ▼

The Sign



Source: ▲ Semiological Diagrams and Annotation <https://flameup99.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/c1.png>

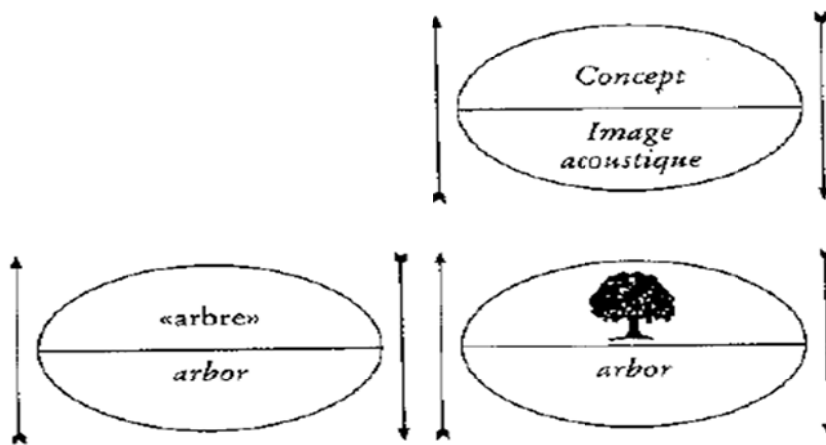
The Linguistic Sign

Anything that tells us about something other than itself is a SIGN.

*The **LINGUISTIC SIGN** does not link a name and a thing, but a **CONCEPT** and an **ACOUSTIC IMAGE**.*

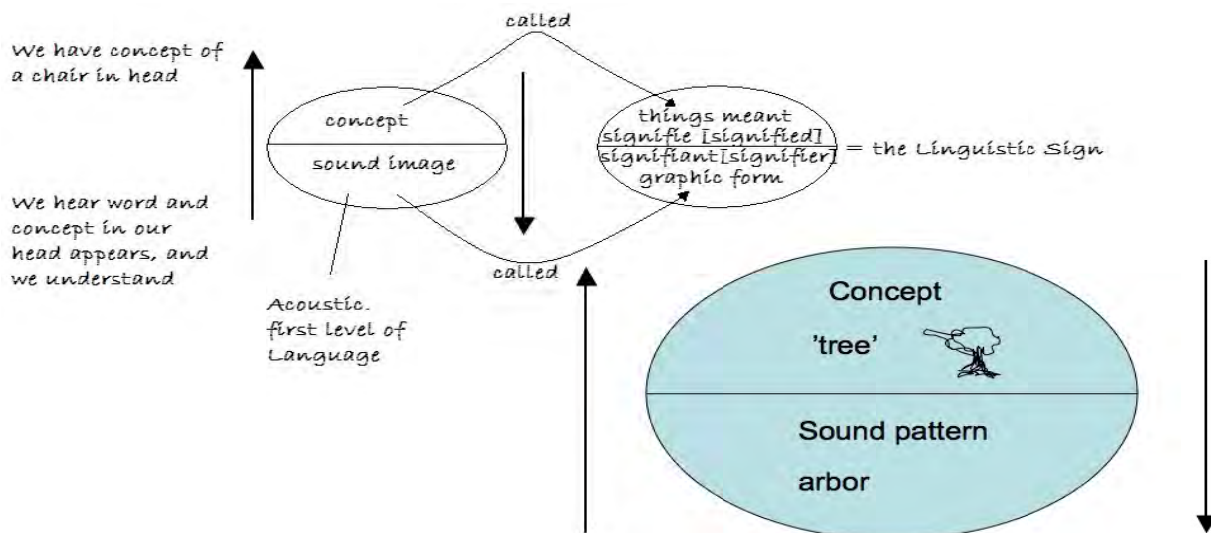
Source: W. Terrence Gordon & Abbe Lubell "Saussure for Beginners" (1996)

The linguistic sign is then a two-sided psychic entity, which can be represented by the figure:

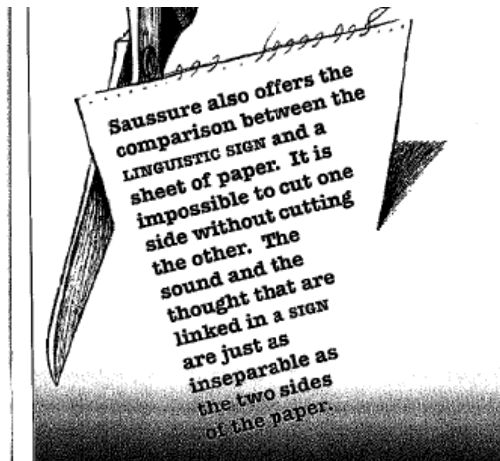


These two elements are intimately linked and the one calls up the other. Whether we are seeking the sense of the Latin word *arbor* or the word with which Latin designates the concept 'tree', it is clear that only the relationship established by the language system [*la langue*] appears to us to be in conformity with reality, and we put aside whatever else may be imagined.

Source: Paul J. Thibault "Re-Reading Saussure" (1997)



Source: <http://akinomisoan.blogspot.com/2009/11/de-saussures-concept-of-linguistic-sign.html>



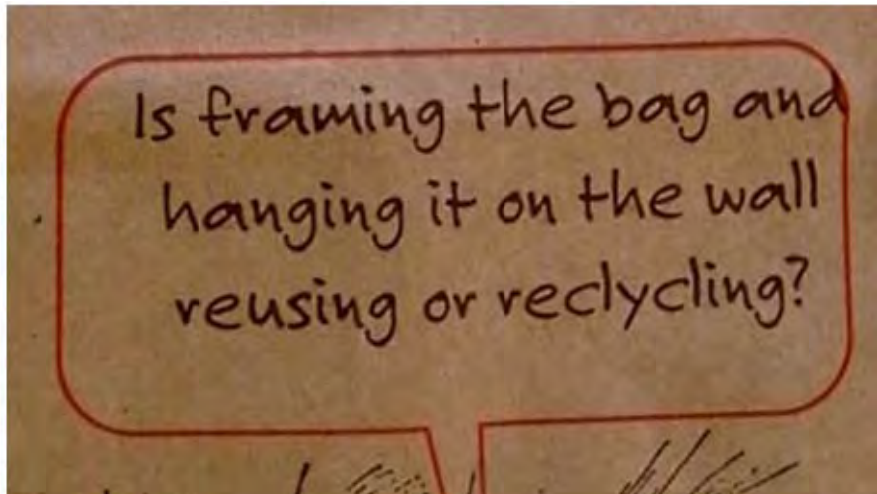
Is There a One Sided Piece of Paper?

This seems impossible. However, mathematicians like to devise clever conundrums — to amuse themselves and maybe baffle the rest of us. Their term for the side of a piece of paper is a surface. And, yes, they devised a piece of paper that has only one surface. It is called a Moebius band. Originally it was an ordinary, two sided piece of paper. But it is cunningly folded to join the two sides in one continuous surface. In ordinary language the Moebius band is really a one sided piece of paper.

strip of paper, a flick of the wrist and a dab of glue. Mark A at each end on one side of the paper and mark B on the ends of the opposite side. Hold the two ends with the Bs facing you and give both of them a half turn. Now adjust them so that the two Bs neatly overlap and paste them together. If you did it right, your mathematical wonder has only one surface. When you trace your finger around and around the surface of the curved band, you know that there is only one side to this cunning piece of paper

To create it, you need a

▲ Source: W. T. Gordon & Abbe Lubell "Saussure for Beginners" (1996); ▲ The Milwaukee Journal, July 9, 1970



Onomatopoeia



Source: chapmangamo.tumblr.com

Barking of a Dog	
Urdu/Hindi	bhau bhau
English	bow wow

The onomatopoeic words in Malay are as follows:

Onomatopoeic Lexicon	Meaning
debuk	The sound of slapping or boxing.
debum	The sound of heavy things falling.
debung	The sound of drumming.
debur	The sound of waves breaking on the shore.
debus	The sound of flapping wings.

Source: Jhy Wae 2005: Vol. 2, 796-797.

Langue vs. Parole

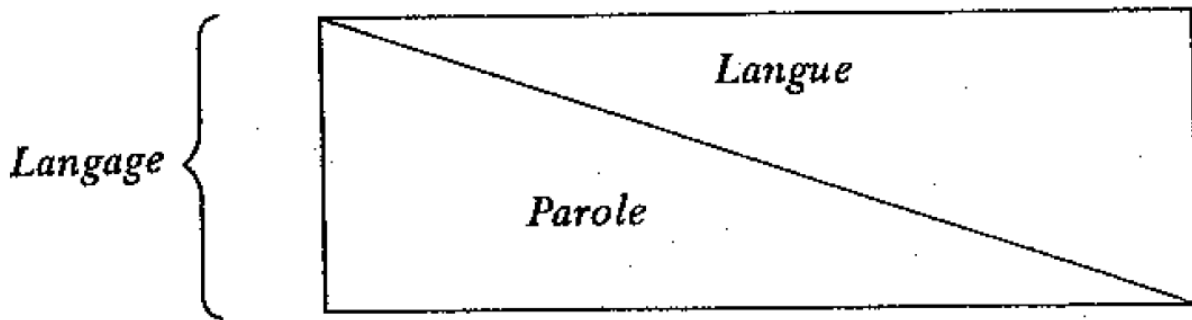
How could all the speakers of English be convinced to start using some other way of expressing the idea of "top"?



It will never work, you know. The SIGN is arbitrary.



Source: W. Terrence Gordon & Abbe Lubell "Saussure for Beginners" (1996)

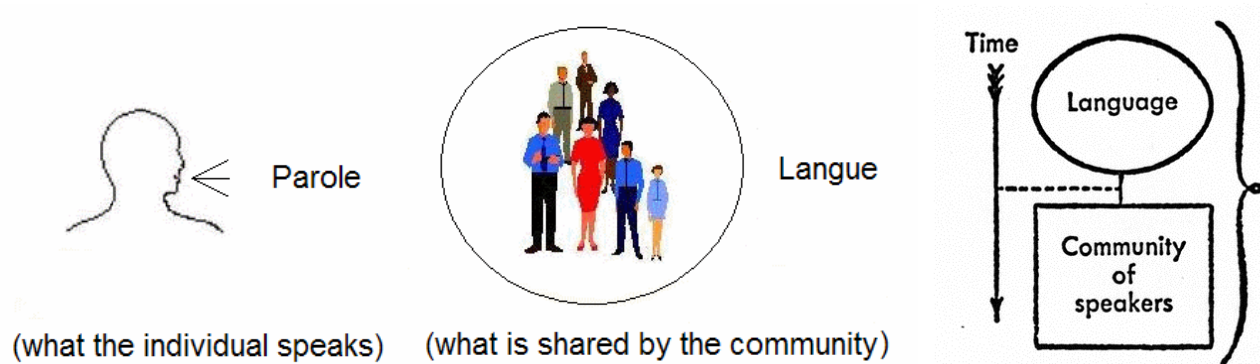


Langue
 social
 essential
 no active individual role
 not designed
 conventional
 furnishes a homogeneous subject
 matter for a branch of social
 psychology

Parole
 individual
 contingent
 active role
 designed
 not conventional
 furnishes a heterogeneous subject
 matter studied by different
 disciplines

Source: David Holdcroft "Saussure: Sign, System, and Arbitrariness" (1991)

Language in Time



Source: Ferdinand de Saussure "Course in General Linguistics" (1916) ▲
 ▲ <https://lmdresources.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/langueandparole1.gif>

126 Langue and parole

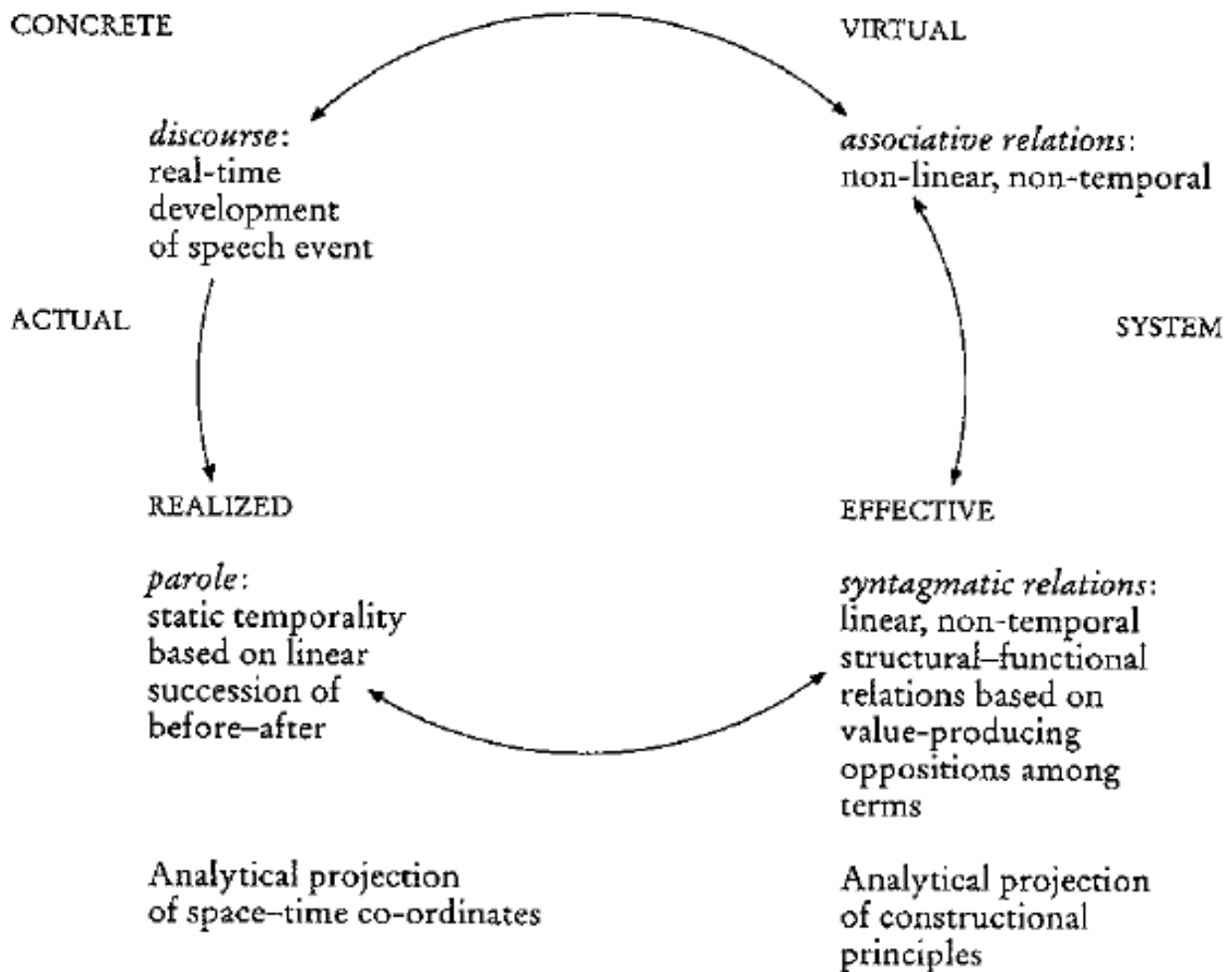
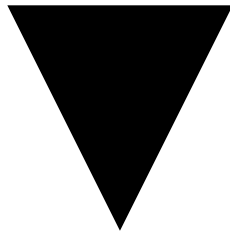


Figure 5.2 Analytical relations among discourse, parole and langue

Source: Paul J. Thibault "Re-Reading Saussure" (1997)

“Language [...] is purely social and independent of the individual.”

Saussure, p.18

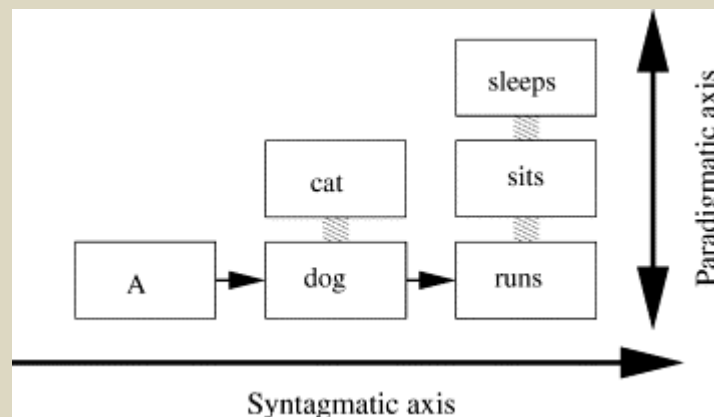


Write an essay in class commenting on Saussure's statement. Form groups of four to discuss your essays and present the results. Each group writes on the blackboard the main points of their argument.

It is about *langue* vs. *parole*

Cf. here Saussure's analogy of language with chess (same rules for everyone = *langue*; different and creative moves of figures by individual players = *parole*).

Synchrony:
Language as a Semiotic System



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Linguistic Value (Saussure)

Language is a system of interdependent terms in which the value of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of the others, as in the diagram:



Source: Ferdinand de Saussure "Course in General Linguistics" (1916, p.114-115)

Example: We can see that the semiotic values in the traffic light system are defined relationally, rather than positively, by the differences among the visual terms [GREEN], [YELLOW], and [RED] in the visual-optical order of differences. Thus, [GREEN] has the semiotic value It has because it systematically contrasts with [YELLOW] and [RED] in this simple system.

System resources	Grammar	Text			
Signified	paradigmatic relations ((directive to traffic)) <table style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">go</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">amber</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">stop</td> </tr> </table>	go	amber	stop	[[[directive to traffic]], go] [[[directive to traffic]], prepare to stop] [[[directive to traffic]], stop]
go					
amber					
stop					
	syntagmatic relations construal of meaning 'go', etc. by motorist	enactment of appropriate response			
Realization/construal rules	([[directive to traffic] r. LIGHT]) [Go] r. GREEN [Prepare to stop] r. AMBER [Stop] r. RED				
Signifier	paradigmatic relations ((LIGHT)) <table style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">GREEN</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">AMBER</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">RED</td> </tr> </table>	GREEN	AMBER	RED	((LIGHT)), GREEN ((LIGHT)), AMBER ((LIGHT)), RED
GREEN					
AMBER					
RED					
	syntagmatic relations spatio-temporal occurrence of traffic light in programmed sequence	reception of flashing light by motorist			

Key: (()) = redundant feature; r. = realizes/is realized by

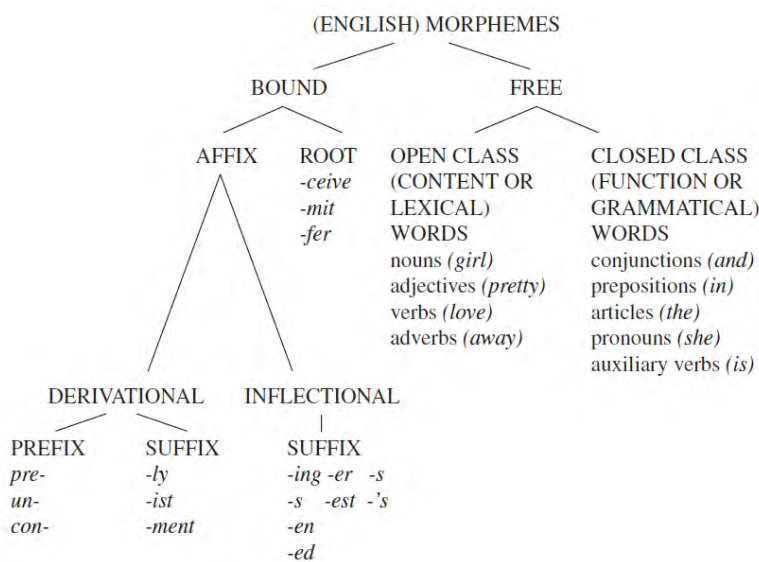
Figure 9.1 A simple traffic light system, showing sign relationships (adapted from Fawcett 1982: 92)

Source: Paul J. Thibault "Re-Reading Saussure" (1997)

“The sign may be relatively motivated” (Saussure)

There is no language in which nothing is motivated, and our definition makes it impossible to conceive of a language in which everything is motivated. Between the two extremes—a minimum of organization and a minimum of arbitrariness—we find all possible varieties. Diverse languages always include elements of both types—radically arbitrary and relatively motivated—but in proportions that vary greatly, and this is an important characteristic that may help in classifying them.

Source: Ferdinand de Saussure “Course in General Linguistics” (1916, p.131-134)



▲ Source: Victoria Fromkin et al. “An Introduction to Language” (10th ed., 2013)

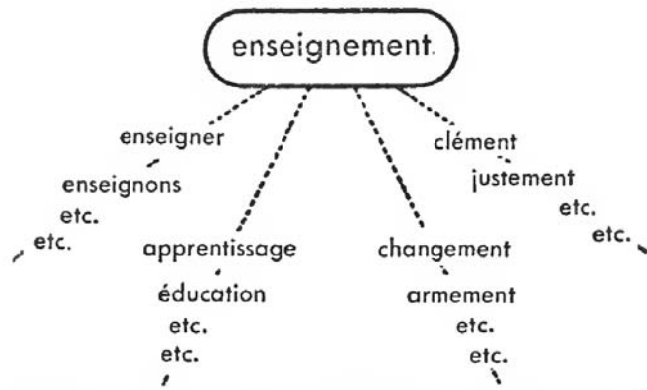
The notion of relative motivation implies: (1) analysis of a given term, hence a syntagmatic relation; and (2) the summoning of one or more other terms, hence an associative relation. It is the

Paradigmatic Axis	Syntagmatic Axis	Selection	Combination
●	●	signifier	signified
System	Process	Absent	Present
Structure	Operation	Similarity	Contiguity
<i>La Langue</i>	<i>Parole</i>	Metaphor	Metonymy

Source: John Phillips “Metaphor and Metonymy” (2005)
<http://www.drunkenboat.com/db7/feature-aphasia/phillips/metaphor.html>

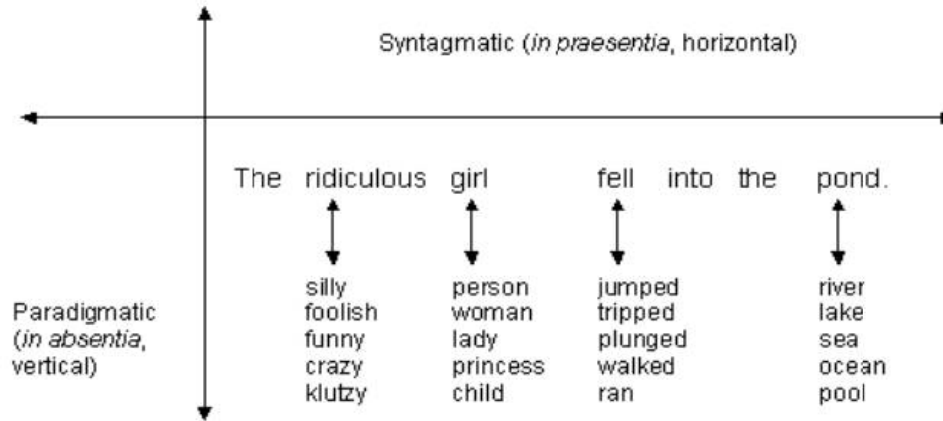
The Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic axes

(Saussure's syntagmatic vs. associative relations)

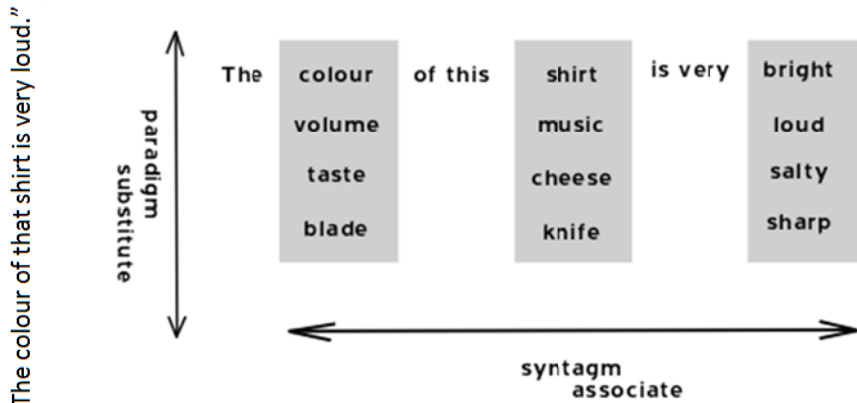


¹¹ Cf. English *education* and the corresponding associative series: *educate, educates, etc.; internship, training, etc.; vocation, devotion, etc.; and lotion, fashion, etc.* [Tr.]

Source: Ferdinand de Saussure "Course in General Linguistics" (1916)



◀ Source: Peter Tan "How Can Lexis Be Organized?" <https://courses.nus.edu.sg/course/elltankw/history/Vocab/B.htm>



◀ Source: Emma Gardiner "Synaesthesia and Sensibility" (2003) <http://emmagardiner.com.au/h335/synaesthesiaandsensibilities.html>



◀ Source: <http://personalit cafe.com/cognitive-functions/25454-i-need-understand-ni-6.html>

Unusual Plural Forms (Feet, Geese, Teeth) & Diachronic Motivation

In early Anglo-Saxon, the singular and plural forms of these nouns seem to have been as follows:

	Stage One		
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	
foot:	fōt	fōti	(pronounced roughly <i>foat, foati</i>)
goose:	gōs	gōsi	
tooth:	tōþ	tōþi	(where þ = th)

Then, plural forms were affected by a phonetic change known as “*i* mutation”: when *i* followed a stressed syllable, the vowel of the stressed syllable was affected, and back vowels were fronted, so that *ō* became *ē*. This gave:

	Stage Two	
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
foot:	fōt	fēti
goose:	gōs	gēsi
tooth:	tōþ	tēþi

Then, in a second phonetic change, the final *i* was dropped, and gave:

	Stage Three	
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
foot:	fōt	fēt
goose:	gōs	gēs
tooth:	tōþ	tēþ

These forms, by the Great English Vowel Shift in which *ō* became *ū* and *ē* became *ī*, then became the modern forms (*Course*, 83–84; *Cours*, 120).

Semiotics of the Kitchen



Source: Paul Chan & Martha Rosler
"Between Artists" (2005) ►

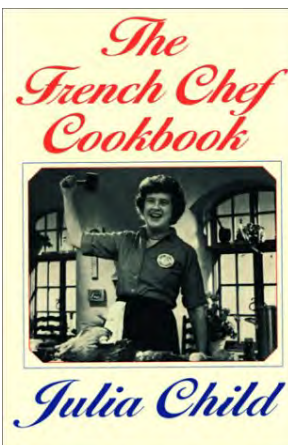
- *Semiotics of the Kitchen*, Martha Rosler, 1975, video, 7 minutes.
- A short black-and-white video reveals the suburban kitchen to be a war zone where routine food preparation masks the violent frustrations felt by women at being confined by the home. A static camera is focused on a mid-shot of a woman in a kitchen. On a counter before her are a variety of utensils, each of which she (Rosler) picks up, names and proceeds to demonstrate, but with gestures that depart from the normal uses of the tool. In an ironic grammatology of sound and gesture, the woman and her implements enter and transgress the familiar system of everyday kitchen meanings.

Where do ideas come from? All the myths of everyday life stitched together form a seamless envelope of ideology, the false account of everything thinkable. Ideology is a readymade always ready to stand in for a closer understanding of the world and its workings. The myths of ideology cushion us, it is true, from the paranoia that is engendered by mistrust of cultural givens. But they are not nurturant. The interests served by ideology are not human interests properly defined; rather, ideology serves society in shoring up its particular form of social organization. In class society, ideology serves the interests of the class that dominates. Through the channels of mass communication, which it controls, our dominant class holds its own ideology up to our whole society as the real and proper set of attitudes and beliefs, The impetus is then strong for everyone to identify her/himself as a member of the 'middle class', a mystified category standing in for the image of the dominant class.

In this alphabet of kitchen implements, states Rosler, **"when the woman speaks, she names her own oppression"**

In pursuit of meaning and satisfaction we are led to grant the aura of life to things and to drain it from people: *we personify objects and objectify persons*. We experience alienation from ourselves as well as from others. We best comprehend ourselves as social entities in looking at photos of ourselves, assuming the voyeur's role with respect to our own images; we best know ourselves from within in looking through the viewfinder at other people and things.

How does one address these banally profound issues of everyday life? It seems to me appropriate to use the medium of television, which in its most familiar form is one of the primary conduits of ideology – through both its ostensive subject matter and its overtly commercial messages. I am trying to enlist 'video', a different form of television, in the attempt to make explicit the connections between *ideas* and *institutions*, connections whose existence is never alluded to by corporate TV, Nevertheless, video is not a strategy, it is merely a mode of access.



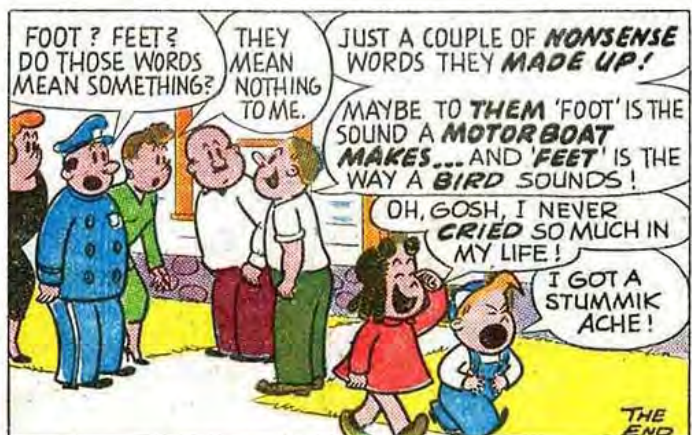
Video itself is not 'innocent'. It too is a form of cultural commodity that often stands for a celebration of the self and its powers of invention. Yet video is useful in that it provides me with the opportunity to construct 'decoys', entities that engage in a natural dialectic with TV itself. **A woman in a bare-bones kitchen, in black and white, demonstrating some hand tools and replacing their domesticated 'meaning' with a lexicon of rage and frustration is an antipodean Julia Child.**

Source: Martha Rosler "To argue for a video of representation" (1977)

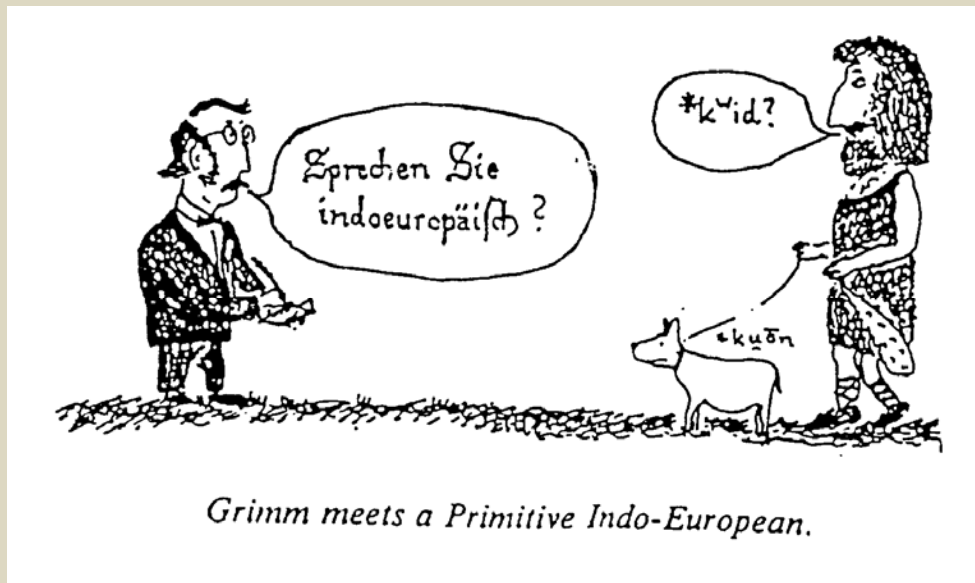
The Arbitrary Signifier

John Stanley "Two Foots is Feet" (from Little Lulu No.94, 1956)





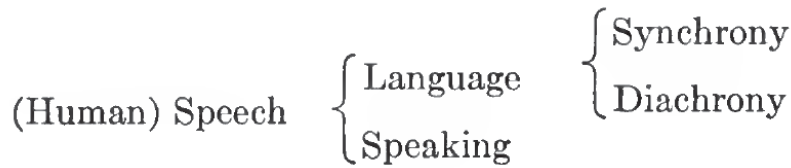
Diachrony: Comparative–Historical Linguistics



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Diachrony

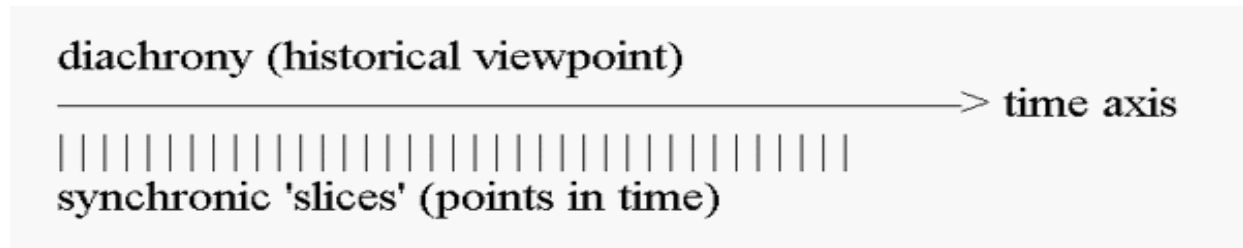
Language Continuity & Change in Time



Synchronic linguistics will be concerned with the logical and psychological relations that bind together coexisting terms and form a system in the collective mind of speakers.

Diachronic linguistics, on the contrary, will study relations that bind together successive terms not perceived by the collective mind but substituted for each other without forming a system.”

(Saussure, p.98ff.)



Dialectal continuums

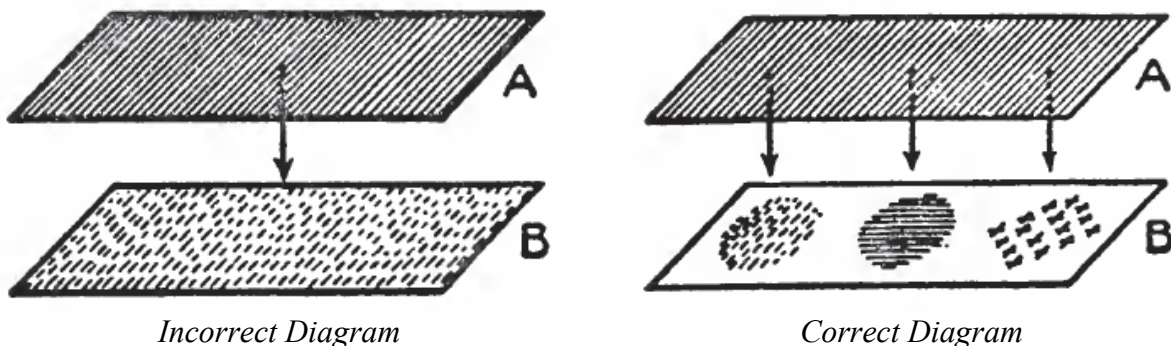
(within a language or a language family)

Space: Two neighboring villages understand their speech-forms, but 100 villages away the speech-forms are not mutually intelligible anymore

Time: Two generations of villagers understand their speech-forms, but in 100 generations they are not mutually intelligible anymore

“What is the result of differentiation through time? At one moment in history a single language may reign throughout a particular territory, and five or ten centuries later the inhabitants of two of its extremes probably will not be able to understand each other. At any particular point, however, speakers will still understand the speech-forms of neighboring regions. A traveler going from one end of the country to the other would notice only small dialectal differences from one locality to the next. But the sum of these differences would increase, and eventually he would come to a language that the inhabitants of this starting point would not understand.”

“[T]he language will no longer be the same after a certain length of time. Evolution will not be uniform throughout the territory but will vary from zone to zone; no records indicate that any language has ever changed in the same way throughout its territory.



Source: Ferdinand de Saussure “Course in General Linguistics” (1916, p.199, 201)

Comparative-Historical Linguistics: 19th c. Quotations

“The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists...”

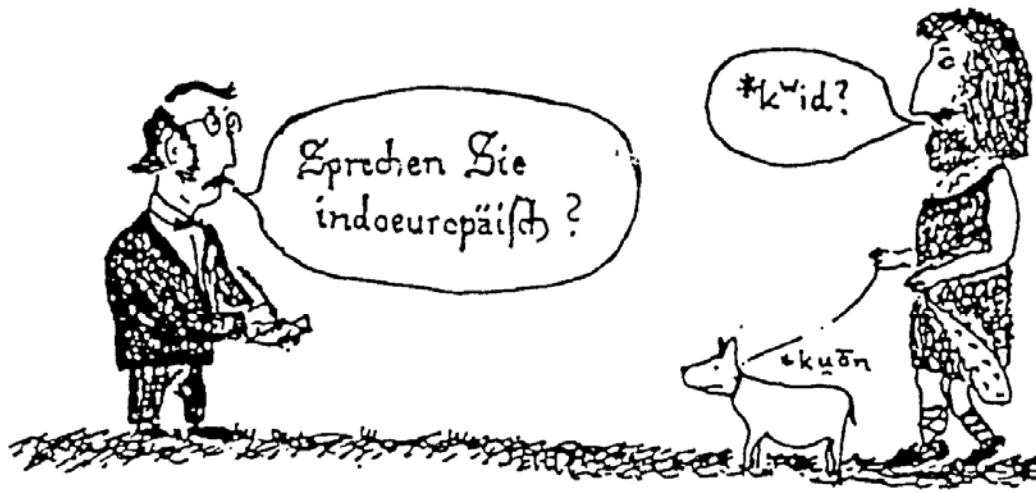
Sir William Jones “The Third Anniversary Discourse: On the Hindus” (1786)

Words are to the Anthropologist what rolled pebbles are to the Geologist – Battered relics of past ages often containing within them indelible records capable of intelligible interpretation and when we see what amount of change 2000 years has been able to produce in the languages of Greece & Italy or 1000 in those of Germany France & Spain we naturally begin to ask how long a period must have lapsed since the Chinese, the Hebrew, the Delaware & the Malesass had a point in common with the German & Italian & each other.

John Herschel in an open letter to geologist Charles Lyell (1836)

“If Darwinism is used in the sense of *Entwicklung* [development], I was a Darwinian long before Darwin. How a student of the Science of Language can be anything but an evolutionist, is to me utterly unintelligible. He has to deal with nothing but evolution from beginning to end, Latin becomes French before his very eyes, Saxon becomes English, Sanskrit Bengali. It is the same wherever we approach the study of any single language. We always find it changing or changed, and related to other languages, that is to say, like them evolved from a common type.”

F.M. Müller “The Science of Thought” (1887)



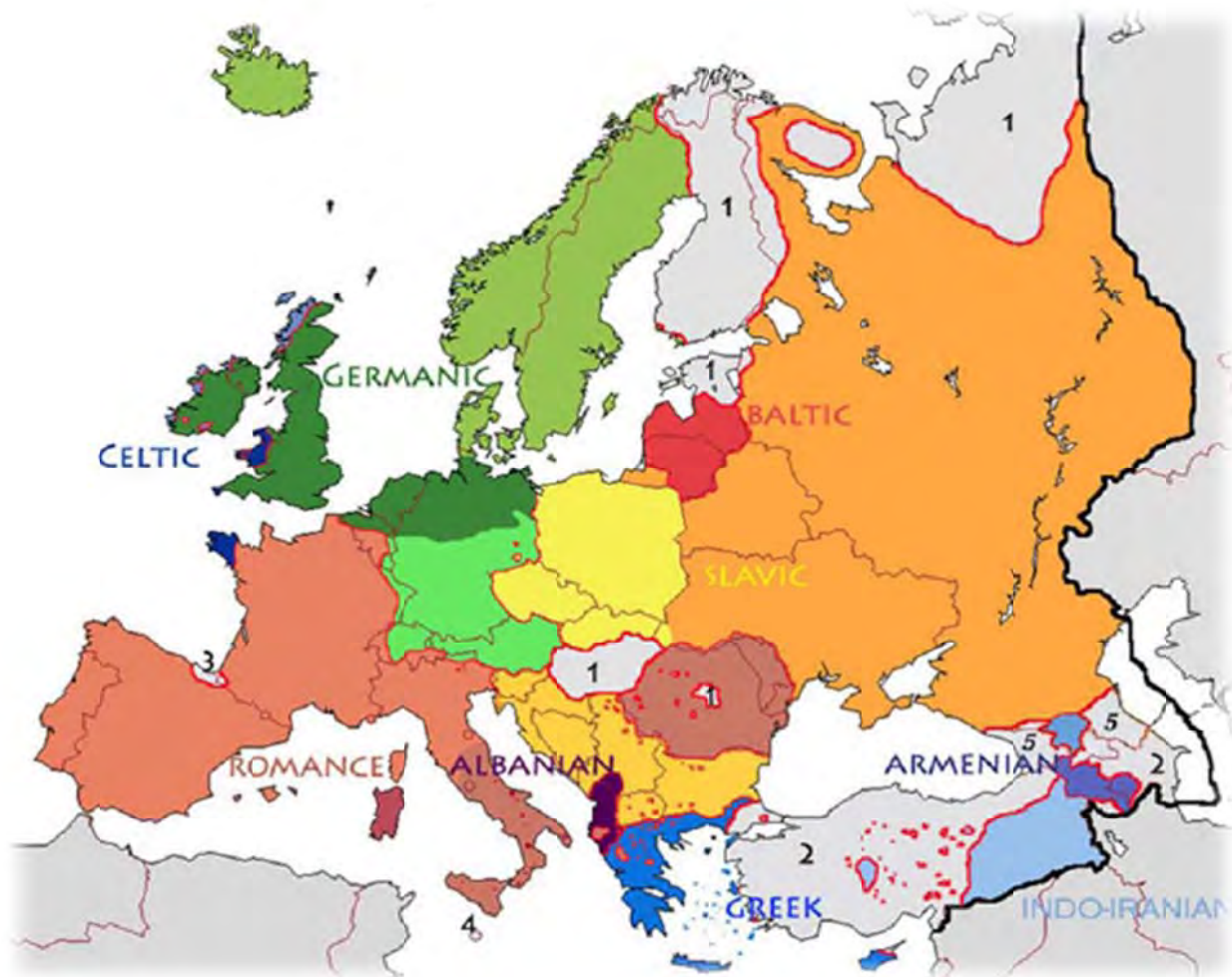
Grimm meets a Primitive Indo-European.

Calidum (Latin) ► Chaud (French)

“To say that two words as different as *calidum* and *chaud* [‘warm’ in Lat. & Fr.] constitute a diachronic identity means simply that speakers passed from one form to the other through a series of synchronic identities in speaking without there being a break in their common bond despite successive phonetic changes. [...] [D]iversity within related languages can be observed and traced back to unity.”

Source: Ferdinand de Saussure “Course in General Linguistics” (1916, p.181)

Indo-European Dialects



Languages of Europe. The black line divides the zones traditionally (or politically) considered inside the European subcontinent. Northern dialects are all but Greek and Kurdish (Iranian); Armenian is usually considered a Graeco-Aryan dialect, while Albanian is usually classified as a Northern one. Numbered inside the map, non-Indo-European languages: 1) Uralic languages; 2) Turkic languages; 3) Basque; 4) Maltese; 5) Caucasian languages.

Table 7.1 *Matching forms of the verb 'to be' across Indo-European languages*

	3rd pers sg	3rd pers pl	1st pers sg
Latin	est	sunt	sum
Sanskrit	ásti	sánti	asmi
Greek	esti	eisi	eimi
Gothic	ist	sind	am
Hittite	ešzi (<z> = [ts])	ašanzi	ešmi
PIE	*es-ti	*s-enti (Ø-grade)	*es-mi

◀ ▲ Source:
Lyle Campbell &
William J. Poser
"Language
Classification:
History and
Method" (2008)

Vertical and Horizontal Language Relations

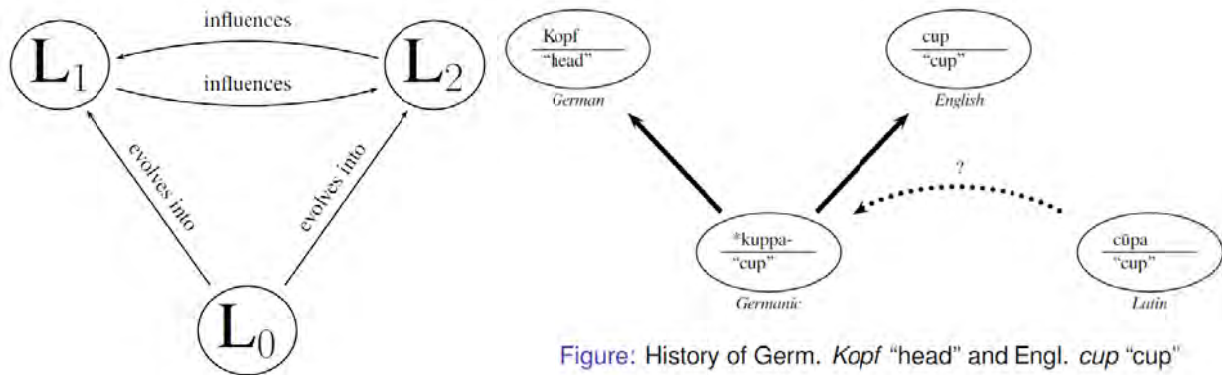


Figure: History of Germ. *Kopf* “head” and Engl. *cup* “cup”

Source: Johann-Mattis List “The Treatment of Conflicting Signals in the History of Language Classification” (2010)

Box 1 | The invisible hand in language change

Language change at the ‘macroscopic’ level is often influenced in counter-intuitive ways by ‘microscopic’ changes in how individuals use language. A nice example is found in the historical phenomenon of pejoration in words referring to women, where respectable words acquire negative connotations over the centuries. A ‘hussy’ was once a perfectly respectable housewife, and ‘wench’ just meant ‘young woman’, but both terms now connote a woman of loose morals. And ‘lady’ — once used just for a woman of noble

birth — is now the standard term for any woman. Intriguingly, words for men generally don’t suffer the same fate, and sometimes even improve their connotations (‘knight’ originally meant just a boy or retainer). Parallel patterns have occurred in other languages (for example, as with the German *Weib*, which suffered the fate of ‘wench’). The most obvious explanation for this phenomenon is that language users (or at least those who have historically been responsible for recording

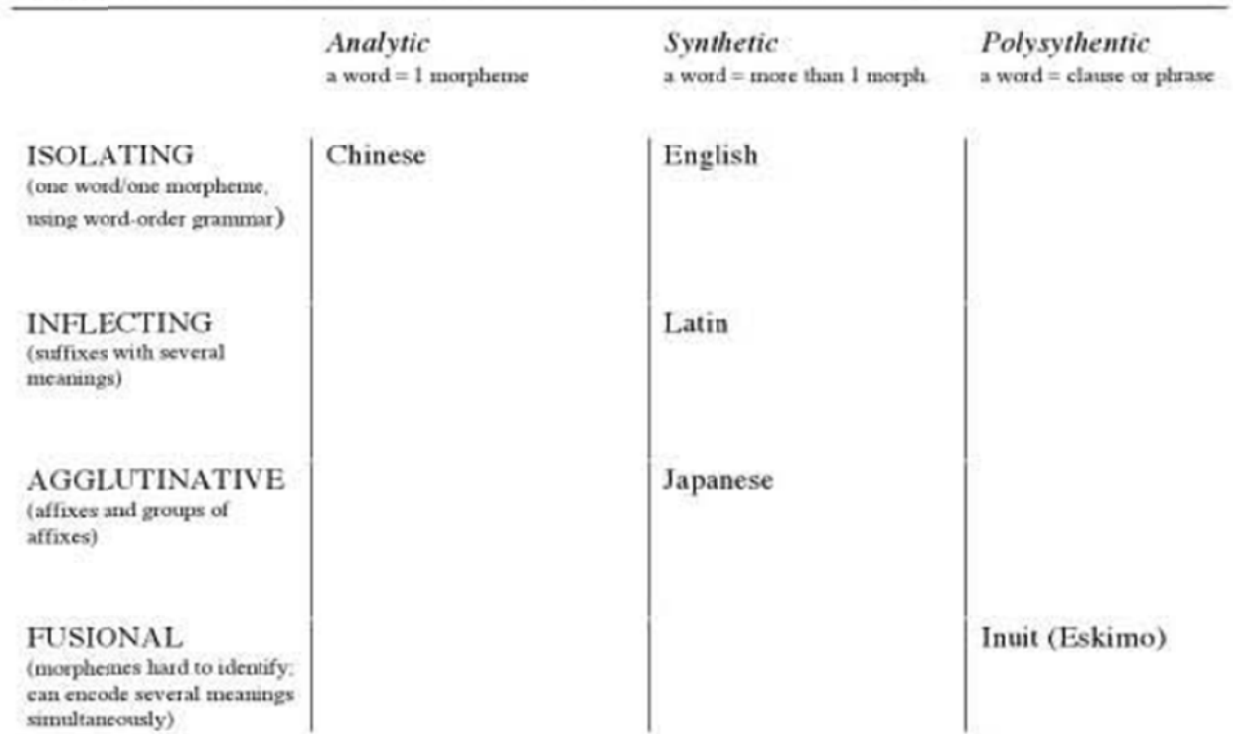
language — men) are consistently misogynistic. But a more convincing ‘invisible hand’ explanation invokes a simple individual rule: when talking to or about women, err on the side of politeness⁸. Given two options, one normal and one polite (‘hussy’ versus ‘lady’), this rule, if applied widely and consistently, leads to ‘lady’ becoming the common form. ‘Hussy’ or ‘wench’, by comparison, become ever-less polite over time. The best intentions lead to pejoration as an unintended consequence. **W.T.F.**

Source: W. Tecumseh Fitch “Linguistics: An invisible hand” (2007)

brother: Sanskrit [‘bhra:ta:], Greek [‘phra:te:r] (‘member of a phratry’), Latin [‘fra:ter], Old Bulgarian [bratrŭ], Primitive Germanic [‘bro:θer], Gothic [‘bro:θar], Old Norse [‘bro:ðer], Old English [‘bro:ðor], Old High German [‘bruoder]: Primitive Indo-European formula [‘bhra:te:r];

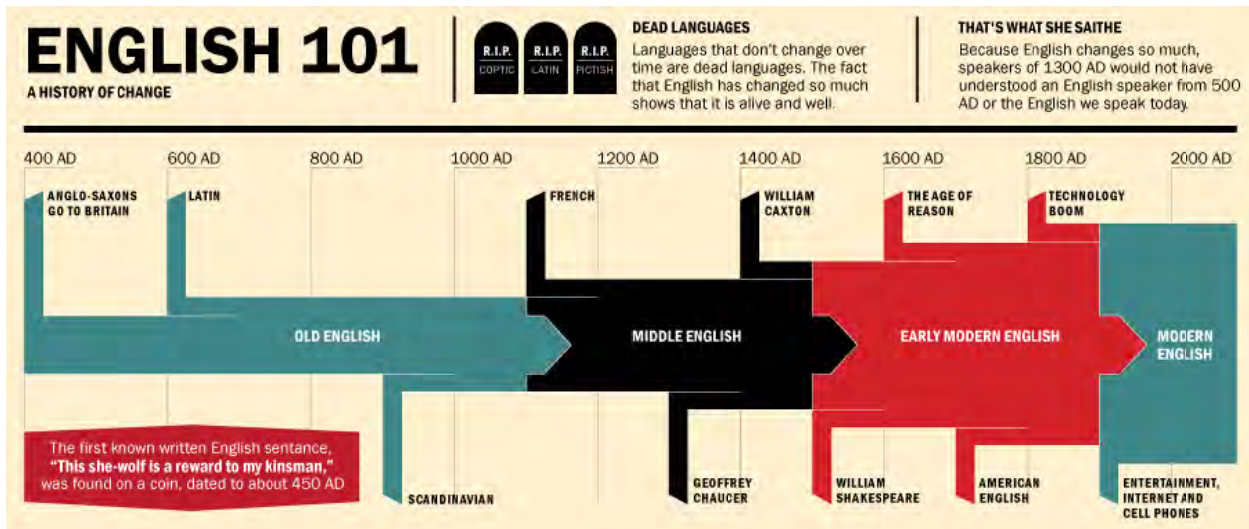
Source: Leonard Bloomfield “Comparative Method + Dialect Geography” (1933)

Language Typologies for Several Languages



Note: The horizontal axis—left to right—shows three ways words or concepts relate to the number of morphemic parts that compose them (one word is composed of one morpheme, several morphemes, or many morphemes). The vertical axis—top to bottom—shows *how* the morphemes do this (via word-order grammar; inflectional suffixes; compound groups of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes; and complex compound affixes that are hard to detect because they “fuse” together through phonological assimilation or have no clear boundaries within the word; and often these morphemes encode several meanings at the same time—e.g., tense and person and aspect).

Source: Zdenek Salzman, James Stanlaw, Nobuko Adachi “Language, Culture, and Society: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology” (2015)



Source: “Changing English One Thumb at the Time” Infographic by Master-Degree-Online.com (2013)

English & German: Points of Similarity

Sound Changes

Table 2.1 A correspondence set for English t and German ss.

English	German
foot	Fuss
nut	Nuss
nit	Niss
white	weiss
great	gross
eat	essen
hate	Hass
bite	beissen
forget	vergessen
grit	Griess
gate	Gasse

Lexical

Mann	man
Maus	mouse
singen	sing
Gast	guest
grün	green
haben	have
Vater	father

Grammatical

comparative and superlative adjectives:

dick	thick
dicker	thicker
(am) dickst(en)	thickest

incl. the irregulars:

gut	good
besser	better
(am) best(en)	best

past tense of regular verbs:

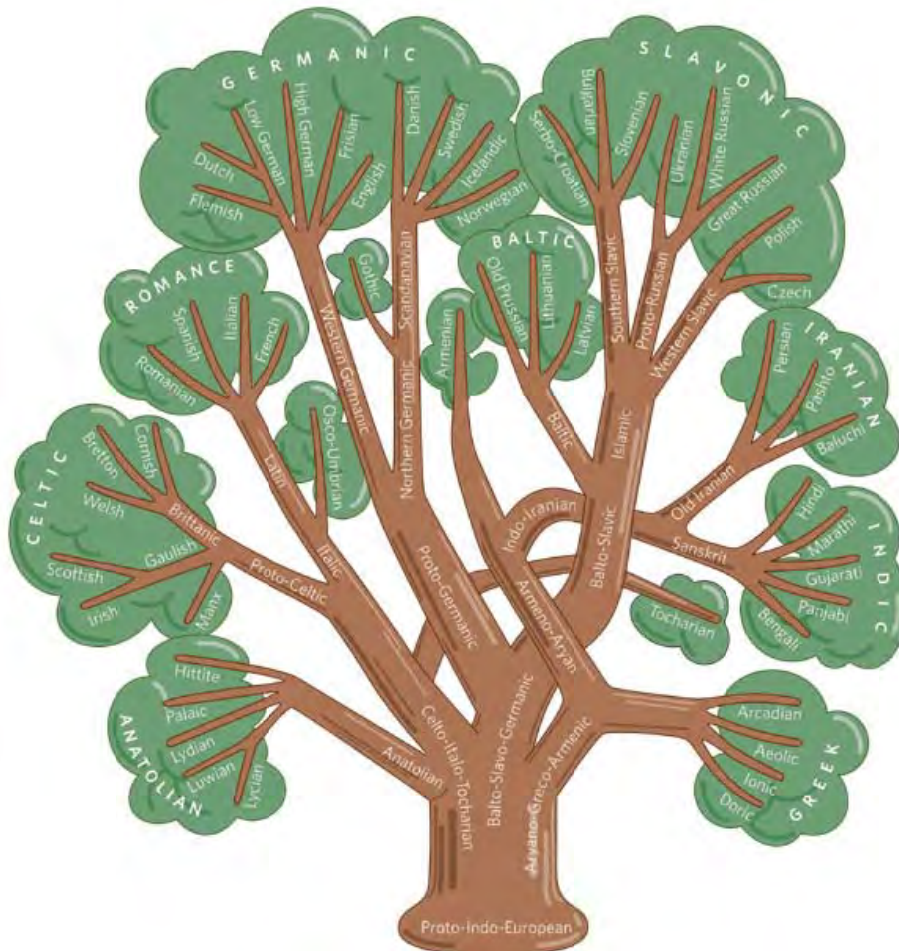
lachen—lachte	laugh—laughed
hassen—hasste	hate—hated
lieben—liebte	love—loved

incl. the irregulars:

singen—sang—gesungen	sing—sang—sung
geben—gab—gegeben	give—gave—given
fallen—fiel—gefallen	fall—fell—fallen

“Given that language changes in an inevitable, ongoing process, which we can observe occurring around us all the time, we may speculate that, at some time in the distant past, the ancestors of English and German were merely dialects of *the same language*, and that their present differences result from changes that affected one group of speakers without affecting the other.”

August Schleicher's Stammbaumtheorie



Source: W. Tecumseh Fitch "Linguistics: An Invisible Hand" (2007)

Schleicher's attempt (1868) to write a folk tale in the reconstructed Indo-European language:

Avis akvasas ka

Avis, jasin varna na a ast, dadarka akvams, tam, vagham garum vaghantam, tam, bharam magham, tam manum aku bharantam.

Avis akvabhjams a vavakat: kard aghnutai mai vidanti manum akvams agantam.

Akvasas a vavakant: krudhi avai, kard aghnutai vividvant-vas: manus patis varnam avisams karnauti svabhjam gharmam vastram avibhjams ka varna na asti.

Tat kukruvants avis agram a bhugat.

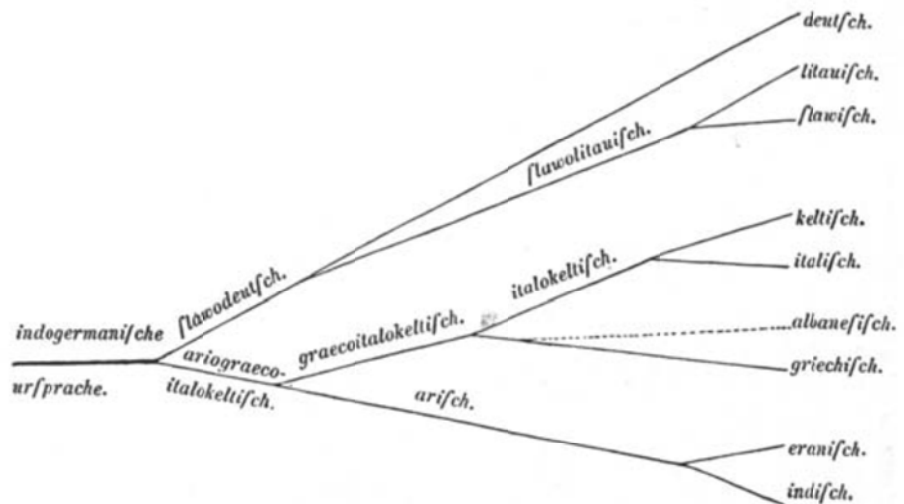
A free translation runs:

The Sheep and the Horses

[On a hill] a sheep that had no wool saw horses – one pulling a heavy wagon, another one a great load, and another swiftly carrying a man. The sheep said to the horses: it hurts me seeing a man driving horses.

The horses said to the sheep: listen sheep! it hurts us seeing man, the master, making a warm garment for himself from the wool of a sheep when the sheep has no wool for itself.

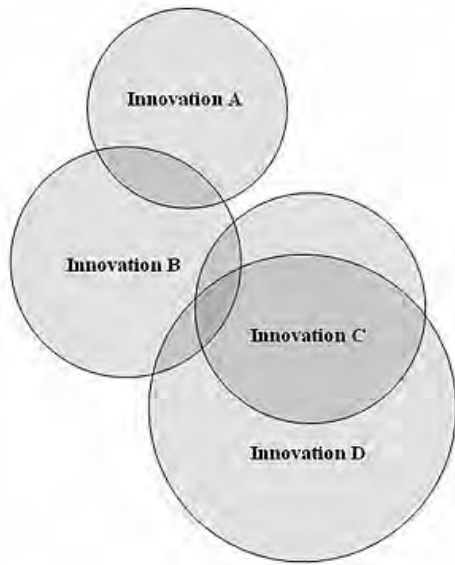
On hearing this, the sheep fled into the plain.



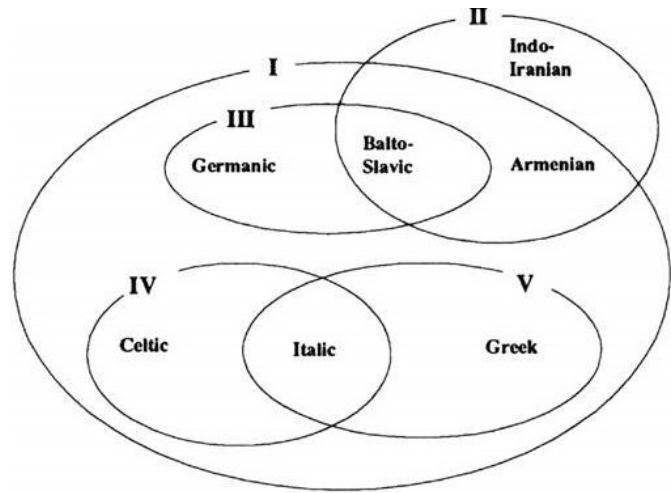
SCHLEICHER'S INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY TREE [After Schleicher's Compendium]

Source: J.P. Mallory "In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth" (1989)

Johannes Schmidt's Wellentheorie



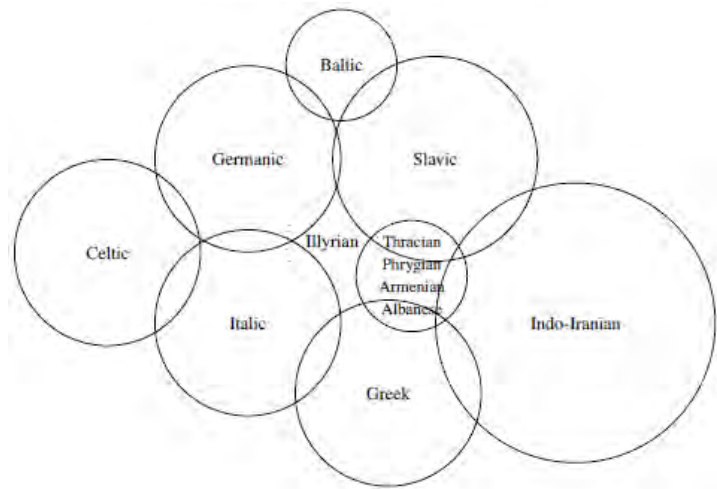
Sources: ▲ Wikipedia; J.P. Mallory "In Search of the Indo-Europeans" (1989) ►



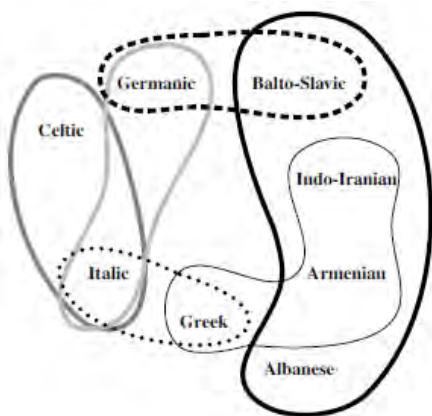
Johannes Schmidt's wave model of the Indo-European languages. Those languages encompassed under *I* all share an *e* where Indo-Iranian has an *a*, e.g., Latin *est* but Sanskrit *asti*. Those in *II* change **k* to an *s*-sound (centum versus satem), while those in group *III* form some case endings in *m* rather than *bh*.



Schmidt's 'wave'-diagram of Slavic languages, as represented in Jiří Polívka "Slované: Jazyk," *Ottův Slovník Naučný* (1905)



Herman Hirt's (1905) Indo-European languages ("Die Indogermanen," 1905)



ISOGLOSS

An *isogloss* is the geographic boundary of a certain linguistic feature, such as the pronunciation of a vowel, the meaning of a word, or use of some syntactic feature.

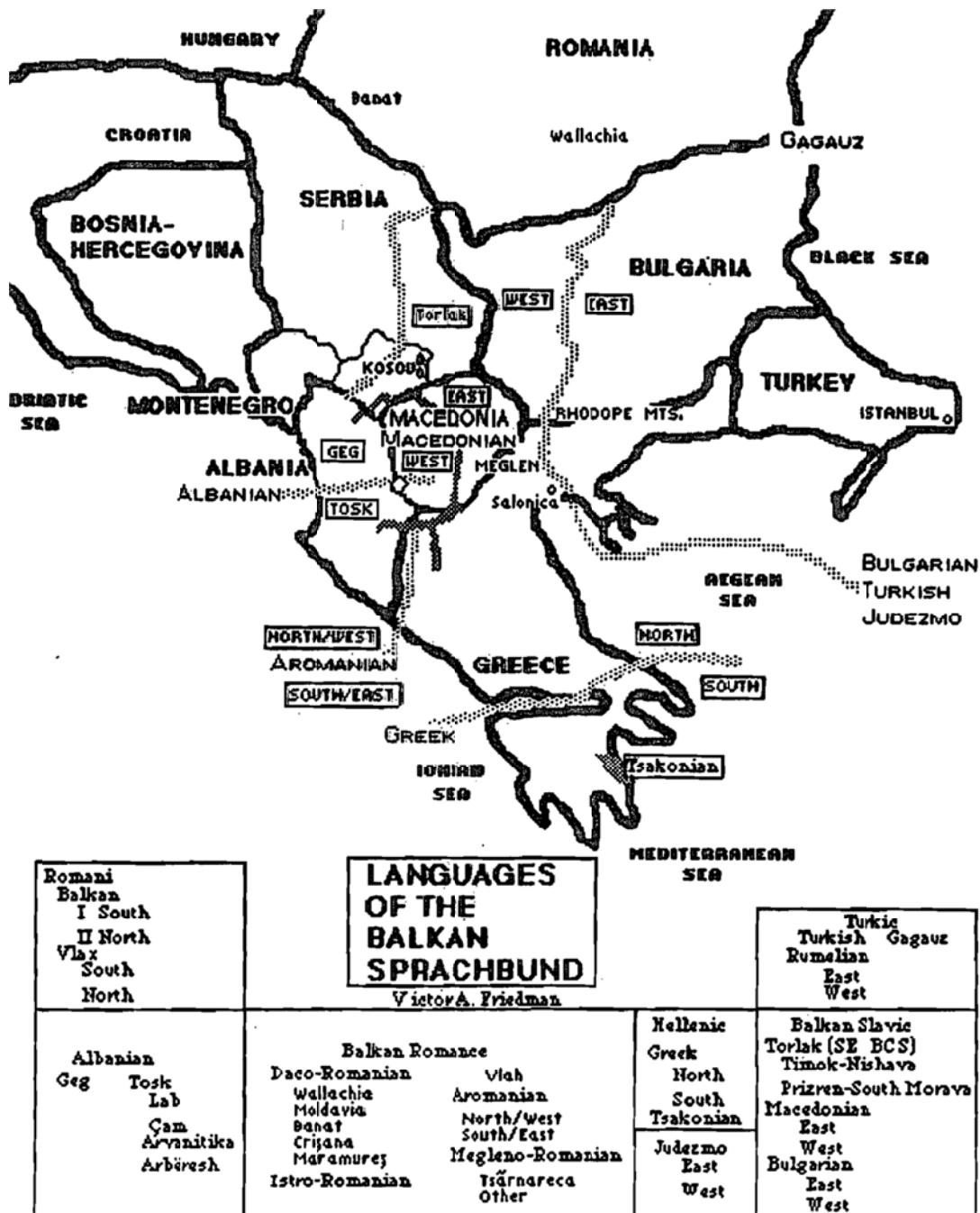
◀ *Waves of isoglosses*

Source: Leonard Bloomfield "Language" (1933)

Linguistic League (Sprachbund)

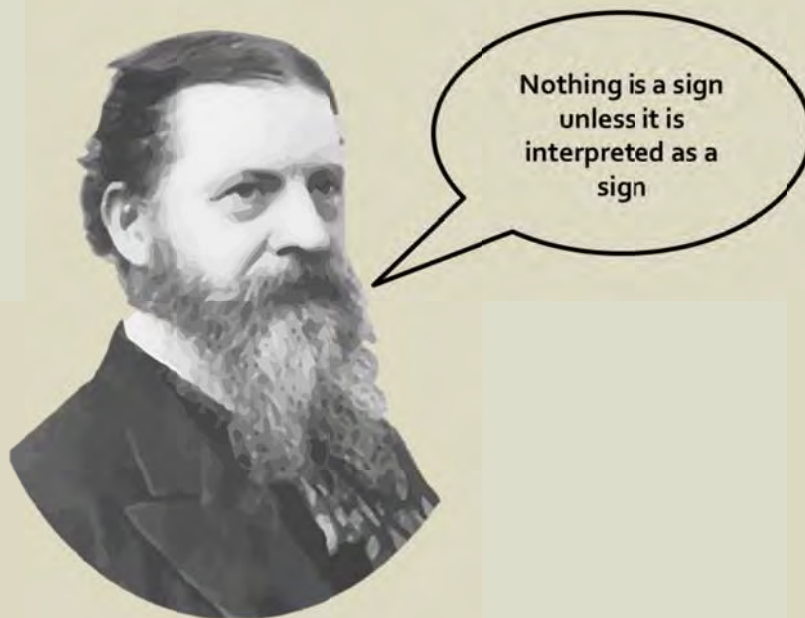
“[I]n addition to genetic grouping, we can observe grouping of neighboring languages not derived from the same source. Several languages belonging to a single geographic and cultural-historical region often exhibit similar features and this resemblance is conditioned by prolonged proximity and parallel development, rather than by common derivation. For groups formed on a nongenetic basis we propose the term *language unions*. A striking example of a language union in Europe is provided by the Balkan languages: Bulgarian, Romanian, Albanian, and Modern Greek. While belonging to different branches of Indo-European, they are nevertheless united by a number of common features and correspondences in their grammatical structure.”

Source: Nikolay Trubetzkoy “The Tower of Babel and the Confusion of Tongues” (1923)



Source: Victor A. Friedman “Borders of Identity” (2011)

Theorizing the Sign *(Peirce)*



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

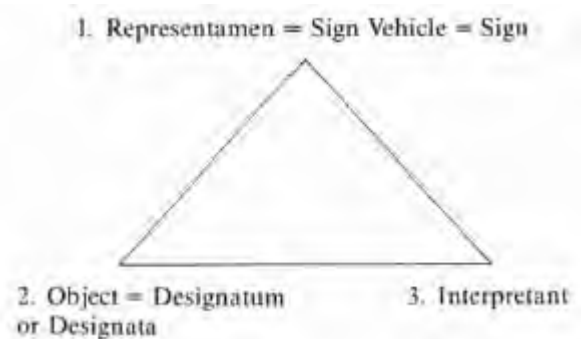
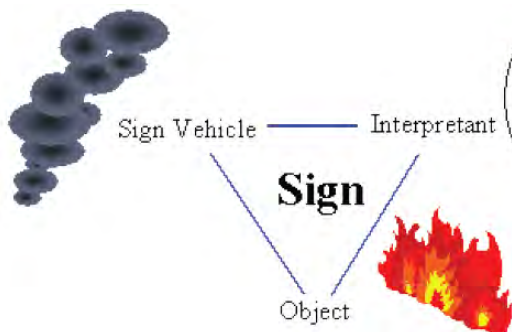
Is This a Pipe?



René Magritte "This Is Not a Pipe" (1929) ▲

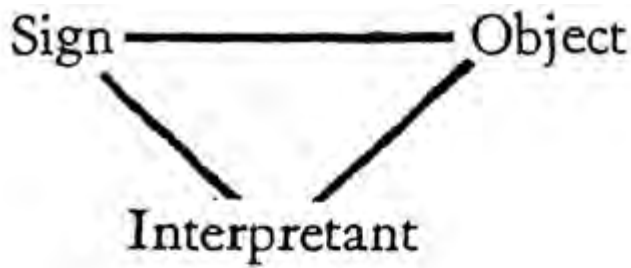


UNLIKE SAUSSURE, WHOSE SIGN IS A SELF-CONTAINED DYAD, I INSIST THAT THE SIGN CONSISTS OF A TRIPLE RELATION...

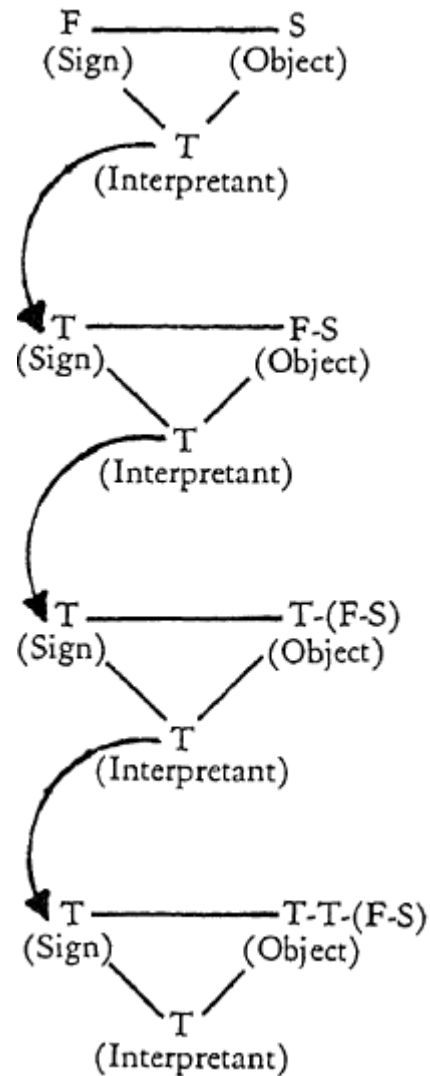
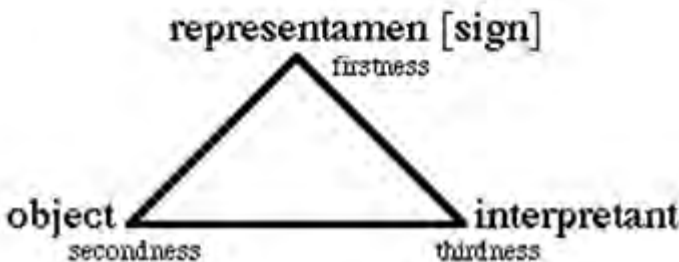
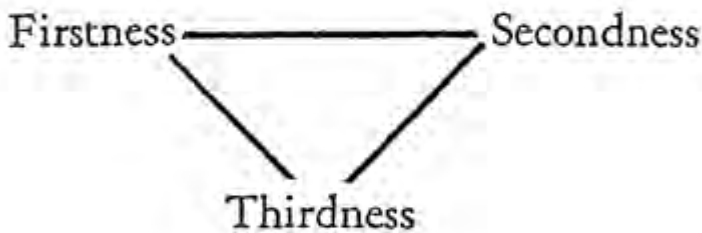


Sources: Paul Cobley & Litza Jansz "Introducing Semiotics" (2004)
 Alexei Sharov "Pragmatism and Umwelt-Theory" (2001)

Infinite Semiosis (1)



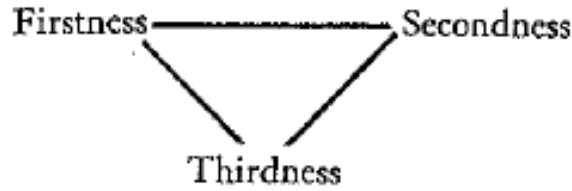
Source: Wofried Nöth "Handbook of Semiotics" (1994) ▲ ▼



A *Sign*, or *Representamen*, is a First which stands in such a genuine triadic relation to a Second, called its *Object*, as to be capable of determining a Third, called its *Interpretant*, to assume the same triadic relation to its Object in which it stands itself to the same Object. The triadic relation is *genuine*, that is its three members are bound together by it in a way that does not consist in any complexus of dyadic relations The Third . . . must have a second triadic relation in which the Representamen, or rather the relation thereof to its Object, shall be its own (the Third's) Object, and must be capable of determining a Third to this relation. All this must equally be true of the Third's Third and so on endlessly" (2.274).

▲ ▼ Source: John K. Sheriff "Charles S. Peirce and the Semiotics of Literature" (1975)

Infinite Semiosis (2)



Peirce does not mean that Firstness is synonymous with sign and Secondness is synonymous with object. It is easy to become confused at this point because interpretants are, in fact, always Thirdness. But Peirce is defining here the simplest possible sign (which we learn later is a Qualisign).

← F = firstness, S = secondness, T = thirdness

Signs #1:
 Representamen (); object (); Interpretant ()

Signs #2: Representamen (**SMOKE** = spoken or written word);
 object (+); Interpretant ();

Sign #3, etc.; etc.; etc....

The relation-of-the-sign-to-its-object in the first triad becomes the object of the interpretant, which assumes the position of a sign in a new triad. "And so on endlessly."

The Intricate Interplay between What Peirce Called Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness

“Firstness, secondness, and thirdness make up Peirce’s categories by means of which **semiosis** – the process of signs becoming signs – is qualified and cognized by way of **semiotics** – the process of rendering signs meaningful. Peirce developed the categories in order to account for the feeling, sensation, experience and conceptualization of signs. Since sign processing, from feeling to conceptualization, is just that, process, signs can have no determinable and self-ordained closure. The categories in this manner might be considered tendencies rather than forms, conditions of becoming rather than static signs attached to things. Or, commensurate with physicist Werner Heisenberg’s (1958) concept of the quantum world, the categories are *possibilities* and *potentialities* more than *actual* essences. As possibilities, firstness inheres; as actualities, secondness emerges, and as potentialities for future signs becoming signs, thirdness comes into the picture. These categories make up Peirce’s fundamental triad of relations as follows:

- 1) Firstness: what there is such as it is, without reference or relation to anything else.
- 2) Secondness: what there is such as it is, in relation to something else, but without relation to any third entity.
- 3) Thirdness: what there is such as it is, insofar as it is capable of bringing a second entity into relation with a first one and it into relation with each of them.

[I]n schematic form, to all appearances the categories are quite straightforward. Firstness is *quality*, secondness is *effect*, and thirdness is *product in the process of its becoming*. Firstness is possibility (a *might be*), secondness is actuality (what *happens to be* at the moment), and thirdness is potentiality, probability or necessity (what *would be, could be, or should be*, given a certain set of conditions).”

Source: Floyd Merrell “Charles Sanders Peirce’s Concept of the Sign” (2001)

“Ground”

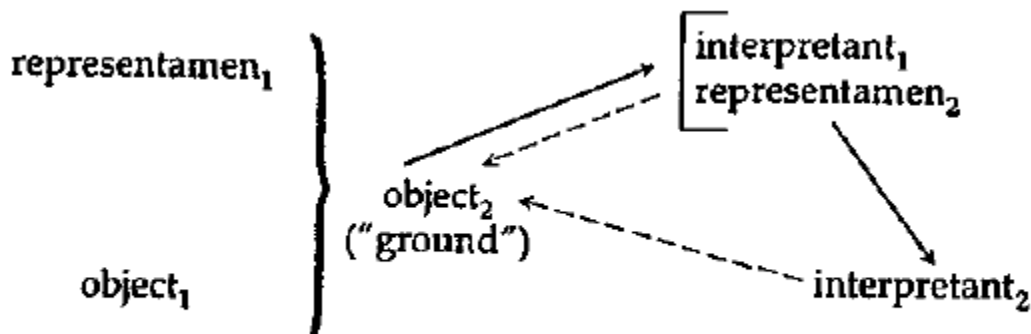


Figure 2.1. Hypostatic abstraction

Source: Richard J. Parmentier “Signs in Society: Studies in Semiotic Anthropology” (1994)

Peirce's Trichotomies of Signs

Table 1.1 Three Aspects of Signs

	Icon	Index	Symbol
Signify by Examples	Resemblance Pictures, statues	Causal connection Fire/smoke	Convention Flags
Process	Can see	Can figure out	Must learn

Trichotomy \ Category	I. of the representamen	II. of relation to object	III. of relation to interpretant
Firstness	qualisign	icon	rheme
Secondness	sinsign	index	dicent
Thirdness	legisign	symbol	argument

Fig. P 2. Peirce's three trichotomies of signs.

- I: 1. (Rhematic Iconic) *Qualisign*, for example: "a feeling of 'red.'"
- II: 2. (Rhematic) *Iconic Sinsign*: "an individual diagram."
3. *Rhematic Indexical Sinsign*: "a spontaneous cry."
4. *Dicent (Indexical) Sinsign*: "a weathercock."
- III: 5. (Rhematic) *Iconic Legisign*: "a diagram, apart from its factual individuality."
6. *Rhematic Indexical Legisign*: "a demonstrative pronoun."
7. *Dicent Indexical Legisign*: "a street cry," traffic signs, commands.
8. *Rhematic Symbol(ic Legisign)*: "a common noun."
9. *Dicent Symbol(ic Legisign)*: "an ordinary proposition."
10. *Argument (Symbolic Legisign)*: "a syllogism."

This chart is derived from Peirce's statement that:

an analysis of the essence of a sign... leads to a proof that every sign is determined by its object, either first, by partaking in the characters of the object, when I call the sign an *Icon*; secondly, by being really and in its individual existence connected with the individual object, when I call the sign an *Index*; thirdly, by more or less approximate certainty that it will be interpreted as denoting the object, in consequence of a habit (which term I use as including a natural disposition), when I call the sign a *Symbol*. (Quoted in J. Jay Zeman, "Peirce's Theory of Signs" in T. Sebeok, *A Perfusion of Signs*, 1977:36).

Sources:

▲ Wonfried Nöth
"Handbook of Semiotics" (1994)

◀ Arthur Asa Berger
"How Signs Work" (1984)

Sherlock Holmes the Semiotician

Holmes' Semiotic Analysis of the Hat in "The Blue Carbuncle"

Characteristics of the Man Signifieds	Reasoning Behind the Deductions Signifiers
Man was intellectual	Cubic capacity of the hat. "A man with so large a brain must have something in it."
Decline in fortunes	Hat is three years old, of best quality, with ribbed silk bank and excellent lining. But the man hasn't been able to afford a new one.
Foresight	Man had a hat-securer put on hat by special order since hats don't come with them.
Moral retrogression	Broken elastic on hat-securer and hasn't replaced it.
Recent haircut	Hair ends, clean cut by the scissors of a barber, stuck to lower end of hat lining.
Uses lime-cream	Smell of lining.
Goes out little	Dust on hat is brown <u>housedust</u> , not gray street dust, so hung up most of the time.
Wife stopped loving him	Hat hasn't been brushed for weeks.
Out of training	Much moisture . . . perspiration indicates not in good shape.
No gas in the house	Wax stains from candles suggest he reads by candlelight and doesn't have gas.

Source: Arthur Asa Berger "How Signs Work" (1984) ▼

Peirce's Categories

Phenomenological or formal categories

Ontological or material categories

		Firstness	Secondness	Thirdness
Firstness	A sign is:	a "mere quality" QUALISIGN	an "actual existent" SINSIGN	a "general law" LEGISIGN
Secondness	A sign <i>relates</i> to its object in having:	"some character in itself" ICON	"some existential relation to that object" INDEX	"some relation to the interpretant" SYMBOL
Thirdness	A sign's interpretant <i>represents</i> it (sign) as a sign of:	"possibility" RHEME	"fact" DICENT SIGN	"reason" ARGUMENT

Source: John K. Sheriff "Charles S. Peirce and the Semiotics of Literature" (1975)

Peircean terms

Representamen

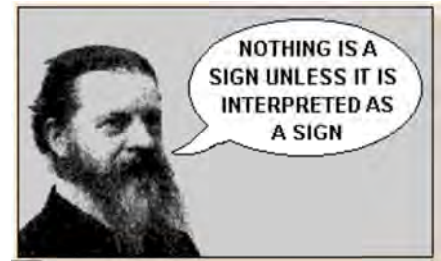
- "A sign, or representamen, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the interpretant of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its object. It stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the ground of the representamen. "Idea" is here to be understood in a sort of Platonic sense, very familiar in everyday talk; I mean in that sense in which we say that one man catches another man's idea, in which we say that when a man recalls what he was thinking of at some previous time, he recalls the same idea, and in which when a man continues to think anything, say for a tenth of a second, in so far as the thought continues to agree with itself during that time, that is to have a like content, it is the same idea, and is not at each instant of the interval a new idea." (A Fragment, CP 2.228, c. 1897)

Object

- "By an object, I mean anything that we can think, i.e. anything we can talk about." (Peirce. [Reflections on Real and Unreal Objects], MS 966, not dated)
- [A sign] must be determined to correspond, according to some principle, and by some species of causation, with something else, called its Object. In a word, whether physically, rationally, or otherwise directly or indirectly, its Object, as agent, acts upon the sign, as patient." ('The Basis of Pragmaticism', MS 283, 1905)

Interpretant

- "I define a Sign as anything which is so determined by something else, called its Object, and so determines an effect upon a person, which effect I call its Interpretant, that the latter is thereby mediately determined by the former. My insertion of "upon a person" is a sop to Cerberus, because I despair of making my own broader conception understood." (A Letter to Lady Welby, SS 80-81, 1908)
- "A sign, or representamen, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the interpretant of the first sign." (A Fragment, CP 2.228, c. 1897)



Icon, Index, Symbol

- "... I had observed that the most frequently useful division of signs is by trichotomy into firstly Likenesses, or, as I prefer to say, Icons, which serve to represent their objects only in so far as they resemble them in themselves; secondly, Indices, which represent their objects independently of any resemblance to them, only by virtue of real connections with them, and thirdly Symbols, which represent their objects, independently alike of any resemblance or any real connection, because dispositions or factitious habits of their interpreters insure their being so understood." ('A Sketch of Logical Critics', EP 2:460-461, 1909)

Source: <http://pages.prodigy.net/lofting/semiterms.htm>

Peircean Typology of Signs

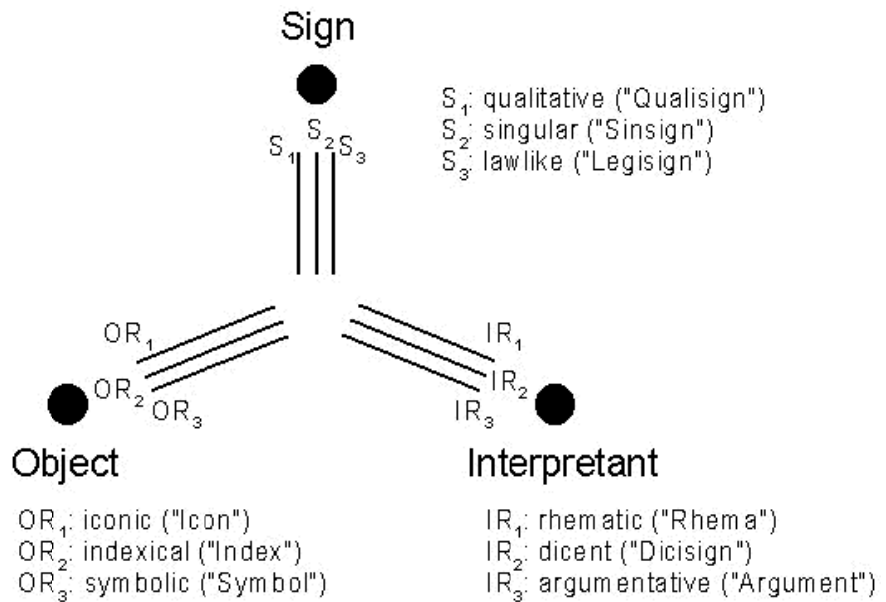
Trichotomies or Divisions

	(A) Signs in themselves	(B) Signs in relation to objects	(C) Signs in relation to interpretant
1. First	Qualisign	Icon	Rheme
2. Second	Sinsign	Index	Proposition
3. Third	Legisign	Symbol	Argument

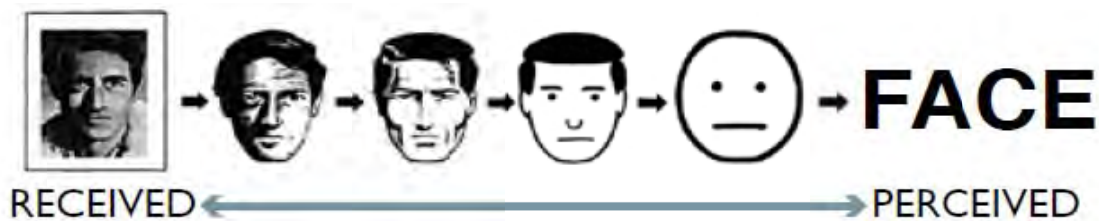
Source: Daniel Chandler
"Semiotics for Beginners" (2001)



Source: Michael H.G. Hoffmann "The 1903 Classification of Triadic Sign-Relations"



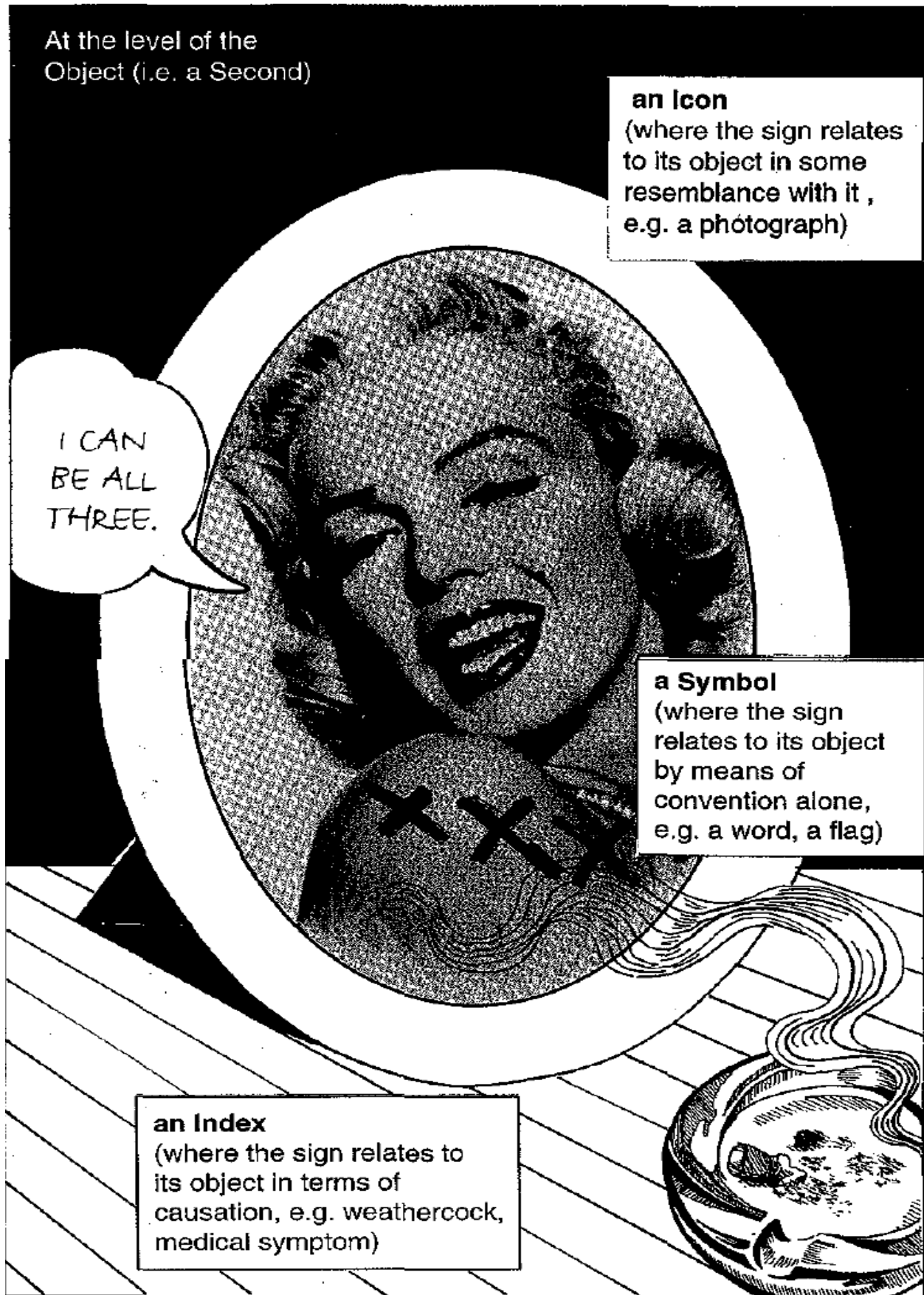
Signs' Motivation ▼



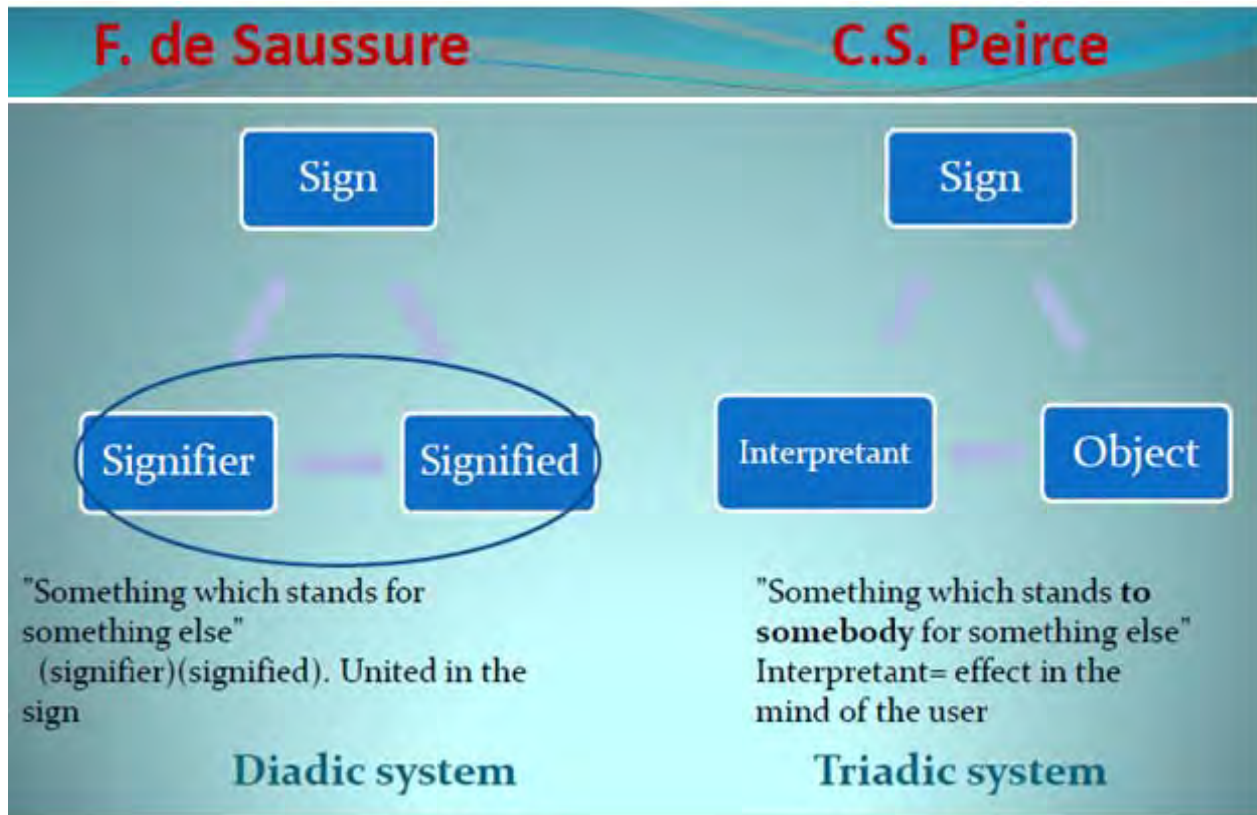
Scott McCloud ("Understanding Comics," 1993) arranged signs along a continuum from those we can recognize (received) to those we must learn (perceived). Note that the word *face* could mean any face, even that of a clock or a building rather than a person, but the photographic image can stand for only one person.

Source: Michael O'Donnell "Semiotics: The Theory behind Media Literacy" (2009)

Marilyn Monroe: Icon, Index, Symbol



Saussure vs. Peirce



Source: Anne Fabricius "Text and Sign" (2010)

No Sign Is a Sign



Not getting a "sign" when we expect one is generally disturbing. For example, if we are walking and come across someone we know and say "hello," but the person we greeted doesn't respond, that lack of response is a sign. We have to decide what it means. This process is important when we are dealing with expectations we have or with things that should happen but don't.

There is a famous Sherlock Holmes case that was solved because a dog didn't bark. A killer entered the grounds of an estate to murder someone but the dog guarding it didn't bark, which Holmes interpreted to mean that the dog knew the person and thus didn't bark.

Source: Arthur Asa Berger "Science of Signs" (2003)



Question: How would you classify onomatopoeia words within Peirce's typology of signs?

“Flipping the Bird” Gesture = Icon?

In terms of semiotics, “flipping the bird” gesture is a symbol but its offensiveness is based on the likeness with the male reproductive organ, i.e., it is also an icon in the Peircean classification of signs. It is a symbol (=convention) in the following case:

The gesture has been involved in notable political events. During the USS *Pueblo* incident, the captured American crewmembers often discreetly gave the finger in staged photo ops, thus ruining the North Koreans' propaganda efforts. The North Koreans, ignorant of what the gesture meant, were at first told by the prisoners that it was a "Hawaiian Good Luck Sign", similar to "hang loose". When the guards finally figured things out, the crewmembers were subjected to more severe punishment.[1]



[1] Stu, Russell. "The Digit Affair" (<http://www.webcitation.org/5t7qPfttm>). USS Pueblo Veteran's Association. "The finger became an integral part of our anti-propaganda campaign. Any time a camera appeared, so did the fingers."

Cf. also the *КУКИШ* (= fig) sign in Russian.

Flipping the Bird to the Judge



Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILA7dQ-uxR0>

Flipping the Bird to the Judge (Transcript)

[Miami-Dade Circuit - Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Penelope Soto, you've been charged to possession on Xanax BARS, I don't what that is, what is it?

[Female Speaker] Bars.

[Male Speaker] Xanax, Xanax bars.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Oh.

[Male Speaker] It's how they refer them.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Xanax bars. All right, I understand you're eligible for (inaudible) service.

[Female Speaker] Yeah, your honor, no objection, she has no priors. She has been charged per pill which is inappropriate to just be one half.

[Male Speaker] Ms. Soto, are you working?

[Penelope Soto] Yes.

[Male Speaker] How much money you make in a week approximately?

[Penelope Soto] Approximately about 200 bucks a week.

[Male Speaker] Okay. And do you own any property value, a house, a car, bank account, significant amounts of jewel?

[Penelope Soto] Yes.

[Male Speaker] What do you own?

[Penelope Soto] I own a lot of jewelry alright, as well as a...

[Male Speaker] Go ahead?

[Penelope Soto] A car.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Well, how much would you say your jewelry is worth? It's not a joke; you know we are not – you're not in a club now.

[Penelope Soto] Okay, but if you know kind of...

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Well you see, we are not in a – we are not in a club, be serious about it.

[Penelope Soto] I am serious about it, but you just made me laugh.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Oh you're being hilarious. I've got to see you serious, all right?

[Penelope Soto] You just made me laugh, I apologize.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] It's all right, how much is your jewelry worth?

[Penelope Soto] It's worth a lot of money.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Like what?



Johnny Cash's concert at San Quentin Prison in 1969

"The Raised Middle Finger: Why It Means More In Country?"

[Female Speaker] Like Rick Ross, it's worth money.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Ma'am, have you had any kind of drugs in the last 24 hours?

[Penelope Soto] Actually, no.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Actually no?

[Male Speaker] Judge, I'll make it easy for the court respectfully, I would set appointment at this time...

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] No. No, I'm going appoint you, because she owns a lot of – substantial amount of jewelry, you can go and sell your jewelry, jewelry for a private affair, what is the standard bond? It's going to be no P.P.S.

[Female Speaker] Okay, \$5000 on account one, and then the rest would be ROR. Oh, yeah. This ain't gone for a (inaudible) referral to division 51, because she has no past.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Account one would be \$5000, probably cause found. Account 2 would be ROR.

[Female Speaker] This is probably ROR account 2 through 26.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] And I refer to the evasion of 51. Bye-bye.

[Penelope Soto] Adios.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Come back ma'am, come back, come back, give me the paper again. Count one would be \$10,000.

[Penelope Soto] Are you serious?

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat]
I am serious, adios.

[Cross Talk Inaudible]

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat]
Come back again, come back again!
Bring her back again!

[Penelope Soto] What's up?

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat]
I believe I heard you saying to...

[Penelope Soto] Yes, I did I'm not going to deny.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat]
I believe you, did you say (inaudible).

[Penelope Soto] Actually I did.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat]
Did you say that?

[Penelope Soto] Yes, sir. I'm not gonna lie.

[Judge Jorge Rodriguez-Chomat] Oh, you did say that? I'll fine you direct criminal contempt, 30 days in the county jail.

Raising middle finger not obscene, judges say

Associated Press

HARTFORD, Conn. — Raising the middle finger in a gesture of contempt is offensive, but not obscene, a three-judge state panel has ruled.

The decision by the Appellate Session of Superior Court cleared a 16-year-old high school student who made the gesture a year ago at a state trooper who was following his school bus.

The trooper charged the boy with making an obscene gesture. The boy was fined \$25.

Judge Leo Parskey, who wrote the opinion released yesterday, said

for the finger gesture to be obscene it must be significantly erotic or arouse sexual interest. Parskey said neither was the case in the incident under consideration.

According to the judge, the gesture dates back to ancient Greece when the philosopher Diogenes insulted the orator Demosthenes by raising the middle finger during one of Demosthenes' speeches.

The gesture drew attention more recently when Vice President Nelson Rockefeller laughingly returned it to student hecklers during a speech.

The Miami News, Dec. 28, 1976

Source: LYBIO.net

See also: Ira P. Robbins "Digitus Impudicus: The Middle Finger and the Law" (2008)

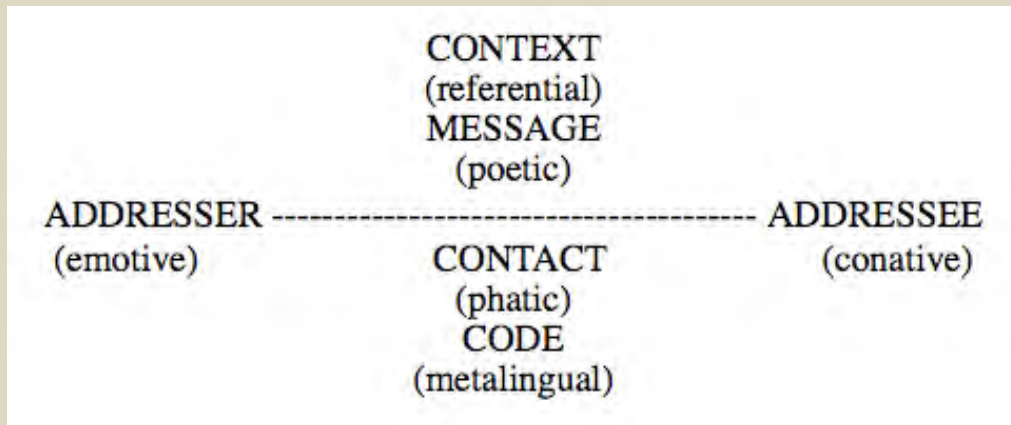
Read the Signs:

Look for the signs throughout our store.

Local Stores' Advertisements



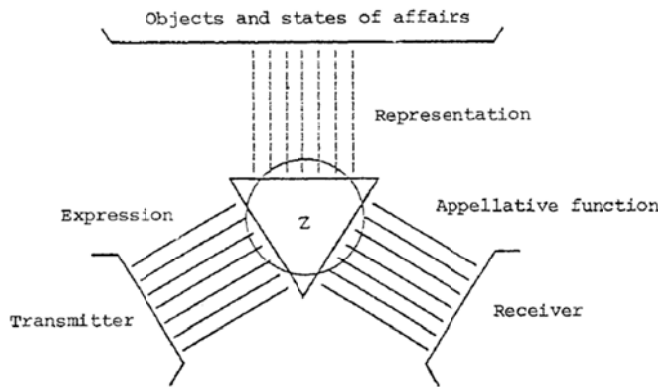
Models of (Verbal) Communication (Jakobson)



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Bühler's Scheme of Linguistic Functions

In the early '30s Karl Bühler, building on an earlier sketch (1918), published his famous scheme (1934, pp.24ff.) of linguistic functions (Fig.1):



Source: Elmar Holenstein "On the Poetry and the Plurifunctionality of Language" (1981)

Karl Bühler made the distinction into *expressive* language, *conative* language, and *representational* language: the expressive being language that is oriented toward the self, the speaker; the conative being language that is oriented toward the addressee; and the representational being language that is oriented towards the rest of reality—that is, anything other than speaker or addressee.

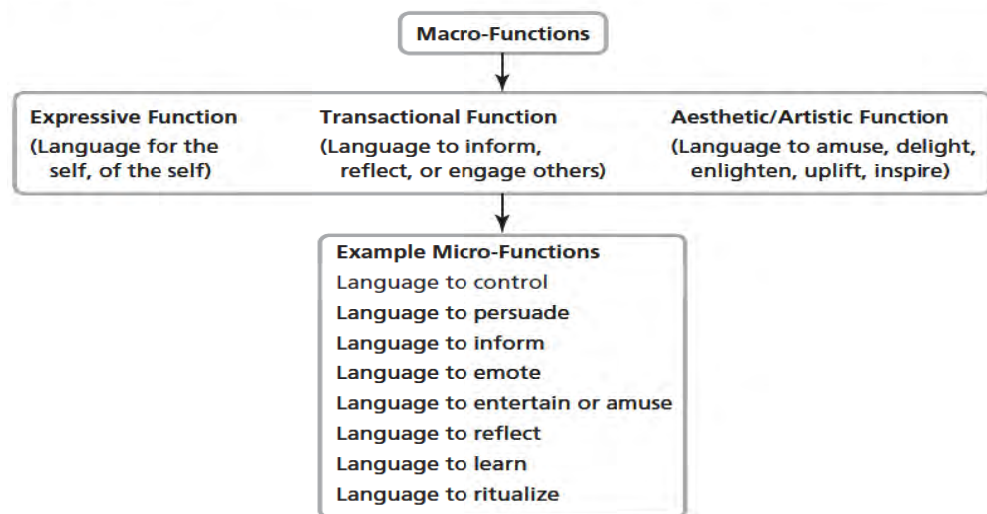
His scheme was adopted by the Prague School and later extended by **Roman Jakobson** (1960), who added three more functions: the

poetic function, oriented towards the message; the transactional function oriented toward the channel; and the metalinguistic function, oriented toward the code.

Bühler's scheme was adapted and developed in a different direction by the English educator **James Britton** (1970), who proposed a framework of transactional, expressive, and poetic language functions.

Source: M.A.K. Halliday & Ruqaiya Hasan "Language, Context, and Text" (1985)

Figure 1.3 Rhetorical Macro-Functions and Micro-Functions



Source:
Anna O. Soter
"Grammar,
Usage, and
Punctuation:
Rhetorical
Tools for
Literate Uses
of Language"
(2012)

Table 2.1 An Illustrative Range of Selective Micro-Functions

Possible Parameters	To Persuade	To Express Emotion	To Inform	To Amuse and/or Entertain	To Perform a Ritual
Situation	A television program	A wedding	College classroom	Club	Church
Genre/mode	Advertisement	Best man's speech	Lecture	Comedy	Sermon

Jakobson's Model of Communication



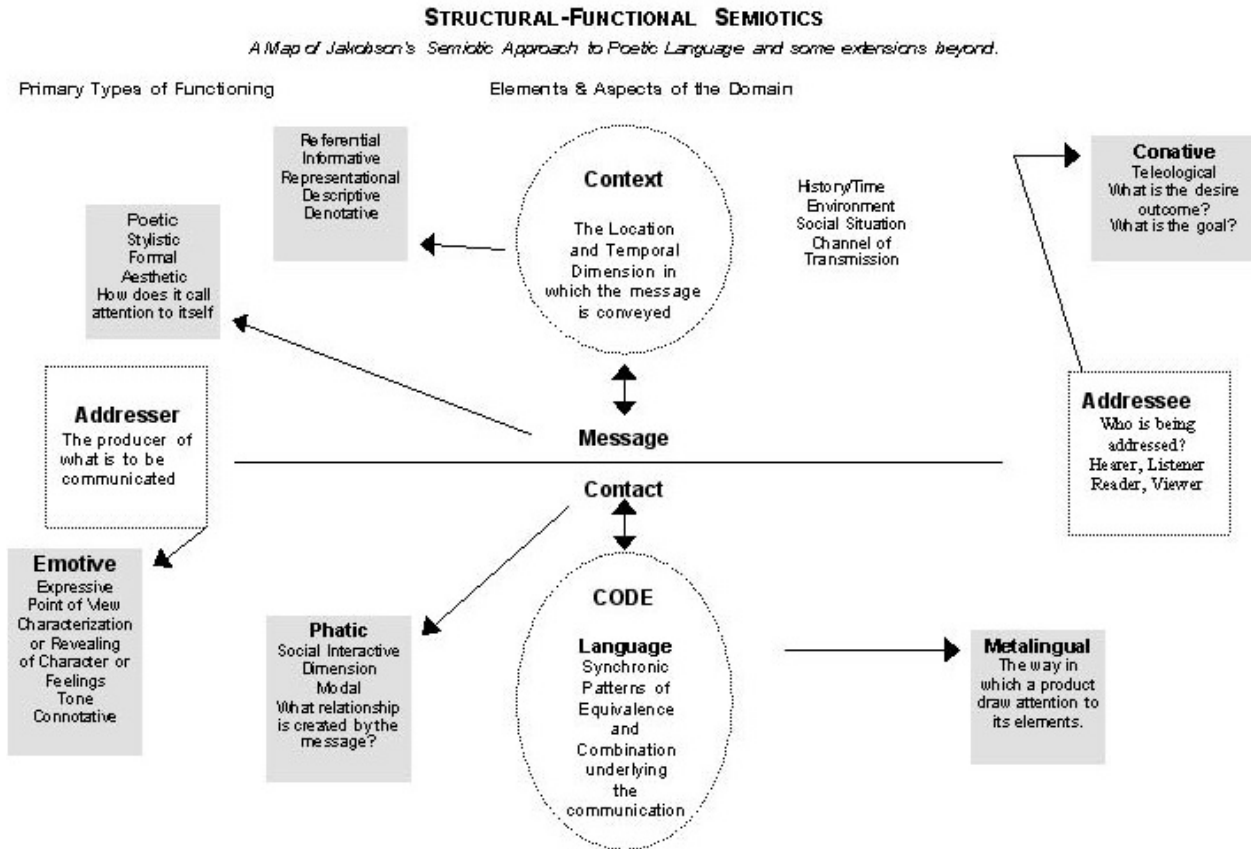
Source: Roman Jakobson "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics" (1960)

Jakobson's Functions of Language

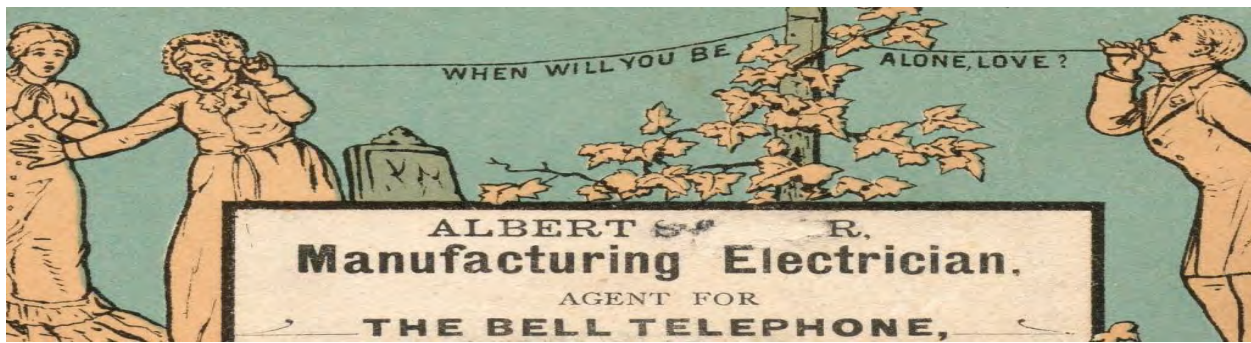
<i>Type</i>	<i>Oriented towards</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Example</i>
referential	context	imparting information	It's raining.
expressive	addresser	expressing feelings or attitudes	It's bloody pissing down again!
conative	addressee	influencing behaviour	Wait here till it stops raining!
phatic	contact	establishing or maintaining social relationships	Nasty weather again, isn't it?
metalingual	code	referring to the nature of the interaction (e.g. genre)	This is the weather forecast.
poetic	message	foregrounding textual features	It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven.

TABLE 6.4 Jakobson's six functions of language

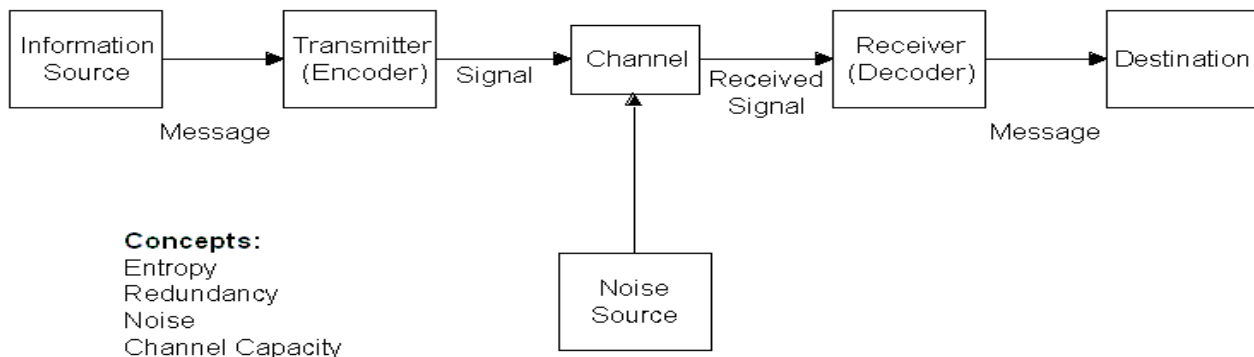
Source: Daniel Chandler "Semiotics: The Basics" (2007)



▲ Diagram courtesy of Professor Don Keefer, Rhode Island School of Design



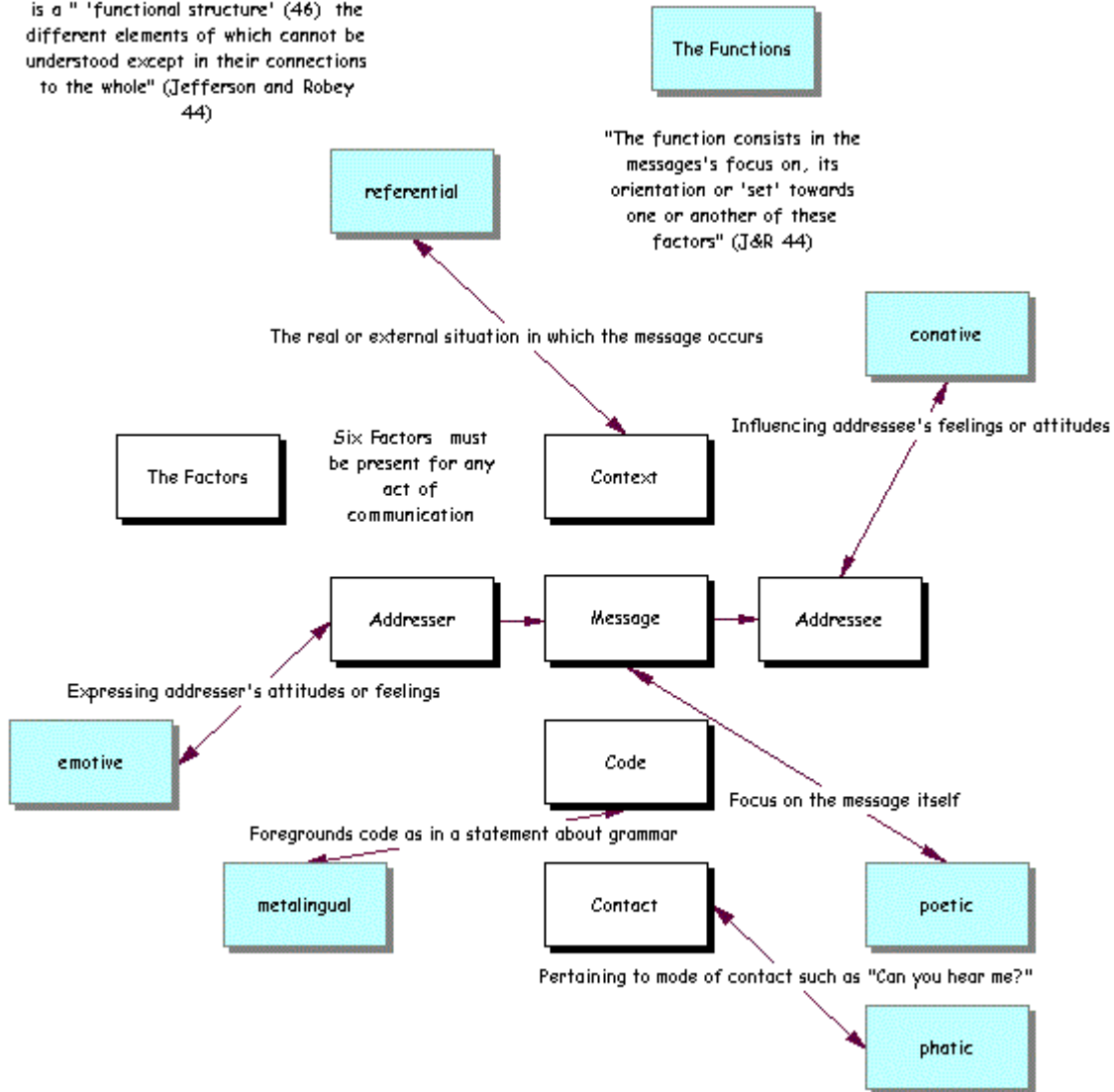
The Shannon-Weaver Mathematical Model, 1949



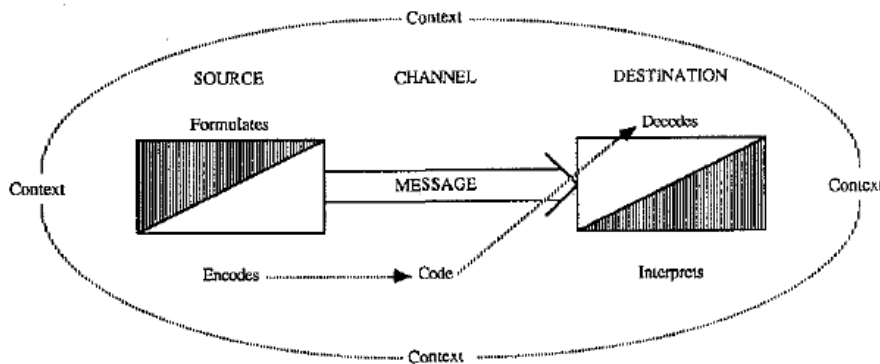
Source: Claude Shannon & Warren Weaver "The Mathematical Theory of Communication" (1949)

A Map of Roman Jakobson's Model of Communication

According to Jakobson, communication is a "functional structure" (46) the different elements of which cannot be understood except in their connections to the whole" (Jefferson and Robey 44)



Source: <http://www.cod.edu/people/faculty/fitchf/readlit/Jakobson.htm> ▲

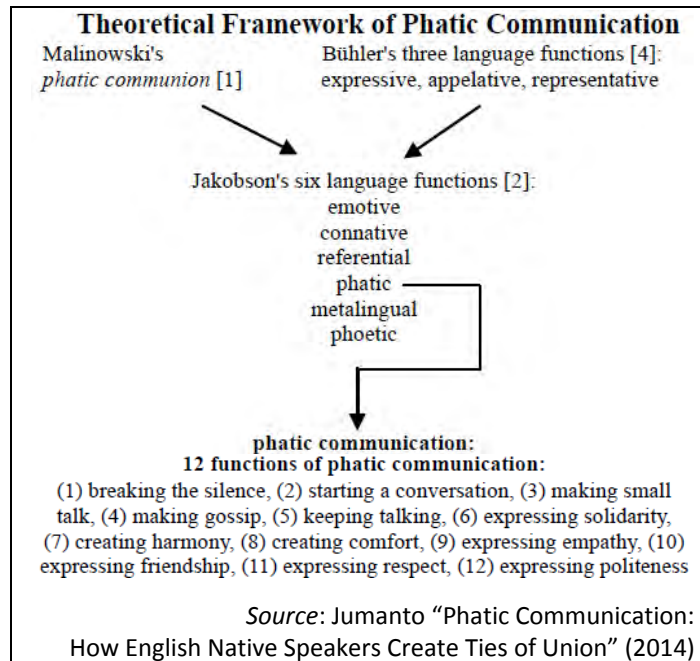


◀ Communication according to Sebeok

Fig. 2.3. Modified after Thomas A. Sebeok, *Contributions to the Doctrine of Signs*, 2d ed. (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985), p. 155, figure 1.

Source:
Thomas A. Sebeok
"A Sign Is Just a Sign"
(1988)

“Phatic Communion” (Malinowski)



The case of language used in free, aimless, social intercourse requires special consideration. When a number of people sit together at a village fire, after all the daily tasks are over, or when they chat, resting from work, or when they accompany some mere manual work by gossip quite unconnected with what they are doing – it is clear that here we have to do with another mode of using language, with another type of speech function.

A mere phrase of politeness, in use as much among savage tribes as in a European drawing-room, fulfils a function to which the meaning of its words is almost completely irrelevant. Inquiries about health, comments on weather, affirmations of some supremely obvious state of things

– all such are exchanged, not in order to inform, not in this case to connect people in action, certainly not in order to express any thought. [...] What is the *raison d'être*, therefore, of such phrases as 'How do you do?' 'Ah, here you are,' 'Where do you come from?' 'Nice day to-day' – all of which serve in one society or another as formulæ of greeting or approach?

There can be no doubt that we have here a new type of linguistic use – *phatic communion* I am tempted to call it, actuated by the demon of terminological invention – a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words. Let us look at it from the special point of view with which we are here concerned; let us ask what light it throws on the function or nature of language. Are words in Phatic Communion used primarily to convey meaning, the meaning which is symbolically theirs? Certainly not! They fulfil a social function and that is their principal aim, but they are neither the result of intellectual reflection, nor do they necessarily arouse reflection in the listener. Once again we may say that language does not function here as a means of transmission of thought.

Source: Bronislaw Malinowski “The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages” (1923)

Small Talk as Phatic Communion

‘Small talk’ has widely been taken, from both academic and popular perspectives, to be a conventionalized and peripheral mode of talk. [...] How is it, we have to ask, that some episodes and styles of social interaction can be deemed ‘small’, and in what sense? What social functions are realised by speech events and practices identified by the attribution ‘small talk’? [...] Can a sociolinguistic focus support a conception of everyday language as banal? Who is to judge the banality or significance of talk? In fact, whose designations of ‘smallness’ is captured in the label ‘small talk’?

Cheepen and Monaghan (1990: 19) have a nice instance of speakers representing what we might call the ‘value in emptiness’ of small talk encounters:

A: Have a good weekend?
 B: Yes, quite nice. Spent Saturday evening with Sue.
 A: What did she have to say?
 B: Nothing really.

‘Nothing happening’ conversationally within small talk encounters can subsume an enormous amount of creative, collaborative meaning-making.

Source: Justine Coupland “Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Small Talk” (2000)

Phatic Function: "Well!" she said. "Well!" he said.



As the young man sat down, she turned politely from the pane, met his eyes, started a smile and got it about half done, and rested her gaze just above his right shoulder.

"Well!" the young man said.

"Well!" she said.

"Well, here we are," he said.

"Here we are," she said. "Aren't we?"

"I should say we were," he said. "Eeyop. Here we are."

"Well!" she said.

"Well!" he said. "Well. How does it feel to be an old married lady?"

"Oh, it's too soon to ask me that," she said. "At least - I mean. Well,

I mean, goodness, we've only been married about three hours, haven't we?"

The young man studied his wrist watch as if he were just acquiring the knack of reading time.

"We have been married," he said, "exactly two hours and twenty-six minutes."

"My," she said. "It seems like longer."

"No," he said. "It isn't hardly half past six yet."

"It seems like later," she said. "I guess it's because it starts getting dark so early."

"It does, at that," he said. "The nights are going to be pretty long from now on. I mean. I mean - well, it starts getting dark early."

"I didn't have any idea what time it was," she said.

The linguistic tokens used in phatic communion are highly conventional, and as listeners we can therefore nearly always tell when a speaker is engaging in phatic communion. Many writers have maintained that not only are the linguistic tokens selected from a finite, small set of possible utterances, but also that the referential content of the particular utterance is irrelevant to the nature of the interaction. Abercrombie (1956:3), for example, writes that: "The actual sense of the words used in phatic communication matters little," and goes on to recount the story of Dorothy Parker, *alone and rather bored at a party [who was] asked "How are you? What have you been doing?" by a succession of distant acquaintances. To each she replied "I've just killed my husband with an axe, and I feel fine." Her intonation and expression were appropriate to party small-talk, and with a smile and a nod each acquaintance, unastonished, drifted on.*



"Alma [stomp, stomp], check your battery"

Sister Act (1992)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e7rgzOhr55k>

Source: John Laver "Communicative Functions of Phatic Communion" (1975)

Talking to Pets

Jane and her mother-in-law's chocolate Standard Poodle returned to the clinic for a checkup. After signing in, Jane took Jack and sat in seat 3. A short time later, a Passer-by complimented Jack.

- ¹Jane (to Jack): Good boy
²Jane (to Jack): Good boy
³Passer by (to Jane): He is so pretty
⁴Jane (to Jack): Say thank you
⁵Jane (to Passer-by): He is a mess right now
⁶Jane (to Jack): You're so bad
⁷Jane (to Jack): Yes you're bad

While Jane and Jack were waiting, another chocolate Standard Poodle, Rudolph, entered the waiting room with his owner (Ms. R) and his owner's friend.

- ⁸Jane (to Jack): ¶It's another one like you
⁹Jane (to Jack): It's a Chocolate
¹⁰Rudolph: (growls)
¹¹Ms. R
 (to Rudolph): Hush
¹²Friend with
 Ms. R (to Jack): Hey
¹³Friend with
 Ms. R (to Jack): Hey
¹⁴Friend with
 Ms. R (to Jack): Hey
¹⁵Jane (to Jack): ¶You see that baby one
¹⁶Jane (to Jack): ¶You see that baby

Rudolph and his owner approach Jane and Jack, Ms. R sits in seat 1 while Jane remained sitting in seat 3. Ms. R and Jane discuss whether or not Jack is friendly.

- ¹⁷Jane (to Ms. R): Say I live with a cat
¹⁸Ms. R (to Jack): Were you a Chocolate?
¹⁹Jane (to Ms. R): Yes, we turned ugly
²⁰Unclear who said this: You're a sweetheart
²¹Unclear who said this: Stop that
²²Unclear who said this: It's strange seeing something that looks just like me
²³Unclear who said this: And he burps
²⁴Unclear who said this: . . . he burps
²⁵Jane(to Jack): Where's that tail
²⁶Jane(to Jack): That tail is usually up here
²⁷Ms. R (to Rudolph): | o ? | that boy's not too interested in you

The two owners continued to talk about their dogs. At approximately the same time, two student doctors entered the waiting room to take the two dogs to the back. The following exchange took place between Jane and the student doctor who would care for Jack.

- ²¹Student doctor (to Jane,
 looking at Jack): Is this Jack?
²²Jane (to Student doctor): This is Jack
²³Student doctor (to Jane): Hey Jack
²⁴Jane (to Student doctor,
 through Jack?): Say hey

Source: Nicole M. Dufour "Dialogic Dogs and Phatic Felines: Speaking to and Through Our Pets" (2003)

Interjections & Phatics (Aizuchi)

Aizuchi (Japanese: 相槌) is the Japanese term for frequent interjections during a conversation that indicate the listener is paying attention and/or understanding the speaker. In linguistic terms, these are a form of phatic expression. Aizuchi are considered reassuring to the speaker, indicating that the listener is active and involved in the discussion.

Common aizuchi include:

- はい (hai), ええ (ee), or うん (un) (yes, with varying degrees of formality)
- そうですね (sō desu ne) (I see.)
- そうですか (sō desu ka) (is that so?)
- 本当 (hontō), 本当に (hontō ni), マジ (maji), or (in Kansai) 本真 (honma) (really)
- なるほど (naru hodo) (I see, that's right)
- nodding

Aizuchi are frequently misinterpreted by non-native speakers as the listener showing agreement or fully comprehending what is being said.

These can be compared to English "yeah, yeah", "yeah, ok", "got it", "yep", "uhuh" or "go on", but are more pronounced and important in Japanese.

Business relations in particular can be hampered by non-native speakers assuming that their Japanese counterparts have been agreeing to their suggestions all along, when in reality the Japanese have only been saying that they follow or understand the suggestions – "got it", not "agreed".

Aizuchi can also take the form of so-called echo questions, which consist of a noun plus "desu ka". After Speaker A asks a question, Speaker B may repeat a key noun followed by "desu ka" to confirm what Speaker A was talking about or simply to keep communication open while Speaker B thinks of an answer. A rough English analog would be "A ..., you say?", as in: "So I bought this new car"; reply: "A car, you say?".

Source: Wikipedia

Interjections & Emotives



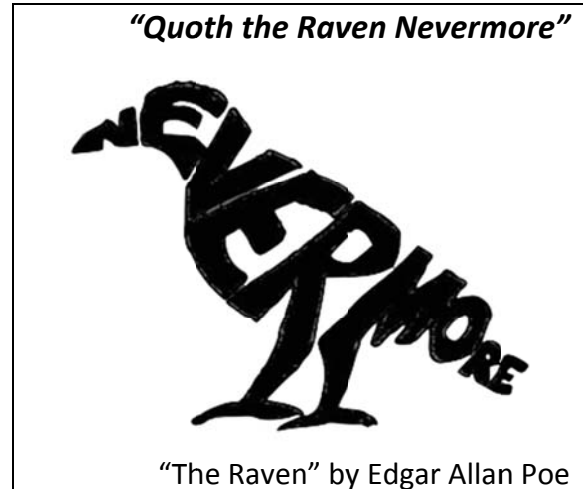
Source:

http://siriponkhongpracha.blogspot.com/2012_12_01_archive.html

Emotive (Expressive) Function

Stanislavsky's "Segodnja vecherom"

A former actor of Stanislavsky's Moscow Theater told me how at his audition he was asked by the famous director to make forty different messages from the phrase *Segodnja vecherom* 'This evening,' by diversifying its expressive tint. He made a list of some forty emotional situations, then emitted the given phrase in accordance with each of these situations which his audience had to recognize only from the changes in the sound shape of the same two words. For our research work in the description and analysis of contemporary Standard Russian (under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation) this actor was asked to repeat Stanislavsky's test. He wrote down some fifty situations framing the same elliptic sentence and made of it fifty corresponding messages for a tape record. Most of the messages were correctly and circumstantially decoded by Moscovite listeners.



Source: Roman Jakobson "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics" (1960)

"Repeating this same noun, not found in the dictionary"

One Sunday, quite late in the evening, I happened to be walking some fifteen paces away from a group of six drunken tradesmen; suddenly I realized that it was possible to express all thoughts, sensations, and even entire, profound propositions using only this one noun which, besides, has very few syllables. One of the lads first pronounces this noun sharply and forcefully to express his scornful dismissal of something they had been discussing earlier. Another replies by repeating this same noun, but now in quite a different tone and sense – specifically, in the sense that he thoroughly doubts the expediency of the first lad's denial. A third one becomes indignant at what the first has said; sharply and excitedly, he gets into the discussion, shouting out this same noun, but now in the sense of disparagement and abuse.



The second fellow again interrupts, angry at the third, who's offended him, and stops him as if to say: "Why do you have to stick your oar in, chum? We've been having quite a discussion here; what d'you mean by getting on to our Filka!" And this whole notion he expressed by using this same forbidden word, this same monosyllabic name of a certain object, and raised his hand to take the third fellow by the shoulder. But then, suddenly, the

fourth lad, the youngest of the group, who had kept silent to this point but who probably had found the solution to the original problem that had caused the dispute, raised his arm and shouted "Eureka!" you might think. "I've got it! I've got it!" No, it wasn't eureka, and he hadn't got it. He only went on repeating this same noun, not found in the dictionary; just one word, only a single word, but with delight, with a scream of rapture, and, it seems, a little too exuberantly, because the sixth, a morose fellow and the eldest of them, didn't like the sound of it and at once put a stop to the youngster's delight by turning to him and repeating in a gloomy, didactic bass ... that same noun which isn't mentioned in the presence of ladies and which dearly and accurately signified: "What're you bawling about?" And so, without having said anything else at all, they repeated this same little word of theirs six times in succession and understood one another completely. This is a fact that I witnessed myself.

Source: Fyodor Dostoevsky "Writer's Diary" (1873)

Metalingual Function: The Meaning of 'Is' (Clinton)

Videotaped testimony of

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

before the Independent Counsel, held at The White House,

12 BY MR. WISENBERG:

13 Q Mr. President, I want to, before I go into a new
14 subject area, briefly go over something you were talking
15 about with Mr. Bittman.

16 The statement of your attorney, Mr. Bennett, at the
17 Paula Jones deposition, "Counsel is fully aware" -- it's page
18 54, line 5 -- "Counsel is fully aware that Ms. Lewinsky has
19 filed, has an affidavit which they are in possession of
20 saying that there is absolutely no sex of any kind in any
21 manner, shape or form, with President Clinton".

22 That statement is made by your attorney in front of
23 Judge Susan Webber Wright, correct?

24 A That's correct.

25 Q That statement is a completely false statement.
1 Whether or not Mr. Bennett knew of your relationship with Ms.
2 Lewinsky, the statement that there was "no sex of any kind in
3 any manner, shape or form, with President Clinton," was an
4 utterly false statement. Is that correct?

5 A It depends on what the meaning of the word "is" is.
6 If the -- if he -- if "is" means is and never has been, that
7 is not -- that is one thing. If it means there is none, that
8 was a completely true statement.

9 But, as I have testified, and I'd like to testify
10 again, this is -- it is somewhat unusual for a client to be
11 asked about his lawyer's statements, instead of the other way
12 around. I was not paying a great deal of attention to this
13 exchange. I was focusing on my own testimony.

Videos: Bill Clinton's 1998 Monica Lewinsky Testimony Complete
What the meaning of the word is... is...

The Poetic Function Language

"WHAT MAKES A VERBAL MESSAGE A WORK OF ART?"
 What is it that differentiates a poetic text from a non-poetic text? What makes poetic discourse different in kind from other types of discourse? In other words, what are the intrinsic linguistic properties of the text which makes it a poem: what is there about the

"The Set (*Einstellung*) toward the *message* as such, focus on the message for its own sake, is the *poetic* function of language." **Jakobson**

"The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination." **Jakobson**

internal structure of a poem which 'announces' that it is a poem? What is characteristic of 'poetic' elements in prose and in 'ordinary' language? What in fact is the poetic function of language?

Source: Linda R. Waugh "The Poetic Function in the Theory of Roman Jakobson" (1980)

"I scream, you scream, we all scream for ice cream"

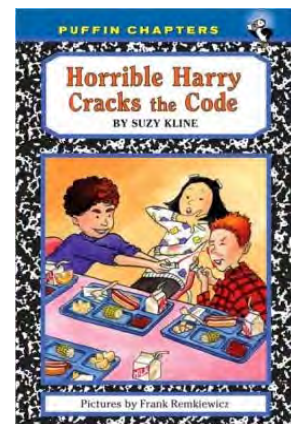


"Listen, Al... I all scream for ice-cream! That's life!"

We have so far found Jakobson's conception of poetic function to consist of at least four supposedly essential or necessary features:

- (i) it is oriented to the message 'for its own sake' at the expense of other factors (including that of context since its referential function focuses upon the propositional content, not the wording, of the message);
- (ii) it is the dominant, determining function of the verbal arts, but remains hierarchically subordinated in all other forms of verbal behavior;
- (iii) it makes ambiguous other communicative factors, hut not vice versa;
- (iv) it embodies the projective principle, thereby transforming the basic selective and combinatorial axes (or arrangements of similarity and contiguity) within verbal behavior at large; a transformation that is not constitutive of any other form of verbal behavior.

Source: R. A. Goodrich "On Poetic Function: Jakobson's Revised 'Prague' Thesis" (1996)



WWII ▼ Airplane Nose Sign



1952 ▼ Eisenhower Presidential Campaign Button



“If You Drink, Then Drive, You’re a Bloody Idiot”

Application of Jakobson’s Language Functions



If you drink, then drive, you're a bloody idiot.

TAC

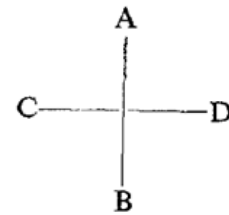
The poster advertisement [*If you drink, then drive, you're a bloody idiot*] is part of a series of advertising campaigns based on the same slogan and launched in 1989 by the Australian *Transport Accident Commission (TAC)*. The image was reproduced in *Touring* (2002), Laval (Québec), 80, 2, summer, p. 33).

Generally speaking, the advertising message has to accomplish the following, in three successive stages: (1) attract attention (the phatic function), (2) convince (the conative function), by appealing to reason (the referential function) or emotion (the emotive function), and (3) get people to act (the conative and referential functions). The third objective is clearly the most important, and the others are subordinate.

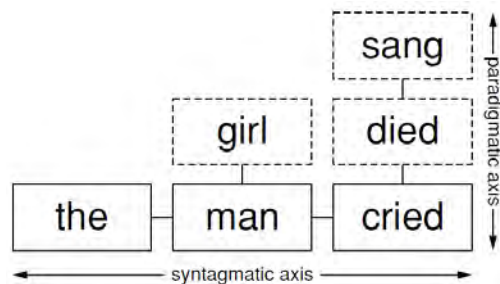
This death is presented as being highly avoidable, since it is reserved for the "*bloody idiots*" with whom no addressee with any glimmer of intelligence would want to associate. The word "*bloody*" indicates the level of idiocy within the class of idiots, and at the same time it demonstrates the intensity of the addresser's emotion (the emotive function); note that there is no exclamation point, which would have emphasized the expressive function. Perhaps the addresser is highly concerned about what could happen to us (the conative function), or perhaps his utterance merely expresses a coldly objective truth (the referential function) along with an unsympathetic "too-bad-for-you" attitude. In addition to the standard meaning, indicating intensity (the expressive function), possible concern (the expressive function) and familiarity (the conative function), "*bloody*" happens to be a polysemic word, and thereby draws attention to itself (the poetic function). It alludes to blood – the blood we will shed, but also the blood that shows our blood alcohol level. Speakers of English no longer make the connection to blood when they say "bloody", just as speakers of French (in France) no longer make the connection to a hooker when they use "*putain*" as an interjection. By re-actualizing the original content, the slogan de-automates the use of this word, drawing our attention to an otherwise innocuous, transparent word. Moreover, "bloody" is a term used in the names of drinks like "bloody Mary" and "bloody Caesar". It stands in opposition to "virgin" (virgin Mary, virgin Caesar). "Bloody" indicates an alcoholic drink; "virgin" indicates a non-alcoholic drink. So "bloody idiot" roguishly suggests a new kind of alcoholic drink.

Jakobson's Syntagms vs. Paradigms

Saussure on many occasions warned that linguistics, and all sciences which are concerned with values, must be very careful to ascertain the axes on which the entities under consideration are located. He rigorously distinguished two axes: '(1) the axis of simultaneity (AB) which concerns relations between coexisting things, and from which any intervention by time is excluded, and (2) the axis of succession (CD)'.



Source: Roman Jakobson "Six Lectures on Sound and Meaning" (1978)



"Saussure emphasized that meaning arises from the differences between signifiers; these differences are of two kinds: *syntagmatic* (concerning positioning) and *paradigmatic* (concerning substitution). Saussure called the latter *associative* relations, but Roman Jakobson's term is now used. The distinction is a key one in structuralist semiotic analysis in which these two structural 'axes' (horizontal as syntagmatic and vertical as paradigmatic) are

seen as applicable to all sign systems. The plane of the syntagm is that of the combination of 'this-and-this-and-this' (as in the sentence, 'the man cried') while the plane of the paradigm is that of the selection of 'this-or-this-or-this' (e.g. the replacement of the last word in the same sentence with 'died' or 'sang'). While syntagmatic relations are possibilities of combination, paradigmatic relations are functional contrasts – they involve differentiation."

Source: Daniel Chandler "Semiotics: The Basics" (2007)

Jakobson's Language Operations

Table I.2 Selection-combination and similarity-contiguity

2 operations (encoding-decoding)		
<i>selection</i> (substitution)	and	<i>combination</i> (contexture)
<i>similarity</i> (equivalence) (basis of metaphor)	and	<i>contiguity</i> (temporal and spatial neighborhood) (basis of metonymy)
2 structural relations in code and message		

Source: Linda R. Waugh & Monique Monville-Burston in *Roman Jakobson: On Language* (1990)

Jakobson's Metaphoric vs. Metonymic Poles

Selective/Associative Synchronic

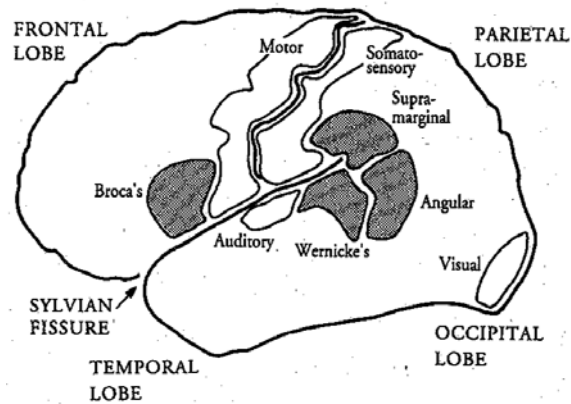
Dimension
(Metaphor)



Combinative/Syntagmatic Diachronic

Dimension (Metonymy)

Source: Terence Hawkes "Structuralism and Semiotics" (1977)



Broca's vs. Wernicke's area

Source: Steven Pinker "The Language Instinct" (1994)

Broca's (Expressive = Contiguity Disorder) Aphasia

Broca's area – the lower back part of the frontal lobe; it is primarily involved in *the encoding of speech*.

Individuals with **Expressive aphasia** frequently speak short, meaningful phrases that are produced with great effort. Expressive aphasia is thus characterized as a nonfluent aphasia. Affected people often omit small words such as "is", "and", and "the" (= the **agrammatism** syndrome). For example, a person with Expressive aphasia may say, "Walk dog" which could mean "I will take the dog for a walk", "You

take the dog for a walk" or even "The dog walked out of the yard". Individuals with Expressive aphasia are able to understand the speech of others to varying degrees. Because of this, they are often aware of their difficulties and can become easily frustrated by their speaking problems.

Wernicke's (Receptive = Similarity Disorder) Aphasia

Wernicke's area – an area in the upper back part of the temporal lobe, extending upwards into the parietal lobe; it plays a major part in *the comprehension of speech*.

Individuals with **Receptive aphasia** may speak in long sentences that have no meaning, add unnecessary words, and even create new "words" (neologisms). For example, someone with Receptive aphasia may say, "You know that smoodle pinkered and that I want to get him round and take care of him like you want before", meaning "The dog needs to go out so I will take him for a walk" (= the **paragrammatism** syndrome). They have poor auditory and reading comprehension, and fluent, but nonsensical, oral and written expression. Individuals with Receptive aphasia usually have great difficulty understanding the speech of both themselves and others and are therefore often unaware of their mistakes.

Source: <http://auditoryneuroscience.com/>



Copyright © 1983 by Lee A. Fildes

Source: Harold Goodglass & Edith Kaplan "Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination (BDAE)" (1983)

Source: Russell G. Schuh "Linguistics 101" ►

For a video of a patient with agrammatic aphasia trying to describe the Cookie Theft picture, go to <http://youtu.be/gocIUW3E-go>

Broca's Aphasia

Cookie jar...fall over...
chair...water....



Broca: "Yeah ... mess ... uh ... ladder ... fall down ... and uh ... a girl ... and ... the... cookie ... all ... fall. And ... wife ... spill ... water ... and disses ... and, uh, tsups ... and, uh ... saucers ... plate ... ah, no ... done."

Wernicke: "Which ... is the bezest. He is packing to masneez beck and back bessing, while the belt is hissing selt bassling bess, pack and best. But this one is essling off and pissing a gesner. ... Klipun this one here keeps kip pissing. This one ... the kitchen back from the kerfesing is trying from the kasbessing is baaad basning."

Wernicke's Aphasia

Well this is...mother is away here working her work out o' here to get her better, but when she's looking, the two boys look in the other part. One their small file into her time here. She's working another time because she's getting to. So two boys work together and one is sneakin' around here, making his work an' his further funnas his time he had.

CLASSIC APHASIA TAXONOMY
 (- relatively deficient; + relatively spared)

APHASIA TYPE	NAMING	FLUENCY	COMPREHENSION	REPETITION
Broca's	-	-	+	-
Transcortical Motor	-	-	+	+
Wernicke's	-	+	-	-
Transcortical Sensory	-	+	-	+
Conduction	-	+	+	-
Anomia	-	+	+	+
Global	-	-	-	-

DEFINING & PREDICTED SYMPTOMS IN APHASIC

SYMPTOMS	BROCA'S	WERNICKE'S	ANOMICS
Fluency	Impaired	Hyper-normal	Near-normal
Comprehension	Near-normal	Impaired	Near-normal
Naming	Impaired	Impaired	Impaired (mild)
Expressive Grammar	Omission (agrammatism)	Substitution (paragrammatism)	Simplification / Avoidance
Receptive Grammar	Impaired	Impaired	Impaired (mild)
Lexical Profile	Omit > Substitute	Substitute > Omit	Light Forms
Word Types	Nouns > Verbs Content > Function Irregular > Regular	Verbs > Nouns Function > Content Regular > Irregular	Verbs > Nouns Function > Content Regular > Irregular
Priming Profile	Low Facilitation	Low Inhibition	Low Inhibition

Source: Elizabeth Bates "Cross-Linguistic Studies of Aphasia" (2002)

Visual Aphasia

FREE DRAWINGS OF HOUSES

DRAWINGS BY NORMAL 4- AND 5-YEAR OLD CHILDREN

AGE: 51 MONTHS, FEMALE AGE: 59 MONTHS, FEMALE AGE: 60 MONTHS, MALE

DRAWINGS BY CHILDREN WITH FOCAL RIGHT HEMISPHERE BRAIN INJURY

I: 50 MONTHS, FEMALE G: 61 MONTHS, MALE K: 61 MONTHS, MALE

Graphical Difficulties

Stimulus Bound Response

Conceptual Deficits

Spatial/Planning Deficits

Source: Donald Eknoyan et al. "The Clock Drawing Task: Common Errors and Functional Neuroanatomy" (2012)

“Did you say ‘pig’, or ‘fig’?”

The Concept of Distinctive Feature (+Minimal Pairs)



“Did you say pig, or fig?”

Alice’s Travels: An Approach through the Concepts and Tools of conversational Analysis

Linguistically speaking, an utterance like “Did you say pig, or fig?” can be analysed in two ways:

- first, within the perspective of a monologue, it can be considered as an illustration of a structural principle in the phonetic system, the minimal pair: “pig” and “fig” contrast with each other – from the point of view of the signifier – only by the phonemes /p/ and /f/, which differ in two distinctive articulatory features¹;
- second, within an interactive approach, that is to say conversational analysis, which is adopted here, in which the smallest unit of analysis is the exchange², defined as the pair consisting of an initiative move and a reactive one, “Did you say pig, or fig?” can be analysed as the first element of an adjacency pair, namely the initiative element of an exchange – an exchange of a particular type, which the second element “I said pig” enables to qualify as metacom-municative: a reformulation repair linked to a request for a reformulation.

¹ I. e. bilabial vs. labiodental and stop vs. fricative. Marina Yaguello (1981) has shown that most fundamental principles of monological linguistics are used in a literary way in *Alice’s Travels*.
² The exchange is the smallest dialogal unit (Moeschler, 1982) within the hierarchical model which describes the organization of dialogue speeches (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Roulet 1981, 1989; Roulet et al., 1985) from speech acts and transentential units, considered in interlocutive situations and in taking into account contextual data.

Source: Rachel Fordyce, Carla Marello, eds. “Semiotics and Linguistics in Alice’s World” (1994)

Voiced vs. Voiceless Consonants in Russian

Voiceless	п	б	Voiced	п	б	SuP 'soup' vs. ZuB 'tooth'
	т	д		т	д	
	к	г		к	г	
	ф	в		ф	в	
	с	з		с	з	
	ш	ж		ш	ж	
						

Distinctive Features

- The basic sound unit is the feature (not the phoneme)
- Features are binary; all phonemes either have [+] or don't have [-] a particular feature.

- Two phones are different phonemes if at least one of their features is different.

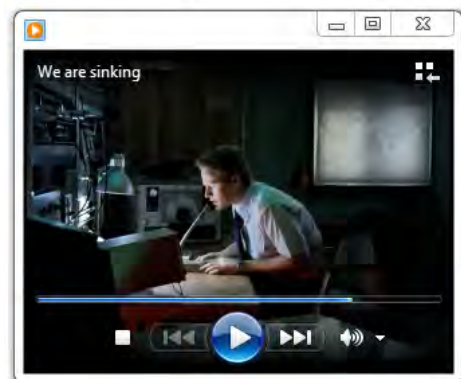
- / p / = + consonantal, + anterior, - voice
- / b / = + consonantal, + anterior, + voice

- Consider the following minimal pairs: pin – bin; pin – sin; pin – gin
- Differ on varying numbers of features:
 - pin – bin (1; voicing).
 - pin – sin (2; place, manner).
 - pin – gin (3; place, manner & voicing).

Source: <http://academic.mu.edu/sppa/slong/sppa2220-1A.pdf>

Minimal Pair

To sink vs. to sing (voiceless 'k' vs. voiced 'g')



What are you sinking about?

Markedness

Video: "Yorkie: It's NOT for Girls Advert"



"If we write in black on a white background the black 'stands out' and is 'marked.'"



Let us briefly review Trubetzkoy's notion of phonological markedness.

The simplest meaning of markedness has to do with the presence or absence of a given phonological feature. Thus, the English phoneme /p/ is marked for the feature **consonantal** but is unmarked for the feature **vocalic**. Another sense of markedness has to do with the kind of information that each term of the binary opposition carries. A marked term is more focused in its information about sound than the unmarked term. The fact that a sound is **+consonantal** tells one something definite, whereas the fact that a sound is **-vocalic** tells one only that the sound in question is not vocalic; it does not even necessarily imply that the sound must by implication be **+consonantal** because these two features are independent of each other. That is, there are sounds such as the so-called "glides" (in English, examples would be /w/ and /j/) that are defined as being **-vocalic** and **-consonantal**. Conversely, there are sounds such as the "liquid" /l/ and /r/ in English that are defined as being both **+vocalic** and **+consonantal**.

Source: Steven C. Caton "Contributions of Roman Jakobson" (1987)

"Every single constituent of any linguistic system is built on an opposition of two logical contradictories: the presence of an attribute ('markedness') in contraposition to its absence ('unmarkedness')." (Jakobson 1972, 42; cf. 1980a). The concept of markedness can be applied to the poles of a paradigmatic opposition: paired signs consist of an 'unmarked' and a 'marked' form."

Jakobson reported that "the general meaning of the marked is characterized by the conveyance of more precise, specific, and additional information than the unmarked term provides." *The unmarked term is often used as a generic term while the marked term is used in a more specific sense.* General references to humanity used to use the term 'man' (which in this sense was not intended to be sex specific), and of course the word 'he' has long been used generically. In English, the female category is generally marked in relation to the male, a point not lost on feminist theorists.

The unmarked form is typically dominant (e.g. statistically within a text or corpus) and therefore seems to be neutral, normal and natural. It is thus transparent – *drawing no attention to its invisibly privileged status*, while the deviance of the marked form is salient. Where it is not simply subsumed, the marked form is foregrounded – presented as 'different'; it is 'out of the ordinary' – an extraordinary deviational 'special case' which is something other than the standard or default form of the unmarked term. Unmarked–marked may thus be read as norm–deviation.

Source: Daniel Chandler "Semiotics: The Basics" (2007)

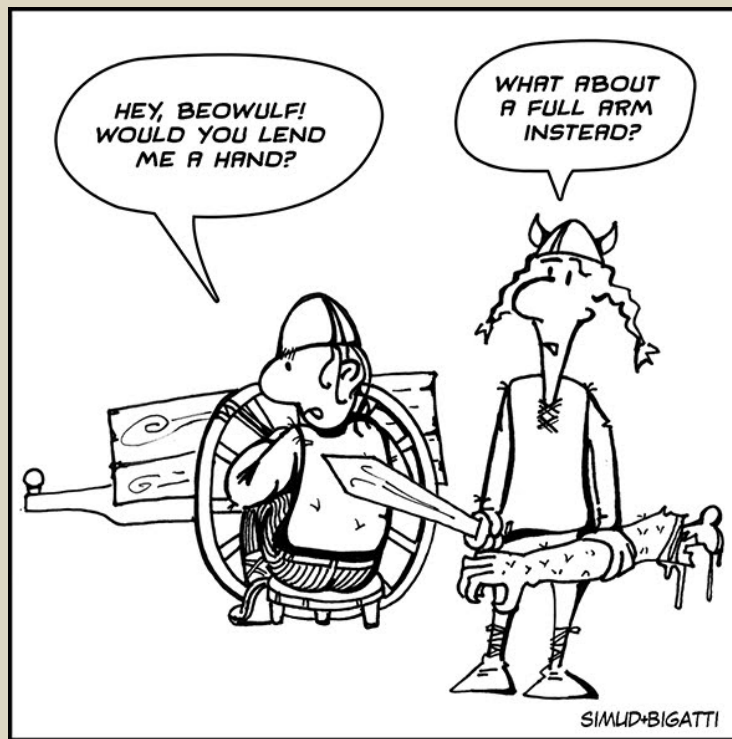
Markedness descriptors

<i>unmarked</i>	<i>marked</i>
natural	less natural
normal	less normal
general	specialized
simple	complex
inactive	active
more frequent	less frequent
optimal	less optimal
predictable	unpredictable
acquired earlier	acquired later
more phonetically variable	less phonetically variable
articulatorily simple	articulatorily difficult
perceptually strong	perceptually weak
perceptually weak	perceptually strong
universal	language-specific
ubiquitous	parochial

Source: Elizabeth Hume "Markedness" (2011)

Metaphors (and Metonymies)

We Live By



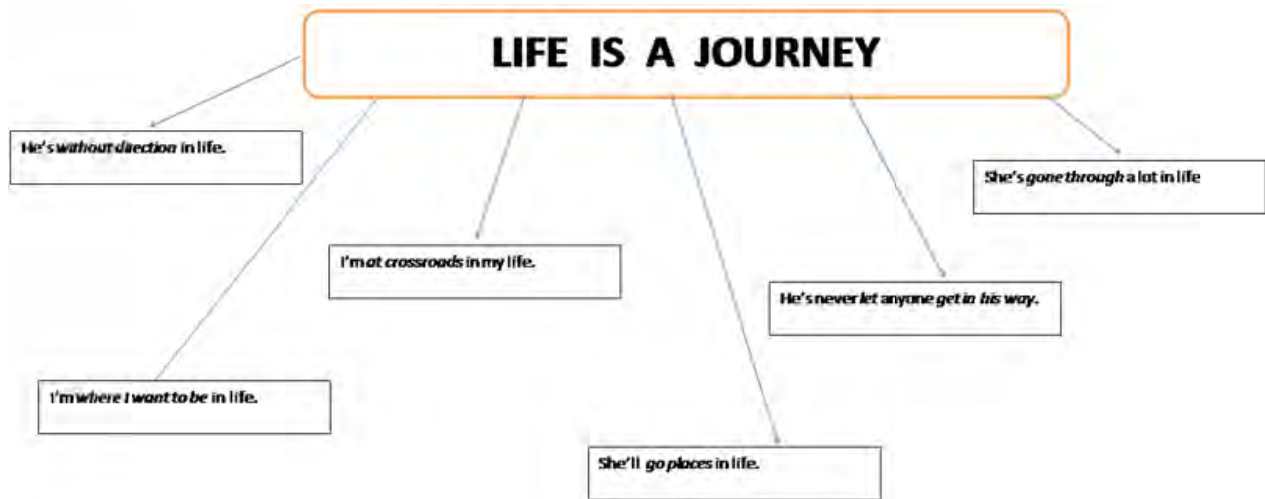
Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Moving Metaphors: "What Is Life?" "Who Am I?"

Write in class one paragraph essay on one of the two topics:

"What Is Life?" or "Who Am I?"

Read your essays and analyze the tropes you used in answering the questions.



Source: <http://home.iitk.ac.in/~aawasthi/se367/topic.html>



Sources: The Internet

“Achilles is a lion”

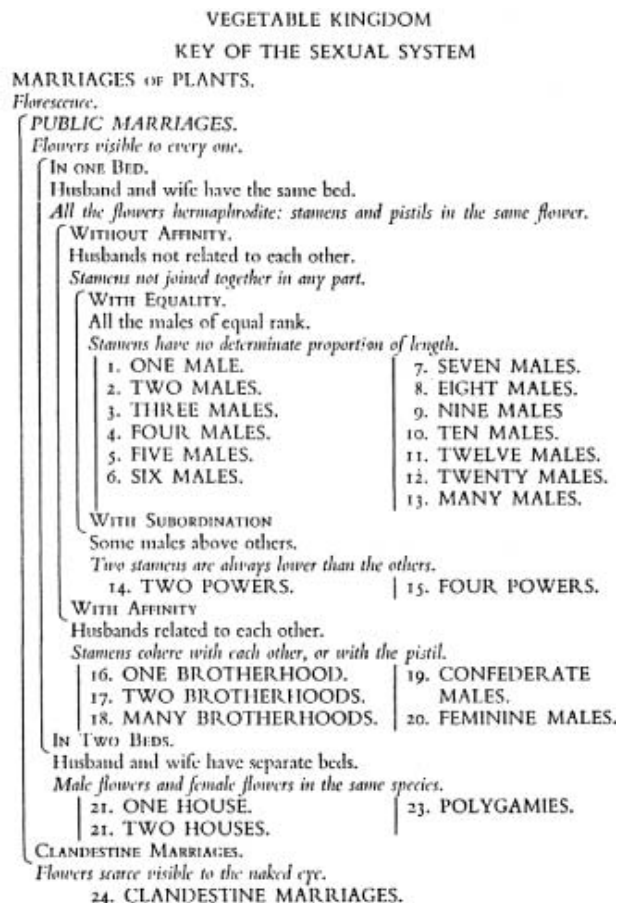


Metaphor is the application of a strange term either transferred from the genus and applied to the species or from the species and applied to the genus, or from one species to another or else by analogy.

Metaphor by analogy means this: when B is to A as D is to C, then instead of B the poet will say D, and B instead of D. And sometimes they add that to which the term supplanted by the metaphor is relative. For instance, a cup is to Dionysus what a shield is to Ares; so he will call the cup “Dionysus's shield” and the shield “Ares' cup.” Or old age is to life as evening is to day; so he will call the evening “day's old age” . . . and old age he will call “the evening of life” or “life's setting sun.”

Aristotle “Poetics” 1457b.7

Carl Linnaeus’ “Sexual System” for plant classification (Linnaeus, 1758)



(a) Sexual system for plants (Linnaeus, 1758).

(b) English translation.

To Carry Over: μεταφορά



Greece "metaphor" truck



FIGURE 4.1 Substitution in tropes

Source: Daniel Chandler "Semiotics: The Basics" (2007)

Dead Metaphors

• flowerbed • forerunner • to run for office • to lose face • to lend a hand • to broadcast • a computer mouse • (tele)phone is ringing (original telephones had bells) • fishing for compliments • seeds of doubt • catch her name • world wide web • turn-on • flared jeans • he ploughed through the traffic lights • foothills or the foot of a mountain • branches of government • windfall gain • kidney beans • all walks of life • dead metaphor is itself a dead metaphor

Metonymy



METONYMY

The pen is mightier than the sword.
(literature) (force)



Jakobson's Syntagms vs. Paradigms



*"Good news.
The test results show it's a metaphor."*

Paradigmatic Axis	Syntagmatic Axis
●	●
System	Process
Structure	Operation
<i>La Langue</i>	<i>Parole</i>
Selection	Combination
signifier	signified
Absent	Present
Similarity	Contiguity
Metaphor	Metonymy

Syntagmatic Axis:	the cat	sat on	the mat
Grammatical Paradigm:	nouns	verbs	nouns
Generic Paradigm:	mammals	postures	platforms
Substitutive Paradigm:	dog	stood	sofa
Figurative Paradigm:	queen	reclined	throne

◀▲
Source:
John Phillips
"Metaphor and
Metonymy"
(2008)

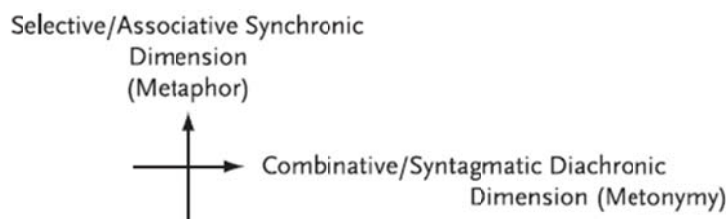
Jakobson's Language Operations

Table I.2 Selection-combination and similarity-contiguity

2 operations (encoding-decoding)		
<i>selection</i> (substitution)	and	<i>combination</i> (contexture)
<i>similarity</i> (equivalence) (basis of metaphor)	and	<i>contiguity</i> (temporal and spatial neighborhood) (basis of metonymy)
2 structural relations in code and message		

Source: Linda Waugh & Monique Monville-Burston in "Roman Jakobson: On Language" (1990)

Jakobson's Metaphoric vs. Metonymic Poles



Source: Terence Hawkes "Structuralism and Semiotics" (1977)

The Mission of Metaphor

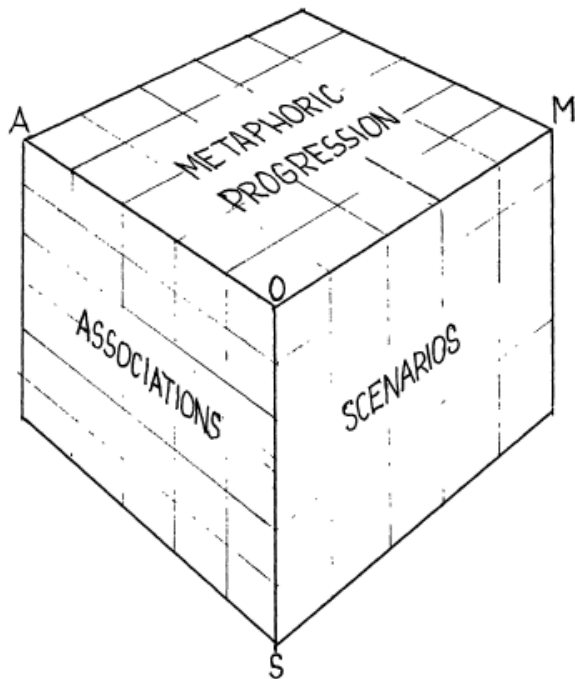


FIG. 1. Three dimensions of expressive events: *M*, core sign-images or organizing metaphors; *S*, scenes fulfilling the metaphors; *A*, associations brought into play by each scene; *O*, origin. Two faces, *SOM* and *SOA*, are displayed in figure 2.

Abstract

The reappearance of the metaphor concept in ethnologic inquiry suggests the need for a clearer trope-ology than we now possess. Metaphor (and metonym) is defined here as the predication of a sign-image upon any of the set of inchoate pronouns—the essential social subjects. The study of metaphor is the study of the way these subjects take objects unto themselves or are assigned them—the way that, in the parlance of G. H. Mead, they “take the other” (or “another part of themselves” in the case of metonym). The overall mission of metaphor and metonym is to convert pronouns from their inappropriate and inchoate condition, but seven particular missions are to be identified: (1) the providing of an identity for inchoate subjects; (2) the enabling of movement in these subjects; (3) the optimum positioning of these subjects in quality space; (4) the providing of a plan for ritual movement; (5) the filling of frames of social experience; (6) the enabling of the subject to “return to the whole”; (7) the freeing of the subject from a preoccupation with its parts. It is shown that metaphoric and metonymic complexes may be analyzed either (a) in matrix form, by reference to the scenes devised to put metaphoric sign-images into effect and the associations marshalled by each scene, or (b) in formula form, by reference to the transformations in subjects and objects brought about by progressions in the relations between metonymic and metaphoric predications. The view is taken that valid ethnologic inquiry into expressive culture should focus upon the vicissitudes of subjects and objects as they are related in complexes of metaphoric and metonymic predication.

Source: James Fernandez “The Mission of Metaphor in Expressive Culture” (1974)

DOMINANT ASSOCIATIONS OF SUCCESSIVE METAPHORIC REPHRASINGS OF CHRISTIAN CEREMONY

	METAPHORIC PROGRESSION				
ASSOCIATIONS	“I AM STAINED BODY”	“HE IS SACRIFICIAL LAMB”	“HE IS BREAD AND WINE”	“HE IS LAMB OF GOD”	“WE ARE LIVING BODY”
<i>Primary</i>					
Corporeal feeling tone	separation, isolation (the body in ruins)	purposive solidarity (the body gathering its forces)	corporeal fractioning (the body reduced to its parts)	corporeal transformation (the body transformed)	corporeal exaltation (the body apotheosized)
Body effluents	tears and cloacal emissions	the sweat of our brow	the digestive liquids	blood	effluents mystically congealed
Organs of focus	conative (endodermic) organs of gluttony and lust	conative (mesodermic) organs	sustenential (endodermic) organs	organic parts transformed into a whole (heart)	ectodermic sensitivity to ambiance
Color	black	gold	brown	red	white
<i>Secondary</i>					
	the isolated individual	the family (as the offering unit)	the priest and the congregation (in dialogue)	the priest alone (as consecrator of bread and wine)	the Family of God

Source: James Fernandez “The Mission of Metaphor in Expressive Culture” (1974)

Orientational Metaphors

(1) HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

I'm feeling up. That boosted my spirits. My spirits rose. You're in high spirits. Thinking about her always gives me a lift. I'm feeling down. I'm depressed. He's really low these days. I fell into a depression. My spirits sank.

Physical basis: Drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state.

(2) CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN

Get up. Wake up. I'm up already. He rises early in the morning. He fell asleep. He dropped off to sleep. He's under hypnosis. He sank down into a coma.

Physical basis: Humans and most animals sleep lying down and stand erect when they wake up.

(3) HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN

He's at the peak of health. Lazarus rose from the dead. He's in top shape. As to his health, he's way up there. He fell ill. He's sinking fast. He came down with the flu. His health is declining. He dropped dead.

Physical basis: Serious illness forces us physically to lie down. When you're dead you are physically down.

(4) HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN

I have control over her. I am on top of the situation. He's in a superior position. He's at the height of his power. He's in the high command. His power rose. He's in a dominating position. He ranks above me in strength. He is under my control. He fell from power. His power is on the decline. He's in an inferior position.

Physical basis: Physical size typically correlates with physical strength, and the victor in a fight is typically on top.

(5) MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN

The number of books printed each year keeps going up. You made a high number of mistakes. My income rose last year. There is an overabundance of food in this country. My knowledge keeps increasing. The amount of artistic activity in this state has gone down in the past year. His number of errors is incredibly low. His income fell last year. He is underage. If you're too hot, turn the heat down.

Physical basis: If you add more of a substance or of physical objects to a container or pile, the level goes up.

Moving Metaphors: Cinema

Visual Metaphors in Film



Sergei Eisenstein "Strike" (1925) - The Carnage Scene ▲



Vsevolod Pudovkin "Mother" (1926) - The Ice Floes Scene ▲

Edible Metaphors

Angel Food Cake; Angelhair; Baked Alaska; Blood Orange; Brick Cheese; Buffalo Wings; Butterfingers; Candy Striper; Chinese Takeout; Chocolate Kiss; Chocolate Mousse; Cookbook; Crown Roast; Deviled Egg; Diced Chicken; Egg Rolls; Forbidden Fruit; French Dressing; Hot Dog; House Dressing; Hush Puppy; Junk Food; Lady Fingers; Orange Chicken; Pineapple Duck; Potato Eyes; Red Bell Pepper; Shrimp Cocktail; Snow Pea; Spanakopita; Submarine Sandwich; Swordfish; Watermelon.

© 1994 T.E. Breitenbach

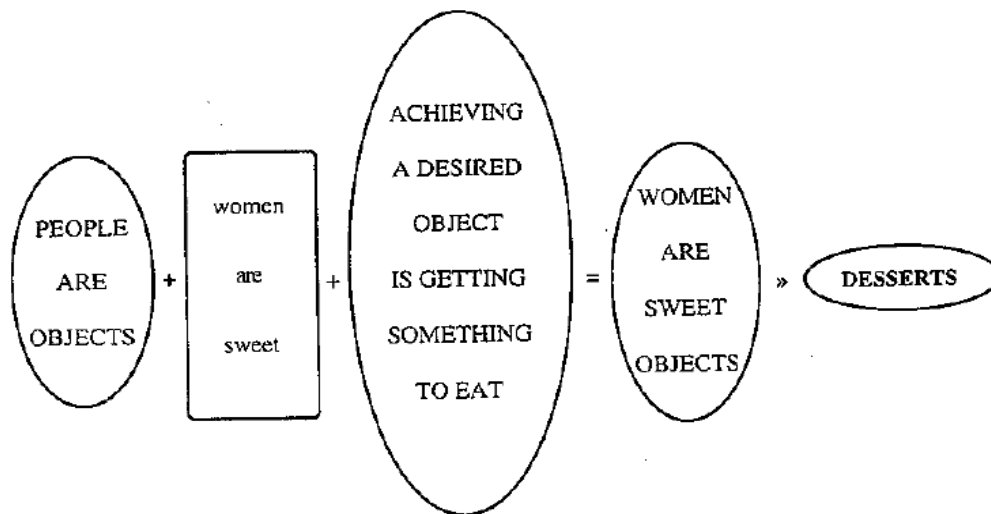


Hub's Clam Shack, Groton, CT

Woman = Dessert Metaphors:

Honey (both sexes); chocolate bunny; cinnamon girl; cream puff; croissant; cutie pie; dumpling; fortune cookie ('sexy Asian woman'); golden doughnut; gooseberry pudding; gum drop; honeydip; hot chocolate ('sexy black woman'); hot tamale; lollipop; love cake; muffin (cf. *studmuffin* 'sexy man'); pancake; press muffin ('sexy female reporter'); sugar doughnut; sugar dumpling; sweetie (pie); apples ('breasts'); banana ('sexy mulatto woman'); berry; watermelons ('large breasts'); cake eater ('ladies' man'); cherry orchard ('girls' dorm'), etc.

© 1999 Caitlin Hines



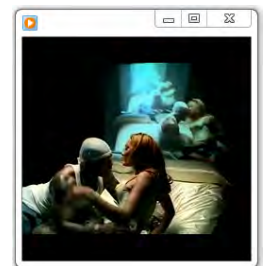
"Eyes are the windows to the soul"

"... sugar and spice ..."

"She tasted victory"

sweetie, honeybun

cheesecake, tart



50 Cent Candy Shop ft Olivia

Video:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-NDnILD01Y8>

Figure 7.1. Evolution of the WOMAN AS DESSERT metaphor

Source: Caitlin Hines "Rebaking the Pie: The Woman as Dessert Metaphor" (1999)

'Immaculately Conceived' Gelato



This advertisement is deemed controversial because of its use of Roman Catholic symbols to promote gelato.

There are a range of signs in this advertisement. Some signifiers that trigger our consciousness are: words in Gothic font, ice-cream container, religious setting, the woman's black and white clothing and the bulge. These elements conjure mental images. For example the background of the poster is representative of a church. We can identify that the woman is a nun because of her habit. Due to the bulge we assume she is pregnant.

The association between the denotation and connotation of this advertisement makes it a controversial and arguably offensive.

The denotation is the simple meaning of the sign. In this poster the denotation is that

there is a pregnant nun in a church setting eating Antonio Federici gelato. The punch line 'immaculately conceived', is commonly used in Catholicism to describe the conception of Jesus.

The main connotation that has been derived from this advertisement is that Antonio Federici is mocking the conception of Jesus. This advertisement heavily draws on the myths and ideology of Catholicism. It has presented the words 'Immaculately conceived' in Gothic font which is associated with biblical text. This may suggest that the ice-cream is heavily. However the 'sign' of a pregnant nun longing for the gelato may cause offence to the audience if they are Roman Catholics.

The company insists that they did not mean to mock the faith. Rather they were using religious imagery to highlight their slogan that "Ice-cream is our religion."

A blogspot comment on the advertisement was that by showing a nun with an enlarged tummy they were highlighting that eating ice-cream in large proportions causes obesity.

Our interpretation of this text is dependent on our shared knowledge and values. Therefore we may comprehend the meaning of the signs in this advertisement differently depending on our exposure to religious ideology or our personal values.

Metaphor Literalization



◀ Giuseppe Arcimboldo “Emperor Rudolf II as Vertumnus, Roman God of the seasons” (c. 1590)

SONNETS.
130

MY Mistres eyes are nothing like the Sunne,
 Currall is faire more red, then her lips red,
 If snow be white why then her brefts are dun:
 If haire be wiers, black wiers grow on her head:
 I haue scene Roses damask, red and white,
 But no such Roses see I in her cheekes,
 And in some perfumes is there more delight,
 Then in the breath that from my Mistres reekes.
 I loue to heare her speake, yet well I know,
 That Musicke hath a farre more pleasing sound:
 I graunt I neuer saw a goddesse goe,
 My Mistres when shee walks treads on the ground,
 And yet by heauen I thinke my loue as rare,
 As any she belid with falsche compare.

131

THou art as tiranous, so as thou art,
 As those whose beauties proudly make them cruell;
 For well thou know'it to my deare doting hart
 Thou art the fairest and most precious Jewell.
 Yet in good faith some say that thee behold,
 Thy face hath not the power to make loue grone;
 To say they erre, I dare not be so bold,
 Although I sweare it to my selfe alone.
 And to be sure that is not falsche I sweare
 A thousand grones but thinking on thy face,
 One on anothers necke do witnesse beare
 Thy blacke is fairest in my iudgements place.
 In nothing art thou blacke false in thy deeds,
 And thence this flaunder as I thinke proceeds,

132

THine eyes I loue, and they as pittying me,
 Knowing thy heart torment me with disdain,
 Haue put on black, and louing mourners be,
 Looking with pretty ruth vpon my paine.

And

Shakespeare's Sonnets
 Ed. Stephen Booth
 New Haven & London
 Yale UP, 1977



A literal portrait of a beauty, from *The Extravagant Shepherd* (1654), reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. (Reduced from 6 3/4 x 8 3/4 inches.)

Also: Thom E. Breitenbach “Proverbidioms” (1975); Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IfSXCqd-wec>

Metaphors in Action

TIME IS MONEY

You're *wasting* my time.
 This gadget will *save* you hours.
 I don't *have* the time to *give* you.
 How do you *spend* your time these days?
 That flat tire *cost* me an hour.
 I've *invested* a lot of time in her.
 I don't *have enough* time to *spare* for that.
 You're *running out* of time.
 You need to *budget* your time.
Put aside some time for ping pong.
 Is that *worth your while*?
 Do you *have* much time *left*?
 You don't *use* your time *profitably*.
 I *lost* a lot of time when I got sick.
Thank you for your time.



Maria Portokalos: Toulia, on my wedding night, my mother, she said to me, "Greek women, we may be lambs in the kitchen, but we are tigers in the bedroom." ▼ *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (2002)



Relationship is like a shark



Greek women are tigers in the bedroom

Dreams

Langston Hughes

Hold fast to dreams
 For if dreams die
 Life is a broken-winged bird
 That cannot fly.

Hold fast to dreams
 For when dreams go
 Life is a barren field
 Frozen with snow.



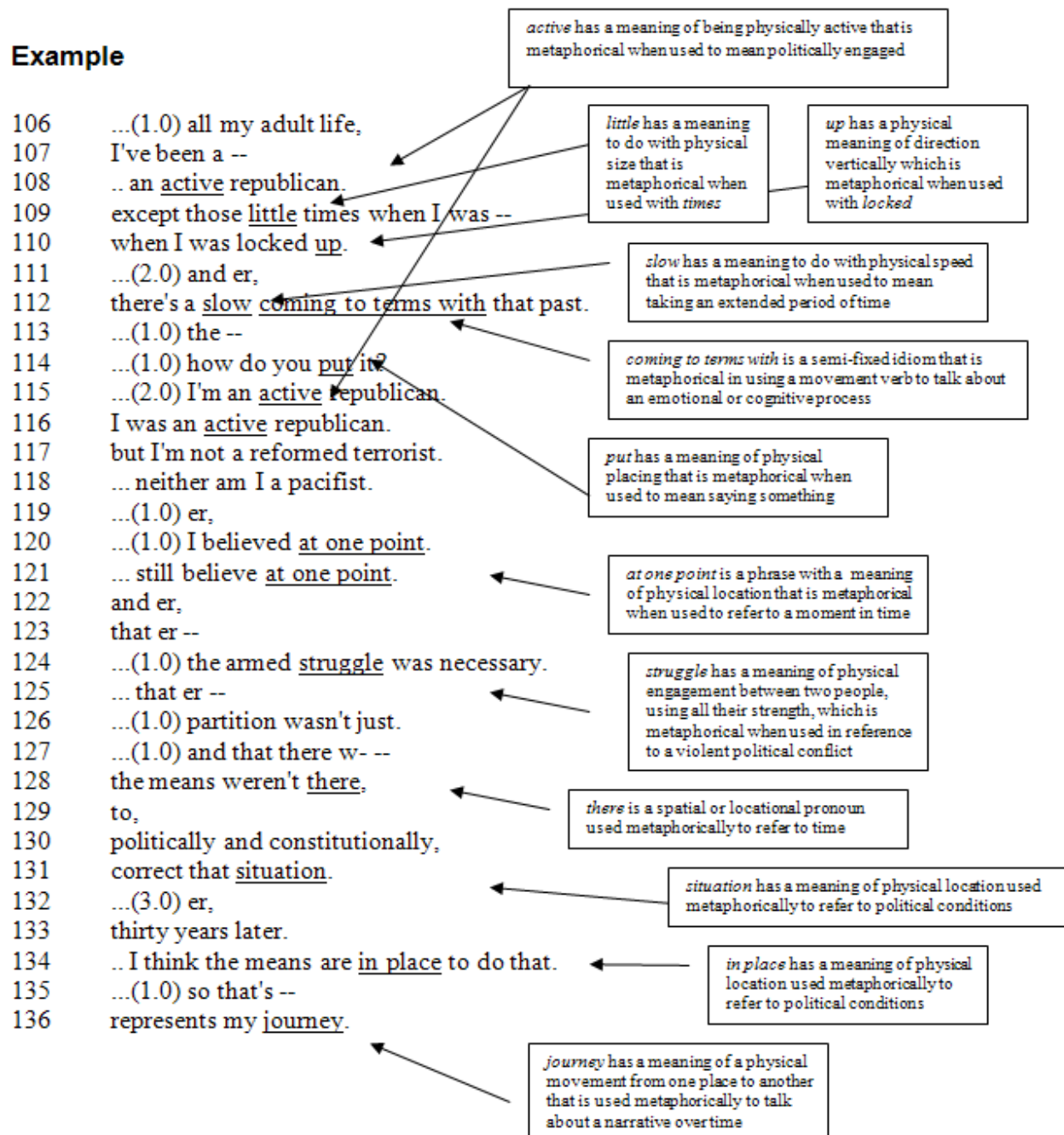
Metaphor Analysis

The following extract shows metaphors in a short stretch of talk by a former member of the IRA, with linguistic metaphors underlined. The boxes give a justification for identifying the words or phrases as metaphorical. After the extract, we explain in more detail what is underlined and why; reading the extract first may help raise awareness of what metaphor looks like in spoken discourse.

The words underlined in the extract of talk are the Vehicle terms of linguistic metaphors – the ‘something else’ in Burke’s definition of metaphor through which we ‘see’ the Topic.

The Vehicle term is the central identifying feature of a linguistic metaphor: a word or phrase that somehow contrasts with (is incongruous or anomalous with) the topic of the on-going text or talk, and yet connections can be made between the meaning of the Vehicle and the Topic domain of the on-going discourse.

Example



Rhyme & Metaphor

THE LOST CAT

We can't find the cat,
 We don't know where she's at,
 Oh, where did she go?
 Does anyone know?
 Let's ask this walking hat.



A Light in the Attic by Shel Silverstein

www.shelsilverstein.com

Rap Unwrapped

"I know that rap is the music where it rhymes."
 George W. Bush

Phonics = Ebonics (underlying metaphor through rhyming)



Video ▲: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ggcr7hMInVE>

Now who's the king of these rude ludicrous lucrative lyrics
 Who could inherit the title, put the youth in hysterics
 Using his music to steer it sharing his views and his merits
 But there's a huge interference they're saying you shouldn't hear it
 Maybe it's hatred I spew, maybe it's food for the spirit
 Maybe it's beautiful music I made for you to just cherish

▲ Lyrics to "Renegade" song by Eminem

McDonald's Rap

I need a double cheeseburger
 and hold the lettuce
 Don't be frontin' son
 No seeds on the bun
 We be up in this drive-thru
 ...order for two
 I gots a cravin' for a number nine
 ...like my shoe
 We need some chicken up in here
 ...in this dizzle
 For rizzle my mizzle
 Extra salt on the frizzle
 Dr. Peppa my brotha
 Anotha for your motha
 Double double super-size
 and don't forget the fries

▲ Video:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jEbK4xAz2Q>



New York City Rap Quotes Street Signs

Isn't it ironic?



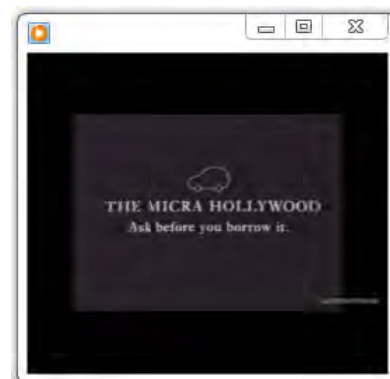
"The Micra. Ask before you borrow it."

Irony: Irony is very complex and often difficult to identify. In its simplest form, the signifier of the ironic sign 'seems' to signify one thing, BUT we know from another signifier that it signifies something different. When the sign means the opposite of what it signified, the process is based on **binary opposition**. If I told you, "I just love icy streets when I drive," you think either that I'm crazy or you know that I really mean, "I hate driving on icy streets." Love and hate are binary opposites in the sign system we mostly use in our culture. Irony is sometimes difficult to decode because it involves "a double" coding of signs: what is said is not what is meant.



Here is a visual example of irony used in an ad for a car, Nissan Micra. Micra is a brand of car marketed for women in Europe. In this ad, we see a sexy woman (synecdoche) hiding a can of dog food, which she has "obviously" fed to the young man eating in the background. The caption reads, "The Micra. Ask before you borrow it."

Source: Daniel Chandler "Semiotics for Beginners" (2005)



<http://www.luerzersarchive.net/en/magazine/commercial-detail/issan-micra-23926.html>
Video: ▼

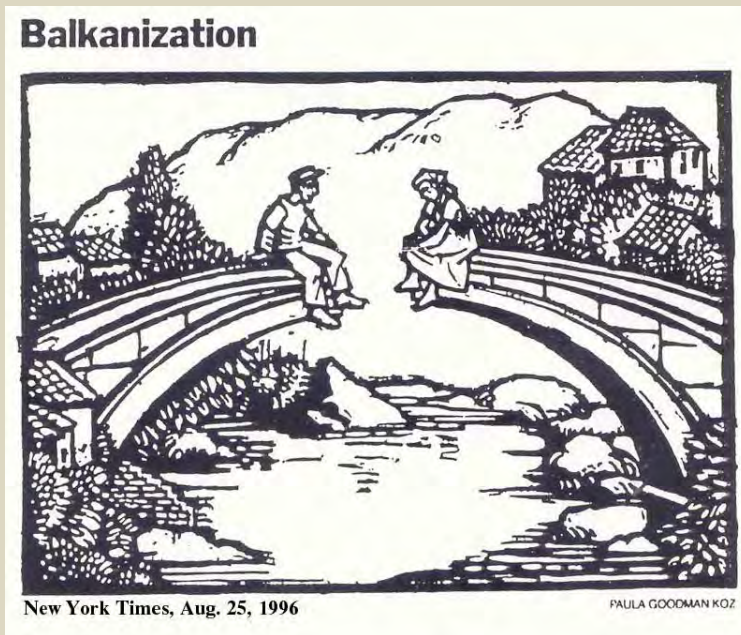
Restroom Signs (Synecdoche)



The restroom sign with inscription "Men" and "Women" is an example of synecdoche (pars pro toto or conversely the whole for one of its parts, i.e., urinating).

Balkanizing the Metaphor

An Essay on the Notion of (Dis)Organizing Metaphors



Petko Ivanov

Summary

The essay deconstructs “Balkans” as a metaphorical complex, playing upon the polysemy of the verb “to balkanize.” Employing the verb in its literal meaning, it first embeds the discussion of metaphors in a Balkan context, selecting as its ethnographic material metaphors functioning in and concerning this geographic region; second, it projects upon the notion of metaphor the surface trope of *balkanization*, whose conventional (Webster’s) interpretation implies “the breaking up of a(n) (geographic) area into small and often hostile units.”

Theoretically, the essay revisits critically the anthropology of tropes, zeroing on James W. Fernandez’ concept of organizing metaphors and their performance in what he calls “quality” (or symbolic) spaces.¹ Being a strategic predication of identity upon an inchoate subject, the organizing metaphor is a venue for negotiating and establishing interactional identities, as well as for reinforcing and/or seeing anew previously established stereotypes. If apt and successful (or well-suited for particular interests), the metaphoric assertion can be adopted by social actors not only as a major tool for organizing otherwise inchoate experiences, but also as a scenario for behavior. Working against this theoretical backdrop I conjecture that, when moving across quality spaces, one and the same metaphor might acquire opposite interpretations and might thus provide contradictory scenarios for social behavior. Being an organizing metaphor in a given quality space, in another one it may have a *disorganizing* effect on social actors, especially when the two quality spaces overlap.

The Trouble with the Balkans

The trouble with the Balkans starts with the designation itself – it is inherently problematic. In terms of geography, the Balkans constitute an entity which is part of Europe, even though it is located in its periphery. In any other terms, the Balkans have the ambiguous status of being only semi-integrated with the rest of the continent. They are, in Rokkan’s terminology, a typical case of *interface peripheries*, caught between different political, economic and ideological centers, but never fully integrated into neither of them.² Being not only in the periphery of the West, but also in the periphery of the East, the Balkans are in the position of the recurrent included and excluded middle. From this perspective, the borders of the Balkans, especially vis-à-vis Europe, oscillate between being a frontier of exclusion and inclusion (much more the former than the latter – which result in the local construction of what

¹ James W. Fernandez. *Persuasion and Performance: The Play of Tropes in Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

² See Stein Rokkan. “Centres and Peripheries in Western Europe.” In: *The Politics of Territorial Identity*. Eds. Stein Rokkan & Derek Urwin. London: SAGE, 1979, pp. 1-17. Cf. Erik Allardt & Henry Valen. “Stein Rokkan: An Intellectual Profile.” In: *Mobilization, Center-Periphery Structures and Nation-Building*. Ed. Per Torsvik. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1981, pp. 11-38.

can be termed “identities of exclusion.”) A question to start with, therefore, is which countries are in, which ones are out. Because of the negative connotations of the designation, no Balkan country (with a possible exception of Bulgaria and Macedonia) considers itself Balkan. What we witness is a correlation between the local and the global symbolic organizations of space, in which the “Balkanness” of the Balkans and its inhabitants becomes the principle site where different ongoing projects intersect and where the local identities are negotiated within the framework of globalization.

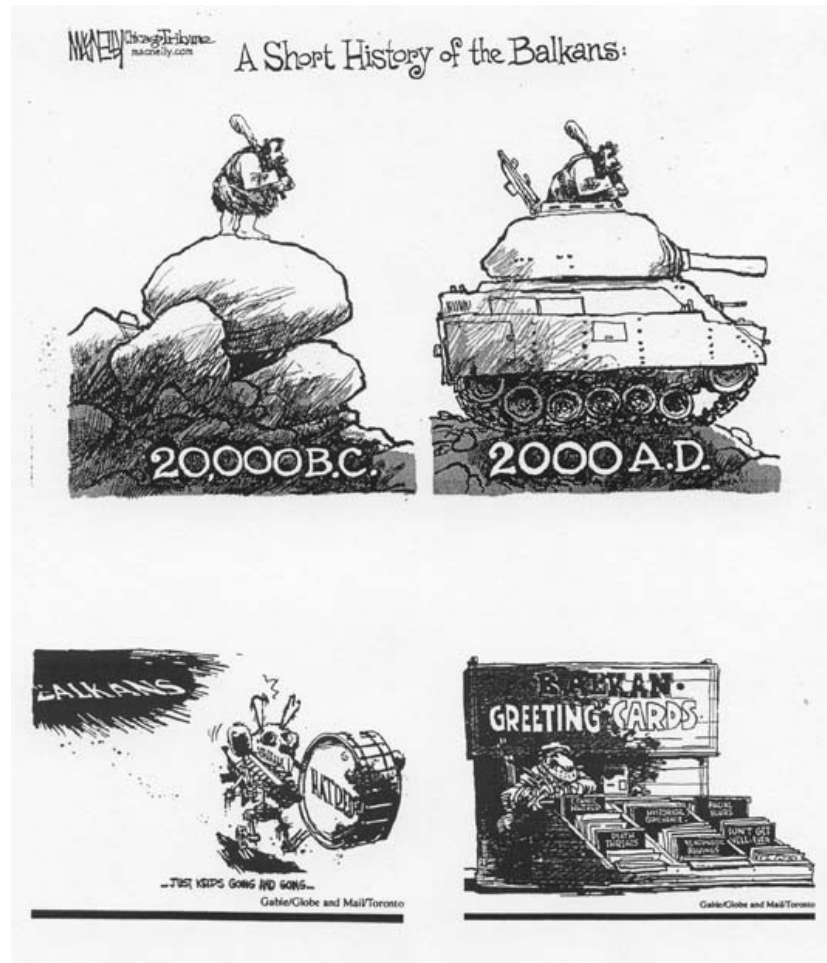


Fig.1: The “frozen image” of the Balkans in Western newspapers

A number of often conflicting descriptions are employed to explain the intersection of the local and the global imaginations of the Balkans. One of them makes the Balkans readable through the category of Orientalism (Edward Said),³ and of *nesting Orientalism* in particular – a term which refers to the gradation of “Oriens” as a pattern of reproduction of the original dichotomy upon which Orientalism itself is premised (e.g., our neighbors are more “oriental” than we are).⁴ This model is coupled by Maria Todorova’s model, according to which the Balkans are subject to a particular discourse (*Balkan-ism*), which is distant from Orientalism (no colonialism in the Balkans) but essen-

³ Edward Said. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

⁴ Milica Bakić-Hayden. “Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia.” *Slavic Review* 54.4 (Winter 1995): 917-931. Slavoj Žižek put it this way: “For Austrians, the Slovenes are wild hordes they have to protect themselves from by an imaginary wall; the Slovenes erect walls before the onslaught of the “uncivilized” Croats; the Croats are walling themselves up against their neighbors, the “wild” Serbs; the Serbs think of themselves as the last shield of Christendom that protects them (but also Europe!) from the Islamic invasion. Four times, therefore, the culturological borders are shifted and the walls erected – all justified by the protection of Christendom against the onslaught of the wild hordes” (Slavoj Žižek. “Uživanje u pokornosti i sluganstvu.” *Nasa Borba*, January 5, 1997).

tially depends on the same premise.⁵ Todorova maintains that the Balkans are conceptualized by the West as “familiarily outlandish” with respect to “the order of symbols, of values and beliefs”⁶ that govern the Western civilization in its European and North American hypostases. From this perspective, the Balkans have been generally constructed as the region “between and betwixt” whose unstable exotic qualities are constantly overshadowed by images of disorder, violence and threat – the political clichés “the Balkan ghost,” “the Balkan danger,” or “the Balkan malaise” being some of the most telling examples in this respect.⁷ Established during the Balkan Wars (1912-1914) and revitalized by the wars leading to and following the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, such political metaphors perpetuate a “frozen image” of the Balkans (see fig.1) as a region of “ancient ethnic hatreds” (cf. a cartoon from 1993 depicting the Energizer Bunny of the Balkan hatreds that “just keeps going and going”), “new tribalism” and “the freedom to hate” (cf. another cartoon from 1994 that depicts an array of “Don’t-get-well-ever” type of Balkan greeting cards). Such metaphorical complexes, featuring the Balkans as their tenor and stereotyping the Balkan people as having and/or causing problems, produce further new metaphors, already with a “Balkan” vehicle. In them, the term functions as a core sign-image packed with traces of previous metaphorical interactions to organize the behavior of the Westerners not only toward the region (constructed as the West’s ridiculous Alter Ego) but also, by extension, toward themselves. Among them especially productive and influential in Western discourses, both inside and outside Balkan context, is the metaphor of “balkanization” coined out in the aftermath of World War I (one of its earliest mentions is in an article from *The New York Times* entitled “The Balkanization of Europe,” dated December 20, 1918).⁸ The trope’s original metaphoric value derives from conceptualizing the Balkans as a place of violent disintegration, ethnic cleansing and superfluous separatism, where claims for self-determination more often than not fail to be translated into an establishment of autonomous public authority. There are two alternative political interpretations of this Balkan predicament: one, presenting it as inherent in the region itself, the result of its “surplus of history” (Churchill is credited for saying “The Balkans produce more history than they can consume locally”) and the burden of ancient and modern civilizational fault-lines that tear the area up from within;

⁵ Maria Todorova. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. Cf. K.E. Fleming. “Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography.” *American Historical Review* (Oct. 2000).

⁶ Edward Shils. *Center and periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1975.

⁷ Contemporary Western images of the Balkans as an area of disorder, pathology and violence are studied by Milica Bakic-Hayden & Robert M. Hayden. “Orientalist Variations on the Theme ‘Balkans’: Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics.” *Slavic Review* 51/1 (1992): 1-15; R. Craig Nation. “Images of the Balkan in the West.” *Balkan Forum* 3/12 (1995): 23-51; Vesna Goldsworthy. *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998.

⁸ The earliest definition of the term comes from Paul Scott Mowrer’s book *Balkanized Europe* (1921): “And this, then, we find to be the meaning of the word “Balkanization”: the creation, in a region of hopelessly mixed races, of a medley of small states with more or less backward populations, economically and financially weak, covetous, intriguing, afraid, a continual prey to the machinations of the great powers, and to the violent promptings of their own passions.” The term is also used in its verb form “to balkanize” (*balkanisieren* in German, *balkaniser* in French, *balkanizzare* in Italian); see David L. Gold. “Offspring of English *Balkanize*.” *Names* 34/2 (1986): 327-238. Cf. also Emil Niederhauser. “Balkanizalodas.” [The Term ‘Balkanization.’] *Magyar Tudomány* [Hungary] 37/3 (1992): 314-321.

and another, viewing the Balkan predicament as the Great Powers' manipulation of local nationalisms in their struggles for the establishment of "arcs of influence." Both explanations, however different otherwise, invariably associate the Balkan crises with frustrated or temporally failed ethno-national projects, which are bound – sooner or later – to cause wars and lead eventually to the establishment of new, smaller and still smaller, Ruritania.⁹ As a popular joke has it, in the year of 2020 there will be only ten states in Europe: Western Europe and, besides it, Bosnia, Slovenia, Slavonia, Kosovo, Kraina, Greater Serbia, Smaller Serbia, etc...¹⁰ By locating the processes of political integration exclusively in Europe and the opposite movement exclusively in the Balkans, the joke subscribes to the popular as well as sometimes academic distinction between two different nationalisms: "good" (Western, civic, rational, constructive) and "bad" (Eastern, ethnic, irrational, destructive).¹¹ It is the second type of nationalism that the Western metaphor of balkanization stands for when it is used in political context.

Another example of the "multiple marginality"¹² status of the region concerns the reception of its literature, viewed itself as "marginal." In 1971 *New York Times* published a parody describing the "astonishment" of the literary world upon learning that "this year's Nobel Prize for Literature had gone neither to Borges nor Nabokov, but instead to Gregor Drubnik, the 67-year-old Bulgarian fabulist" (needless to say, a fictitious character), who "for the past 55 years has lived downtown Plotznitska, a remote hill village where the principal industry of the glum and exceedingly hostile peasants is stringing goats' teeth on robber bands to fashion souvenir ankle bracelets." The author of the pamphlet, some Thomas Meehan,¹³ goes on to say that Drubnik's brief, 250-word moralistic tales "make little sense to anyone unacquainted with the arcane tradition of 19th-century Balkan goat herding." Moreover,

⁹ I am referring, of course, to the fictional story of how little Ruritania breaks away from the empire of Megalomania that was invented by Ernest Gellner (*Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1983) to illustrate the characteristic scenario of nation-building.

¹⁰ Variants of the joke: only the Belgian [= Brussels] empire and 'n' Balkan countries; or only 7 states – Germany and the six former Yugoslavian republics. The later variant is of Yugoslavian origin and reflects the fear of a "new" German sphere of influence on the Balkans provoked by the early recognition of Croatia by United Germany.

¹¹ The distinction between Western and Eastern nationalisms was first advanced by John Plamenatz. "Two Types of Nationalism." In: *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, ed. E. Kamenka. London, 1973. This "Manichean" view of nationalism has been recently critiqued by Rogers Brubaker as being both normatively and analytically problematic (see "Myths and Misconceptions in the Study of Nationalism." In: *Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*, ed. John Hall. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999).

¹² Derek Hall & Darrick Danta. "The Balkans: Perceptions and Realities." In: *Reconstructing the Balkans: A Geography of the New Southeast Europe*, eds. Derek Hall & Darrick Danta, pp. 3-13. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996, p. 8.

¹³ See Thomas Meehan. "The Last Word: Notes on Drubnik." *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1971. Here is the description of the language: "Pludnik contains a mere 243 words, and thus many words in Pludnik tend to have several meanings. There are in Pludnik, for instance, six separate and distinct meanings for the word *plodlik* – night, light bulb, dog sled, hello, goodbye, and tapioca pudding. [...] And, infuriatingly, the infinitive *sluvnik* can in varying contexts mean to go, to stay, to sit, to stand, to live, to die and to pole vault. Moreover, entire sentences in Pludnik can be subject to totally different interpretations. For example, the seven-word sentence "Jubda pluvda slubnik bluvda Plozluk plubka vrats" can mean either "I am going to the market place on Tuesday at 11 A.M." or "My Aunt Mitzie has lost her bottle of Revlon nail-polish remover."

Drubnik “stubbornly chooses to write all of his fables in Pludnik, a frustratingly ambiguous Slovene peasant dialect that has for centuries defied the translating efforts of some of the world’s most eminent linguists, many of whom, after wrestling with Pludnik, have fallen victims to serious mental illness.” The pamphlet ends with the suggestion that “perhaps the wisest thing that the American reader can do in regard to this year’s winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature is simply to forget that he ever heard of Gregor Drubnik and his goddam fables.”

Clash of Metaphors

Let me now give you but one example of how such negative metaphors not only shape the identities and subjectivities of political actors but also serve as scenarios for behavior. In the 1990s the Bulgarian national air-carrier *BALKAN* experience a crisis which finally led to its sale to Izrael’s Zeevi Group.¹⁴ (The national affiliation of the buyer contributed further to the company’s troubles and propelled yet another ethno-metaphorical outburst in the local media, with xenophobic graffiti and cartoons like the ones pictured in fig. 2-4.) As it turned out, the dropping of the company’s ratings and the constant decrease of international passenger traffic in the 1990s was intensified by the metaphorical infelicity of the air carrier’s name *BALKAN AIR*: after all, who would board a flying “powder keg” – a plane which by its very name threatens to break into pieces?! From a native Bulgarian point of view, however, there is hardly a more appropriate name for an air carrier than *BALKAN*, since it both evokes images of reliability (“we are as solid as the Balkan Mountain”) and propagates the company’s aspirations to be the representative airlines of the entire peninsula.



Fig. 2: Anti- Zeevi graffiti , downtown Sofia, Sept. 2001

¹⁴ The following description is based on Bulgarian and international newspaper and radio reports; see *Bulgarian Business News*, Aug. 14/20, 1995; *Duma*, Apr. 4, 1998; *Demokratiia*, Feb. 27, Apr. 6, July 13, Aug. 24, 1998; *Reuters Financial Service*, Jan. 28, March 31, Apr. 7, 1997; *The European*, June 19, 1997, Aug. 24, 1998; *Airline Business*, July 1998, p. 18-19; cf. also <http://www.balkan.com/>. To be sure, the name of the company was not the only and not even the main factor – which arguably was the misled privatization practices of Ivan Kostov’s government – that led to its closing in 2002; since then the national air carrier is *Bulgaria Air*.



Acquired by Israel's Zeevi Group,
Fig.3: (*24 Chasa*, July 2, 1999)



BALKAN lost its Arab routes
Fig.4: (*Trud*, July 9, 1999)

In the Bulgarian repertoire of tropes, as well as in the local symbolic space, the Balkan Mountain – the largest mountain range in the country that since 1809 has shared by a metonymic shift its name with the entire Balkan Peninsula – occupies a maximum privileged position. It has been constructed as a core sign-image of stability, security, durability and national identity. Thus it is the focus of a rich metaphorical complex where the positive zones of numerous domains of experience intersect. The Balkan Mountain is the backbone of Bulgaria, the Father Balkan, the Balkan lion, it is up in the skies where eagles are born (while the plain down grows only pumpkins); it is the cradle of freedom, the navel of the peninsula, “our pride and our soul.” At least two of these metaphors were put into operation in the Bulgarian political behavior. The awakening of the Balkan lion was a major organizing metaphor of the Bulgarian national liberation movement, a movement that ultimately led in 1878 to the political emancipation of the country from the Ottoman Empire. (Later the lion was employed on the coat of arms of the new state.)¹⁵ Recognizing the crucial geopolitical role of this mountainous range for Bulgarian history, the renowned historian Petur Mutafchiev claimed: “Without the Balkans, and then also without the mountains on our soil, here in the European Southeast what has existed now for so many centuries under the name of Bulgarians would hardly have survived and might not have appeared.” According to another Bulgarian scholarly authority, “nature and culture, geography and ethnos overlap each other metonymically in the Balkan Mountain, so that they form an entity with a unique content. [...] The Balkan is symbolically generalized as the ‘quintessence’ of the Bulgarianness.”¹⁶

The productiveness of the Balkan metaphorical complex is used actively as an instrument of commercial persuasion as well. Bulgaria is a country where not only the airlines are called *Balkan*, but “whose tourist agencies are ‘Balkantourist’ and ‘Balkan Holidays,’ whose

¹⁵ See the study of metaphors in the Bulgarian Enlightenment by Petko Ivanov & Valentina Izmirlieva “Khristianskoto v bulgarskata vuzrozhdenska literatura.” Unpublished manuscript, 1986.

¹⁶ See, respectively, Petur Mutafchev. “Balkanut v nashata istoriia.” In his *Kniga za bulgarite*. Sofia: BAN, 1987, pp. [65-89] 66, and Rumén Daskalov & Ivan Elenkov. *Zashto sme takiva? V tursene na bulgarskata kulturna identichnost*. Sofia: Prosveta, 1994, p. 42.

record-making industry is 'Balkanton,' whose best export to the COMECON was an electrocar called 'Balkancar,' whose most fashionable hotel in the center of Sofia is 'Sheraton-Balkan,' whose third largest bank is 'Balkanbank' [...]. These examples can be continued *ad infinitum*."¹⁷ All these commercial labels use the Balkan predication to move their products or services to a most advantageous position in quality space, i.e. in *Bulgarian* quality space, assuming it is shared by their customers around the globe.



Fig.5: Balkan (Air) as a bridge
(*Sturshel*, June 2000)

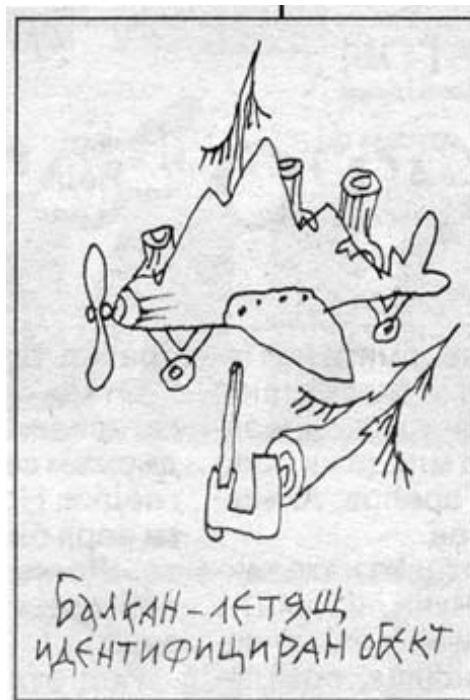


Fig.6: "Balkan – identified flying object,"
(*24 Chasa*, June 30, 1999)

Going back to my initial anecdote, the trademark *Balkan* is a commercial loser from a Western perspective but utterly felicitous designation if viewed from Bulgaria. Using a major organizing metaphor, the company expects to urge its customers towards a particular type of performance: buying its tickets. Yet on the international market this metaphor clashes with another powerful organizing Western metaphor with the same vehicle, which makes the opposite movement and leads to a diametrically opposite performance: people do NOT buy tickets. Operating from the position of extra-tropological power, the Western organizing metaphors serve as the principle instruments for corrosion of local meanings, thus forcing the rival metaphors to work against their implied scenarios, or to become *disorganizing* metaphors (see fig. 5-8).

A Metaphor with an Army and a Navy

To rephrase the question posed by the case of Balkan Airlines: why some organizing metaphors travel well far from their emission center (as do "balkanization"), while others (such

¹⁷ Maria Todorova. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p.56.

as the local metaphor of the Balkan mountain) fail to go international? It may be productive here to introduce, developing further the implications of the scientific metaphor “emission center,” the variable *radius of activity*, or *scope of persuasion and performance*, to handle the varying stability of metaphors across culture’s space (and across cultures). Evidently some metaphors have a greater radius of activity than others, and the larger their scope of persuasion and performance is, the more aggressive they seem to be in the cross-culture competition of organizing metaphors.

What are, then, the factors that determine the metaphor’s activity scope? Since all the metaphors here discussed are apt and powerfully organizing in their emission center, I assume that their long-distance intensity is a function of extra-tropological factors. What makes the metaphor of balkanization so stable and aggressive that it can outplay the “Balkan” metaphor is the fact that it belongs to the now dominant, i.e. Western, discourse. What I understand by dominant discourse is a discourse which, operating from the position of power (usually, but not necessarily, political), strives to homogenize the heterogeneous space of world’s culture and establish its own as *the* quality space. Its organizing metaphors are the instruments of this process of homogenization. As metaphors vested in extra-tropological power, they suppress rival organizing metaphors that are produced and operate within rival quality spaces and, in the process, force them to work against their implied scenarios, or to become *disorganizing* metaphors.

Such a relativist view on organizing metaphors brings into the tropological discussion the category of power and allows us to further distinguish between “weak” and “strong” organizing metaphors, based on their radius of activity as determined by the power vested in the adopted point of view of the metaphorical utterance. To paraphrase Max Weinreich’s famous distinction between a language and a dialect, a strong organizing metaphor (such as “balkanization”) is a metaphor with an army and a navy to defend it.



Fig.7: Flying with Balkan Air
(*Demokratiia*, March 17, 1999)



Fig.8: “Not everything that flies is worth money”
(*24 Chasa*, July 8, 1999)

The Last Word: Notes on Drubnik

By THOMAS MEEHAN

(Written after noting that among the more recent winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature have been Giorgos Seferis, Salvatore Quasimodo, Miguel Asturias, Halldór K. Laxness, Alexis Leger and Yasunari Kawabata.)

Last month, when it was announced in Stockholm that this year's Nobel Prize for Literature had gone neither to W.H. Auden, Jorge Luis Borges, nor Vladimir Nabokov, whom everyone here had assumed to be the leading contenders for the award, but instead to Gregor G. Drubnik, the 67-year-old Bulgarian fabulist, an astonished New York literary world turned perplexedly to Eastern European critics for information about Drubnik and his oeuvre. But, unhappily, little such information was forthcoming, for not only is Drubnik virtually unknown in the West but practically nobody has ever heard of him in Bulgaria, either. Now, however, with the first publication in English of "The Sullen Swineherd" (University of Southern Utah Press, 53 pp., \$12.50), a collection of 31 Drubnik fables written between 1927 and 1934, the American reader at last has an opportunity to examine for himself the work of this singularly boring writer.

In his introduction to "The Sullen Swineherd," Drubnik's English-language translator, G. Claude Urphey, Sterling Professor of Balkan Literature at Rollins College, suggests that the difficulties that the typical Western reader may have with Drubnik, mainly a tendency to slump off to sleep about half way through the first fable, most likely stem from the fact that Drubnik's moralistic tales make little sense to anyone unacquainted with the arcane traditions of 19th-century Bulgarian goat herding. Indeed, adds Professor Urphey, even to one, like himself, deeply versed in these traditions, the fables still don't make any sense.

If literary cognoscenti everywhere were surprised that the coveted award had gone to the obscure Bulgarian scrivener, no one was more surprised than Gregor G. Drubnik himself, who until winning it had never heard of the Nobel Prize for Literature. A squat, roly-poly man, with dark, melancholy eyes that peer owlishly out from behind rimless spectacles, Drubnik, who hides his bald pate beneath an ill-fitting carrot-colored wig, has for the past 55 years lived alone in a rude 12-room duplex upstairs over a bowling alley in the heart of downtown Plotnitska, a remote hill village in the mountains of central Bulgaria, where the principal industry of the glum and exceedingly hostile peasants is stringing goats' teeth on rubber bands to fashion souvenir ankle bracelets. In his humble duplex, with the company only of his pet springer spaniel, Morris, the ascetic Nobel laureate — who exists on a Spartan diet of dried berries, mixed cocktail nuts, and yambol, a Slavic form of lime Gatorade — has for decades worked literally from dawn to dusk on his brief, 250-word fables, laboriously turning out no more than six or eight a year. In fact, so slow a writer is Drubnik that there are many days in which he produces fewer than five words during over fourteen hours at his I.B.M. "100" Electra typewriter.

Perhaps the most formidable obstacle that Drubnik places in the path of Western readers is the fact that he stubbornly chooses to write all of his fables in Pludnik, a frustratingly ambiguous Slovene peasant dialect that has for centuries defied the translating efforts of some of the world's most eminent linguists, many of whom, after wrestling with Pludnik, have fallen victim to serious mental illness. Indeed, Professor Urphey is himself at the moment on an extended medical leave-of-absence from Rollins.

Pludnik, which is spoken today only by a handful of very elderly goat herds, contains a mere 243 words, and thus many words in Pludnik tend to have several meanings. There are in Pludnik, for instance, six separate and distinct meanings for the word *plodlik* — night, light bulb, dog sled, hello, goodbye, and tapioca pudding. Again, the word *pluddop* can mean either fireplace, creamed spinach, water polo, kitchen sink, up, down, or World Almanac. And, infuriatingly, the infinitive *sluvnik* can in varying contexts mean to go, to stay, to sit, to stand, to live, to die and to pole vault. Moreover, entire sentences in Pludnik can be subject to totally different interpretations. For

Thomas Meehan writes for The New Yorker and other magazines.

example, the seven-word sentence "Jubda pluvda slubnik bluvda Plozluk plubka vrats" can mean either "I am going to the market place on Shrove Tuesday at 11:35 A.M." or "My Aunt Mitzie has lost her bottle of Revlon nail-polish remover."

In making a final judgment on Gregor G. Drubnik, who has frequently been compared with Kafka (unfavorably), the American reader must not entirely dismiss from mind the thought that the remarkably stupefying quality of his fables in their English-language versions may be as much the fault of his translator as of Drubnik himself. That is, upon reading "The Sullen Swineherd" one is soon led to suspect that Professor Urphey has not always been wholly successful in translating Drubnik's tricky Pludnik into English.

For example, in translating the opening sentence of "The Tortoise and the Garage Mechanic," one of the most confusing and least charming fables in the collection, Professor Urphey gives us, "It was a dark and windy tapioca pudding in midtown Slovnikia." Surely, there is something wrong here. Again, later in the same fable, Professor Urphey has Eva Marie, the withered Serbian crone, "reading 'Who's Who in Baseball' by the light of a 60-watt dog sled" and "pole-vaulting into the cathedral," both instances of translations that one uneasily feels are slightly off the mark.

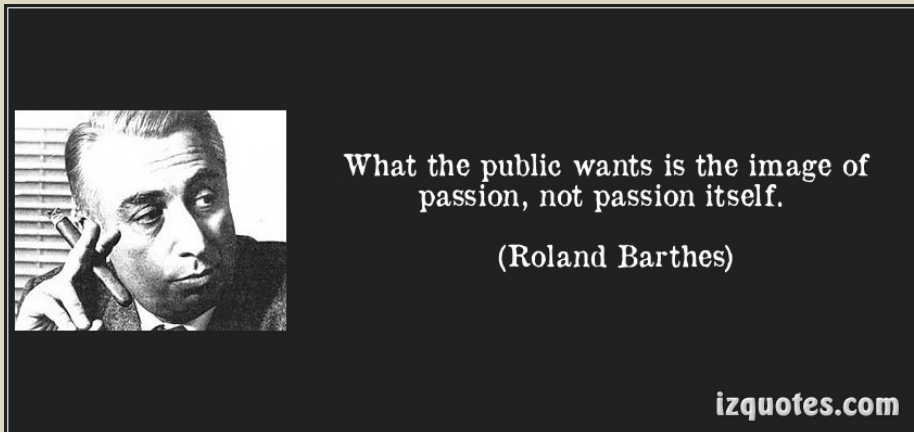
Thus, in the last analysis, when all of the ambiguities of Pludnik and its translation are taken into account, perhaps the wisest thing that the American reader can do in regard to this year's winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature is simply to forget that he ever heard of Gregor G. Drubnik and his goddam fables. ■

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Rhetoric of the Image *(Barthes)*



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Barthes: Challenging “the Natural” (1)



Europe 1, formerly known as **Europe n° 1**, is a privately owned radio network created in 1955. It is one of the leading French radio broadcasters and heard throughout France.



First logo of Europe 1 from 1955 till 1965 Source: Wikipedia

Slogans

- 1965 - 1975 : *Je choisis, Europe 1 !*
- 1975 - 1981 : **Europe 1, c'est naturel**
- 1986 - 2000 : *Europe 1 c'est la pêche*
- 2000 - 2001 : *Europe 1, c'est bien*
- 2001 - 2005 : *Europe 1, ça me parle*
- 2005 - 2009 : *Parlons-nous*

Videos: “Europe 1, c’est aussi 60 ans de jingles” <http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2gcya5>
 “Le Quart d’Heure Americain” (1983) http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x11kihg_le-quart-d-heure-american-partie-1_shortfilms

Mythologies

For Barthes, one of the greatest mistakes modern society makes is to think that its institutions and intellectual habits are good because they are in keeping with what is popularly called “the nature of things”.

The second mistake is to see language as a natural phenomenon rather than a set of conventional signs. What Barthes wanted to do, as he said when discussing his aims in his best-known book, *Mythologies* (1957), was to “destroy the idea that signs are natural” (*battre en brèche la naturalité du signe*).



“It’s Natural”

It is also a mistake, and a very frequent one, to use the word “natural” when we mean either socially acceptable, morally desirable or aesthetically pleasing – or, quite frequently, all three. The French radio station EUROPE 1 did this when it issued motorists with a sticker to put into the back of their car with an advertising slogan on it which read *EUROPE 1, c'est naturel*.



Source: Philip Thody “Introducing Barthes: A Graphic Guide” (2006)

Barthes: Challenging “the Natural” (2)



There can be no final meaning attached to signs because they are constantly changing according to context.

In the code of spoken French, the rolled "r" is a perfectly ordinary part of the phonetic behaviour whereby a Frenchman from south of the Loire communicates his meaning.



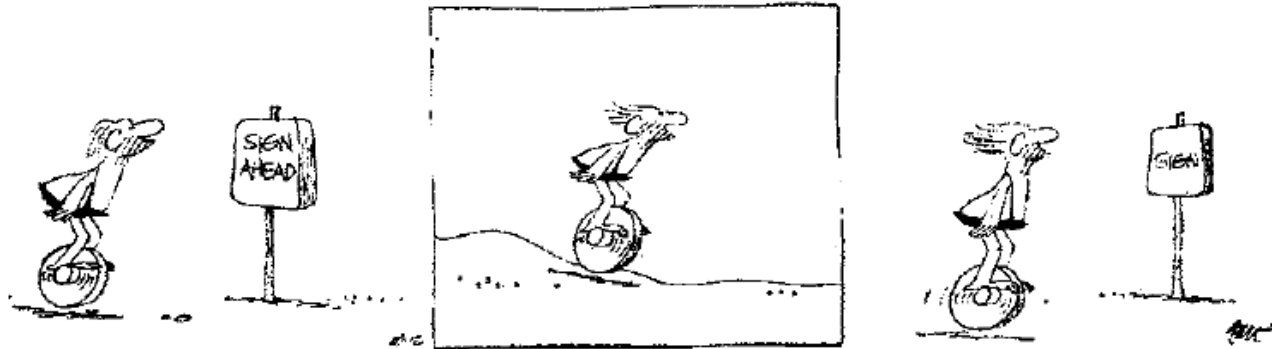
There are other cases in English as well as in French society where a way of speaking, dressing, eating or drinking can take on quite different connotations according to context.

Codes and Conventions

The revolutionary artist who thinks he is dressing quite naturally by spending the day in torn jeans and an old sweater is observing a set of conventions which is just as carefully coded, and just as meaningful, as that of the conservatively-minded civil servant with his dark suit, white shirt, and college or regimental tie.



A History of Semiology



Source: Jonathan Culler "Barthes: A Very Short Introduction" (2002)

Barthes' Semiology of the Everydayness

	System	Syntagm
Garment system	Set of pieces, parts or details which cannot be worn at the same time on the same part of the body, and whose variation corresponds to a change in the meaning of the clothing: toque - bonnet - hood, etc.	Juxtaposition in the same type of dress of different elements: skirt - blouse - jacket.
Food system	Set of foodstuffs which have affinities or differences, within which one chooses a dish in view of a certain meaning: the types of entrée, roast or sweet. A restaurant 'menu' actualizes both planes: the horizontal reading of the entrées, for instance, corresponds to the system, the vertical reading of the menu corresponds to the syntagm.	Real sequence of dishes chosen during a meal: this is the menu.
Furniture system	Set of the 'stylistic' varieties of a single piece of furniture (a bed).	Juxtaposition of the different pieces of furniture in the same space: bed - wardrobe - table, etc.
Architecture system	Variations in style of a single element in a building, various types of roof, balcony, hall, etc.	Sequence of the details at the level of the whole building.

System and Speech

This fundamental separation of "system" and "speech" applies to other cultural artefacts. One example is **cooking**.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>System</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) rules of exclusion (taboos) b) oppositions (savoury/sweet) c) rules of association (at the level of the dish or the menu) d) rituals of use | } | <p>Speech</p> <p>e.g. family traditions, national traditions of cookery</p> |
|--|---|--|



Source: Roland Barthes "Elements of Semiology" (1964)

Source: Philip Thody "Introducing Barthes: A Graphic Guide" (2006)

Store vs. Restaurant

Paradigm



Syntagm



“Bushisms” – G. W. Bush's Slip-Ups (Paradigmatic vs. Syntagmatic)

"We cannot let terrorists and rogue nations hold this nation **hostile** or hold our allies hostile." - *Des Moines, Iowa, 21 Aug. 2000. Target – hostage*

"And so, in my State of the—my State of the Union—or state—my speech to the nation, whatever you want to call it, speech to the nation—I asked Americans to give 4,000 years—4,000 hours over the next—the rest of your life—of service to America. That's what I asked—4,000 hours." - *Bridgeport, Conn., 9 Apr. 2002.*

"And there is distrust in Washington. I am surprised, frankly, at the amount of distrust that exists in this town. And I'm sorry it's the case, and I'll work hard to try to **elevate** it." - *Interview on National Public Radio, 29 Jan. 2007. Target – alleviate*

"They **misunderestimated** me." - *Bentonville, Arkansas, 6 Nov. 2000. Target – underestimated*

The California crunch really is the result of not enough power-generating plants and then not enough power to power the power of generating plants." - *Interview with the New York Times, 14 Jan. 2001.*

"I am mindful not only of preserving executive powers for myself, but for **predecessors** as well." - *Washington, D.C., 29 Jan. 2001. Target - successors*

"The law I sign today directs new funds and new focus to the task of collecting vital intelligence on terrorist threats and on weapons of mass **production**." - *Washington, D.C., 27 Nov. 2002. Target – destruction*

"I want to thank you for taking time out of your day to come and witness my **hanging**." - *At the dedication of his portrait, Austin, Texas, 4 Jan. 2002.*

"I know the human being and fish can **coexist** peacefully." - *Sarginaw, Michigan, 29 Sept. 2000.*

"Our enemies are innovative and resourceful, and so are we. They never stop thinking about new ways to harm our country and our people, and **neither do we**." - *Washington, D.C., 5 Aug. 2004.*

"There's a huge trust. I see it all the time when people come up to me and say, "I don't want you to let me down again." - *Boston, Massachusetts, 3 Oct. 2000.*

"Families **is** where our nation finds hope, where **wings take dream**" - *La Crosse, Wisconsin, 18 Oct. 2000. Target - Families are, dreams take wing*

"I know how hard it is for you **to put food on your family**" - *To the Chamber of Commerce, Greater Nashua, New Hampshire, 27 Jan. 2000. Target - "I know how hard it is for you to put food on your plate/on the table.*

"We spent a lot of time talking about Africa, as we should. Africa is a **nation** that suffers from incredible disease." - *Gothenburg, Sweden, 14 June 2001. Target - continent*

"Rarely is the question asked: **Is** our children learning?" - *Florence, S.C., 11 Jan. 2000. Target - Are*

"Make no mistake about it, I understand how tough it is, sir. I talk to families **who** die." - *Washington, D.C.; 7Dec. 2006. Target – families of those who die.*

"There's nothing **more deep** than recognizing Israel's right to exist. That's the **most deep** thought of all. ... I can't think of anything **more deep** than that right." - *Washington, D.C., 13 Mar. 2002. Target - deeper, deepest, deeper*

"Will the highways on the Internet become **more few**?" - *Concord, N.H., 29 Jan. 2000. Target - fewer*

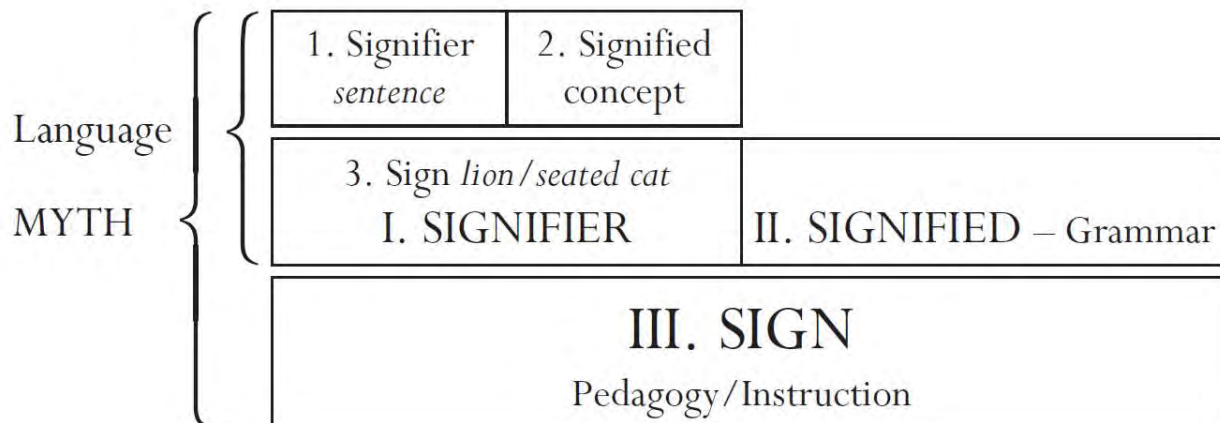
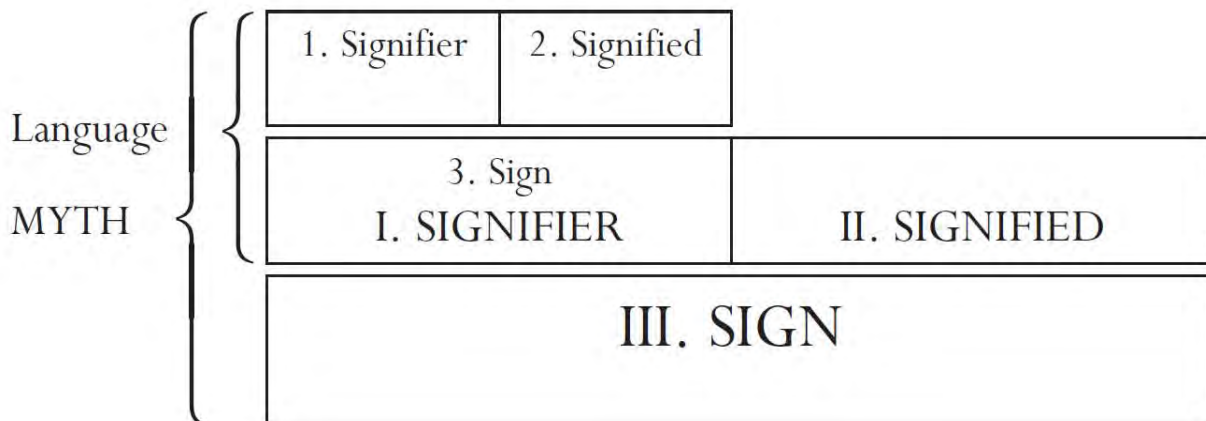
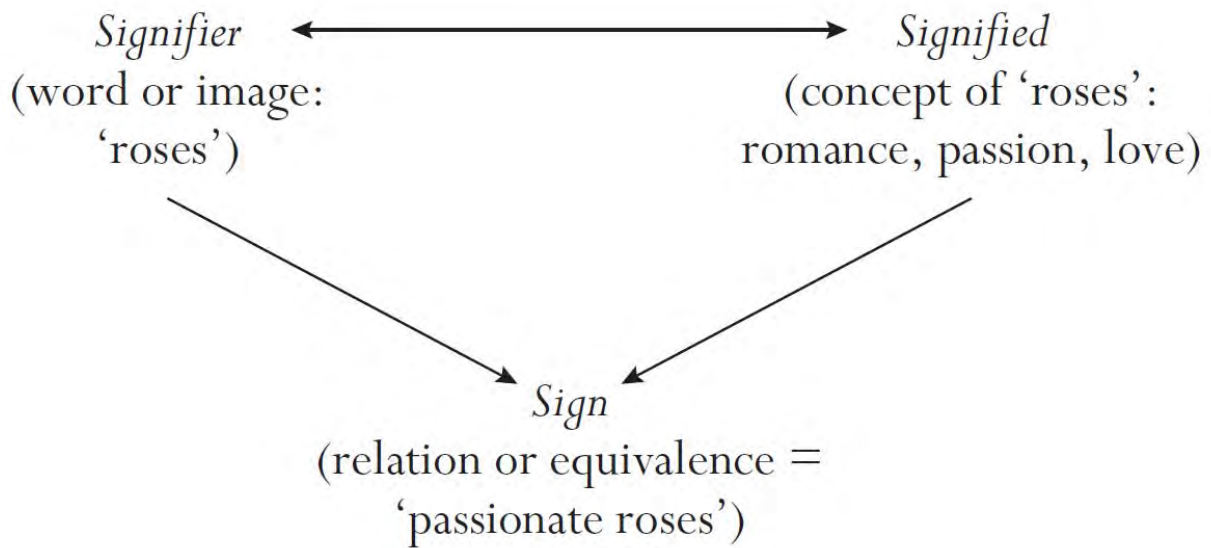
"Dick Cheney and I do not want this nation to be in a recession. We want anybody who can find work to be able to find work." - *60 Minutes II, 5 Dec. 2000.*

"Well, I think if you say you're going to do something and don't do it, that's **trustworthiness**" - *George W. Bush, in a CNN online chat, 30 Aug. 2000. Target - untrustworthiness*

"And there's no doubt in my mind, not one doubt in my mind, that we will **fail**." - *Washington, D.C., 4 Oct. 2001. Target – win*

"You teach a child to read, and he or **her** will be able to pass a literacy test." - *Townsend, Tennessee, 21 Feb. 2001. Target – she*

Mythology of Everyday Notions

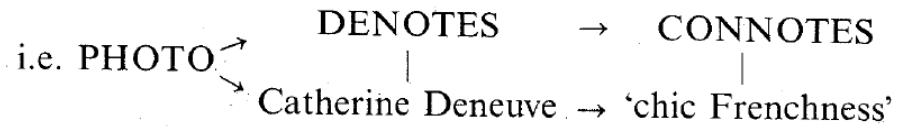
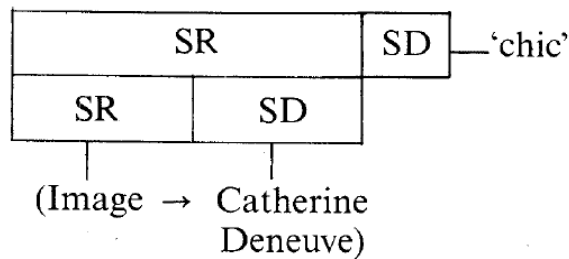




**Chanel No. 5
Perfume –
Catherine
Deneuve
(1970s)**

Chanel No. 5 was the first perfume launched (1921) by French couturier Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel.

Source: ▶
Judith Williamson
"Decoding
Advertisements"
(1978)



"Chanel – one of the pleasures of being a woman"



Videos: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fr9sZEhpeyl>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=74tu1qy37zA>;
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vtQPYc4n5I8>

Rhetoric of the Image



Here we have a Panzani advertisement: some packets of pasta, a tin, a sachet, some tomatoes, onions, peppers, a mushroom, all emerging from a half-open string bag, in yellows and greens on a red background.

[T]he sign *Panzani* gives not simply the name of the firm but also, by its assonance, an additional signified, that of 'Italianicity.' [...] A second sign is more or less equally evident; its signifier is the bringing together of the tomato, the pepper and the tricoloured hues (yellow, green, red) of the poster; its signified is Italy or rather *Italianicity*. This sign stands in a relation of redundancy with the connoted sign of the linguistic message (the Italian assonance of the name *Panzani*) and the knowledge it draws upon is already more particular; it is a specifically 'French' knowledge (an Italian would barely perceive the connotation of the name, no more probably than he would the Italianicity of tomato and pepper), based on a familiarity with certain tourist stereotypes.

Source: Roland Barthes "Rhetoric of the Image" (1964)

The Fidji "Woman with the Snake" Perfume Ad

Video: "Le baiser Fidji 1983," <http://www.ina.fr/video/PUB3252498100>



Table 8.1. Polar Oppositions (Implied) in Fidji Advertisement

Fidji	Civilized World
Polynesian Woman	White Woman
Paradise	Hell
Escape	Imprisonment
Dark Hair	Light Hair
Free Sexuality	Repressed Sexuality
Magic	Rationality
Fidji Perfume	Other Perfumes

Table 8.3. Myth Model and Fidji Advertisement

Myth	Medusa
Historical Act	Cleopatra kills herself with an asp
Elite Culture Text	Shakespeare: <i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>
Popular Culture Text	Fidji "Woman with Snake" advertisement
Everyday Life	Woman dabs on Fidji perfume

Source: Arthur Asa Berger "Ads, Fads, and Consumer Culture" (2011)

Signs and Myth in Maps

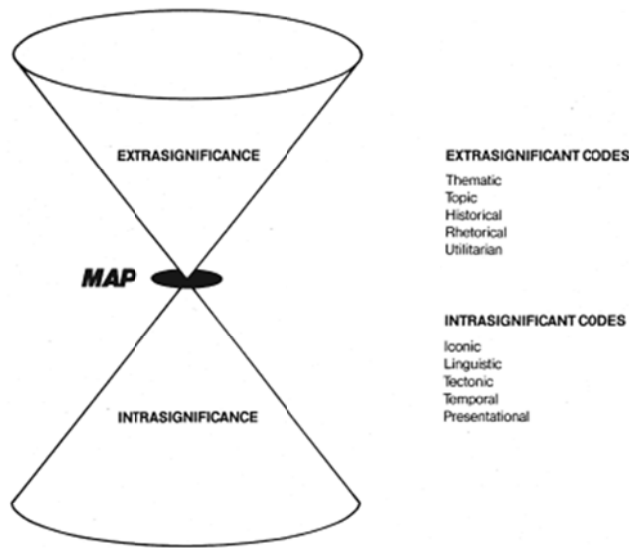


FIGURE 4.1. The map as a focusing device between the domains of extra- and intrasignification: the map gathers up the constituent signs governed by the codes of intrasignification so that they will be able to act as signifiers in the sign-functions governed by the codes of extrasignificance.

Every map is at once a synthesis of signs and a sign in itself: an instrument of depiction – of objects, events, places – and an instrument of persuasion — about these, its makers and itself. Like any other sign, it is the product of codes: conventions that prescribe relations of content and expression in a given semiotic circumstance. The codes that underwrite the map are as numerous as its motives, and as thoroughly naturalized within the culture that generates and exploits them. *Intrasignificant* codes govern the formation of the cartographic icon, the deployment of visible language, and the scheme of their joint presentation. These operate across several levels of integration, activating a repertoire of representational conventions and syntactical procedures extending from the symbolic principles of individual marks to elaborate frameworks of cartographic discourse.

Extrasignificant codes govern the appropriation of entire maps as sign vehicles for social and political expression — of values, goals, aesthetics and status – as the means of modern myth. Map signs, and maps as signs, de-pend fundamentally *on* conventions, signify only in relation to other signs, and are never free of their cultural context or the motives of their makers.

Source: Denis Wood & John Fels “Designs on Signs: Myth and Meaning in Maps” (1986)



FIGURE 4.3. A map stripped of everything but words: a field of linguistic map signs. Even without internal distinctions of color, its iconicity is immediately apparent in contrast to the surrounding text. (Source: Gerald Boulet)

How to Read a Tabloid: Semiotics of Sensationalism



Since tabloids cannot rely on the hard-news value of their stories (or the reputations of their reporters) to sell copies, they must make use of other attention-getting devices to lure readers. One of these devices is the strategic placement of tabloids at the checkout counters of supermarkets, so that bored customers might be led to look at them while they wait to pay for their groceries. A second device involves the layout of the front page, with its provocative photos and large, varicolored, eye-catching headlines, often in block capitals

reminiscent of comic-book captions. [...] It should be immediately apparent that the foremost [linguistic] device identifiable in tabloid headlines is the use of **content-rich vocabulary** – words that get the attention of the reader either through reference to a particularly interesting topic (e.g., "romance," "divorce," "sex," "scandal," etc.) or through evoking powerful, often emotional connotations (e.g., "weird," "sizzling," "stripped," etc.). As early as 1959, Otto Friedrich identified "the art of exaggerating without actually lying" as a key attention-getting device used in tabloid writing (thus, every woman is either "beautiful" "attractive" or "vivacious" depending on whether she is actually pretty, plain, or ugly, respectively), and this sort of "creative" use of words can certainly be seen in current tabloids.

The other device apparently used to promote readers' feelings of closeness to individuals featured in tabloid articles is what will be called here **pseudo-quotes**. These statements are treated in some ways as if they were direct quotes: i.e., they often use first-person pronouns or command forms and are phrased so as to convey the attitudes supposedly held by the person being quoted, although the writer of the article is not at all likely to be privy to them. But one other characteristic suggests that they are *not* verbatim reports of actual utterances – specifically, a lack of quotation marks in many of the headlines. Examples include "Tubby Hubby Divorces Wife Who Lost 900 Lbs: She Weeps: 'He Liked Me Fat – when no other man wanted me'"; "Conan Demands Give Me a Baby or Get Out"; "Cher: Why I Like 'Em Young."

A final category of linguistic devices found in tabloid headlines involves various literary or poetic devices, affecting the *phonological* shape of phrases rather than their *content* – part of what Cook (1992) calls *code play* in advertising. The effect is to make potentially unmemorable headlines or phrases more interesting purely in their pronunciation. The most common of these devices is **alliteration**, as in "First Photos of: Fergie's Baby"; "Brave Lucy Bounces Back from Stroke..."; "Eddie Murphy: Secret Surgery"; "Liz Drowning Drama."

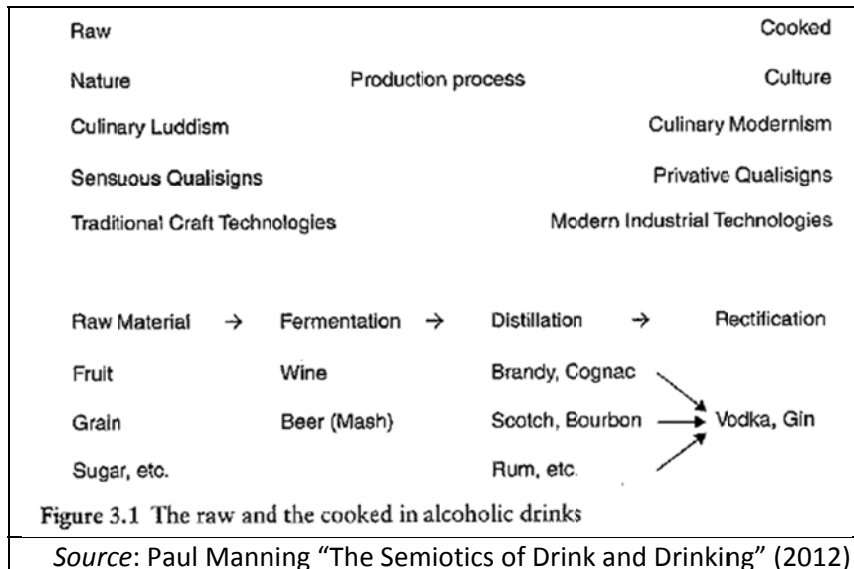
Source: Deborah Schaffer "The Language of Tabloid Headlines" (1989)

The Analogical Thought (Lévi-Strauss)

“The savage [=the ‘multi-conscious’] thought can be defined as analogical thought.”

Claude Lévi-Strauss

‘Analogical thought’ works by imposing on the world a series of structural ‘contrasts’ or ‘oppositions’ to which all the members of the culture tacitly assent and then proposing that these oppositions are analogically related in that their differences are felt to resemble each other. As a result an analysis of the analogical relationship between the oppositions of ‘up’ and ‘down’, ‘hot’ and ‘cold’, ‘raw’ and ‘cooked’ will offer insights into the nature of the particular ‘reality’ that each culture perceives.



A good example is the opposition between ‘edible’ and ‘inedible’ which all cultures maintain. Obviously the nature of the items placed under either of these two headings will crucially determine the way of life involved, since what is at stake is assent to the same ‘ordering’ of almost the entire natural world. ‘Analogical thought’ will move a culture to distinguish a ‘foreign’ culture from itself on this basis, so that the opposition ‘edible–inedible’ will become

analogically related to the opposition ‘native–foreign’. This means that ‘transformations’ between the two sets of ‘similar differences’ become possible: ‘that which is inedible’ becomes a metaphor of ‘that which is foreign’. So, one of the persistent English metaphors for the French occurs because frogs’ legs, placed under the heading ‘edible’ in France, find themselves under the heading ‘inedible’ in Britain. Moreover, the conventions which govern the cooking of food at large, the types of foods that may be combined and the kinds of food that may be eaten on various occasions turn out to be complex, coded sets of relationships relative to each individual culture, important as a major mediating factor between that culture and the nature that confronts it, and obviously maintaining a patterned set of analogies between other kinds of social relationships.

‘Concrete’ logic of this kind will, in its ‘totemic’ mode, see no difficulty in postulating ‘a logical equivalence between a society of natural species and a world of social groups.’ A man may think of himself as a bear because the analogy this evokes ‘is not between social groups and natural species, but between the differences which manifest themselves on the level of groups on the one hand and on that of species on the other.’ To say that clan A is ‘descended’ from the bear, and clan B from the eagle ‘is nothing more than a concrete and abbreviated way of stating the relationship between A and B as analogous to a relationship between species’. In other words, the man does not believe he is a bear, but the bear indicates his standing and role in the community, analogously defined, as part of a pattern of ‘oppositions’, against the standing of someone else. It represents just the sort of structure that we have seen, with Saussure, to be characteristic of language: a homology between two ‘systems of differences.’ And it once again underlines the structuralist insistence that the ‘phonemic’ relationship *between* entities is of more importance than the entities themselves, and indeed ultimately determines their nature. Thus the totemic ‘code’ acts as a ‘linguistic’ means of communication in the culture at large [...].

Source: Terence Hawkes “Structuralism and Semiotics” (1977)

Propp's Functions of Dramatis Personae

Theorems: 1. The functions of characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled; 2. The number of functions known to the fairy tale is limited; 3. The sequence of functions is always identical; 4. All fairy tales are of one type in regard to their structure.

A	<i>Initial situation</i>	Members of family introduced or hero introduced.
B	<i>Absentation</i>	One of the members of the family absents self from home.
γ	<i>Interdiction</i>	An interdiction addressed to hero.
δ	<i>Violation</i>	An interdiction is violated.
ε	<i>Reconnaissance</i>	The villain makes attempt at reconnaissance.
ζ	<i>Delivery</i>	The villain receives information about his victim.
θ	<i>Trickery</i>	The villain attempts to deceive his victim.
η	<i>Complicity</i>	The victim submits to deception, unwittingly helps the enemy.
A	<i>Villainy</i>	The villain causes harm or injury to a member of a family.
a	<i>Lack</i>	One member of a family lacks something or wants something.
B	<i>Mediation</i>	Misfortune is made known, hero is dispatched.
C	<i>Counteraction</i>	Seekers agree to decide on counteraction.
↑	<i>Departure</i>	The hero leaves home.
D	<i>First function of donor</i>	Hero tested, receives magical agent or helper.
E	<i>Hero's reaction</i>	Hero reacts to actions of the future donor.
F	<i>Receipt of magic agent</i>	Hero acquires the use of a magical agent.
G	<i>Spatial transference</i>	Hero led to object of search.
H	<i>Struggle</i>	Hero and villain join in direct combat.

I	<i>Victory</i>	Villain is defeated.
K	<i>Liquidation</i>	Initial misfortune or lack is liquidated.
↓	<i>Return</i>	Return
Pr	<i>Pursuit</i>	A chase: The hero is pursued.
Rs	<i>Rescue</i>	Rescue of hero from pursuit.
O	<i>Unrecognized arrival</i>	The hero, unrecognized, arrives home or in another country.
L	<i>Unfounded claims</i>	A false hero presents unfounded claim.
M	<i>Difficult task</i>	A difficult task is proposed to the hero.
N	<i>Solution</i>	The task is resolved.
Q	<i>Recognition</i>	The hero is recognized.
Ex	<i>Exposure</i>	The false hero or villain is exposed.
T	<i>Transfiguration</i>	The hero is given a new appearance.
U	<i>Punishment</i>	The villain is punished.
W	<i>Wedding</i>	The hero is married and ascends the throne.

There are seven dramatis personae in Propp's scheme:		
1	<i>Villain</i>	Fights with hero
2	<i>Donor</i>	Provides hero with magical agent
3	<i>Helper</i>	Aids hero in solving difficult tasks, etc.
4	<i>Princess and her father</i>	Sought-for person. Assigns difficult tasks.
5	<i>Dispatcher</i>	Sends hero on his mission
6	<i>Hero</i>	Searches for something or fights with villain
7	<i>False hero</i>	Claims to be hero but is unmasked

Source: Vladimir Propp "Morphology of the Folktale" (1928)

Vladimir Propp's	Film/TV	Film - Harry Potter
Hero		Hero - Harry Potter, Defeat Voldemort, other characters look up to him and have high expectations of him. He is seen as a leader by the other characters.
Villain		Villain - Voldemort, A huge threat to the other characters, Everyone fears him even his followers 'the death eaters'.
Donor <small>Provides with essential objects.</small>		Dispatcher - Dumbledore , Gives Harry clues and tells him any important information he needs to know.
Helper <small>Someone who will aid the hero</small>		Donor - Dumbledore, Gives Harry Griffindors sword and also gave him his invisibility cloak.
Princess <small>Might be a prize for the hero, or captured by the villain</small>		Helper - Ron Weasley and Hermione Granger, They stick with Harry and are always there when he needs them.
Despatcher <small>May set the hero a task</small>		Princess - Ginny Weasley, needs rescuing in the second film, the chamber of secrets.
False Hero <small>A deceptive character</small>		False Hero - Gilderoy Lockhart, He lies about things he has done and brags to everyone about how he can help them but in the end he cowards out and admits he lied.

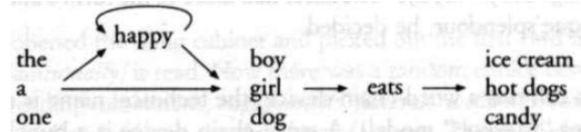
Source: <http://ltaasmediastudies.blogspot.com/2011/03/vladimir-propp.html>

A Word-Chain Device

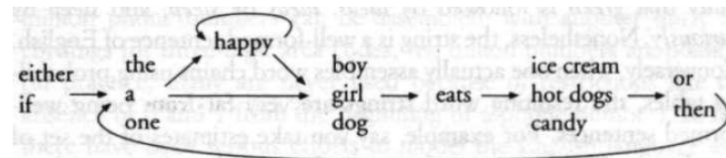
How might the combinatorial grammar underlying human language work? The most straightforward way to combine words in order is explained in Michael Frayn's novel *The Tin Men*. The protagonist, Goldwasser, is an engineer working at an institute for automation. He must devise a computer system that generates the standard kinds of stories found in the daily papers, like "Paralyzed Girl Determined to Dance Again." Here he is hand-testing a program that composes stories about royal occasions:

* * *

He opened the filing cabinet and picked out the first card in the set. *Traditionally*, it read. Now there was a random choice between cards reading *coronations, engagements, funerals, weddings, comings of age, births, deaths, or the churching of women*. The day before he had picked *funerals*, and been directed on to a card reading with simple perfection *are occasions for mourning*. Today he closed his eyes, drew *weddings*, and was signposted on to *are occasions for rejoicing*.



The wedding of X and Y followed in logical sequence, and brought him a choice between *is no exception* and *is a case in point*. Either way there followed *indeed*. Indeed, whichever occasion one had started off with, whether coronations, deaths, or births, Goldwasser saw with intense mathematical pleasure, one now reached this same elegant bottleneck. He paused on *indeed*, then drew in quick succession *it is a particularly happy occasion, rarely, and can there have been a more popular young couple*.



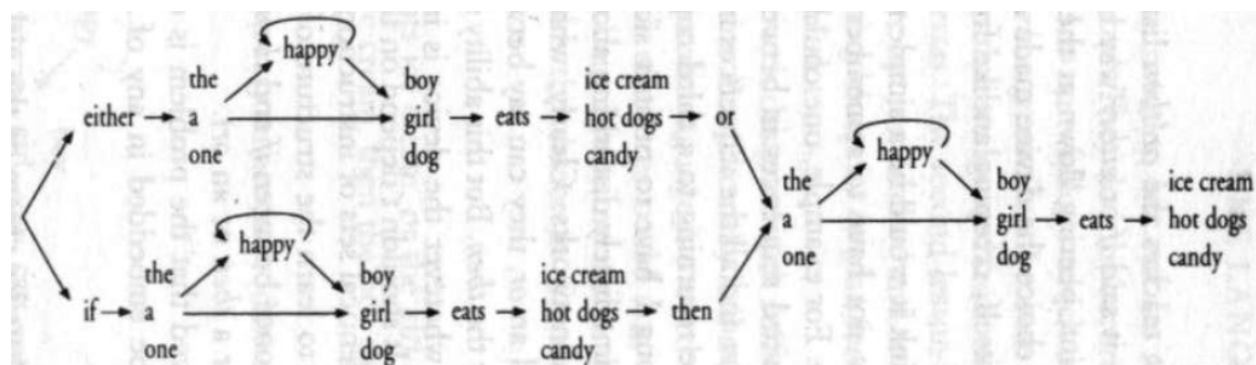
From the next selection, Goldwasser drew *X has won himself/herself a special place in the nation's affections*, which forced him to go on to *and the British people have clearly taken Y to their hearts already*.

Goldwasser was surprised, and a little disturbed, to realize that the word "fitting" had still not come up. But he drew it with the next card—*it is especially fitting that*.

This gave him *the bride/bridegroom should be*, and an open choice between *of such a noble and illustrious line, a commoner in these democratic times, from a nation with which this country has long enjoyed a particularly close and cordial relationship*, and *from a nation with which this country's relations have not in the past been always happy*.

Feeling that he had done particularly well with "fitting" last time, Goldwasser now deliberately selected it again. *It is also fitting that*, read the card, to be quickly followed by *we should remember*, and *X and Y are not merely symbols—they are a lively young man and a very lovely young woman*.

Goldwasser shut his eyes to draw the next card. It turned out to read *in these days when*. He pondered whether to select *it is fashionable to scoff at the traditional morality of marriage and family life* or *it is no longer fashionable to scoff at the traditional morality of marriage and family life*. The latter had more of the form's authentic baroque splendor, he decided.



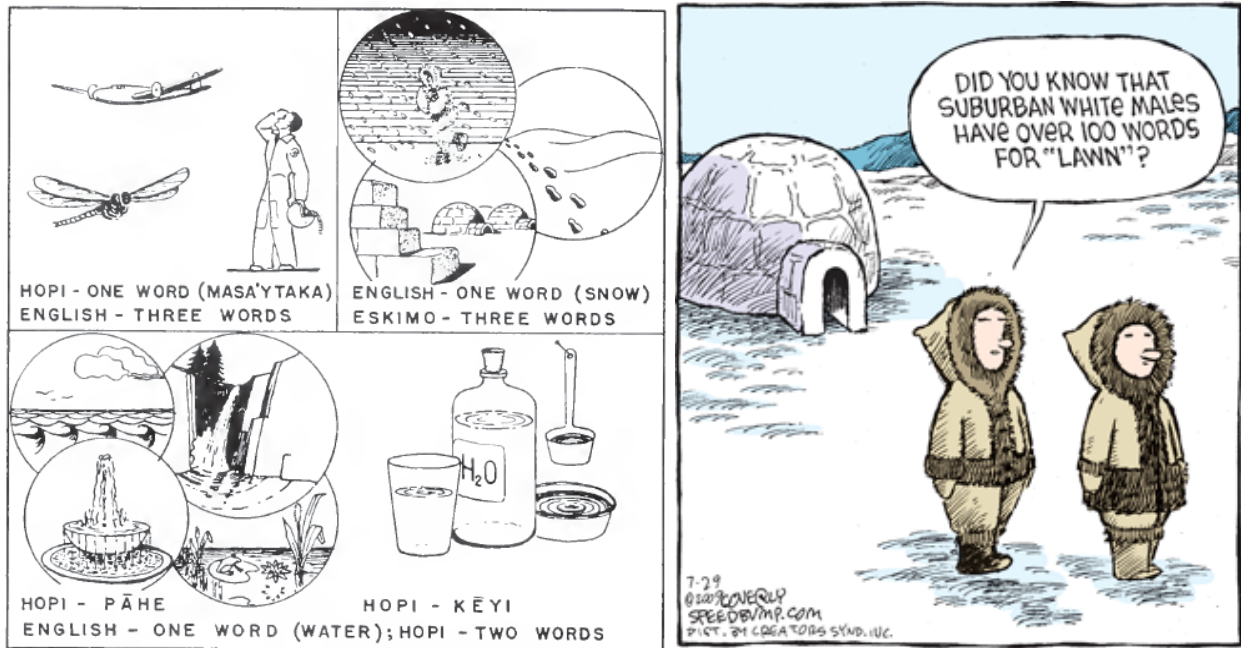
Source: Steven Pinker "The Language Instinct" (1994)

Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis (Sapir & Whorf)



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis (Whorf)



↑ Source: Benjamin Whorf "Science and Linguistics" (1940)

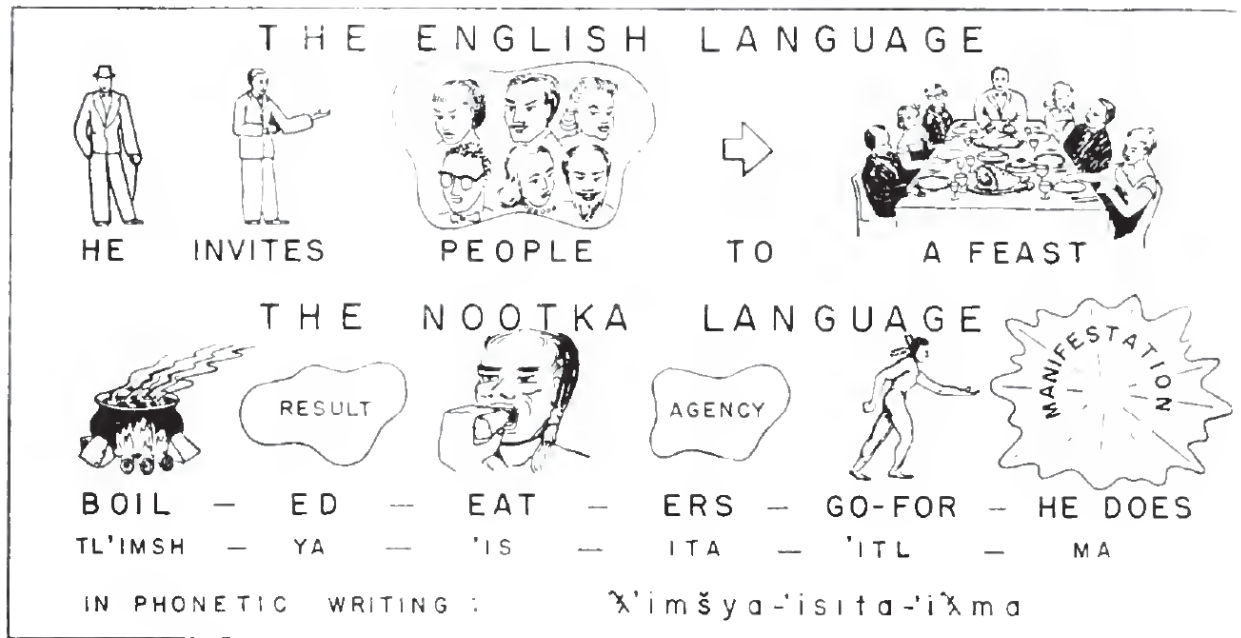
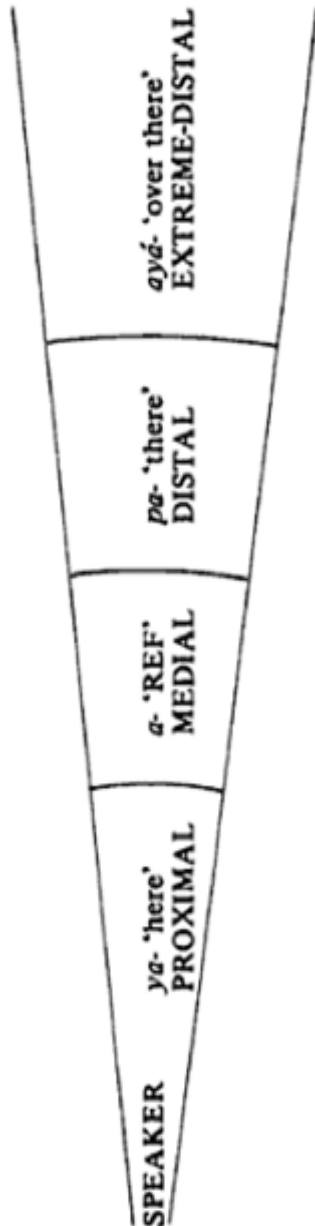


Figure 17. Here are shown the different ways in which English and Nootka formulate the same event. The English sentence is divisible into subject and predicate; the Nootka sentence is not, yet it is complete and logical. Furthermore, the Nootka sentence is just one word, consisting of the root *tl'imsh* with five suffixes.

Source: Benjamin Whorf "Languages and Logic" (1941)

Hopi Spatio-Temporal Metaphors & Primary Locators

Source: Ekkehart Malotki "Hopi Time: A Linguistic Analysis of the Temporal Concepts in the Hopi Language" (1983) ▼ ▶



		THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS	
		PROXIMAL	MEDIAL
		<i>i'</i> 'this one'	∅
		THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRO-BASES	
		<i>ya-</i>	<i>a-</i>
SPACE CONCEPT	CASE	PRONOMINAL LOCATORS	
LOCATION stationary 'in'	PUNCTIVE	<i>yep</i> 'here' T	<i>ep</i> 'there' T
	EXTREME-PUNCTIVE	<i>yepaq</i> 'here (EX)'	<i>epaq</i> 'there (EX)' T
	DIFFUSIVE	<i>yang</i> 'here (DIF)/ along/through here'	<i>ang</i> 'there (DIF)/ along/through there' T
	EXTREME-DIFFUSIVE	<i>yàngqə</i> 'here (DIF-EX)/ along/through here (EX)'	<i>angqə</i> 'there (DIF-EX)/ along/through there (EX)'
GOAL directional 'to'	DESTINATIVE	<i>yuk</i> '(to) here' T	<i>aw</i> '(to) there' T
	EXTREME-DESTINATIVE	<i>yukylq</i> '(to) here (EX)' T 'into here'	<i>awq</i> '(to) there (EX)' T 'into there'
1. SOURCE directional 'from'	ABLATIVE	<i>yangqw</i> 'from here' T	<i>angqw</i> 'from there' T
2. LOCATION stationary 'in' (3-DIM)		'in here (3-DIM)'	'in there (3-DIM)'

THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS	
DISTAL	EXTREME-DISTAL
<i>pam</i> 'that one'	<i>mi'</i> 'that one over there/yon'
THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRO-BASES	
<i>pa-</i>	<i>ayá-</i>
PRONOMINAL LOCATORS	
<i>pep</i> 'there' T	<i>ayám</i> 'over there' T
<i>pepeq</i> 'there (EX)' T	<i>ayáq</i> 'over there (EX)' T
<i>pang</i> 'there (DIF)/ along/through there' T	<i>ayé'</i> 'over there (DIF)/ along/through over there'
<i>pàngqə</i> 'there (DIF-EX)/ along/through there (EX)'	<i>ayàngqə</i> 'over there (DIF-EX)/ along/through over there (EX)'
<i>panso</i> '(to) there' T	<i>ayó'</i> '(to) over there' T
<i>pansoq</i> '(to) there (EX)' T 'into there'	<i>ayóq</i> '(to) over there (EX)' T 'into over there'
<i>pangqw</i> 'from there' T	<i>ayàngqw</i> 'from over there' T
'in there (3-DIM)'	'in over there (3-DIM)'

The linguistic relativity hypothesis: Whorf

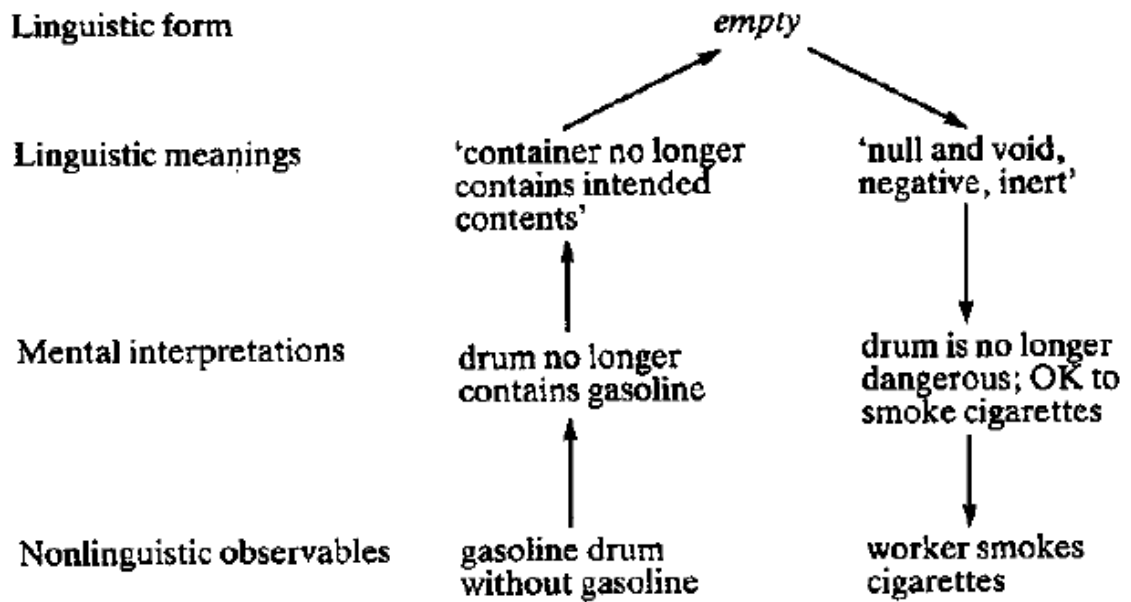
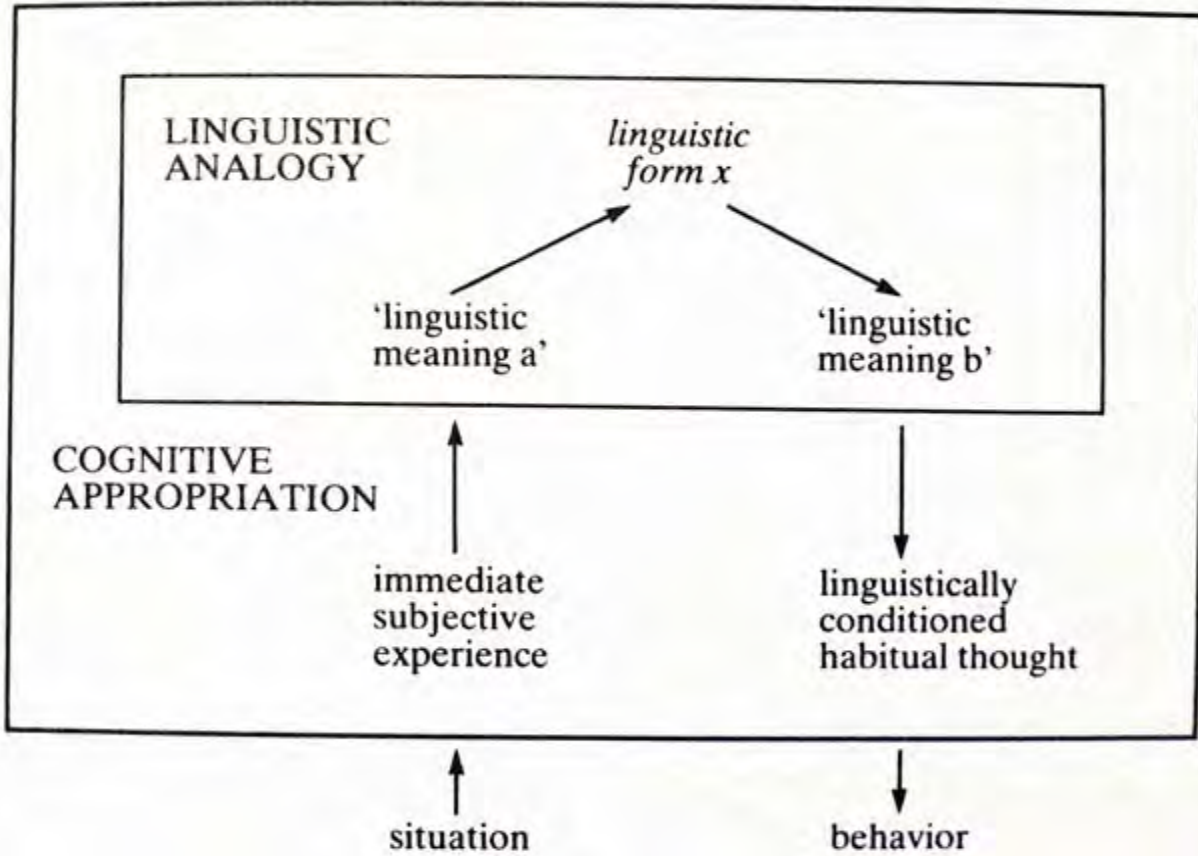
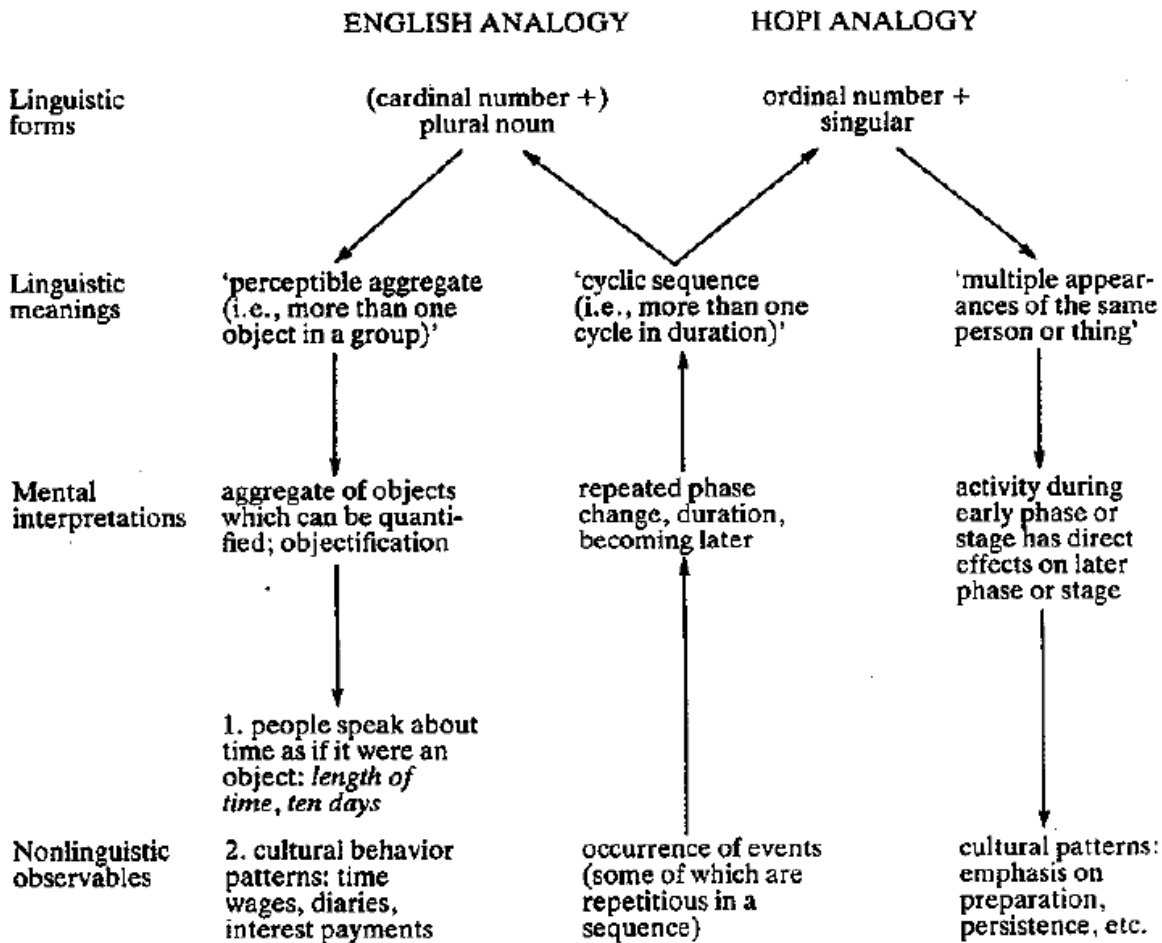
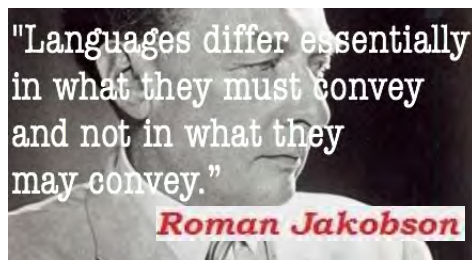


Figure 2 Diagram of one of Whorf's fire-causing examples



Source: John A. Lucy "Language Diversity and Thought" (1992)

Figure 3 Diagram of one of Whorf's contrastive grammatical examples showing different English and Hopi formal analogies to similar meanings

















[S]uppose I want to tell you that I saw *Uncle Vanya* on 42nd Street. In Mian, a language spoken in Papua New Guinea, the verb I used would reveal whether the event happened just now, yesterday or in the distant past, whereas in Indonesian, the verb wouldn't even give away whether it had already happened or was still coming up. In Russian, the verb would reveal my gender. In Mandarin, I would have to specify whether the titular uncle is maternal or paternal and whether he is related by blood or marriage, because there are different words for all these different types of uncles and then some

(he happens to be a mother's brother, as the Chinese translation clearly states). And in Pirahã, a language spoken in the Amazon, I couldn't say "42nd," because there are no words for exact numbers, just words for "few" and "many."
Lera Boroditsky "How Language Shapes Thought" (2011)

Suppose I say to you in English that "I spent yesterday evening with a neighbor." You may well wonder whether my companion was male or female, but I have the right to tell you politely that it's none of your business. But if we were speaking French or German, I wouldn't have the privilege to equivocate in this way, because I would be obliged by the grammar of language to choose between *voisin* or *voisine*; *Nachbar* or *Nachbarin*. These languages compel me to inform you about the sex of my companion whether or not I feel it is remotely your concern. This does not mean, of course, that English speakers are unable to understand the differences between evenings spent with male or female neighbors, but it does mean that they do not have to consider the sexes of neighbors, friends, teachers and a host of other persons each time they come up in a conversation, whereas speakers of some languages are obliged to do so.

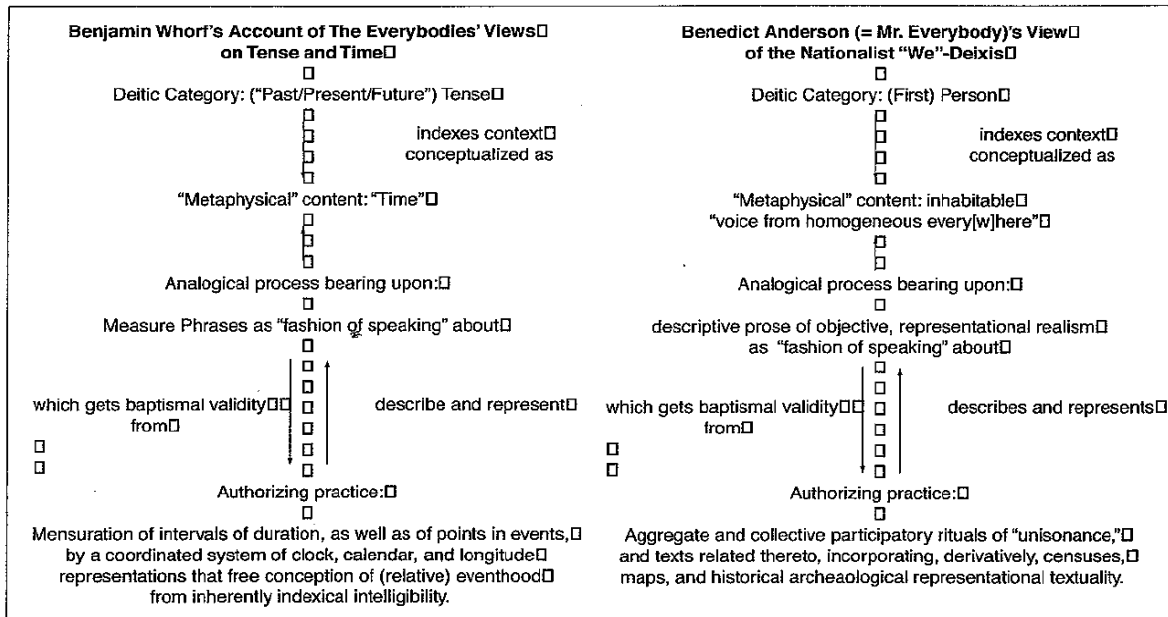
Guy Deutscher "You Are What You Speak," *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 29, 2010

Contrast between English and Hopi ("temporal" vs. "timeless" language)

OBJECTIVE FIELD	SPEAKER (SENDER)	HEARER (RECEIVER)	HANDLING OF TOPIC, RUNNING OF THIRD PERSON
SITUATION 1 a. 			ENGLISH... "HE IS RUNNING" HOPI... "WARI" (RUNNING, STATEMENT OF FACT)
SITUATION 1 b. OBJECTIVE FIELD BLANK DEVOID OF RUNNING			ENGLISH... "HE RAN" HOPI... "WARI" (RUNNING, STATEMENT OF FACT)
SITUATION 2 			ENGLISH... "HE IS RUNNING" HOPI... "WARI" (RUNNING, STATEMENT OF FACT)
SITUATION 3 OBJECTIVE FIELD BLANK			ENGLISH... "HE RAN" HOPI... "ERA WARI" (RUNNING, STATEMENT OF FACT FROM MEMORY)
SITUATION 4 OBJECTIVE FIELD BLANK			ENGLISH... "HE WILL RUN" HOPI... "WARIKNI" (RUNNING, STATEMENT OF EXPECTATION)
SITUATION 5 OBJECTIVE FIELD BLANK			ENGLISH... "HE RUNS" (E.G. ON THE TRACK TEAM) HOPI... "WARIKWGE" (RUNNING, STATEMENT OF LAW)

Source: Benjamin Whorf "Science and Linguistics" (1940)

Figure 11. Contrast between a "temporal" language (English) and a "timeless" language (Hopi). What are to English differences of time are to Hopi differences in the kind of validity.



MICHAEL SILVERSTEIN

FIGURE 3.1

Schematic of B. L. Whorf's account of tense deixis in Standard Average European, compared to B. R. Anderson's account of nationalist "we"-deixis.

Source: Michael Silverstein "Worfianism and the Linguistic Imagination of Nationality" (2000)

Frames of Reference:

Absolute, relative, and intrinsic

The three Frames of Reference recognized in the current typology are distinguished from one another by their placement of the Anchor from which the relationship of Figure to Ground is calculated. Consider for example, Fig. ▶, which shows a single spatial configuration, in which the Figure is a carton of milk and the Ground is a kettle of water.

To illustrate what is meant by Absolute, Relative and Intrinsic Frames of Reference, let us consider three possible answers to the question "Where's the milk?"

Where's the Milk?



Where's the Milk?

- (1) ABSOLUTE: The milk is to the east of the kettle.
- (2) RELATIVE: The milk is to the right of the kettle. (From the speaker's perspective)
- (3) INTRINSIC: The milk is at the spout of the kettle.

Table 2. Frames of Reference — Four Types of Anchor

	Allocentric Anchor is not a speech-situation participant	Egocentric Anchor is a speech-situation participant
Ternary Anchor is not Ground	Absolute <i>The milk is to the east of the kettle. (Or: The milk is to the east of you.)</i>	Relative <i>The milk is to the right* of the kettle. (Or: The milk is to the right* of you.)</i> *from the speaker's perspective
Binary Anchor is (part of) Ground	Object-Centered <i>The milk is at the spout of the kettle.</i>	Direct <i>The milk is in front* of me. *with reference to speaker's own front</i>

Source: Eve Danziger "Deixis, Gesture, and Cognition in Spatial Frame of Reference typology" (2010)



Relative: The fork is to the left of the spoon
 Absolute: The fork is to the north of the spoon
 Intrinsic: The fork is at the nose of the spoon

Descriptions in Relative, Absolute and Intrinsic frames of reference (FoR). The spatial relationship between objects in table-top space, like the fork and the spoon, can be described in different ways. In the Relative FoR (dominant in English, Dutch and Japanese), the viewer's perspective is used, giving rise to descriptions such as 'the fork is to the left of the spoon'. Notice that if you go around to the other side of the table, the fork is now properly described as 'to the right of the spoon'. In an Absolute FoR an external framework is applied instead. This can be composed of cardinal directions such as north-south-east-west, used by speakers of Arrernte (Australia), or an uphill-downhill axis like the one used by speakers of Tzeltal (Mexico). So, as a speaker of Arrernte you would say 'the fork is to the north of the spoon', and as a Tzeltal speaker 'the fork is uphill of the spoon'; unlike

in the Relative FoR, the same description is applied to the scene from whichever side it is viewed. Finally, in an Intrinsic FoR, you could describe the spatial relations between the fork and spoon without reference to either yourself or any other external system of coordinates. For instance, you could say 'the fork is at the nose of the spoon', as speakers of Mopan (Belize) or Totonac (Mexico) do.

Source: Asifa Majid et al. "Can Language Restructure Cognition? The Case for Space" (2004)

Cardinal Direction (e.g., in Guugu Yimithirr)

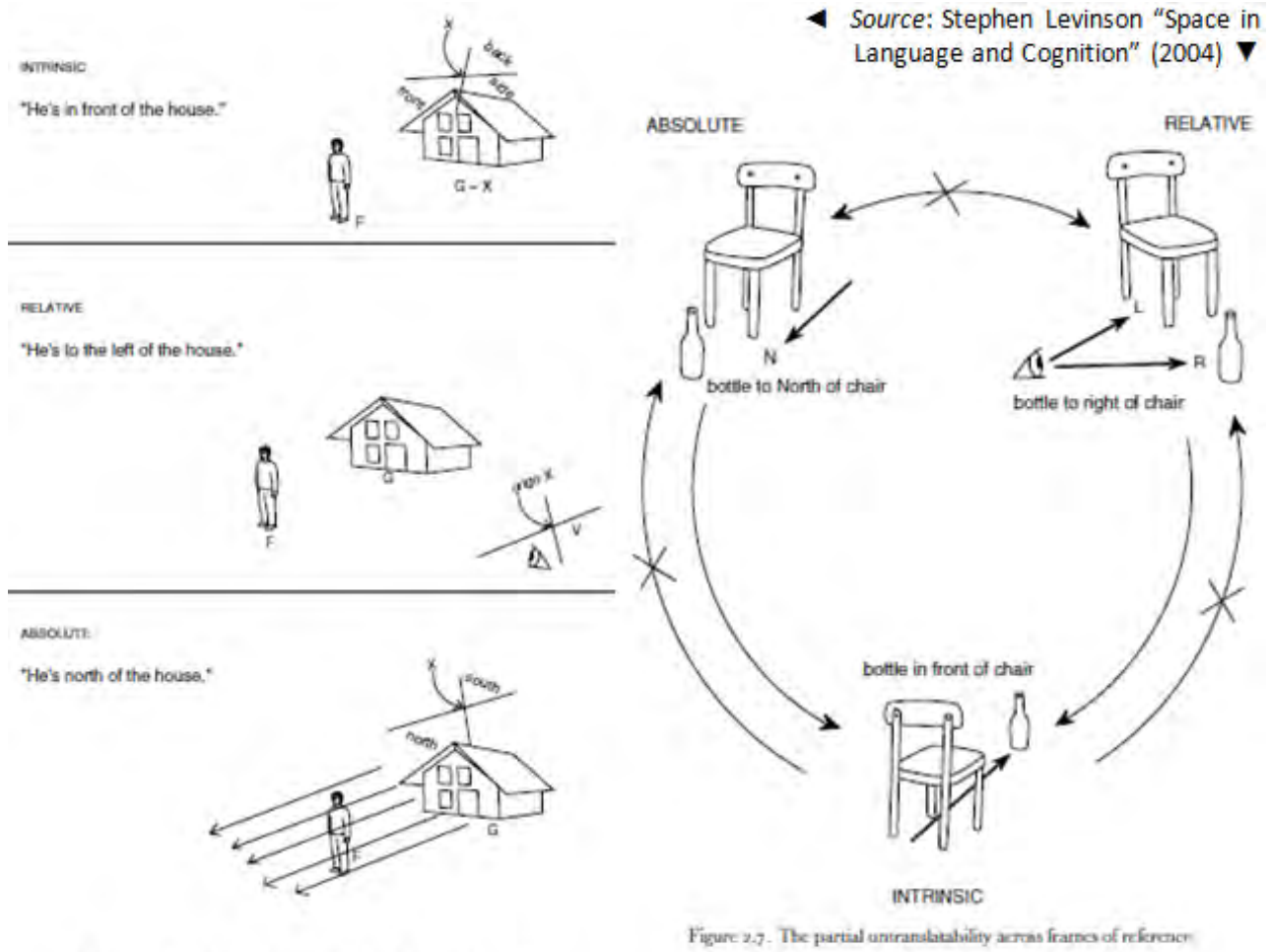


Figure 2.5. Underlying elements in the three frames of reference

Figure 2.7. The partial untranslatability across frames of reference

'The Chips Task'

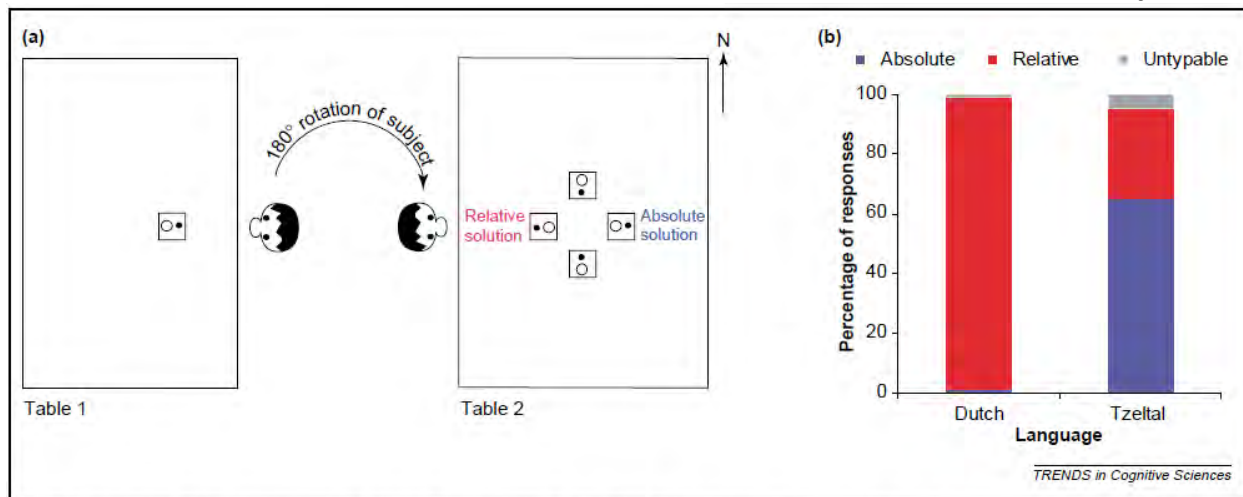
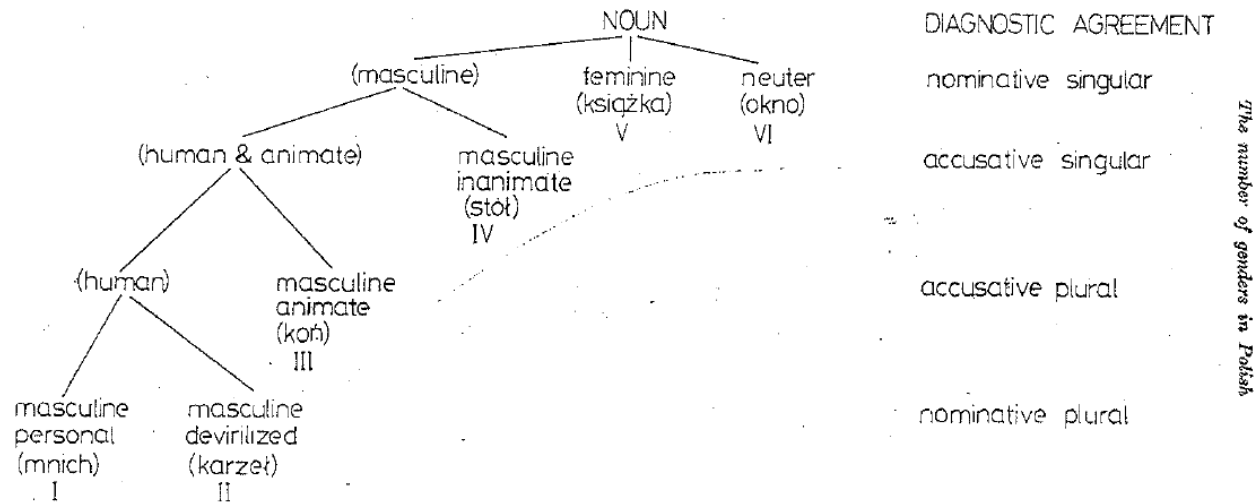


Figure 2. Memory for spatial configuration: 'the chips task'. (a) Participants saw on Table 1 a card printed with a large and a small dot arranged with the small dot towards them, away from them, to the left, or to the right. After a 30-s delay, they were rotated through 180° and led to Table 2, where they were asked (in the local language) to identify from a set of four cards the similar or counterpart card to the one they had seen before. Each participant had eight trials, which varied in the arrangement of the dots. Responses that preserved sameness in egocentric coordinates were coded Relative, those that preserved Absolute coordinates were coded Absolute, and other responses were coded 'Untypable'. (b) The results for just two languages, Dutch and Tzeltal. The Relative/Absolute trend matches the preferred linguistic FoR: Dutch responses were overwhelmingly Relative whereas Tzeltal responses were overwhelmingly Absolute. The proportionately larger Tzeltal inconsistency can be attributed to the fact that the data are from an unschooled peasant population. However, if we look for 'consistent coders', that is, coders who give the same response on 6 out of 8 trials, then over 80% of Tzeltal speakers are 'Absolute thinkers' (Adapted from [13], pp. 159–160, by permission of Cambridge University Press).

Source: Asifa Majid et al. "Can Language Restructure Cognition? The Case for Space" (2004)

Grammatical Gender



(The heading 'diagnostic agreement' refers to the agreement form which justifies the separation of the genders on that line).

Source: Greville G. Corbett "The Number of Genders in Polish" (1983)

"The Awful German Language"

Warning: 😊!

Every noun [in German] has a gender, and there is no sense or system in the distribution; so the gender of each must be learned separately and by heart. There is no other way. To do this, one has to have a memory like a memorandum-book. In German, a young lady has no sex, while a turnip has. Think what overwrought reverence that shows for the turnip, and what callous disrespect for the girl. See how it looks in print—I translate this from a conversation in one of the best of the German Sunday-school books:

"Gretchen. Wilhelm, where is the turnip?

"Wilhelm. She has gone to the kitchen.

"Gretchen. Where is the accomplished and beautiful English maiden?

"Wilhelm. It has gone to the opera."

To continue with the German genders: a tree is male, its buds are female, its leaves are neuter; horses are sexless, dogs are male, cats are female,—Tom-cats included, of course; a person's mouth, neck, bosom, elbows, fingers, nails, feet, and body are of the male sex, and his head is male or neuter according to the word selected to signify it, and not according to the sex of the individual who wears it,—for in Germany all the women either male heads or sexless ones; a person's nose, lips, shoulders, breast, hands, and toes are of the female sex; and his hair, ears, eyes, chin, legs, knees, heart, and conscience haven't any sex at all. The inventor of the language probably got what he knew about a conscience from hearsay. [...]

In the German it is true that by some oversight of the inventor of the language, a Woman is a female; but a Wife (*Weib*) is not,—which is unfortunate. A Wife, here, has no sex; she is neuter; so, according to the grammar, a fish is he, his scales are she, but a fishwife is neither. To describe a wife as sexless may be called under-description; that is bad enough, but over-description is surely worse. A German speaks of an Englishman as the Engländer; to change the sex, he adds inn, and that stands for Englishwoman,—Engländerinn. That seems descriptive enough, but still it is not exact enough for a German; so he precedes the word with that article which indicates that the creature to follow is feminine, and writes it down thus: "die Engländerinn,"—which means "the she-Englishwoman." I consider that that person is over-described.

Mark Twain "The Awful German Language" (1880)

Gender in Mayali (Native Australian language)

THE SEMANTICS OF GENDER IN MAYALI

MASCULINE

- Male higher animates
- Overall default for animates
- Some lower animates
- Rain**
- Compass points**
- Some items used in painting**
- Trade items, esp. Macassan and European**
- Some types of honey

FEMININE

- Female higher animates
- Some lower animates
- Sun

VEGETABLE

- Plants and their products, **including life-form terms**
- Sexual and excretory body parts
- Song, ceremony and custom
- Fire (both bush **and domestic**)
- Food, vegetable **and otherwise**
- Some types of honey
- Boats, planes, and cars**
- [Drink, water, well]**
- [Camp nexus]**
- [Landscape features with water associations]

NEUTER

- Most parts of animals and plants
- Some parts of the landscape
- Weather and sea
- Time measures
- Languages and speech
- Country; placed-based social categories

TABLE 3. Overview of semantic categories in gender assignment.

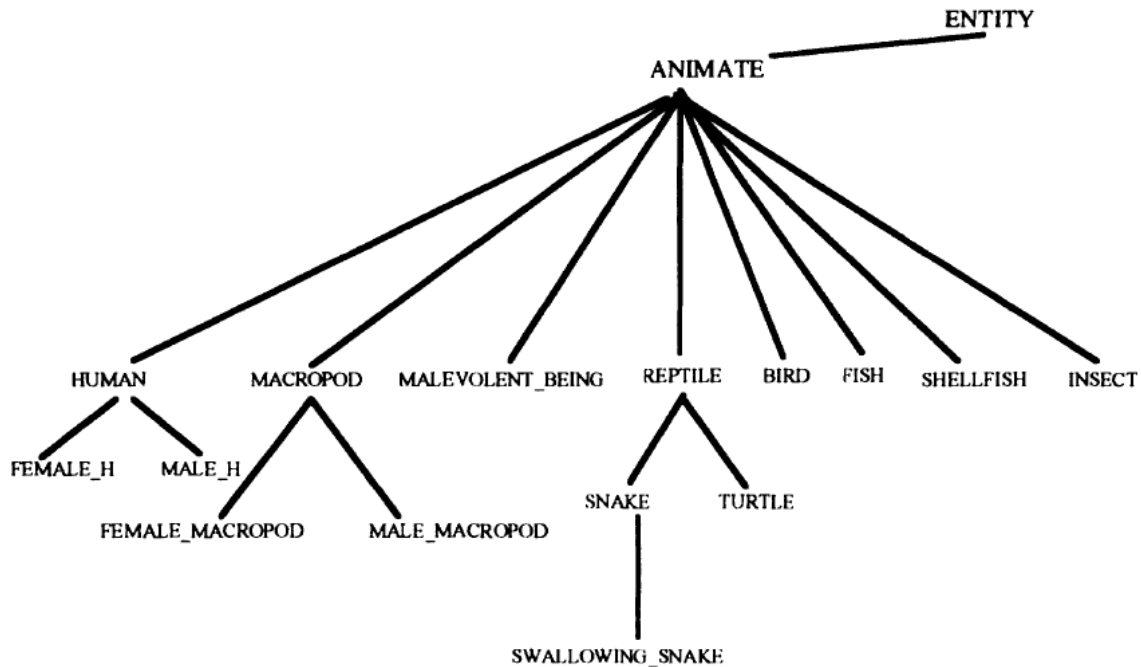
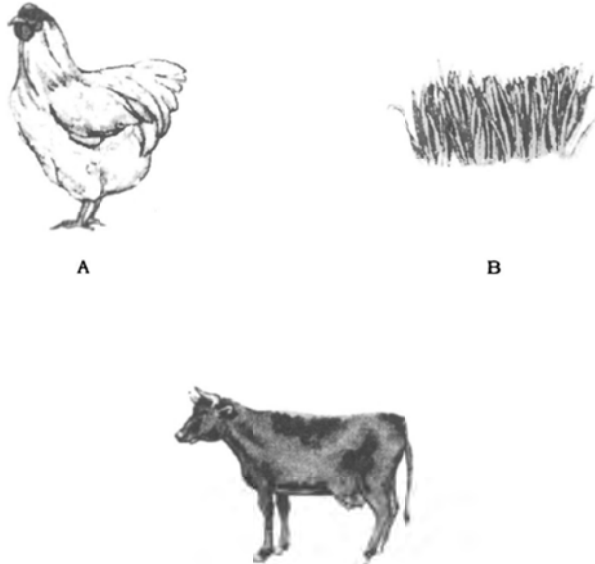


FIGURE 4. Animate portion of semantic hierarchy.

Source: Nicholas Evans, Dunstan Brown & Greville G. Corbett "The Semantics of Gender in Mayali" (2002)

Do Asians and Westerners Think Differently?

Preference for Grouping Experiment



What goes with this? A or B

Example of item measuring preference for grouping by categories vs. relationships

group objects on the basis of relationships. They would be more likely to say the cow and the grass in the illustration go together because "the cow eats the grass."

If the natural way of organizing the world for Westerners is to do so in terms of categories and the rules that define them, then we might expect that Westerners' perceptions of similarity between objects would be heavily influenced by the degree to which the objects can be categorized by applying a set of rules. But if categories are less salient to East Asians, then we might expect that their perceptions of similarity would be based more on the family resemblance among objects.

To test this possibility, Ara Norenzayan, Edward E. Smith, Beom Jun Kim, and I gave schematic figures like those shown in the illustration on page 143 to Korean, European American, and Asian American participants. Each display consisted of an object at the bottom and two groups of objects above it. The participants' job was just to say which group of objects the target object seemed more similar to. You might want to make your own judgment about the objects in the illustration before reading on.

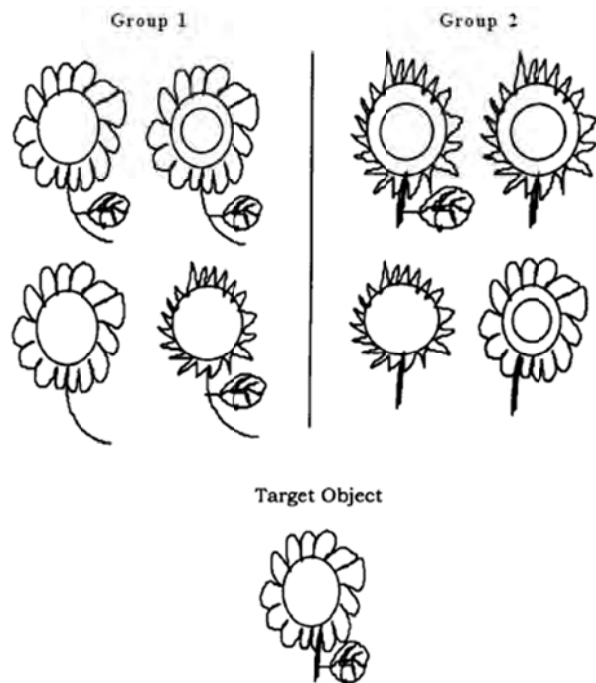
Most of the Koreans thought the target object was more similar to the group on the left, whereas most of the European Americans thought the object was more similar to the group on the right.

For the Chinese, shared attributes did not establish shared class membership. Instead, things were classed together because they were thought to influence one another through *resonance*.

Take a look at the three objects pictured in the illustration above. If you were to place two objects together, which would they be? Why do those seem to be the ones that belong together?

If you're a Westerner, odds are you think the chicken and the cow belong together. Developmental psychologist Liang-hwang Chiu showed triplets like that in the illustration to American and Chinese children. Chiu found that the American children preferred to group objects because they belonged to the "taxonomic" category, that is, the same classification term could be applied to both ("adults," "tools"). Chinese children preferred to

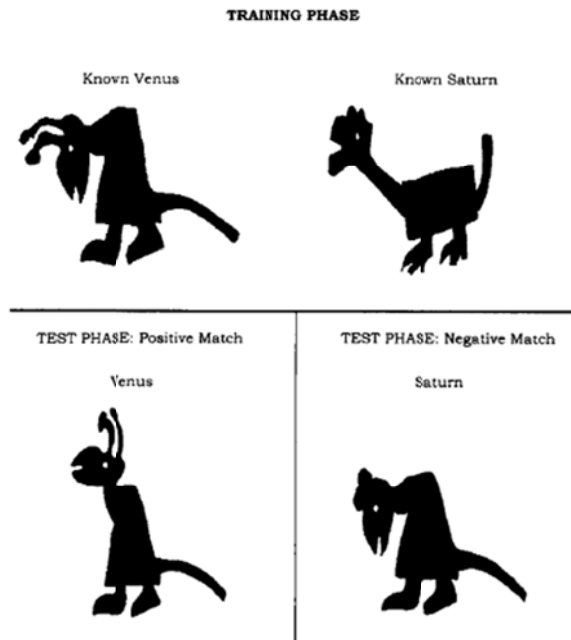
Judgment of Similarity Experiment



Example of item measuring whether judgments of similarity are based on family resemblance or rules

The target object bears a more obvious family resemblance to the group on the left, so it's easy to see why the Koreans would have thought the object was more similar to that group, and on average they did so 60 percent of the time. But there is a simple, invariant rule that allows you to place the target object into a category that it shares with the group on the right. The rule is "has a straight (as opposed to curved) stem." European Americans typically discovered such rules and, 67 percent of the time, found the target object to be more similar to the group with which it shared the rule-based category. Asian American judgments were in between but more similar to those of the Koreans.

Ease of Learning Categories Based on Rules



Example of cartoon animals used for study of ease of learning categories based on rules

the right (seen as red) doesn't and has to be put in the Saturn category. After participants had learned how to classify animals correctly, we tested how much control they had over the categories by showing them new animals and seeing how fast and accurately they could classify them. The new animals included two types that resembled previously seen ones. Some animals were "positive matches": They looked like an animal participants had seen before during the training trials and they belonged to the same category in terms of the rules concerning their features. Other animals were "negative matches": They looked like an animal that had been seen before, but in terms of the rules, they belonged to a different category from the one seen in training. The animal on the lower left is a positive match for the one on the left above: It looks like the one categorized as being from Venus and the rules also indicate that it is. The one on the lower right is a negative match: It looks like the Venus animal but the rules say it's not.

The Asian participants took longer to make their judgments about whether the animal was from Venus or Saturn than either the European Americans or Asian Americans. The three groups of participants were equally fast and equally accurate for the positive matches, for which both memory for the previously seen example and correct applications of the rules defining the category would produce the correct answer. But for the negative matches, which could be classified correctly only if the rules were remembered and applied correctly, Asian participants made twice as many classification errors as either European Americans or Asian Americans did. Categorization by rules seems not to come as easily to Easterners as to Westerners.

Explicit modeling or rule-making seems to be less characteristic of the causal explanations of East Asians than of Westerners. If Asians are less likely to use rules to understand the world, and less likely to make use of categories, they might find it particularly hard to learn categories by applying explicit rules to objects. In order to test this possibility, Ara Norenzayan and his colleagues showed color cartoon figures like those rendered in black and white in the illustration on page 145 to East Asian, Asian American, and European American students at the University of Michigan. We told participants that they would be learning how to classify the animals as being either from Venus or from Saturn.

We told participants that an animal was from Venus if it had any three of five features: curly tail, hooves, long neck, mouth, and antennae ears. Otherwise, the creature was from Saturn. The animal on the left at the top (seen as blue by participants) meets the criteria for being from Venus; the one on

Source: Richard E. Nisbett "The geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently, and Why" (2003)

Video: "West and East, Cultural Differences" (2012) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZoDtoB9Abck>

Languages Express Time Differently

Hopi Tense System

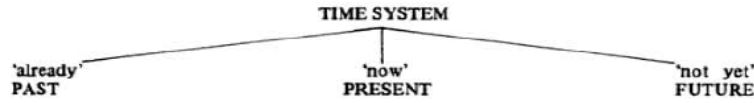


Figure 7

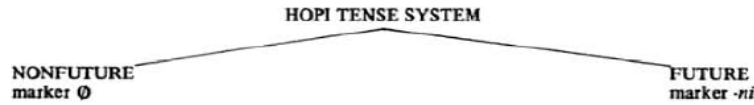
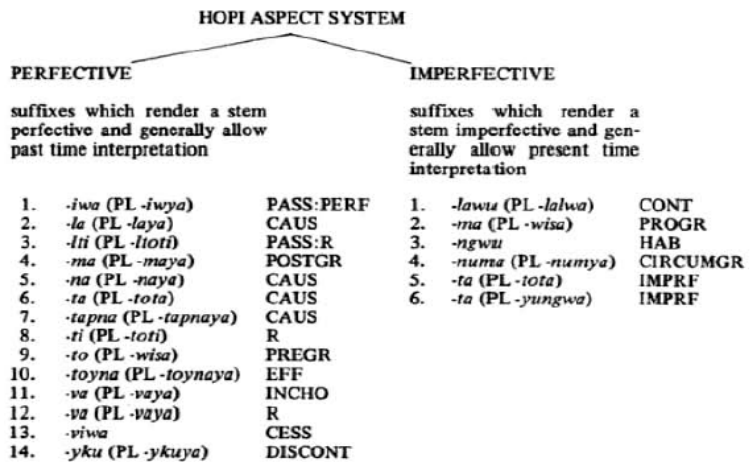


Figure 8



Source: Ekkehart Malotki "Hopi Time" (1983)

we see one instance of tense being determined by a factor orthogonal to the temporal notion. In the following sentences of Nusu, one of the three TB languages spoken along the Nu River valley in northwestern Yunnan province, China, the locational distance of the event is indicated by a postverbal particle, *u* if distal to the speaker, and *ja* if proximal (fig. ►) If the scene of putting on one's shoes is remote from where the speaker is (at the speech time), it has to be construed as a past event. On the other hand, if putting on one's shoes is a scene in front of the speaker, then it is also something that is happening at the time of the remark.

- a. nga golaba tho u a
I shoes put on DISTAL REALIS
I put on my shoes,
—I have my shoes on.
- b. nga golab tho ja
I shoes put on PROXIMAL
I am putting on my shoes.

The Austronesian Tsou, an aboriginal language spoken in Ali Mountains in central Taiwan, has the locational stance obligatorily marked on all nouns. Every noun in a sentence carries a preposition-like determiner with Case and locational information: It is either proximal or distal, with further differentiation of distance within the proximal category. Consider the celebrated sentence of the great American linguist Edward Sapir: "The farmer kills the duckling."

In Tsou, if both the farmer and the duckling are marked as proximal, then the sentence is interpreted as present progressive: The farmer is killing the duckling – right here. If the farmer is marked as proximal (having a presence in the speech situation) and yet the duckling as distal, then the sentence is given the past tense reading. If, however, both the subject and object are marked as distal, then the preferred reading is that the sentence is about a past event, but a second reading taking it to be about a concurrent happening known to, though not being seen by, the speaker is also possible. Another verbal category that the Tibeto-Burman languages are known for is so-called evidentiality. This grammatical feature expresses the speaker's cognitive relation to the event he describes, characterizing the latter as seen or unseen by the speaker, and so on. Some TB languages spoken in Sichuan, China, such as rGyalrong (Jiarong), have developed an elaborate, encompassing evidential system. When an event is marked as unseen (by the speaker) in the sentence, such as raining in the midnight, we have a situation called inferential. Needless to say, all inferential sentences have past tense interpretation. Even evidentiality may contribute to the determination of time.

Source: Kuang Mei "How Languages Express Time Differently" (2002)

Studies of so-called tenseless languages in the world have thrown new light into the nature of the expression of time in language. These languages are found to have developed other verbal categories than tense and aspect, in terms of which the time of an event may also be determined. These categories are alien to the Western tongues, and yet they play a central role in organizing the grammar, as much as tense does in those languages that we are better acquainted with.

It is a common feature found in Tibeto-Burman languages that the verb (or the predicate) is marked for what I have called the locational stance. By this I mean the binary basis on which persons, things, and events or situations are classified by comparing their distance to the speaker: proximal if they are considered in the same place as the speaker, distal if not in the same place. Interestingly, when events are so indicated in the sentence, it becomes possible to determine their 'tenses'. Here

The Linguistics of Color

The Berlin & Kay theory

Berlin & Kay's crucial insight was that although there were striking variations across languages in the mapping of colour terms onto colour space, there was much less variation in the foci (the best exemplars) of colour terms than there was in the boundaries of colour categories. They argued that all possible sets of basic colour terms are drawn from 11 universal colour categories, (characterized by their foci) listed on the hierarchy shown in Fig. 1.

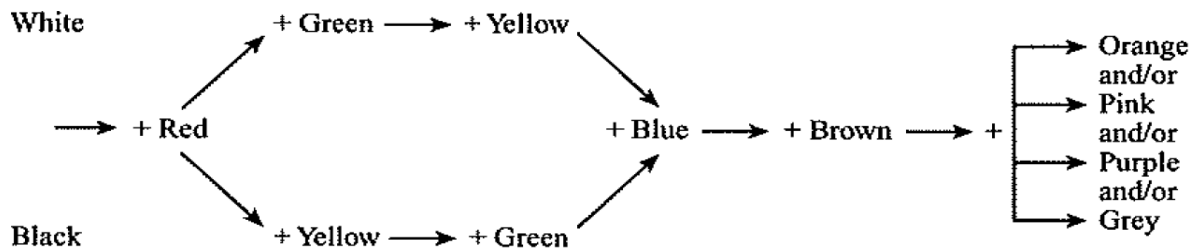


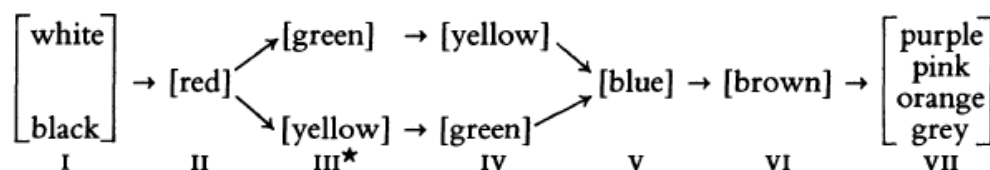
Fig. 1. The Berlin and Kay (1969) hierarchy of basic colour terms.

Source: Ian Davies et al. "A Developmental Study of the Acquisition of Russian Colour Terms" (1998)

'Although different languages encode in their vocabularies different numbers of basic color categories, a total universal inventory of exactly eleven basic color categories exists from which the eleven or fewer basic color terms of any given language are always drawn ... If a language encodes fewer than eleven basic color categories, then there are strict limitations on which categories it may encode. The distributional restrictions of color terms across languages are:

- '1. All languages contain terms for white and black.
- '2. If a language contains three terms, then it contains a term for red.
- '3. If a language contains four terms, then it contains a term for either green or yellow (but not both).
- '4. If a language contains five terms, then it contains terms for both green and yellow.
- '5. If a language contains six terms, then it contains a term for blue.
- '6. If a language contains seven terms, then it contains a term for brown.
- '7. If a language contains eight or more terms, then it contains a term for purple, pink, orange, grey, or some combination of these.

Source: Paul Kay & Chad K. McDaniel "The Linguistic Significance of the Meanings of Basic Color Terms" (1978)



*At Stage III either green (IIIa) or yellow (IIIb) will be encoded, but not both while, at Stage IV, whichever of these categories was not encoded at Stage III will receive its own term.

FIGURE 1. The Berlin and Kay encoding sequence (1969).

Source: David Turton "There's No Such Beast: Cattle and Colour Naming Among the Mursi" (1980)

Russian Blues: *sinij* vs. *goluboj*

Russian is an interesting language in that it presents a possible exception to the Berlin and Kay hypothesis. Instead of the supposed maximum of eleven basic terms, it has twelve, including two basic terms for 'blue': *sinij* 'dark blue', and *goluboj* 'light blue'.¹ Moreover, the second term for 'blue' cannot be treated as simply the latest addition to the hierarchy, making Russian the first known example of the latest (eighth) stage in the development of basic colour terms (Kay and McDaniel (1978)). For *fioletovyy* 'purple' emerged as a basic term at least five hundred years later than either *sinij* or *goluboj*. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that Russian has not only more basic terms than the maximum allowed by the theory, but has also developed them in a different order from that predicted by the theory (Moss (1989a, b)).

¹ The terms taken to be basic, from the evidence in Corbett and Morgan (1988) and Morgan and Corbett (1989) are: *belyj* 'white', *černyj* 'black', *krasnyj* 'red', *zelenyj* 'green', *želtyj* 'yellow', *sinij* 'dark blue', *goluboj* 'light blue', *koričnevyy* 'brown', *fioletovyy* 'purple', *rozovyy* 'pink', *oranževyy* 'orange' and *seryj* 'grey'.

Source: A. Moss et al. "Mapping Russian Basic Colour Terms Using Behavioural Measures" (1990)

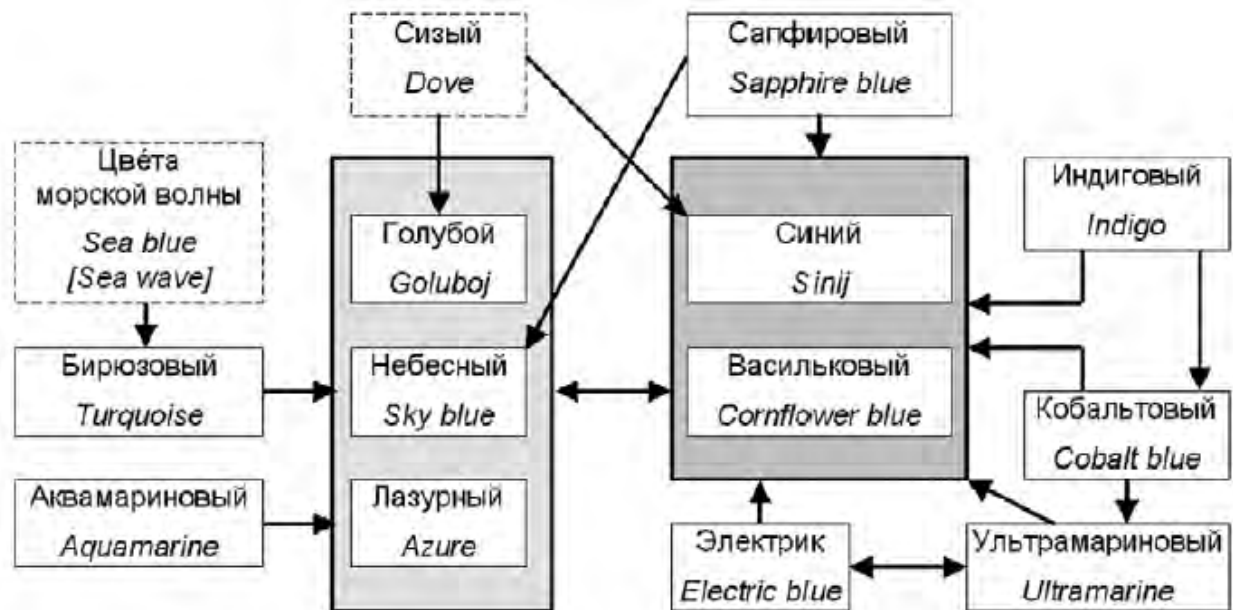
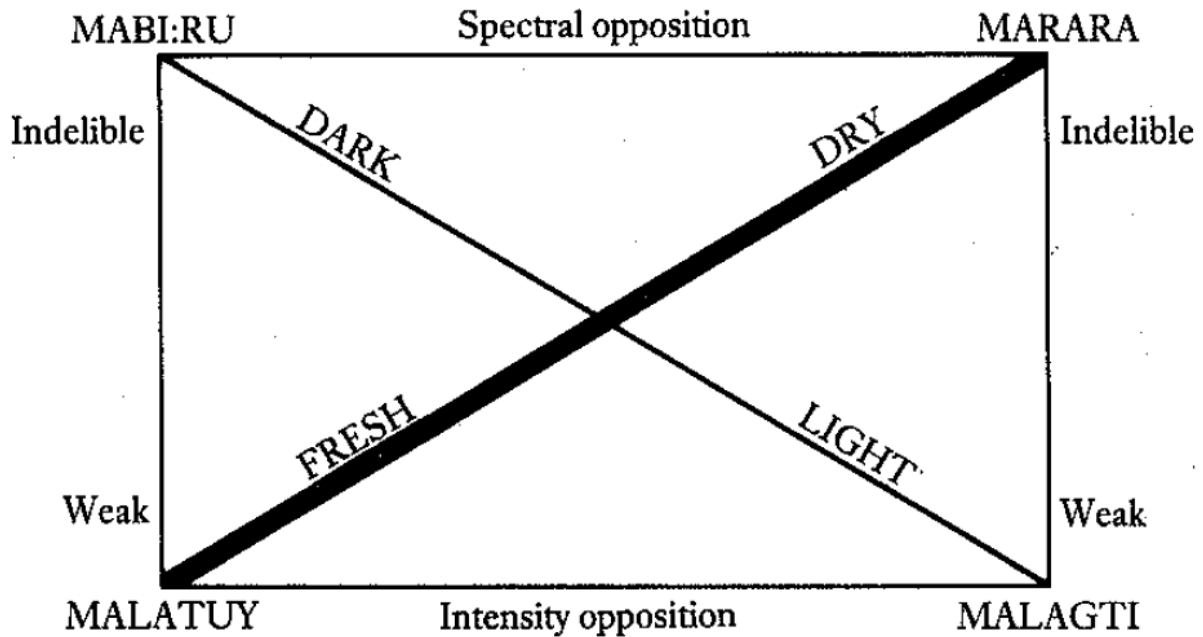


Figure 1: Structure of Russian blue color terms derived from a free-sorting task. The structure indicates separate clusters for *sinij* and *goluboj*.

SOURCE: R. M. Frumkina (1984, p. 59).

Source: Galina V. Paramei "Singing the Russian Blues: An Argument for Culturally Basic Color Terms" (2005)

Hanunóo Color Categories



We have then a system of cultural units – lightness, darkness, wetness, dryness – which are expressed by four fundamental colors; these colors are, in turn, four cultural units expressed by four linguistic terms. This double organization of the content depends, as does any organization of this kind, on a system of disjunctions: it represents a structure. Just as a "mouse", within a semantic space concerning rodents, is everything which is not a "rat", and vice versa, so the pertinent content space of *malatuy* is determined by its northern borderline beyond which there is *marara*, and its southern borderline, below which there is *mabi:ru*.

Color Categories in English, Latin, and Hanunóo

mμ	Average English	Latin	Hanunóo Level 1		Hanunóo Level 2
			Marara (dry)	Malatuy (fresh)	
800–650	Red	<i>Fulvus</i>	Marara (dry)	Malatuy (fresh)	[Wavy lines representing color bands]
640–590	Orange	<i>Flavus</i>			
580–550	Yellow				
540–490	Green	<i>Glaucus</i>	Mabi:ru (rotten)		
480–460	Blue				
450–440	Indigo	<i>Caeruleus</i>			
430–390	Violet				

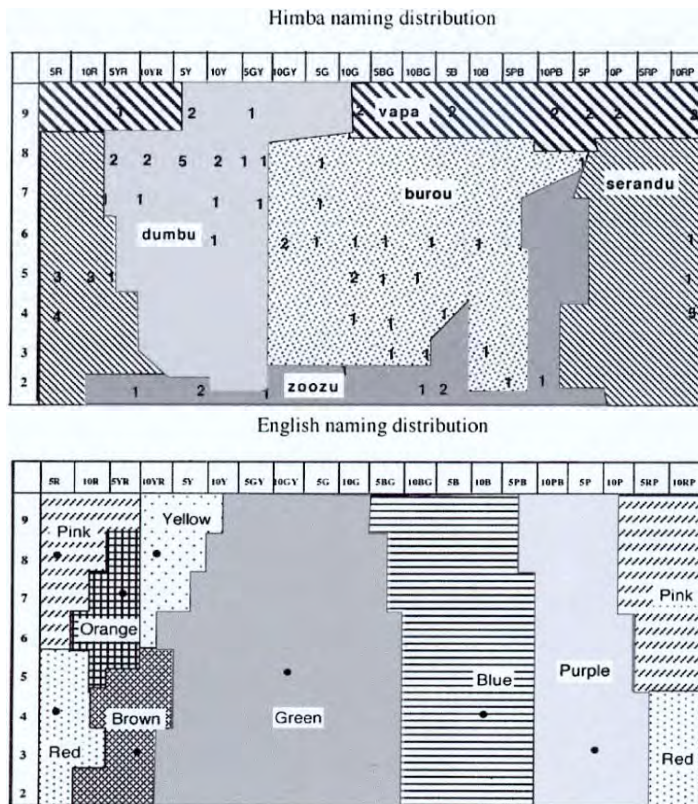
Source: Harold C. Conklin "Hanunóo Color Categories" (1955), as summarized by Umberto Eco "How Culture Conditions the Colors We See" (1977)

The Himba Tribe: Do You See What I See?

Video: <http://www.boreme.com/posting.php?id=30670.VD1P6mddXh5#.VXXlcFIYF2A>

Nar: Narrator; **AF:** Dr. Anna Franklin, University of Surrey; **SK:** Serge Kaparoz

Nar Northern Namibia, a remote and barren landscape, home to a remarkable tribe: the Himba. The Himba women are famous for covering themselves with ochre, which symbolizes the earth's rich red color, and blood, which symbolizes life. But that's not what has brought Serge Kaparoz here. He's here because there's something rather special about how the Himba describe the colors they see.



Distribution of English and Himba naming patterns for colors ranging from red–purple on the horizontal axis and from dark (2) to light (9) on the vertical axis.

Source: Debi Roberson et al. "The Development of Color Categories in Two Languages" (2004)

one more time towards the different color? (*man points*) Very good.

Nar (*squares in a circle*) But for the Himba, it's easy to see the green which is different.

SK So you see, this particular trial, this green patch looks very much like the other ones, at least to me, and I think to most other Westerners, whereas for the Himba, this is a different color. That is, they have a different word for this type of green compared to the other types of green, and that allows them to more easily distinguish between these two colors when they are next to each other, whereas for ?? it is very hard. So when Westerners do this exact same trial, they will spend much longer and they will be much more likely to make a mistake than the Himba.

Nar The next experiment is trickier for the Himba. In this one, they're shown a circle of green squares which includes one blue square.

SK So again, 12 colors and you point towards the one that is different from the other 11 colors.

Nar For us, we have separate words for green and blue, but as the Himba have the same word for both, it takes them longer to spot the blue.

SK (*Himbas puzzle over the squares*) OK, that was a difficult one for him. The difference between the two categories of color are very close to each other. For us, it is quite clear, the one that is different, but for them, they have to look very hard. We measure the time they take to give the response as well as errors, and what we find is that the Himba will take much longer to find the different color in this version of the experiment with blue and green.

Nar The Himba with their five words do, in some ways, see the world slightly differently from us.

SK (*to a Himba man*) What is the color of water? (*Himba answers*) White. OK. And milk. (*Himba answers*) Also white.

SK For me, you see, where I come from, we say the water is blue and sky is blue, and you say the sky is black, the water is white. So we have different words to talk about the same thing. (*translator tells Himba man what SK said*)

Nar While we have eleven words to describe color, have half the amount: they include *zoozu*, which is most dark colors and includes reds, blues, greens, and purples; *vapa*, which is mainly white but includes some yellow; *borou*, which includes some greens and blues; and *dumbu*, which includes different greens, but also reds and browns. They clearly describe color differently, but do they see the same way? Serge has been running experiments to find out.

SK (*to Himba woman*) OK, now you look at these new 12 squares. One of them again has a different color. Which one?

Nar He's testing how long it takes them to spot a color which is different from the others.

SK (*a little vocal interchange*) Can you do the same thing again?

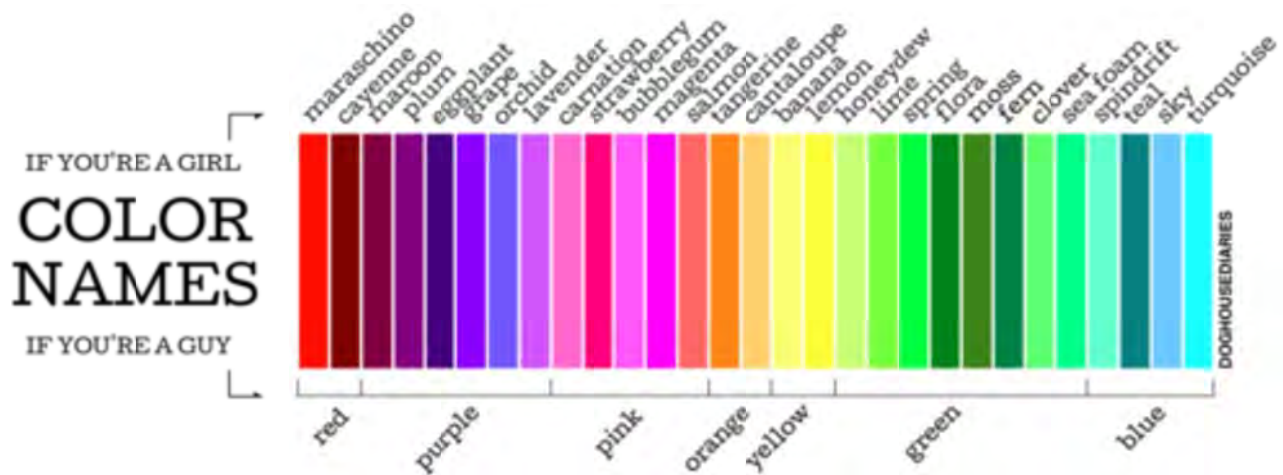
Nar (*squares in a circle*) This is what they're looking at. For us, it's quite hard to spot the odd one out.

SK (*to Himba man*) OK, can you point

Gendered Colors

Somewhere, right now, there is a young couple at Home Depot looking at little cards with paint colors on them. The woman holds up four cards to her husband and says, "Do you like the eggshell, ivory, cream or bone?" at which point he looks at the cards, all of which are white, and says, "You're messing with me, right?"

Source: Sam Cooper "5 Insane Ways Words Can Control Your Mind" (2010)





Source: Robert Kosara "You Only See Colors You Can Name" (2011)

Color Associations: Pink

The tentative grouping into semantic fields suggests an extremely wide range of associations with pink, where positive connotations can easily tip over into negative ones (witness the progression from childhood via naivety to stupidity). Semantic fields can even contradict each other, as is the case with lust vs innocence. This can be explained by different shades of pink carrying different connotations. The pattern seems to be that an increase in brightness and saturation promotes sexual connotations and negative ones of artificiality and cheapness, which index working-class femininity. By contrast, adding white to the shade triggers cultural associations of innocence, which in turn is culturally equated with an absence not only of guilt but also of desire and sexual experience.

Associations with pink	Frequency (%)
Femininity	76.3
Romance	55.6
Sweetness	52.1
Softness ¹	50.9
Love	50.3
Cheekiness ²	49.1
Delicacy	47.3
Dreaminess	42.6
Childhood	40.8
Gentleness	40.8

Trend Spotting: Think Pink

Source: Veronika Koller "Not just a colour': Pink as a Gender and Sexuality Marker in Visual Communication" (2008)

Video: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/06/lipstick-names-study-food-sex_n_1575659.html

Saying and Doing: Speech Acts and Performatives



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Saying and Doing: Speech Acts & Performatives



Defining the Performative (Austin)

“Utterances can be found... such that:

- A. They do not ‘describe’ or ‘report’ or constate anything at all, are not ‘true or false,’ and
- B. The uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not *normally* be described as, or as ‘just,’ saying something.

This is far from being as paradoxical as it may sound or as I have meanly been trying to make it sound: indeed, the examples now to be given will be disappointing. Examples:

- a. ‘I do (sc. take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife)’ – as uttered in the course of the marriage ceremony.
- b. ‘I name this ship the *Queen Elizabeth*’ – as uttered when smashing the bottle against the stem.
- c. ‘I give and bequeath my watch to my brother’ – as occurring in a will.
- d. ‘I bet you sixpence it will rain tomorrow.’

In these examples it seems clear that to utter the sentence (in, of course, the appropriate circumstances) is not to describe my doing of what I should be said in so uttering to be doing or to state that I am doing it: it is to do it. ... What are we to call a sentence or an utterance of this type? I propose to call it a *performative sentence* or a *performative utterance*, or, for short, a ‘performative.’”

Source: J. L. Austin “How to Do Things with Words” (1962)

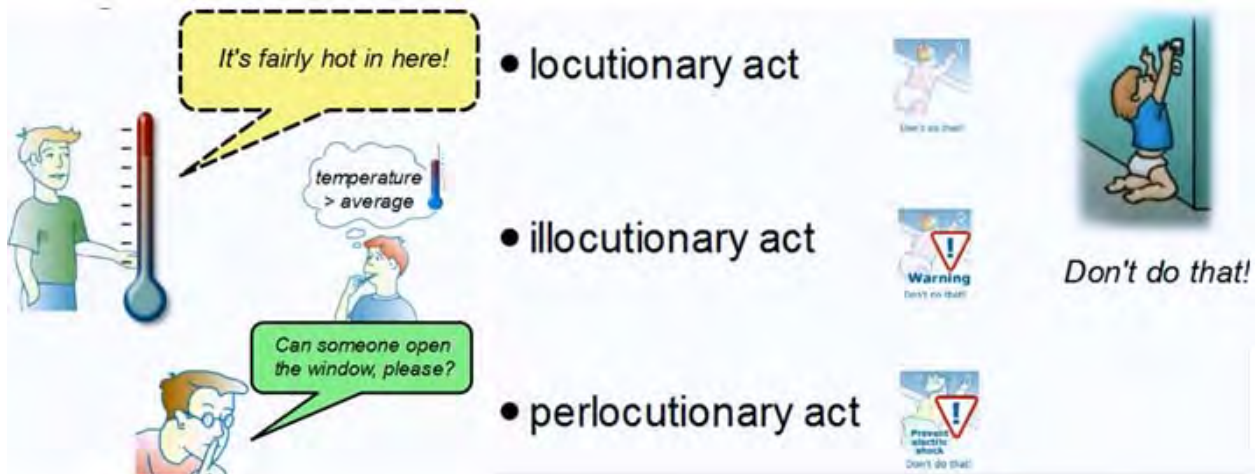
Examples of Performatives

- "I now pronounce you man and wife." – used in the course of a marriage ceremony
 - "Go" – used in ordering someone to go
 - "Yes" – answering the question "Do you promise to do the dishes?"
 - "You are under arrest." – used in setting someone under arrest
 - "I christen you"
 - "I accept your apology"
 - "I sentence you to death"
 - "I do" – wedding
 - "I swear to do that", "I promise to be there"
 - "I apologize"
 - "I dedicate this..." (...book to my wife; etc.)
 - "This meeting is now adjourned", "The court is now in session"
 - "This church is hereby de-sanctified"
 - "War is declared"
 - "I quit" – employment
 - "I resign" – employment, or chess
- Source: Wikipedia



“Full Metal Jacket” Drill Sergeant Monologue

Speech Act Theory



Source: Jürgen Handke "Speech Acts: An Overview" (2012)

Illocutionary Competence

- **Illocutionary Act:** a speech act where the actual words imply a different meaning from the stated one. That's why it is called "illocution" [ill (wrong) + locution (speech)].

- **Illocutionary Force:** the intended meaning (which is different from the stated one).

a. Example:

Illocutionary Acts between person A and person B

A: Honey, trash can is full.
 B: Not right now, dear, I'm watching TV.
 A: But, honey, it smells really bad.
 B: You have two hands.
 A: But, I'm washing the dishes.
 B: Okay, if you take out the trash, I'll wash the dishes.
 A: REALLY?! Okay, It's a deal.

b. Explanation:

Illocutionary Force of the Illocutionary Acts (above)

A: Honey, please take the trash out.
 B: Not right now dear, I'm watching TV.
 A: But, honey, it smells really bad (so, I would like you to take it out NOW).
 B: You have two hands (so, you can take it out).
 A: But, I'm washing the dishes (so, I can't take it out now).
 B: Okay, if you take out the trash, I'll wash the dishes.
 A: REALLY?! Okay, It's a deal.

Source: Leon's Planet (<http://leonsplanet.com/langcomp.htm>)

Types of Speech Acts

Speech act	Description	Verbs associated with speech act	Example
Assertives	Statements that can be verified as true or false	Assert, claim, affirm, assure, inform, predict, report, suggest, insist, hypothesize, swear, admit, confess, blame, praise	I assure you that we will meet our budget goals in 2001
Directives	Statements that call upon the listener to do something	Direct, request, ask, urge, demand, command, forbid, suggest, insist, recommend, implore, beg	I urge to you vote against this resolution
Commissives	Statements that commit to a course of action	Promise, vow, pledge, swear, consent, refuse, assure, guarantee, contract, bet	I assure that you will receive more funding next year
Expressives	Statements that express a psychological position about a state of affairs	Apologize, thank, condole, congratulate, complain, protest, compliment, praise, welcome	I compliment your achievement in meeting your third- quarter numbers
Declaratives	Statements that, through their utterance, perform an act	Fire, pronounce, declare, appoint, confirm, endorse, renounce, denounce, name, call, repudiate	I am firing you

Source: Searle (1979) and Searle and Vanderveken (1985)

Illocutionary Acts in SMS Texting

Type of illocutionary act	Definition and properties	Examples from text messaging corpus
Assertives	Statements or expressions that represent a state of affairs or commit the texter to the truth of an expressed proposition.	"dave, im not a bad person." "I never said you were." "Minors are allowed to work anything under 40 hours." "Didi is mad funny because she is mad cool" "Hey im not going 2 skool" "But I have to go to the police department tomorrow"
Directives: a. outright command, request, offer, order b. Indirect request, order	The texter uses this type of statement/expression in order to get the textee (person addressed) to do something.	a. "get me some cranberry juice and tuna fish cans in water." a. "Focus on your own problems & how you plan on solving them." a. "don't give my cell# out 2 people." a. "You better go to sleep." b. "Please invite Margaret and her family" b. "Just tell Andy your free on certain days."
Commissives	Text message through which texter commits him/herself to something or some future course of action.	"Home by 630ish." "Will be home by 4:30ish..." "I can help you at 3:00 pm" "Let me look for that..." " and I'll send it asap "
Expressives	Texter expresses psychological state toward a particular state of affairs or someone. Because of their illocutionary force, routine texting expressions such as LOL, which often precede messages, and emoticons, which follow expressives, are included in this category.	"G. thanks for the brilliant lesson is sweat equity campaigning." "And S. thank YOU for helping B get his own line." "Sorry i was so cranky in my msg." "but i am getting tired of doing Barney's work." "I'm mad beat" "Dear AD," "love, Pop" "I love you <3 if that counts" - - J L : o ;) :-D :-x :-< :-> :-()
Declarations/Declaratives	These types of illocutionary act bring about changes in an institutional state of affairs or in reality. Well-known examples include: "I pronounce you man and wife." "Take your stuff and get out!" "You're fired."	No examples of declarations were found in this subsample.

Source: Susana M. Sotillo "Illocutionary Acts and Functional Orientation of SMS Texting" (2012)

Speech act type	Direction of fit	S = speaker; X = situation
Declarations	words change the world	S causes X
Representatives	make words fit the world	S believes X
Expressives	make words fit the world	S feels X
Directives	make the world fit words	S wants X
Commissives	make the world fit words	S intends X

Surface Realizations of Directives

1. Imperatives like "Bring me a sweater."
2. Embedded imperatives like "Could you bring me a sweater?"
3. Question directives like "Have you got a sweater here?"
4. Statements of need like "I'm cold."
5. Hints like "It's a cold night."

Need Statements

Parent at breakfast.

Intent: Thinking aloud.

"Oh, darn it. I left my paper out there."

"I'll get it."

Interpretation: Directive.

Hints

Woman to escort:

Intent: Small talk.

"It's really cold tonight."

"Here, take my jacket."

Interpretation: Directive.

Guest to hostess, who serves green tea:

Intent: Small talk.

"I've never had green tea."

"Oh, I'll get you some black tea then."

Interpretation: Directive.

Below is a sign displayed on the window of New London's Police Department on Truman Street, April 2015. How would you categorize this speech act in terms of its illocutionary force and its type (e.g., assertive, directive, etc.)? Is it felicitous or not, and why?



Source: Susan Ervin-Tripp "Speech Acts and Social Learning" (1976)

Searle / Habermas	Directives	Commissives	Assertives	Declaratives	Expressives
Constative	question		assertion		claim to truth
Regulative	request	promise	statement	acceptance	claim to justice
Expressive					claim to sincerity

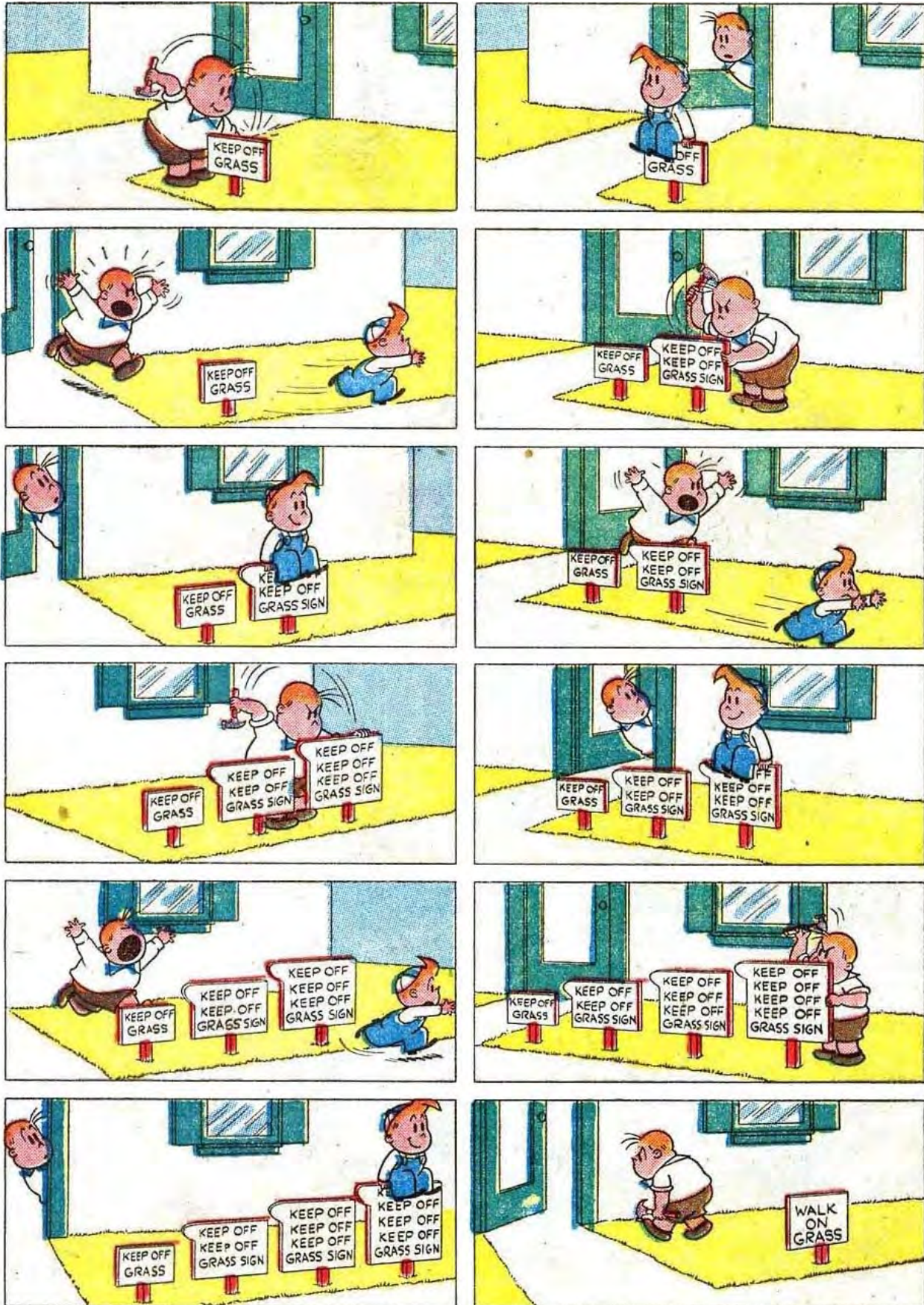
Source: Jan L.G. Dietz "Towards a Discipline of Organization Engineering" (2001)

The Structure of Illocutionary Acts (Searle)

		<i>Types of illocutionary act</i>		
		<i>Request</i>	<i>Assert, state (that), affirm</i>	<i>Question¹</i>
Types of rule	Propositional content	Future act <i>A</i> of <i>H</i> .	Any proposition <i>p</i> .	Any proposition or propositional function.
	Preparatory	1. <i>H</i> is able to do <i>A</i> . <i>S</i> believes <i>H</i> is able to do <i>A</i> . 2. It is not obvious to both <i>S</i> and <i>H</i> that <i>H</i> will do <i>A</i> in the normal course of events of his own accord.	1. <i>S</i> has evidence (reasons, etc.) for the truth of <i>p</i> . 2. It is not obvious to both <i>S</i> and <i>H</i> that <i>H</i> knows (does not need to be reminded of, etc.) <i>p</i> .	1. <i>S</i> does not know 'the answer', i.e., does not know if the proposition is true, or, in the case of the propositional function, does not know the information needed to complete the proposition truly (but see comment below). 2. It is not obvious to both <i>S</i> and <i>H</i> that <i>H</i> will provide the information at that time without being asked.
	Sincerity	<i>S</i> wants <i>H</i> to do <i>A</i> .	<i>S</i> believes <i>p</i> .	<i>S</i> wants this information.
	Essential	Counts as an attempt to get <i>H</i> to do <i>A</i> .	Counts as an undertaking to the effect that <i>p</i> represents an actual state of affairs.	Counts as an attempt to elicit this information from <i>H</i> .
Comment:		<i>Order</i> and <i>command</i> have the additional preparatory rule that <i>S</i> must be in a position of authority over <i>H</i> . <i>Command</i> probably does not have the 'pragmatic' condition requiring non-obviousness. Furthermore in both, the authority relationship infects the essential condition because the utterance counts as an attempt to get <i>H</i> to do <i>A</i> in virtue of the authority of <i>S</i> over <i>H</i> .	Unlike <i>argue</i> these do not seem to be essentially tied to attempting to convince. Thus "I am simply stating that <i>p</i> and not attempting to convince you" is acceptable, but "I am arguing that <i>p</i> and not attempting to convince you" sounds inconsistent.	There are two kinds of questions, (a) real questions, (b) exam questions. In real questions <i>S</i> wants to know (find out) the answer; in exam questions, <i>S</i> wants to know if <i>H</i> knows.
		<i>Thank (for)</i>	<i>Advise</i>	<i>Warn</i>
Types of rule	Propositional content	Past act <i>A</i> done by <i>H</i> .	Future act <i>A</i> of <i>H</i> .	Future event or state, etc., <i>E</i> .
	Preparatory	<i>A</i> benefits <i>S</i> and <i>S</i> believes <i>A</i> benefits <i>S</i> .	1. <i>H</i> has some reason to believe <i>A</i> will benefit <i>H</i> . 2. It is not obvious to both <i>S</i> and <i>H</i> that <i>H</i> will do <i>A</i> in the normal course of events.	1. <i>H</i> has reason to believe <i>E</i> will occur and is not in <i>H</i> 's interest. 2. It is not obvious to both <i>S</i> and <i>H</i> that <i>E</i> will occur.
	Sincerity	<i>S</i> feels grateful or appreciative for <i>A</i> .	<i>S</i> believes <i>A</i> will benefit <i>H</i> .	<i>S</i> believes <i>E</i> is not in <i>H</i> 's best interest.
	Essential	Counts as an expression of gratitude or appreciation.	Counts as an undertaking to the effect that <i>A</i> is in <i>H</i> 's best interest.	Counts as an undertaking to the effect that <i>E</i> is not in <i>H</i> 's best interest.
Comment:		Sincerity and essential rules overlap. Thanking is just expressing gratitude in a way that, e.g., promising is not just expressing an intention.	Contrary to what one might suppose advice is not a species of requesting. It is interesting to compare "advise" with "urge", "advocate" and "recommend". Advising you is not trying to get you to do something in the sense that requesting is. Advising is more like telling you what is best for you.	Warning is like advising, rather than requesting. It is not, I think, necessarily an attempt to get you to take evasive action. Notice that the above account is of categorical not hypothetical warnings. Most warnings are probably hypothetical: "If you do not do <i>X</i> then <i>Y</i> will occur."
		<i>Greet</i>	<i>Congratulate</i>	
Types of rule	Propositional content	None.	Some event, act, etc., <i>E</i> related to <i>H</i> .	
	Preparatory	<i>S</i> has just encountered (or been introduced to, etc.) <i>H</i> .	<i>E</i> is in <i>H</i> 's interest and <i>S</i> believes <i>E</i> is in <i>H</i> 's interest.	
	Sincerity	None.	<i>S</i> is pleased at <i>E</i> .	
	Essential	Counts as courteous recognition of <i>H</i> by <i>S</i> .	Counts as an expression of pleasure at <i>E</i> .	
Comment:			"Congratulate" is similar to "thank" in that it is an expression of its sincerity condition.	

Performatives

John Stanley "Keep off Grass Sign" (from *Little Lulu* No.94, 1956)



Do Not Signs



Do not touch

WARNING
TRESPASSERS
WILL BE SHOT
SURVIVORS
WILL BE SHOT AGAIN



DO NOT:
POST PICTURES
OF THIS SIGN ON
THE INTERNET

986F 64B9 3005 E03E
FC42 A41E BD57 3179



PLEASE DO NOT
FEED THE PIGEONS.
IT IS UNSANITARY
AND ILLEGAL.



Threat-Imbedded Imperatives

Glen Humphress (1974) reports that marine drill sergeants use only imperatives or elliptical imperatives to new recruits:

- (1) Now get out, get out. Bring me more coffee cups.
- (2) Git your eyes off me, puke.
- (3) I can't hear ya, girls. Again!

The one exception was an imperative which was imbedded in a threat:

- (4) All right hogs, you mothafuckers got three seconds to swalla them goddam cigarettes.

In this example, the conventional values are reversed, titles becoming insults, imbedding becoming threat; in addition the sincerity of the directive is intentionally ambiguous. (Marines have been known to swallow cigarettes or eat grease in response to such orders.) Marine drill sergeants spend considerable effort retraining recruits' language, including the avoidance of first and second person pronouns. The deliberate ambiguity illustrated in (4) is used also in a contrast between an order which is ungrammatical in Marine language but not in ordinary civilian speech. The recruits' resulting disarray displayed their failure to be fully socialized Marines, making them available to public ridicule.

Normal Marine order: Platoon... halt! (timed to the march).
Illegal command: Stop, mob, stop. Whoa mob, stop, stop herd.
 You girls don't wanna march, huh?
 Hold hands girls, now walk, that's right.
 Hippety hop, mob stop.

Source: Susan Ervin-Tripp "Is Sybil There? The Structure of Some American English Directives" (1976)



“We Begin Bombing in Five Minutes”



"My fellow Americans, I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes."

- Ronald Reagan (said as joke during mic check before live broadcast)

Americans, I am pleased to tell you that I have signed legislation to outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes."

The Democratic presidential nominee, Mr. Walter Mondale, chided Mr. Reagan for his joke, saying: "A President has to be very, very careful with his words." He told a press conference: "I am willing to accept he saw it as a joke... but others will think it is serious... I don't think it is very funny..."

In Moscow last night the deputy manager of the Foreign Ministry press department, Mr. Valentin Kamenev, responded to reporters' questions with: "I have nothing to say." He added that he did not know if there would be any official reaction to the President's remarks.

The Reagan comment was not transmitted on Saturday morning to White House reporters listening on a special line installed so that they can hear the broadcasts, which are only carried each week by selected local stations. But it was picked up by radio technicians on tape machines running in studios around the country as they prepared to take a feed of the statement.

All that actually went on the air was Mr. Reagan's planned declaration that "I am pleased to tell you that today I signed legislation that will allow student religious groups to begin enjoying a right they have long been denied – the freedom to meet in public high schools during non-school hours."

The Tokyo newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun reported in October 1984 that the Soviet Far East Army was placed on alert after word of the statement got out, and that the alert was not withdrawn until 30 minutes later. An unnamed aide to US Representative Michael Barnes confirmed that the Pentagon was aware of the alert.

Though this was not the first time Reagan had joked prior to giving a speech or address, the Soviet official news agency, TASS, condemned the joke, declaring that "The USSR condemns this unprecedented and hostile attack by the US President" and that "this kind of behavior is incompatible with the great responsibility borne by heads of nuclear states for the destinies of their own people and mankind."



Video: <http://www.hulu.com/watch/271522>

Exercises

1. Consider the following utterance:

I promise not to keep this promise

What would Searle say of such an utterance? Does it qualify as a promise? Why (not)?

2. Consider the following speech acts:



I promise (hereby) to set fire to your house

I hereby warn you that you will be awarded the Nobel Prize in literature

WARNING: Your lawn will turn brown in November

◀ **UNDER PENALTY OF LAW: DO NOT REMOVE THIS TAG**

(text on tags attached to all bedding material purchased in the US prior to 1981)

What is the problem with these speech acts? Do they all suffer from the same irregularity, or are they irregular in different ways? Which (in either case)? Can you think of any conditions that make any of these speech acts acceptable?

3. Consider the following text, found on a package of American brewers' yeast in the 1920s:

Do not mix the contents of this package with 2 qtrs. of lukewarm water.

Do not add 1 lb. of sprouted barley.

Do not put in a warm spot (74 degrees) for 7-10 days.

Do not skim.

Do not put mixture in copper pot and heat.

Do not condense vapors.

Do not consume end product.

Do not get caught.

What speech acts are these (if any)?

4. Here's a little puzzle:

Between British Rail's Waverley and Haymarket stations in central Edinburgh, Scotland, the train (travelling in the direction of Haymarket) enters a tunnel. On entering the tunnel, the astonished traveler notices a big red billboard, about 4' by 6', with large white lettering saying:

DO NOT ENTER
UNLESS
IN FULL POSSESSION

What kind of a speech act are we faced with here? Establish the context for this speech act in order to make it meaningful. Who is addressed here, and what is the person addressed supposed to do/not to do? (Hint: use such cues as the location of the sign, its appearance, visibility, wording, etc.) What do you think 'possession' is supposed to mean?

Source: Jacob L. Mey "Speech Acts and Their Classification" (1993)

5. Consider the variety of ways in which a parent might complain about a child's leaving her shoes in the living room (analyze each utterance):

- (a) Look where your shoes are.
- (b) Where are your shoes?
- (c) Where do your shoes belong?
- (d) Why are your shoes there?
- (e) What are those?
- (f) What's wrong here?
- (g) Well, here are some shoes.

Source: Susan Ervin-Tripp "Is Sybil There?" (1976)

6. Compare the following two warnings, appearing on the brown paper wrapping bags that the OLLB (Ontario liquor licensing Board) provides its customers with to hide their purchases in when venturing out into the street:

(English) '*Don't drink and drive*'

(French) '*Si vous buvez, ne conduisez pas*' [lit. 'if you drink, don't drive']

What is the illocutionary force involved here? Is there a difference between the English and the French text in this respect? If so, what is the difference? If not, why the different wording?

Here is another variant of the French text:

'Si vous buvez, ne prenez pas le volant' [lit. 'if you drink, don't take the wheel']

Ask yourself the same questions as above. In addition, explain what 'to take the wheel' means, and how it is related to 'to drive'. Do you have any suggestions as to why, and in which context, the latter expression might be preferred?

Source: Jacob L. Mey "Speech Acts and Their Classification" (1993)

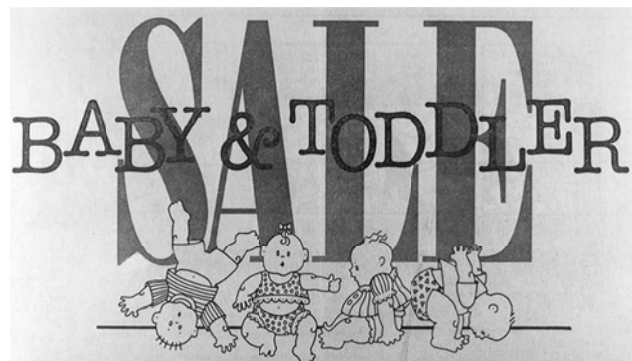
7. Consider the following scene. A visitor to a city, carrying his luggage, looking lost, stops a passer-by.

VISITOR: *Excuse me. Do you know where the Ambassador Hotel is?*

PASSER-BY: *Oh sure, I know where it is. (and walks away)*

What is going on in this scene?

8. In this picture, assuming things are normal and this store has not gone into the business of selling young children, we can recognize an advertisement for a sale of clothes for those babies and toddlers. The word clothes doesn't appear in the message, but we can bring that idea to our interpretation of the message as we work out what the advertiser intended us to understand. We are actively involved in creating an interpretation of what we read and hear.



Source: George Yule "The Study of Language" (2010)

Shifters and the Social Life of Pronouns

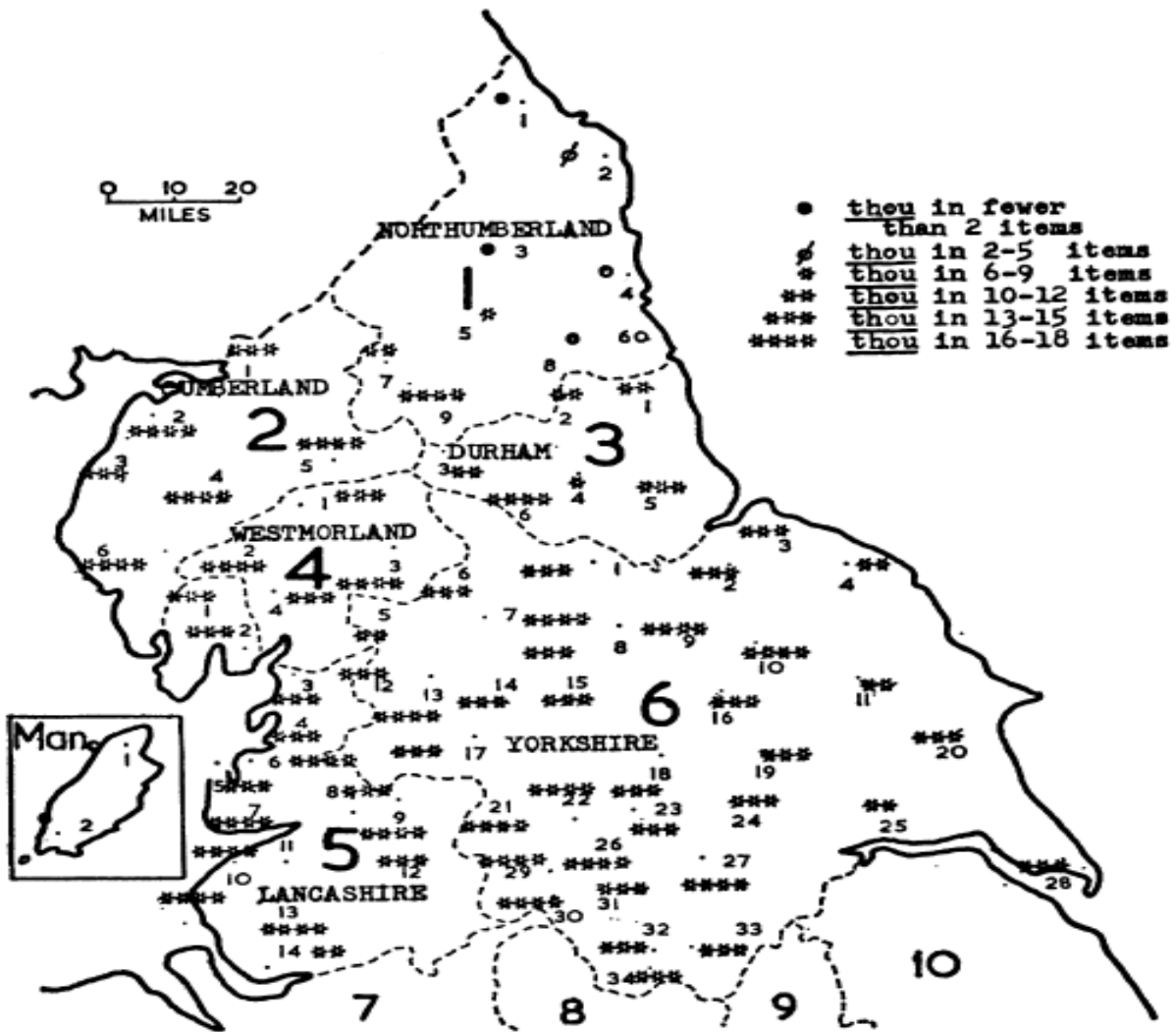


Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)



Source: <http://grammaire-fle.wikispaces.com/Les+pronoms+personnels>

THE NORTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND



Although the old second-person singular pronoun, *thou*, became obsolete in standard English – except for prayer – in the eighteenth century, it lingered on in the dialects and is still heard in various parts of England today.

Source: William Evans “‘You’ and ‘Thou’ in Northern England” (1969)

This wasn't always the case.

Old English had several different **YOU**s —

FOR ONE PERSON

ÐU
"thoo"



FOR TWO PEOPLE

GIT
"yeet"



FOR MORE

GE
"yeah"



There were also more versions of **YOU** for different grammatical cases, which would tell what **YOU** were doing in the sentence.

TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, "EIGHT DAYS A WEEK" BY THE BEATLES. THERE ARE DIFFERENT GRAMMATICAL CASES OF **YOU** HAPPENING —

THE OLD ENGLISH VERSION (BY THE VENERABLE BEDLES) WOULD HAVE USED A DIFFERENT WORD FOR EACH CASE —

OOH, I NEED YOUR LOVE BABE



OOH, IC **ÐINNE** LUFU BIDEARF LEOF



GENITIVE CASE
SOMETHING BELONGS TO YOU

GUESS YOU KNOW IT'S TRUE



IC DENCE ÐAET **ÐU** WITE TŌ SŌB



NOMINATIVE CASE
YOU ARE DOING SOMETHING

HOPE YOU NEED MY LOVE BABE



IC HOPIE **ÐU** MĪNNE LUFU BĪÐURFE LEOF



NOMINATIVE AGAIN

JUST LIKE I NEED YOU



SWĀ BĪÐEARF IC **ÐE**



ACCUSATIVE CASE
SOMETHING IS DONE TO YOU

Shifters

A class of words which presents grave difficulty to children are those whose meaning differs according to the situation, so that the child hears them now applied to one thing and now to another. That was the case with words like 'father,' and ['mother.' Another such word is 'enemy.' When Frans (4.5) I played a war-game with Eggert, he could not get it into his head that he was Eggert's enemy: no, it was only Eggert who was the enemy. A stronger case still is 'home.' When a child was asked if his grandmother had been at home, and answered: "No, grandmother was at grandfather's," it is clear that for him 'at home' meant merely 'at my home.' Such words may be called shifters. When Frans (3.6) heard it said that 'the one' (glove) was as good as 'the other,' he asked, "Which is the one, and which is the other?" – a question not easy to answer.



The most important class of shifters are the personal pronouns. The child hears the word 'I' meaning 'Father,' then again meaning 'Mother,' then again 'Uncle Peter,' and so on unendingly in the most confusing manner. Many people realize the difficulty thus presented to the child, and to obviate it will speak of themselves in the third person as 'Father' or 'Granni' or 'Mary,' and instead of saying 'you' to the child, speak of it by its name. The child's understanding of what is said is thus facilitated

for the moment: but on the other hand the child in this way hears these little words less frequently and is slower in mastering them.

If some children soon learn to say 'I' while others speak of themselves by their name, the difference is not entirely due to the different mental powers of the children, but must be largely attributed to their elders' habit of addressing them by their name or by the pronouns. But Germans would not be Germans, and philosophers would not be philosophers, if they did not make the most of the child's use of 'I,' in which they see the first sign of self-consciousness. The elder Fichte, we are told, used to celebrate not his son's birthday, but the day on which he first spoke of himself as 'I.' The sober truth is, I take it, that a boy who speaks of himself as 'Jack' can have just as full and strong a perception of himself as opposed to the rest of the world as one who has learnt the little linguistic trick of saying 'I.' But this does not suit some of the great psychologists, as seen from the following quotation: "The child uses no pronouns; it speaks of itself in the third person, because it has no idea of its 'I' (Ego) nor of its 'Not-I,' because it knows nothing of itself nor of others."

Source: Otto Jespersen "Shifters" (1922)

Airliner = SHE

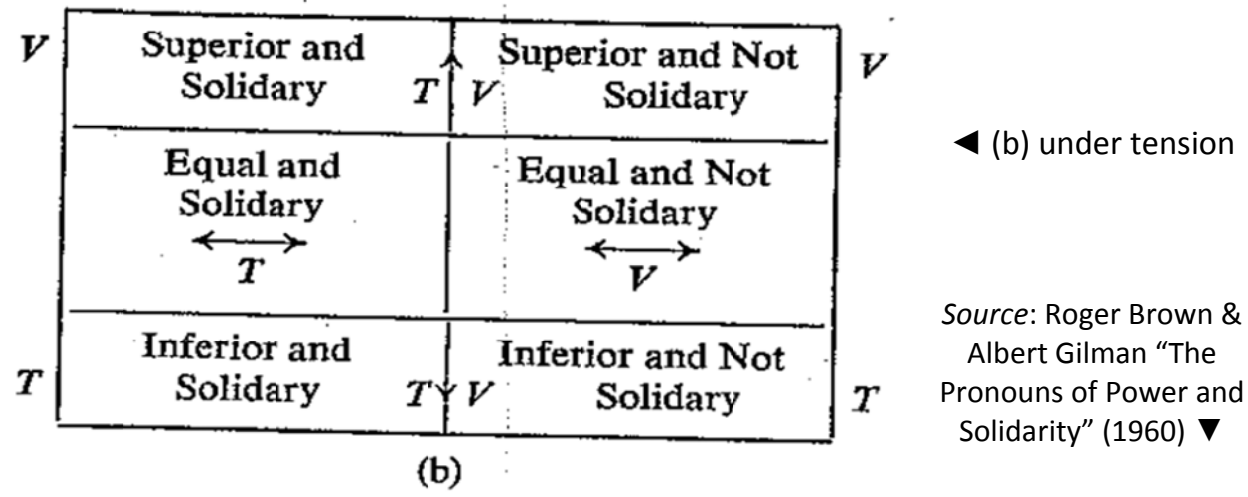
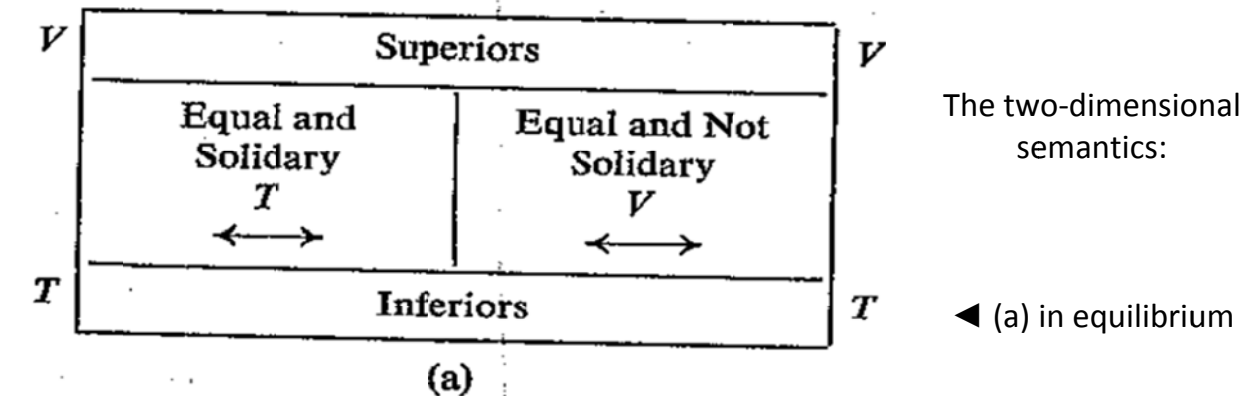
Ships (and *ships* of the air) take *she* agreement in traditional usage, as do *automobiles*, though this has been rapidly changing and a sign or greater "thingness" of the once wondrous and affect-laden creatures. In the following, we can observe this contrast between the straightforward *it* usage in newspaper prose, and the excited, affect-laden he-she usage in the narrated drama of the framed quotation by an airline employee:

Miami – A Boeing 727 airliner carrying 67 passengers and 7 crew members made a successful emergency belly landing on a runway at Miami International Airport Tuesday night after its landing gear failed to retract fully after take-off from Palm Beach International Airport. Seven persons suffered minor injuries. 'He pulled all of his gear up and slid her in on her tummy – her belly,' Eastern Airlines spokesman Jim Ashlock said. The airliner, Eastern Flight 194, was flying to John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York and then Albany, N.Y. Emergency equipment stood by as the plane skidded to a stop, sparks flying.

– Chicago Tribune, 16 February 1983, Sec. 1, p.5 (our emphasis)

Source: Michael Silverstein "Language and the Culture of Gender" (1985)

Pronouns of Power and Solidarity



Customer
 $T \downarrow V \uparrow V$
 Waiter

Officer
 $T \downarrow V \uparrow V$
 Soldier

Employer
 $T \downarrow V \uparrow V$
 Employee

Parent
 $T \downarrow T \uparrow V$
 Son

Master
 $T \downarrow T \uparrow V$
 Faithful Servant

Elder brother
 $T \downarrow T \uparrow V$
 Younger Brother

(a)

Customer
 $\uparrow V$
 Waiter

Officer
 $\uparrow V$
 Soldier

Employer
 $\uparrow V$
 Employee

Parent
 $T \uparrow$
 Son

Master
 $T \uparrow$
 Faithful Servant

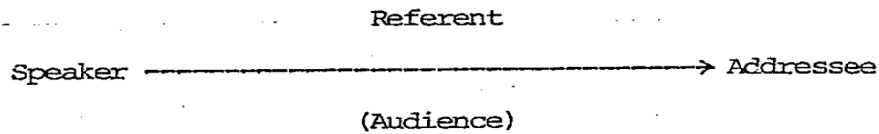
Elder Brother
 $T \uparrow$
 Younger Brother

(b)

Figure 2. Social dyads involving (a) semantic conflict and (b) their resolution.

Coding of Identities

Speech-event role relationships, with coding of referential identities:



Referent = topic of discourse picked out by a characterizing sign or its contextual substitute

Speech context identities	Grammatical coding
Referent = Speaker	First person singular
Referent = Speaker & Addressee (&...)	First person incl. (dual, etc.)
Referent = Speaker & Non-addressee (s)	First person excl. (dual, etc.)
Referent = Addressee	Second person singular
Referent = Addressee & Other (s)	Second person (dual, etc.)
Referent = (Audience and/or) Other (s)	Third person (sg/du/etc.)

Source: Michael Silverstein "Speech-Event Handout" (2001)

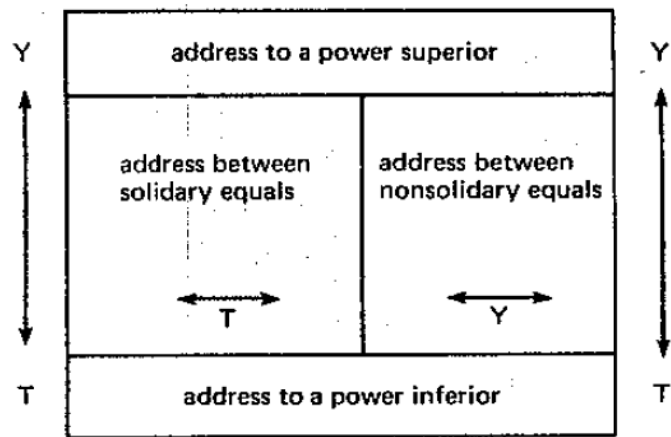


Figure 6. Discourse-situation relationships of participant Power and Solidarity (intimacy) indexed by *thee* (T) and *you* (Y). T (After Brown and Gilman 1960.)

Source: Michael Silverstein "Language and the Culture of Gender" (1985)

Types of Discourse 'I'

	[Removal from everyday situations] →				
1. Type of "I":	indexical-referential	anaphoric	de-quotative	theatrical	projective
2. Formal / Functional Criteria:	reference to speaker of token; main clause or subordinate clause	substitutive reference to main clause subject	substitutive reference to narrative character; no main (quoting) clause present; trace of previous main clause	substitutive reference to narrative character; no trace of previous main clause	occurs in narrative main as well as subordinate clause
3. Type of Self Indexed:	indices of everyday "self"	some indices of reported "self"	more indices of reported "self"	everyday "self" hidden	assumption of "non-ordinary self"

Source: Greg Urban "The 'I' of Discourse" (1989)

Polish Address Patterns

pronoun	ty	wy	pan/pani
abbr.	T	V	P
pattern	$T \leftrightarrow T$	$V \leftrightarrow V$	$P \leftrightarrow P$
verb form	2nd pers.sing.	2nd pers.pl.	3rd pers.sing.
degree of intimacy and/or relative status	intimate familiar	nonfamiliar distant respectful	nonfamiliar distant respectful
usage	norm among majority of speakers	- rural dialects - officials dealing with the public	norm among majority of speakers

Table 1a: Pronominal address in Polish, major reciprocal patterns

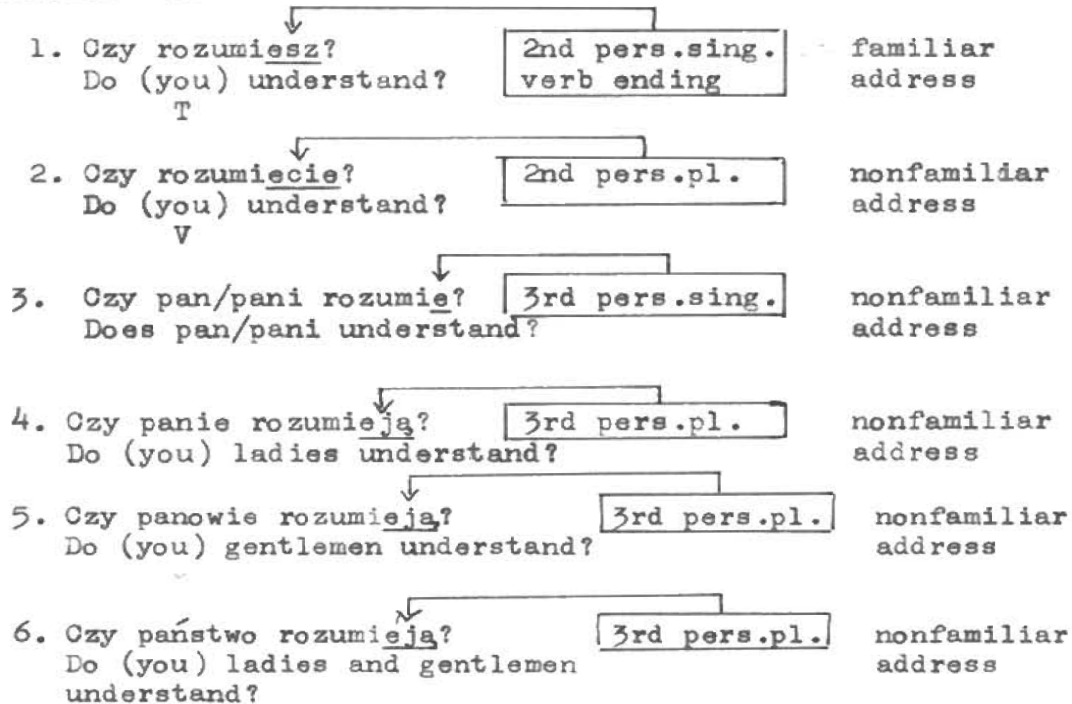
pronoun	ty	pan/pani	ty	wy
abbr.	T	P	T	V
pattern	$T \leftrightarrow P$		$T \leftrightarrow V$	
verb form	2nd pers. sing.	3rd pers. sing.	2nd pers. sing.	2nd pers. pl.
degree of intimacy and/or relative status	younger lower in status	older higher in status	younger lower in status	older higher in status
usage	(majority of speakers) children adults		(rural dialects) children adults elder kin	

Table 1b: Pronominal address in Polish, major nonreciprocal patterns

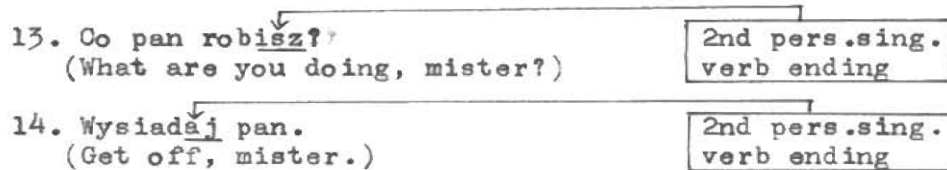
Source: Elzbieta Moszczak "Major Address Patterns in Polish and How They Compare with [...] English" (1986)

“Do You Understand?” in Polish

Do you understand? It will appear in a Polish translation in one of six different forms:³



An interesting trait of the language is the existence of what may be referred to as 'compromise forms', where the nonfamiliar address pronoun of pan/pani and its plural equivalent państwo are used with verb forms otherwise characteristic of familiar address.



Polish Kinship Terms

	title	Reference terms (Nominative)		Address terms (Vocative)	
		full	diminutive	full	diminutive
male	father	Ojciec	Tatus	Ojcze	Tatusiu
	grand-father	Dziadek	Dziadzio	Dziadku	Dziadziu
	uncle	Wuj	Wujek	Wuju	Wujku
female	mother	Matka	Mama Mamusia	*Matko	Mamo Mamusiu
	grand-mother	Babka	Babcia	*Babko	Babciu
	aunt	Ciotka	Ciocia	*Ciotko	Ciociu

▲ ► Source:
Elzbieta Moszczak "Major Address Patterns in Polish and How They Compare with [...] English" (1986)

American Address Forms (1)

Source: Susan Ervin-Tripp "On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-Occurrence" (1969)

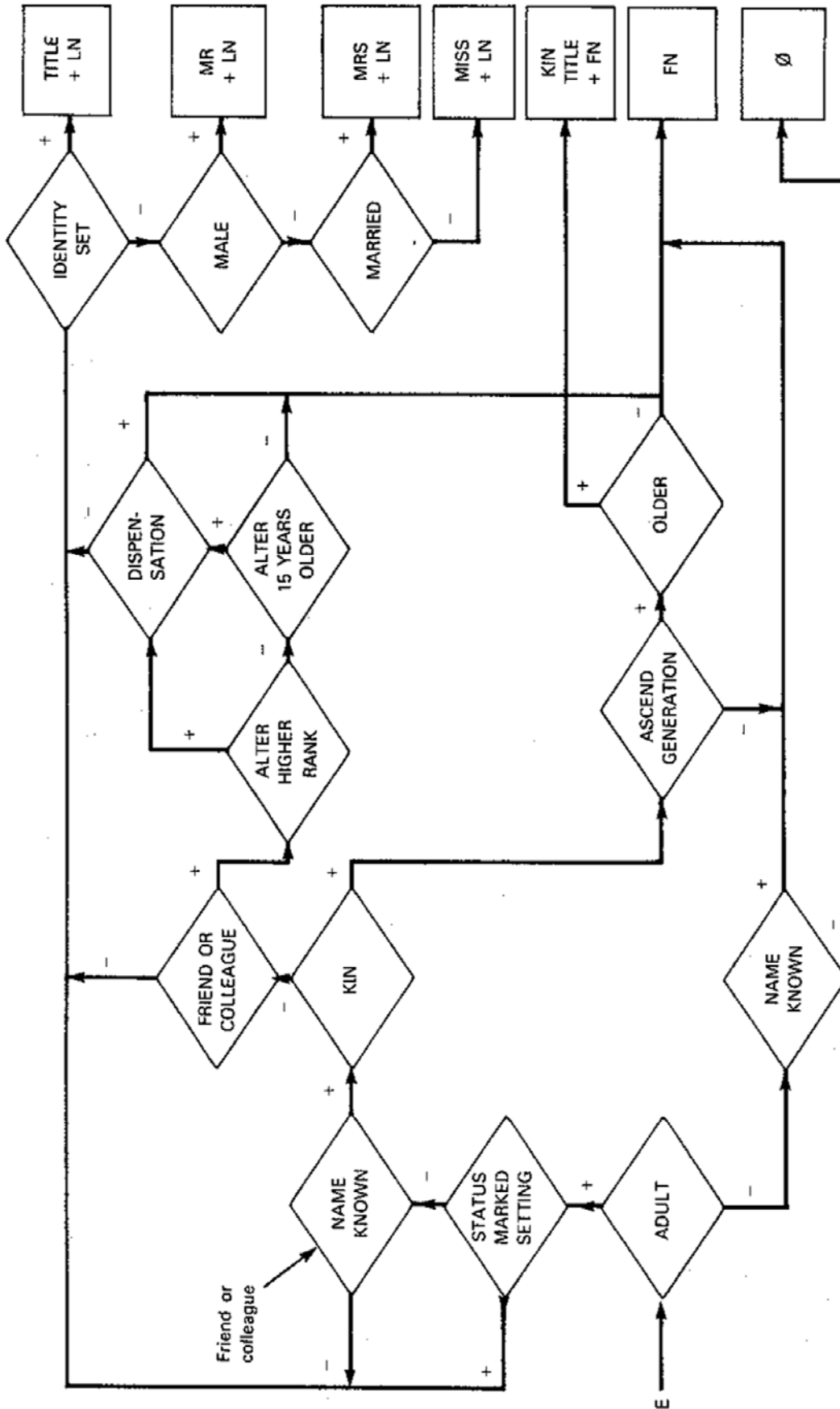


Figure 1.4 Flow chart representation of one American address form system

American Address Forms (2)

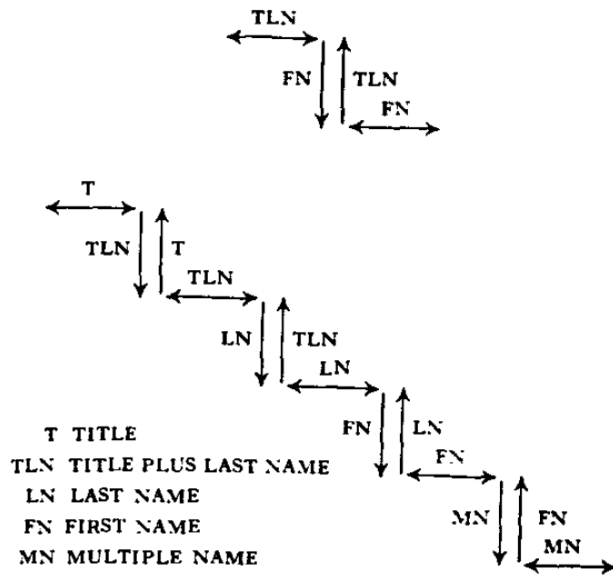


Fig. 1.

Graphic models of the progression of address in time (from left to right). (The upper portion of the figure represents the major progression; the lower portion represents the full progression.)

Source: Roger Brown & Marguerite Ford "Address in American English" (1961)

the organizational hierarchy, and her ability to engage in competition with them and win (demonstrated by her having obtained additional space and staff members); but her status is less than theirs in the areas of responsibility, location of her office, type of staff under her, amount of private space, her age, sex, education, and prior and future career path. The result of the combination of these factors is that her position in the organization can best be described as ambiguous. Due to this, choice of which address forms to use is unusually complicated.

It would appear that Sue can use either of the two principal options, FN or TLN. The problem is that her staff members use FN when referring to her, and, so, for her to use TLN for them would be in contradiction of the status relationship existing between them. Yet for her to accept the use of mutual FN would result in her giving up a certain amount of the status she has so recently earned. And so she has chosen instead to adopt a form common to some situations, but uncommon in business: nicknames (NN).

A Case-Study: "SUE"

The setting is a large business organization. Of primary concern is the office of the director, made up of the director, ten associate directors, supporting staff members, and secretaries. The director has two staff members (each with their own secretary), an administrative assistant (a clerical position just above that of secretary), and a secretary. Each associate director has at least one secretary; the majority also have one or more staff members.

One of the administrative assistants, Sue, has worked for the same associate director for 9 years, starting as his secretary. She is extremely well-organized and efficient. When a vacancy as manager of the Committee Control (CC) office occurred, she applied for, and was given, the job. The job she accepted has an ambiguous position in the organizational hierarchy. There are ways in which Sue is now in a position parallel to that of the associate directors; however, there are just as many ways in which her position is unequal to theirs.

To summarize: Sue has similar status to the associate directors by virtue of her place in

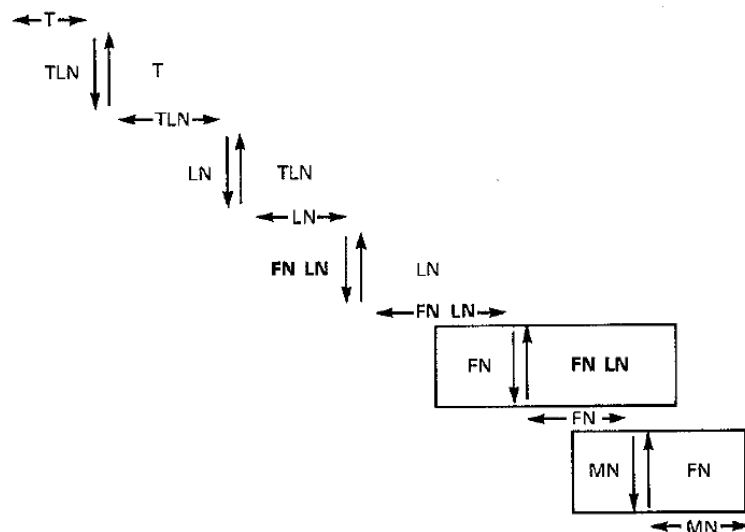


Figure 1.5 Graphic model of Sue's effective modifications of figure 1.3. Boxed areas represent Sue's exploitation of the address system to symbolize her new status. Area in bold face represents a level that she effectively inserted into the system.

Sources: Leeds-Hurwitz "Communication in Everyday Life" (1989); scheme from Ralph Fasold "Address Forms" (1991)

Racism & Rules of Address

“What’s your name, boy?” the policeman asked. . . .
 “Dr. Poussaint. I’m a physician. . . .”
 “What’s your first name, boy? . . .”
 “Alvin.”

(Poussaint 1967:53)

Source: Susan Ervin-Tripp “On Sociolinguistic Rules” (1969)

The policeman’s message is quite precise: “Blacks are wrong to claim adult status or occupational rank. You are children.”

Dr. Poussaint was stripped of all deference due his age and rank.

Hotel Scene, 1960s

A middle-aged, well-dressed Negro, valise in hand, had entered the hotel. He came toward Reception, walking unconcernedly as if for an afternoon stroll. At the counter he put down his bag and stood waiting, third in line. The exchange, when it came, was clearly audible.

“Good morning,” the Negro said. His voice – a Midwestern accent – was amiable and cultured. “I’m Dr. Nicholas; you have” reservation for me.” While waiting he had removed a black Homburg hat revealing carefully brushed iron-gray hair.

“Yes, sir; if you’ll register, please.” The words were spoken before the clerk looked up. As he did, his features stiffened. A hand went out, withdrawing the registration pad he had pushed forward a moment earlier.

“I’m sorry,” he said firmly, “the hotel is full.”

Unperturbed, the Negro responded smilingly. “I have a reservation. The hotel sent a letter confirming it.” His hand went to an inside pocket, producing a wallet with papers protruding, from which he selected one.

“There must have been a mistake. I’m sorry.” The clerk barely glanced at the letter placed in front of him. “We have a convention here.”

“I know.” The other nodded, his smile a shade thinner than before. “It’s a convention of dentists. I happen to be one.”

The room clerk shook his head. “There’s nothing I can do for you.”

The Negro put away his papers. “In that case I’d like to talk with someone else.”

While they had been speaking still more new arrivals had joined the line in front of the counter. A man in a belted raincoat inquired impatiently, “What’s the hold-up here?” O’Keefe remained still. He had a sense that in the now crowded lobby a time bomb was ticking, ready to explode.

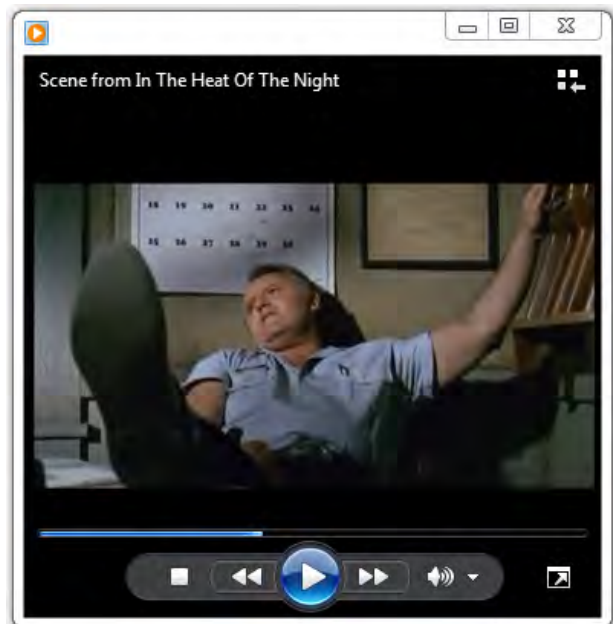
Source: Arthur Hailey “Hotel” (1965)



“Got a name, boy?” ▶

Video: “In the Heat of the Night” (1967)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0oCjDBQMPlw>



Brüderschaft trinken

Пить на брудершафт (Russian)

“Brotherhood drinking” is a ritualized status/pronoun change between acquaintances from formal “you” to informal “thou” in some cultures, most prominently in Russia and in Germany, where it is also known as *Dutz trinken*, literally “drinking to thou.” Changing the pronoun of address is the most important consequence of the ritual drinking with arms crossed (fig. ▶), and obliges the participants to reciprocal use of “thou” from that moment on. It is expected that the more authoritative social actor will initiate the ritual. Its negative counterpart is the expression “We haven’t drunk on brotherhood” to unwelcomed fraternizing behavior by the interlocutor.

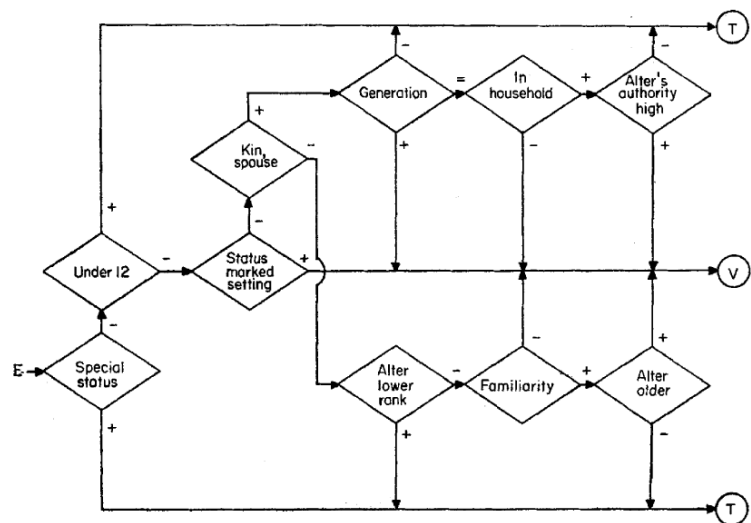


Dialogue of the Master with the cat Behemoth

Utterly shaken, he [the Master] looked all around and finally said to the cat, “Excuse me... was it thou... er, you, sir...” he corrected himself, not sure whether to use the intimate or polite form of address to the cat, “are you, sir, the same cat who got on the streetcar?”

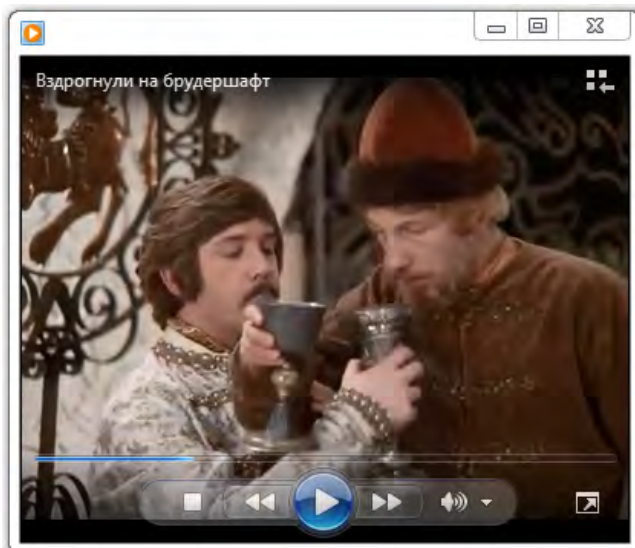
“I am,” confirmed the cat, flattered, and he added, “It’s nice to hear you address a cat so politely. For some reason cats are usually addressed with the familiar ‘thou,’ despite the fact that no cat has ever drunk *Brüderschaft* with anyone.”

Mikhail Bulgakov “The Master and Margarita”



Nineteenth century Russian address.

Source: Susan Ervin-Tripp “On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-Occurrence” (1969), after Paul Friedrich “Social Context and Semantic Feature: The Russian Pronominal Usage” (1972)



“Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession” (1973); Video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mWTIRs5Wi9Y&feature=player_embedded



“Cruel Love” Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XSij6wZEuA>

Relativity of Linguistic Strategies

American vs. Japanese

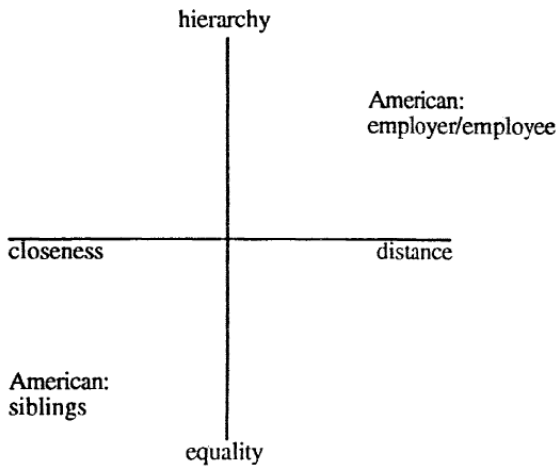


FIGURE 3: *The American model of status and connection*

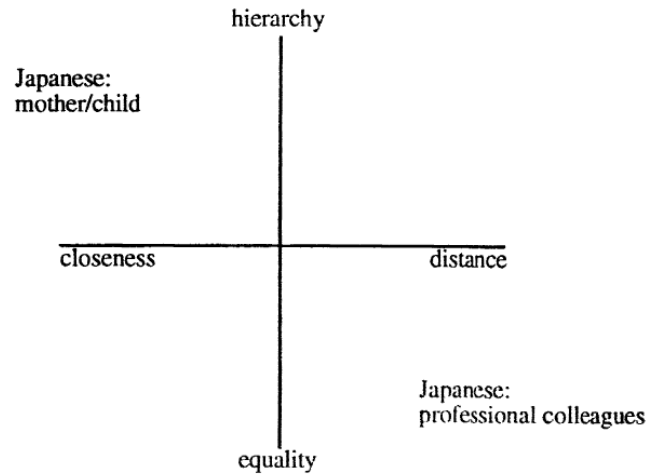


FIGURE 4: *The Japanese model of status and connection*

Source: Deborah Tannen "The Sex-Class-Linked Framing of Talk at Work" (1994)

power
asymmetry
hierarchy
distance

solidarity
symmetry
equality
closeness

Figure 1.1. *Unidimensional model*

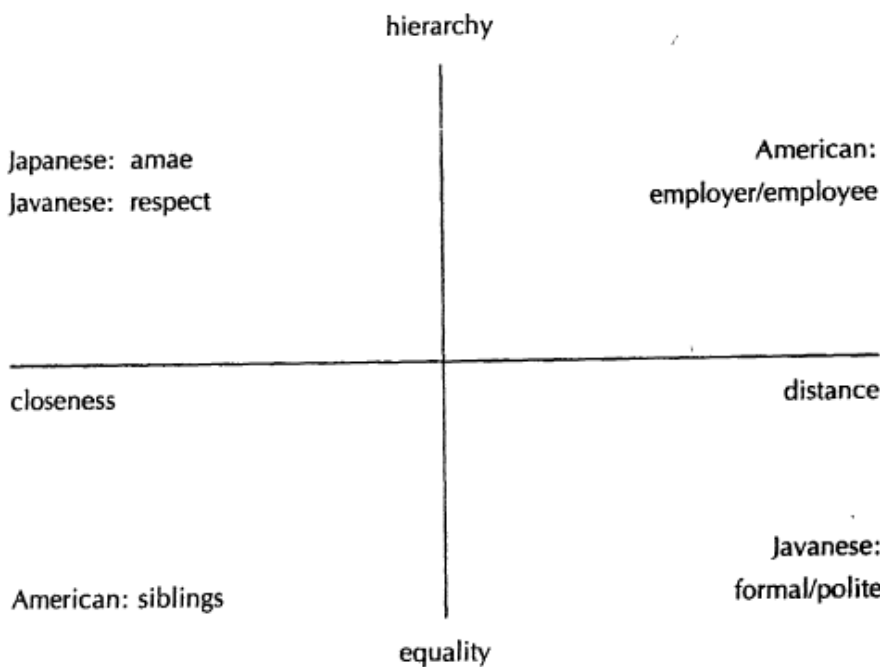


Figure 1.2. *Multidimensional model*

The model that reflects American assumptions conceptualizes power and solidarity as opposite ends of a single continuum simultaneously representing symmetry/asymmetry, hierarchy/equality, and distance/closeness. (See fig. 1.1.) In contrast, the cross-cultural perspective suggests a multidimensional grid of at least (and, potentially and probably, more) intersecting continua. The closeness/distance dimension can be placed on one axis and the hierarchy/equality one on another. (See fig. 1.2.) Indeed, the intersection of these dimensions – that is, the co-occurrence of hierarchy and closeness – may account, at least in part, for what I am calling the ambiguity and polysemy of power and solidarity.

Source: Deborah Tannen "The Relativity of Linguistic Strategies" (1993)

Similarity Is Antithetical to Hierarchy

Similarity is a threat to hierarchy. This is dramatized in Harold Pinter's play *Mountain Language*. Composed of four brief scenes, the play is set in a political prison in the capital city of an unnamed country that is under dictatorial siege. In the second scene, an old mountain woman is finally allowed to visit her son across a table as a guard stands over them. But whenever she tries to speak to her son, the guard silences her, telling the prisoner to tell his mother that it is forbidden to speak their mountain language in the capital. Then he continues:

GUARD

. . . And I'll tell you another thing. I've got a wife and three kids. And you're all a pile of shit.

Silence.

PRISONER

I've got a wife and three kids.

GUARD

You've what?

Silence.

You've got what?

Silence.

What did you say to me? You've got what?

Silence.

You've got *what*?

He picks up the telephone and dials one digit.

Sergeant? I'm in the Blue Room ... yes ... I thought I should report, Sergeant ... I think I've got a joker in here.

The Sergeant soon enters and asks, "What joker?" The stage darkens and the scene ends. The final scene opens on the same setting, with the prisoner bloody and shaking, his mother shocked into speechlessness.

The prisoner was beaten for saying, "I've got a wife and three kids." This quotidian statement, which would be unremarkable in casual conversation, was insubordinate in the hierarchical context of brutal oppression because the guard had just made the same statement. When the guard said, "I've got a wife and three kids. And you're a pile of shit," he was claiming, "I am different from you." One could further interpret his words to imply, "I'm human, and you're not. Therefore I have a right to dominate and abuse you." By repeating the guard's words verbatim, the prisoner was then saying, "I am the same as you." By claiming *his* humanity and implicitly denying the guard's assertion that he is "a pile of shit," the prisoner challenged the guard's right to dominate him. Similarity is antithetical to hierarchy.

Source: Deborah Tannen "The Relativity of Linguistic Strategies" (1993)

Clusivity: Inclusive / Exclusive 'We'

For speakers of English (or any other European language), both the inclusive and the exclusive pronouns are to be translated as *we*. The difference between the two depends on the intended meaning. An inclusive pronoun necessarily includes reference to the addressee. For example, the Mandarin inclusive pronoun *zámen* means 'we, I and you'; others can optionally be included. An exclusive pronoun, like the Mandarin pronoun *wǒmen*, excludes the addressee from the reference, resulting in a meaning like 'I and some others, but not you'.

Also included in this type are languages that distinguish a dual without an inclusive/exclusive distinction, for instance Hmong Njua (Hmong-Mien; China and Vietnam). In Hmong Njua, there are two pronouns for 'we', but the distinction is not inclusive/exclusive but dual/plural. The pronoun *wb* is used for dual reference (precisely two persons) and *peb* is used for plural reference (more than two persons).

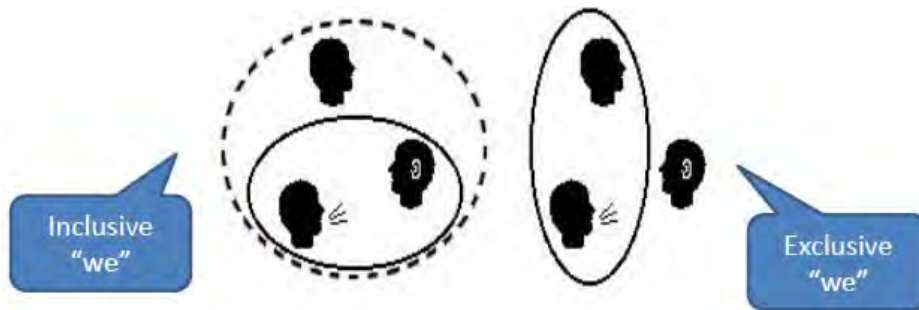
Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003: 170)

<i>ngai</i>	'I'
<i>el</i>	'exclusive, exactly two'
<i>e</i>	'exclusive, more than two'
<i>mel</i>	'inclusive, exactly two'
<i>me</i>	'inclusive, more than two'

Inclusive and exclusive are differentiated. The final type distinguished on this map consists of those languages with specialized pronouns for both inclusive and exclusive reference. This is found, for instance, in Chamorro (Austronesian; Guam). The pronoun for 'I' is *hu*, the inclusive pronoun is *ta* and the exclusive pronoun is *in*. There are many languages included in this type that also mark dual number in their pronouns.

Finally, some languages with trial ('exactly three') or paucal ('a few') marking in the inclusive and the exclusive are also included in this type. Trial or paucal marking only occurs among Austronesian languages, but within this linguistic stock it is rather widespread. For example, in the present sample it is found in Paamese (Oceanic; Vanuatu).

Source: Michael Cysouw "Inclusive/Exclusive Forms for 'We'" (2005)



◀ Source: Brian Wai & Foong Ha Yap "Use of the first person pronoun *ngo⁵ dei⁶* and evasion in political discourse in Hong Kong" (2013)

Table 4. Weri personal pronouns (adapted from Greenberg 1988: 5)

Minimal ~ augmented system				Viewed traditionally				
				Sg	Du	Tri	Pl	
1	ne	ten-ip	ten	1	Excl	ne	tenip	ten
Incl	tepir	tëar-ip	tëar		Incl	tepir	tëarip	tëar
2	në	ar-ip	ar	2		në	arip	ar
3	pë	pëar-ip	pëar	3		pë	pëarip	pëar

Source: Michael Daniel "Understanding Inclusives" (2005)

“We Are Not Amused”

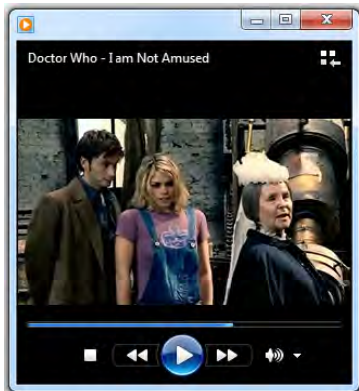
(Quotation attributed to Queen Victoria)



WANA (‘We Are Not Amused’) should lead us to ask: “Who were the *we*? Why were they not amused? Were they expected or expecting to be amused? Were they ever amused? The latter question becomes more pressing in view of how Queen Victoria is often seen as a symbolic figurehead for the Victorian Era and the Victorians.

The Victorian identity is an evolving construct. The twentieth century has been read as ‘inventing’ (Sweet 2001) the Victorians to help propel its own, alternative identity. [...] The most immediate early references to WANA are literary texts – mostly hearsay accounts cited in non-Royal autobiographies and journals, and then later in biographies of Queen Victoria. They show that the origin of WANA is ambiguous, and probably a myth. Regardless, early twentieth-century interest in attributing WANA to Victoria was keen, and if she never said it then a willing audience wished and believed that she had.

Source: Duncan Marks “The Comical Uses and Historical Abuses of Queen Victoria's Infamous Reproach ‘We Are Not Amused’” (2013)



◀ BBC's *Doctor Who*, ep. “Tooth and Claw” (2006) The Doctor and his companion, Rose Tyler, travel to the Court of Queen Victoria. Rose makes a bet with the Doctor that she can provoke the Queen to say “We are not amused,” and significant amount of the episode is subsequently taken up with Rose attempts to do so.



We're not amused
(Bender from *Futurama*)

The Royal ‘We’ (The Big Lebowski)

Those guys or uh--we dropped off the damn money--

The Big Lebowski: WE?!

The Dude: I--the royal we, you know, the editorial--I dropped off the money, exactly as per--Look, man I've got certain information alright? [...] I got information man--new shit has come to light and and--shit, man! She kidnapped herself!

Video: *The Big Lebowski* (1998); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bbJ-4vuffhl>

The Big Lebowski: Where's my goddamn money, you bum?!

The Dude: Well, well we--I, I, I don't--

The Big Lebowski: They did not receive the money, you nitwit! They did not receive the money! Her life was in your hands! This is our concern, Dude.

The Dude: No, man, nothing is fucked here--

The Big Lebowski: Nothing is fucked!

The Dude: No man--

The Big Lebowski: The goddamn plane has crashed into the mountain!

The Dude: Well man, come on, who're you gonna believe?

Editorial 'We'

Theodore Rockwell, who served as technical director for the U.S. Navy's nuclear propulsion program in the 1950s and '60s, shared a telling anecdote about his onetime boss, the famously irascible Adm. Hyman G. Rickover. "One time he caught me using the editorial *we*, as in 'we will get back to you by...'" Rockwell recalled in his memoir, "The Rickover Effect." "He explained brusquely that only three types of individual were entitled to such usage: 'The head of a sovereign state, a schizophrenic and a pregnant woman. Which are you, Rockwell?'"

Rickover was hardly alone in his abhorrence of the editorial *we* — so called because of its usage by anonymous opinion columnists. In fact, his barb has been told in many different ways over the years. Consider another volatile personality, Roscoe Conkling, who served as senator from New York after the Civil War. In 1877, Conkling objected to how the new president, Rutherford B. Hayes, overused the word *we*, and The St. Louis Globe-Democrat reported his rejoinder: "Yes, I have noticed there are three classes of people who always say 'we' instead of 'I.' They are emperors, editors and men with a tapeworm." [...]



it to establish rapport with readers, and teachers with students ("as we shall see"). But this is not always a welcome rhetorical move, especially when it comes across as pedantic or condescending. At worst, it can recall the *we* of caregivers for the very young and very old: "How are we feeling today?"

The overreaching effect of the inclusive *we* has sparked its own humorous traditions. In August 1956, the Los Angeles Times columnist Gene Sherman introduced into print what was already a well-traveled story about the Lone Ranger and his faithful sidekick, Tonto. Surrounded by "wild, screaming Indians," the Lone Ranger desperately asks Tonto, "What will we do?" Tonto replies, "What do you mean 'we,' paleface?" Later versions changed "paleface" to "white man" or "kemo sabe," Tonto's endearing epithet for the Ranger. The joke is so well known in the United States that just the punch line is usually sufficient for rebuffing an overly inclusive *we*.

The patronizing "we"

The patronizing *we* is used sometimes in place of "you" to address a second party, hinting a facetious assurance that the one asked is not alone in his situation, that "I am with you, we are in this together". A doctor may ask a patient: *And how are we feeling today?* This usage is emotionally non-neutral and usually bears a condescending, ironic, praising, or some other flavor, depending on intonation: "Aren't we looking cute?"

Source: Wikipedia

Worms, or more specifically tapeworms, figure prominently in *we*-related humor. The earliest known joke to combine parasites and pronouns comes from George Horatio Derby, a humorist from California who assumed the pen name John Phoenix. "I do not think I have a tapeworm," he wrote in 1855, "therefore I have no claim whatever to call myself 'we,' and I shall by no means fall into that editorial absurdity." [...]

The royal and editorial *we* are examples of the exclusive *we*, meaning that the person being addressed is not included in the scope of the pronoun. English, like many languages, uses the same word for the inclusive first-person plural, encompassing the notional "you" along with "me." The inclusive *we* seeks out a bond of empathy or common understanding between the speaker and the receiver of a message. Writers rely on

Who Are "We"?

Mother to small child:

"We have a little diarrhea, don't we?"

Source: Gary Saul Morson "Why Read Literature?" ConnColl lecture, April 20, 2015

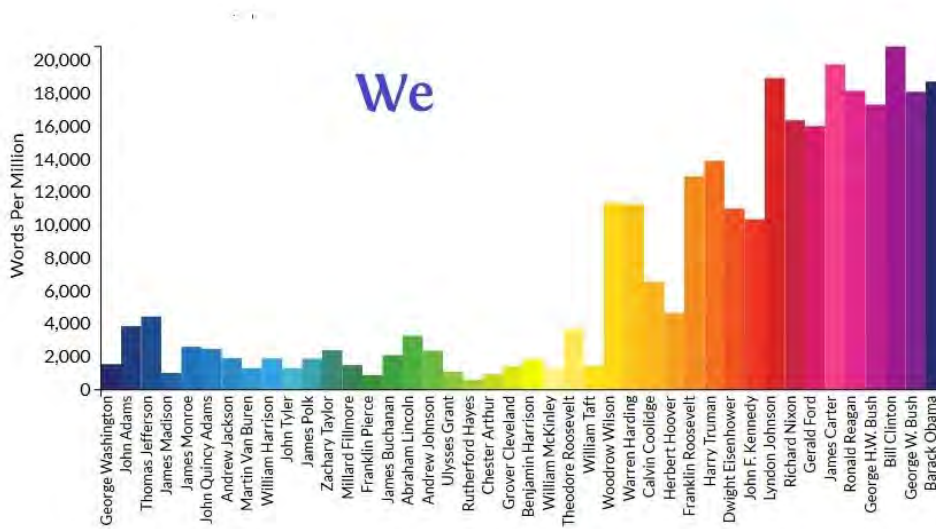
Source: Ben Zimmer "We" NYTimes Magazine, Oct.1, 2010

'We' in Presidential Addresses

“He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union,” stipulates Article Two of the Constitution, “and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.”

Since 1790, every president has made an annual report to Congress, highlighting the challenges and opportunities facing the nation. Presidents from Jefferson to Taft dispatched lengthy written addresses; since Wilson, most have emulated Washington’s example and delivered shorter remarks in person. Using the Bookworm platform for text analysis, (<http://bookworm.culturomics.org/>) we’ve combed through the full texts of all 224 State of the Union addresses and ranked the frequency with which each president used each word.

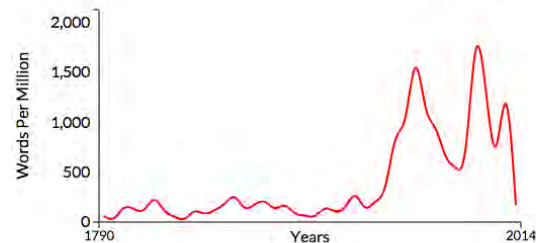
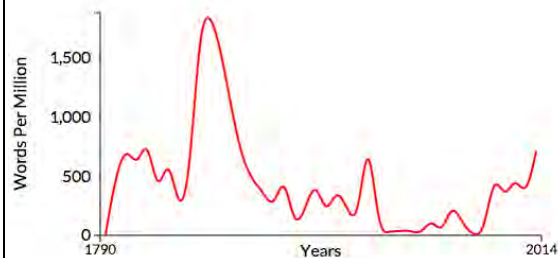
What do we mean when we say “we”? Or more to the point, what does the president mean when he uses that word? The Atlantic has an interactive graphic showing the relative frequencies of words in State of the Union addresses.



The rise of “we” seems to parallel the rise of big government, starting with Wilson and our entry into a world war, followed by a brief (10-year) decline. Then FDR changes everything. “We,” i.e., the people as represented by the government, are doing a lot more.

HER: Sometimes the context in which a word is used tells us more than raw frequencies. Before the Civil War, many presidents used female pronouns to refer to foreign states. Language evolved, and *her* disappeared from State of the Union addresses. Then, in 1982, President Reagan acknowledged a heroic federal worker named Lenny Skutnik, sitting in the audience. As presidents made a habit of acknowledging guests who exemplified virtues they wished to praise, *her* returned to their lexicon. [Yoni Appelbaum](#)

FREEDOM: Perhaps the defining value of American society, the word is surprisingly rare in the nation’s first century. It appears only once in the Constitution, and early presidents used it sparingly. Not until FDR placed the “[Four Freedoms](#)” at the heart of his 1941 State of the Union did the term become a staple of presidential rhetoric. Since then, it has flourished, but with a noticeably partisan tilt: the four presidents to use it the most are Eisenhower, Reagan, and the Bushes. To date, Obama has used it less frequently than any president since Warren Harding. [Benjamin Schmidt](#)



Sources: Jay Livingston “Language and Presidential Addresses: We, Free, and the Public Good” (2015) Benjamin Schmidt & Mitch Fraas “The Language of the State of the Union” (*The Atlantic*, Jan. 18, 2015) <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/01/the-language-of-the-state-of-the-union/384575/>

Singular 'They'

TABLE 1. Functions and examples of prescriptive he

Function	Example
Mixed-sex distributive	<i>When voters elect a legislator, he has four years in office.</i>
Nonhuman reference	<i>A fox tucked his tail between his legs and ran off.</i>
Sex-unknown	<i>Someone left his sweater.</i>
Sex-concealed	<i>During the closed session, one of the committee members said he considered the bill worthless.</i>
Mixed-sex disjunctive	<i>If either John or Mary comes, I will meet him at the airport.</i>
Deity function	<i>God manifests Himself in many ways.</i>

TABLE 2. Functions and examples of singular they

Function	Example
Mixed-sex distributive	<i>When voters elect a legislator they have four years in office.</i>
Nonhuman reference	<i>A fox tucked their tail between their legs and ran off.</i>
Sex-unknown	<i>Someone left their sweater.</i>
Sex-concealed	<i>During the closed session, one of the committee members said they considered the bill worthless.</i>
Mixed-sex disjunctive	<i>If either John or Mary comes, I will meet them at the airport.</i>
Corporate reference	<i>If Seattle calls tell them I'm out.</i>

Source: Donald G. MacKay "On the goals, principles [...] for prescriptive grammar: Singular they" (1980)

PERSON	NUMBER		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
1st	I	WE	
2nd	YOU		
3rd	IT	SHE	HE THEY

English pronouns according to usage. (Two significant features of Figure 1 are the extension of 'you', which will not be discussed here, and the extension of 'they', which is the subject of this paper. Personal pronominal usages not included in Figure 1 are 'it' when used of a baby, second person plural 'ya'll' or 'you all', and impersonal 'one'.)



◀ Source: Ann Bodine "Singular 'They', Sex-Indefinite 'He', and 'He or She'" (1975)

Pronoun Video Clips

Does Your Dog Bite?

Clouseau: Does your dog bite?

Hotel Clerk: No.

Clouseau: [*bowing down to pet the dog*] Nice doggie.

[*Dog barks and bites Clouseau in the hand*]

Clouseau: I thought you said your dog did not bite!

Hotel Clerk: That is not my dog.

“The Pink Panther Strikes Again” (1976)

Video: www.youtube.com/PinkPantherClips



What Is Thee Wish?

Librarian: What is thee wish?

Macaulay Connor: I'm looking for some local b[ooks] – what'd you say?

Librarian: What is thee wish?

Macaulay Connor: Um, local biography or history.

Librarian: If thee will consult with my colleague in there.

Macaulay Connor: Mm-hm. Dost thou have a washroom?

[*the librarian points*]

Macaulay Connor: Thank thee.

“Philadelphia Story,” dir. George Cukor, 1940

How to Address Your (Future) In-laws

Sean heads to Missouri to meet Lindsay’s family. The fact that her dad is a two-star general in the army has him a tad nervous. Sean wonders if he should call Lindsay’s dad “Mister” or “General.”

“The Bachelor” Season 17 Episode 8: Sean's Hometown Dates

Video: <http://abc.go.com/shows/the-bachelor/episode-guide/season-17/1708-seans-hometown-dates>



The Pronoun Game



“Chasing Amy,” dir. Kevin Smith, 1997

Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aXHOohvkrRc>

Alyssa: I'm so in love! (*Everyone aww's*) I know. I know – I feel like such a goon. But I can't help it – we have such a great time together.

Dalia: Who is it? Don't even tell me it's Ms. Thing from the C.D. place.

Alyssa: It's not her. It's someone you guys don't know.

Nica: That chick you left the restaurant with that night?

Alyssa: They're not. From around here. [...] For your information, they don't have big hair or wear acid wash. They're from my home town.

(*Dalia stares at Alyssa, suspiciously.*)

Dalia: Why are you playing the pronoun game?

Alyssa: What? What are you talking about? I'm not even.

Dalia: You are. "I met someone." "We have a great time. "They're from my home town." Doesn't this tube of wonderful have a name!

(*All girls stare at Alyssa, a bit horrified.*) **Tory:** You're dating a guy?

Alyssa: He's not like a typical man. You guys'd love him, really.

Voicing, Speech Genres, Heteroglossia (Bakhtin)



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

“Hearing Voices”: Mikhail Bakhtin



In David Mazzucchelli's graphic novel *Asterios Polyp*, each character's distinctive voice is reflected in the shape and typeface of their word balloon. The balloons are formal reflections not only of the literal voice, but of the dialect and ideology of the character. ►



◀ Source: <http://gildedgreen.net/art/bakhtin/voices.html>



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"I think I know why you're hearing voices - it's called a podcast."



Walt Kelly, *Ten Ever-Lovin' Blue-Eyed Years With Pogo* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959), p.71.

Mikhail Bakhtin and Heteroglossia

Heteroglossia means the simultaneous use of different kinds of speech or other signs, the tension between them, and their conflicting relationship within one text. The term was coined (from the Greek stems meaning "other" and "speech": *έτερο+γλωσσ+ια*) by Mikhail Bakhtin in his theoretical work on the novel in the period from 1934 to 1935, and has become extraordinarily popular in literary and anthropological works since the 1980s. Bakhtin had in mind both the stylistic and social differences within the language of any modern developed society, as well as the intention of writers to recreate them in prose [...].

Conflicting tendencies are hidden in the semantic potential of almost every word and they may be realized in everyday speech. [...] A similar problem in connection to religion has been discussed by Bakhtin in his study of Rabelais and the folk culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In this work finished by 1945, Bakhtin has discovered semiotic heteroglossia characteristic of the medieval European culture. It was characterized by the potential use of signs and words pertaining to the sphere of the official Church culture and of those which belonged to unofficial folklore. The latter used parody of the official language as well as another set of symbols pertaining to the carnival tradition. As rites involving the inversion of official symbols seem to be universal, semiotic heteroglossia utilizing grotesque carnival images may belong to the most important features of almost all known societies. In this particular case, heteroglossia may be seen at the purely linguistic level as well as on a higher level of signs encoded with verbal expressions. Thus in a medieval Old Czech mystery studied by Roman Jakobson, Latin songs coexist with grotesque jokes in Old Czech. Heteroglossia (very often called by different terms having the same meaning), as a parallel or simultaneous use of different signs and images belonging to partly opposed or conflicting spheres, may be a feature common to all cultures.

Source: Vyacheslav Ivanov "Heteroglossia" (2001)

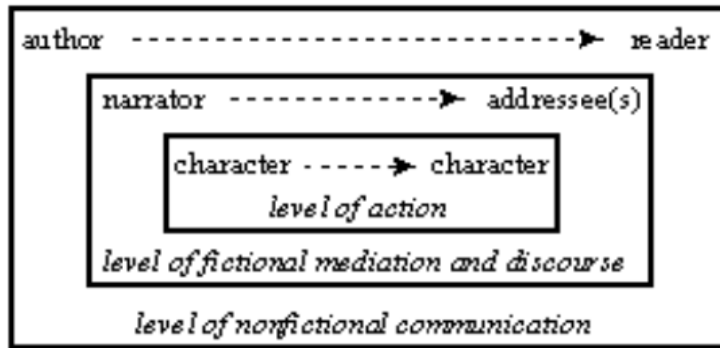
Whereas the Russian formalists drew their inspiration from Saussure, seeing language as a system of signs, Bakhtin took a sociological line similar to that later developed in Austin's speech acts. The spoken word is primary, and words in conversation are orientated towards future words – they stimulate and anticipated replies, structuring themselves to do so. Many genres (e.g. epics, tragedy, lyrics) overlook or even suppress this natural feature of language to present a unified world-view. But the novel accepts, and indeed makes use, of many voices, weaving them into a narrative with direct speech, represented speech, and what Bakhtin called doubly-orientated speech. Four categories make up the latter: stylization (a borrowed style), parody, *skaz* (oral narration) and dialogue (a hidden shaping of the author's voice).

Bakhtin stressed the multi-layered nature of language, which he called heteroglossia. Not only are there social dialects, jargons, turns of phrase characteristic of the various professions, industries, commerce, of passing fashions, etc., but also socio-ideological contradictions carried forward from various periods and levels in the past. Language is not a neutral medium that can be simply appropriated by a speaker, but something that comes to us populated with the intentions of others. Every word tastes of the contexts in which it has lived its socially-charged life.

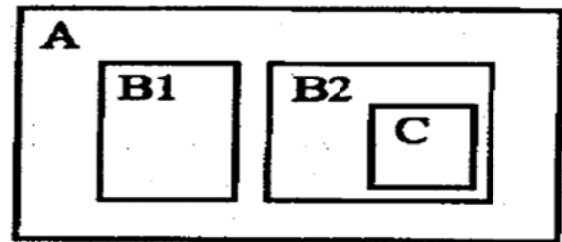
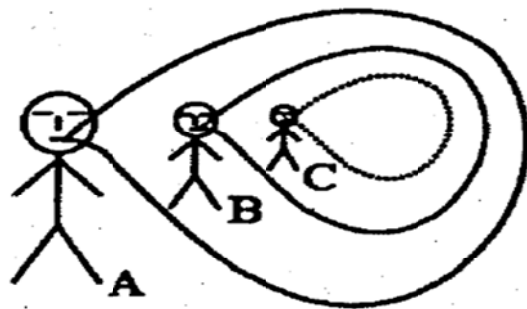
Bakhtin's concepts go further than Derrida's notion of 'trace', or Foucault's archaeology of political usage. Words are living entities, things that are constantly being employed and partly taken over, carrying opinions, assertions, beliefs, information, emotions and intentions of others, which we partially accept and modify. All speech is dialogic, has an internal polemic, and this is most fully exploited by the novel, particularly the modern novel.

Source: Fabio Dei "Language, Culture, Identity" (2010); from C. John Holcombe (<http://www.textetc.com/theory/bakhtin.html>).

Narratology: Embedded Narratives



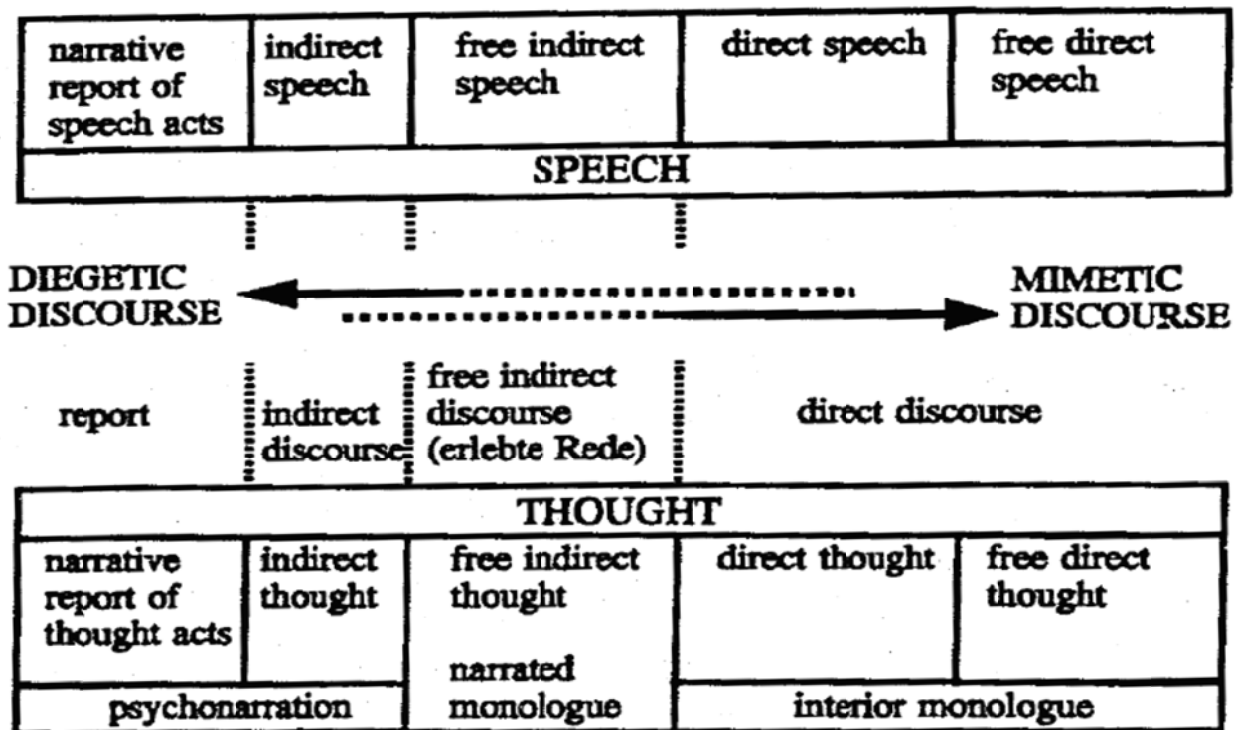
◀ Source: Manfred Jahn
 "Narratology: A Guide to the Theory of Narrative" (2005)



a.

b.

▲ a) Frame narratives and b) embedded narratives



▲ Techniques for representing speech and thought

Source: Manfred Jahn & Ansgar Nünning "A Survey of Narratological Models" (1994)

Fable, Plot and Discourse

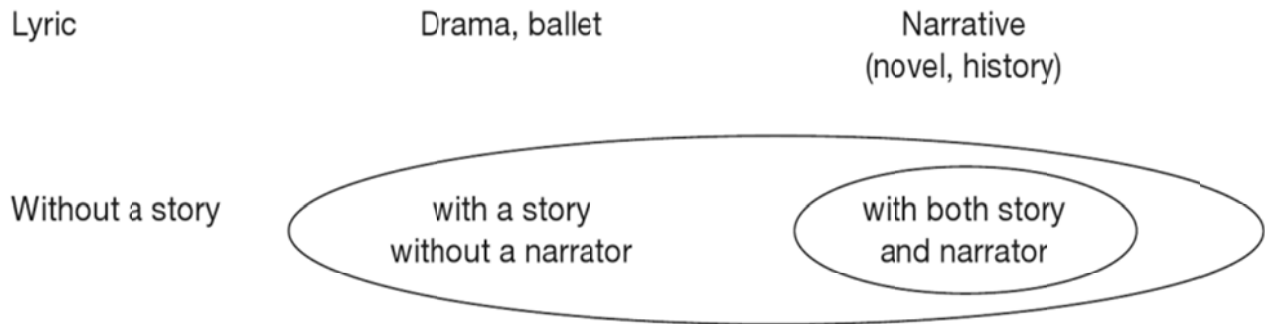


Figure 1.2 Narrative as defined by the presence of a narrator

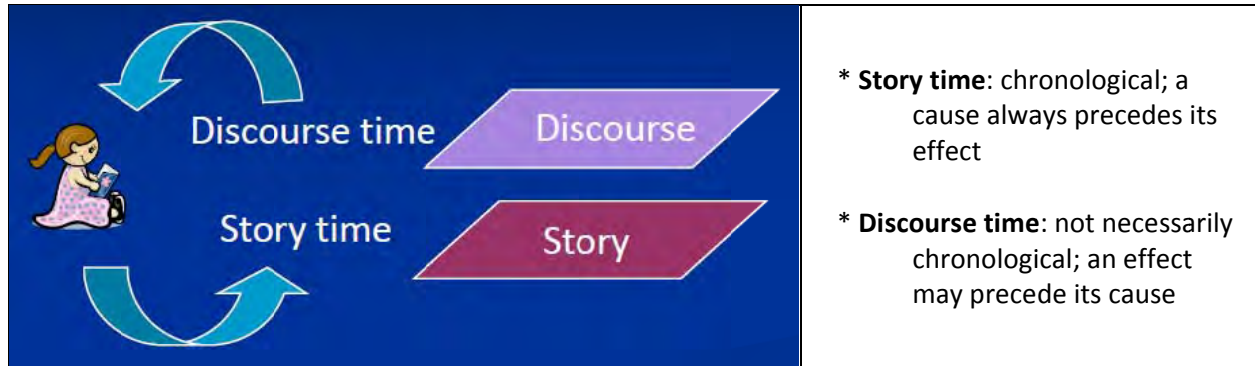
Source: Monika Fludernik "An Introduction to Narratology" (2009)

Discourse	Narrator's report/text		Sequence of sounds and images	Danced events and stage setting
	↑		↑	↑
	Re-structuring through perspective, temporal rearrangement, etc.			
	↑		↑	↑
Medium	Novel	Short story	Film	Ballet
	↑	↑	↑	↑
Plot level	Plot 1	Plot 2	Plot 3	Plot 4
	↑	↑	↑	↑
Fable		Fable		

Figure 1.3 Fable, plot and discourse in different media

Source: Monika Fludernik "An Introduction to Narratology" (2009)

Story Time & Discourse Time (Genette)



* **Story time:** chronological; a cause always precedes its effect

* **Discourse time:** not necessarily chronological; an effect may precede its cause

* There is *discrepancy* between story time and discourse time

* Analysis by three temporal factors (Genette, 1980)

* **Duration:** Shortened or extended duration of story events in discourse

* **Frequency:** Repetition or omission of story events in discourse

* **Order:** Rearranged story events (e.g., flashback/retrospect, flashforward/anticipation)

Source: G. Genette "Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method" (1980), summarized by Byung-Chull Bae "Time, Emotion, and Perspective in Narrative" (2012)

Thus far, we have established that fictional narratives create fictional worlds, whereas historians collectively seek to represent one and the same real world in explanatory narrative and from a variety of different perspectives. As readers, we construct the story (characters, setting, events) from the narrative text of a novel, whereas in historical writing it is the historians who produce a story on the basis of their sources and set it down in verbal form. We may represent this as shown in Figure 1.1 below.

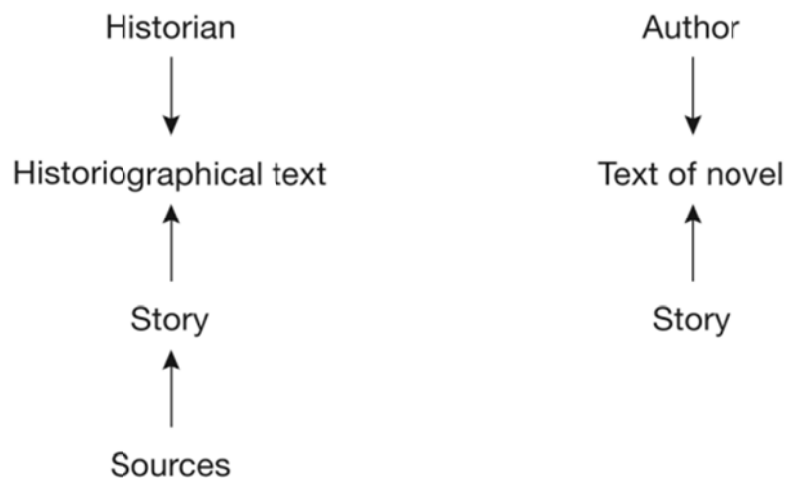


Figure 1.1 Story in history and the novel

Source: Monika Fludernik "An Introduction to Narratology" (2009)

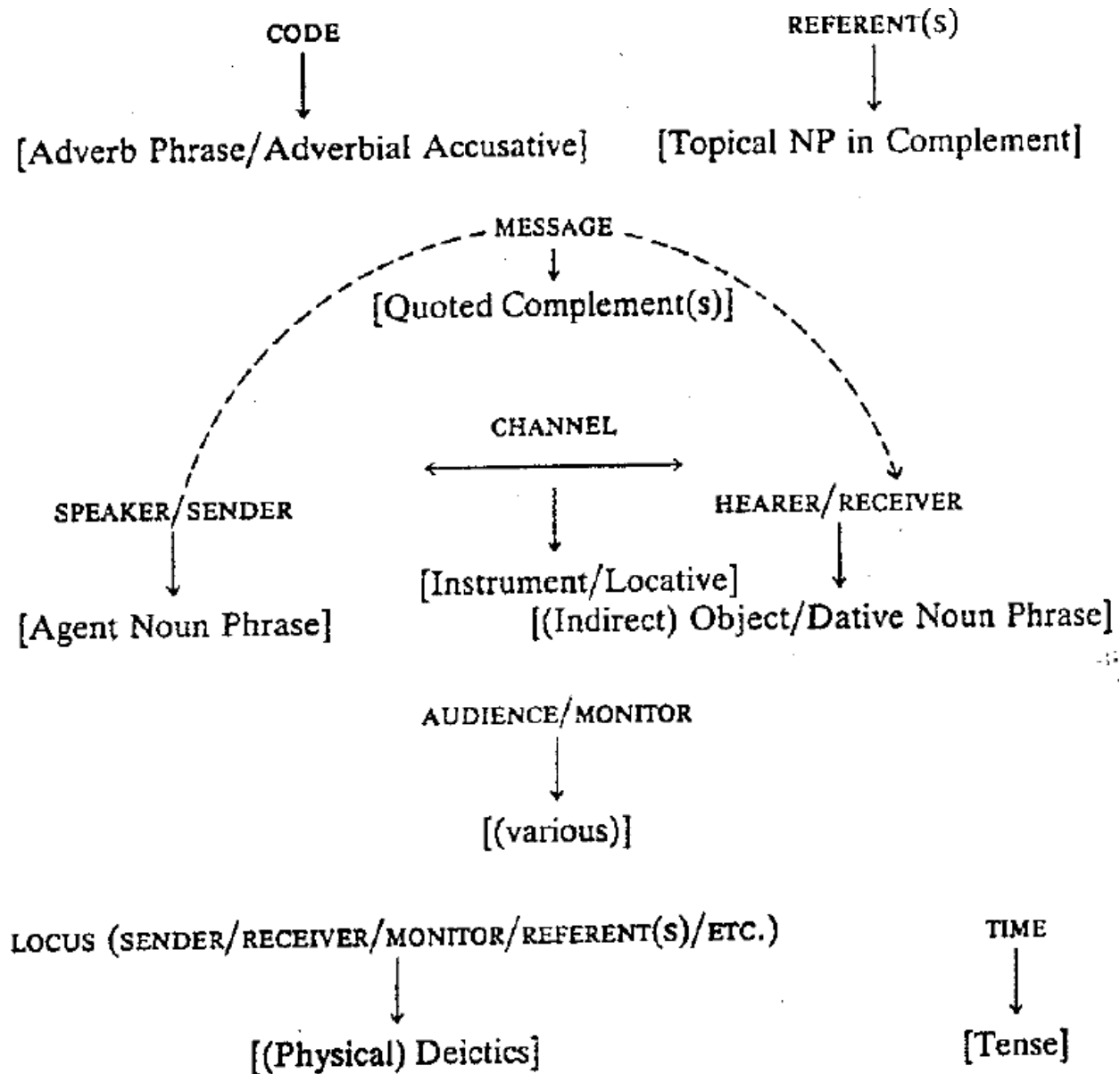
Language in Narrative Texts

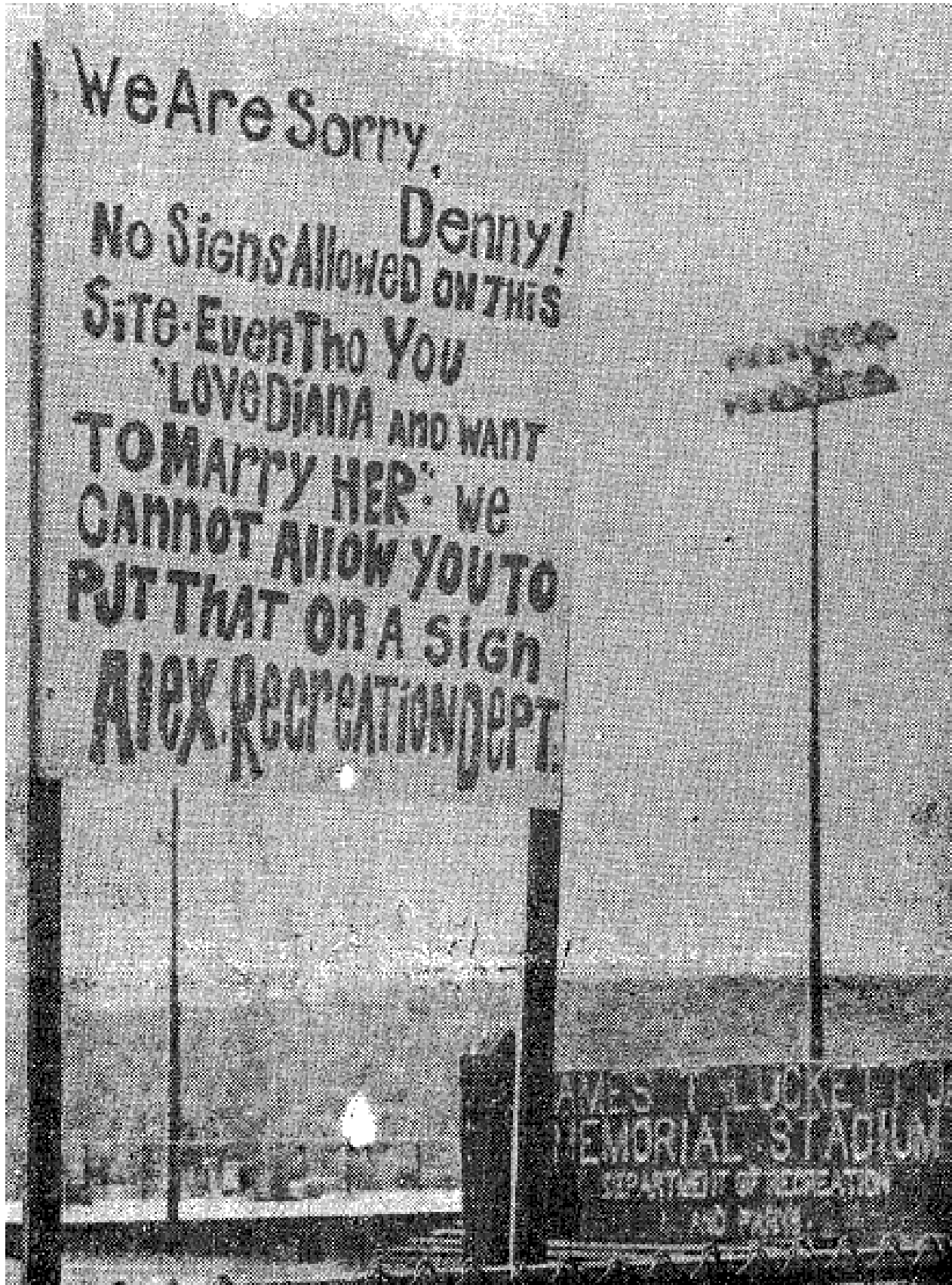
Figure 1 Common representations of speech-event components by syntactic elements

(a) The other day, right in front of me, Monica said to Bill over the telephone in plain English, "You're a jerk!"

. . . , that he was a jerk.

(b) The other day, right in front of me, Monica insulted Bill.

“No Signs Allowed on This Site”



Source: Michael Silverstein "Language in Culture Handouts" (UofC, 2001)

Novel's Multi-Voiced Discourse (Bakhtin)

POLYPHONY

- I. Direct, unmediated discourse directed exclusively toward its referential object, as an expression of the speaker's ultimate semantic authority
- II. Objectified discourse (discourse of a represented person)
 - 1. With a predominance of socio-typical determining factors
 - 2. With a predominance of individually characteristic determining factors
- III. Discourse with an orientation toward someone else's discourse (double-voiced discourse)
 - 1. Unidirectional double-voiced discourse:
 - a. Stylization;
 - b. Narrator's narration;
 - c. Unobjectified discourse of a character who carries out (in part) the author's intentions;
 - d. *Ich-Erzählung*
 - 2. Vari-directional double-voiced discourse:
 - a. Parody with all its nuances;
 - b. Parodistic narration;
 - c. Parodistic *Ich-Erzählung*;
 - d. Discourse of a character who is parodically represented;
 - e. Any transmission of someone else's words with a shift in accent
 - 3. The active type (reflected discourse of another)
 - a. Hidden internal polemic;
 - b. Polemically colored autobiography and confession;
 - c. Any discourse with a sideward glance at someone else's word;
 - d. A rejoinder of a dialogue;
 - e. Hidden dialogue

Various degrees of objectification.

When objectification is reduced, these tend toward a fusion of voices, i.e., toward discourse of the first type.

When objectification is reduced and the other's idea activated, these become internally dialogized and tend to disintegrate into two discourses (two voices) of the first type.

The other discourse exerts influence from without; diverse forms of inter-relationship with another's discourse are possible here, as well as various degrees of deforming influence exerted by one discourse on the other.

Polyphony was a dialogic term Bakhtin used in his literary criticism, particularly with Dostoevsky. The word 'polyphony' is derived from a musical term which has special significance within the idiom of Russian Orthodoxy from which Bakhtin was operating.

For examples of **1)** a traditionalist, monophonic Russian Orthodox chant; and **2)** a polyphonic Russian Orthodox chant, go to <http://gildedgreen.notart.org/bakhtin/polyphony.html>.

Note how in the monophonic chant, even when there are many singers, they sing in unison, in one voice, whereas in the polyphonic chant, the singers harmonize, singing in many voices. It's also notable that polyphonic chanting was an import from the West in the 17th c., & was heavily criticized by Russian traditionalists, thus making its history dialogic as well. ▲ *Source:* <http://gildedgreen.notart.org>

Source: Mikhail Bakhtin "Discourse in Dostoevsky" (1950s) ▲

For Bakhtin language is dynamic, mutable, anti-hierarchical, "**heteroglot from top to bottom**," always in a state of becoming and never in a state of being. Rejecting the assumed reality of the Saussurian "system of self-identical linguistic forms," Bakhtin grants ontological status only to the real-time social events of verbal interaction, pointing out the co(n)text-dependency of the utterance as its *absolute* condition of possibility. Undergoing plurality of often conflicting co(n)textualizations in different spheres of social life, each and every word is necessarily arena of voiced or silenced alterities that generate its internal dialogicity.

Roman Jakobson			Mikhail Bakhtin		
<i>speech event</i> = bilateral communication			<i>speech event</i> = heteroglot communion		
	context (referent)			object (referent)	
sender	message	receiver	speaker	utterance	respondent
	contact			co(n)text	
	unified code			language(s)	
<i>dominant operation:</i> entextualization			<i>dominant operation:</i> co(n)textualization		
<i>favorite literary genre:</i> poetry, viz. lyrics			<i>favorite literary genre:</i> prose, viz. the novel		
<i>language ideology:</i> binary structuralism			<i>language ideology:</i> dialogic imagination		
<i>problem:</i> how to account for alterity			<i>problem:</i> how to account for structure ³⁷		

Source: Petko Ivanov "Binary vs. Dialogic Imagination" (2005)

Voicing in Realist Reportage

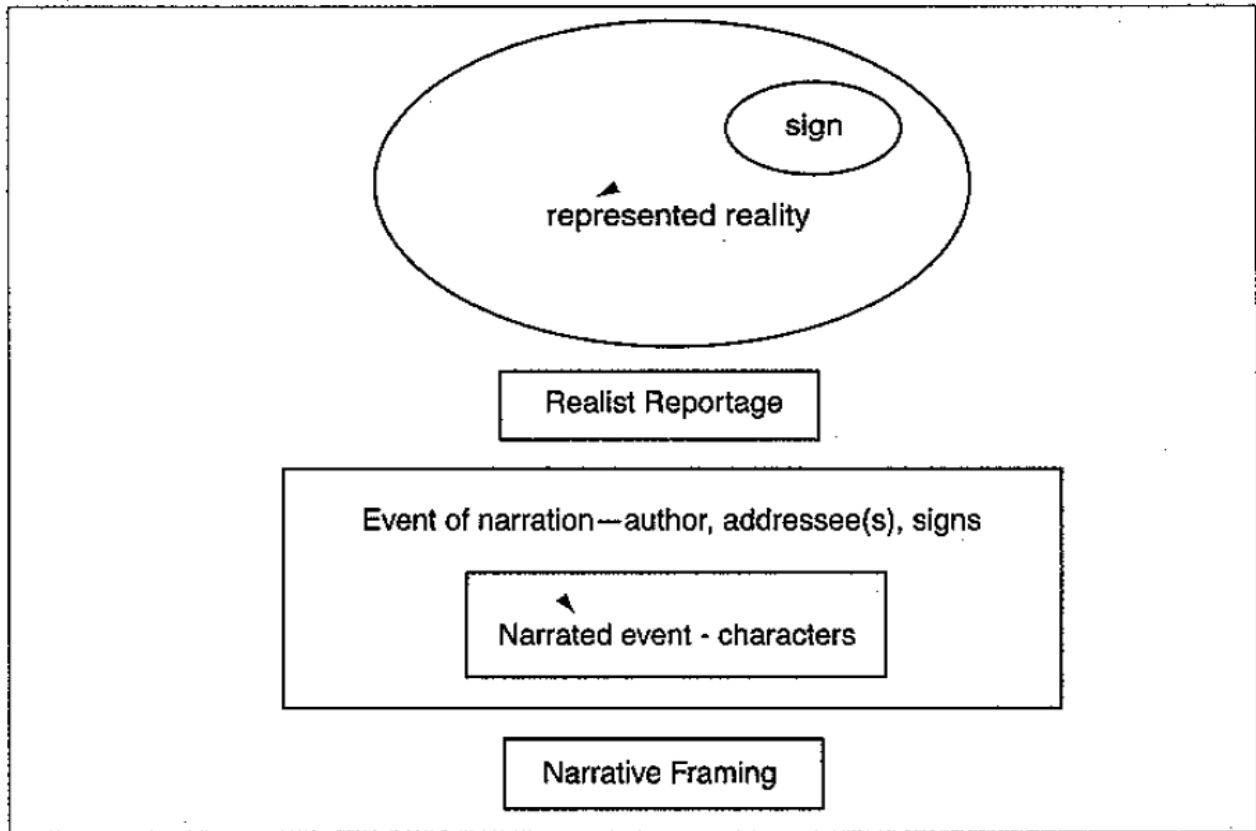


FIGURE 3.2

“Voicing” in realist reportage, schematically contrasted with the general role structure of narrative framing.

Source: Michael Silverstein “Worfianism and the Linguistic Imagination of Nationality” (2000)

Genres of Ritual Language

		Minor Genres					Major Genres					
Informal										Formal		
Unspecialized										Specialized		
Nonsacred	Slang	Names of Practices	Jokes	Restricted Everyday Speech	Games	Drama	Dance	Sharing	Prayer	Teaching	Prophecy	Sacred

Fig. 1. *Genres of Ritual Language among Catholic Charismatics*

Source: Thomas J. Csordas “Language, Charisma, and Creativity: The Ritual Life of a Religious Movement” (1997)

Don Gabriel's Many Voices

Table 4-1. The Voice System of the Text

1. The "Figures": Reported Speech of Others	
A	The voice of son's business partners, murderers "voice A"
B	People of the town
C	Ephesians 5:14
D	Son
E	Daughter-in-law
F	Letter (may be voice A)
G	Young worker
H	Son's brother-in-law
I	Teacher
J	Brother
K	Women in the crowd
L	First official
M	Second official
2. Self-laminations of Don Gabriel	
N	Neutral narrator
O	Involved narrator
P	Evaluator
Q	Father (center of point-of-view; intersects with system of "figures")
R	Strategist (Don Gabriel's "inner voice," also intersects with system of "figures")
3. Intonational shadows (so called because they "cast a shadow" on the voices with which they appear)	
S	<i>Cantante</i> ("singsong" intonation marked with ^)
T	Desperate (high pitch, voice breaks)
4. Languages encoding ideology	
	Spanish
	Mexicano

Source: Jane H. Hill "The Voices of Don Gabriel: Responsibility and Self in a Modern Mexicano Narrative" (1995)

other departures from normal fluency). Most relevant to our discussion here is Hill's analysis of Don Gabriel's code-switching between Mexicano and Spanish. For these two languages index Don Gabriel's moral assessments of the two speech communities: "These represent the fundamentally opposed ideological positions of peasant communitarianism and the economics of reciprocity in the Mexicano-speaking community on the one hand, and the pursuit of individual profit in the Spanish-speaking world of the marketplace on the other" (Hill 1995: 116). Repeatedly throughout the narrative when Don Gabriel refers to the individualistic, profit-making nature of the Spanish-speaking business world with which his son was involved, his narrative contains dysfluencies that indicate, Hill argues, his discomfort with that set of moral values. In addition, when Don Gabriel needs to make use of Spanish words to describe business, he incorporates them into the voices of others through reported speech or in various other ways makes it clear that his own moral position is "firmly grounded in the peasant communitarian value of reciprocity" (Hill 1995:109). In this analysis, then, we see how a close examination of code-switching can shed light on cultural meanings, moral judgments, and social hierarchies.

Source: Laura M. Ahearn "Living Language: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology" (2012)

Many of the voices Hill identifies are attributable to protagonists in the narrative. They usually appear as reported speech, clearly marked off from the speech of the narrator. But there are also several distinct voices identified with Don Gabriel himself. In distinction from the portrayal of characters in a story, voice in this sense is inherently evaluative. It not only depicts a moral position, it also situates the speaker in relation to it; that is, voice in this second sense is an act of stance-taking. According to Hill, Don Gabriel embodies by turns a neutral narrator, an engaged narrator, an emotionally overcome protagonist (the murder victim's father), and a moral commentator on the events the narrator is portraying. The latter offers his commentary to the listener through direct address, marked by other techniques of immediacy such as historical present verb tenses and certain intonation contours. Hill identifies some voices as closer to the speaker's own moral and emotional center. The latter emerges in the desperate intonation shadow that appears in the voice of the father devastated by the death of his son.

Source: Webb Keane "Indexing Voice: A Morality Tale" (2011)

A compelling example of an illuminating analysis by a linguistic anthropologist of code-switching is Jane Hill's (1995) article, "The Voices of Don Gabriel: Responsibility and Self in a Modern Mexicano Narrative." Hill closely examines a story told by Don Gabriel, who was said to be the last speaker of the indigenous language of Mexicano (the strongly preferred local term for the Uto-Aztecan language also known as Nahuatl or Aztec) in his small town near the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico. As part of a general interview about his life experiences, Don Gabriel was asked if he had ever suffered any accident or serious illness. "No. No, no accident, no, only they murdered my son: Don Gabriel replied, at which point he launched into a 17-minute narrative about his son's death. Hill's complex analysis looks at many aspects of this narrative, including the multiple voices Don Gabriel uses to tell his story, techniques such as reported speech, intonation, and dysfluencies (hesitations, self-corrections, or

Don Gabriel's Many Voices: Narrative Scheme

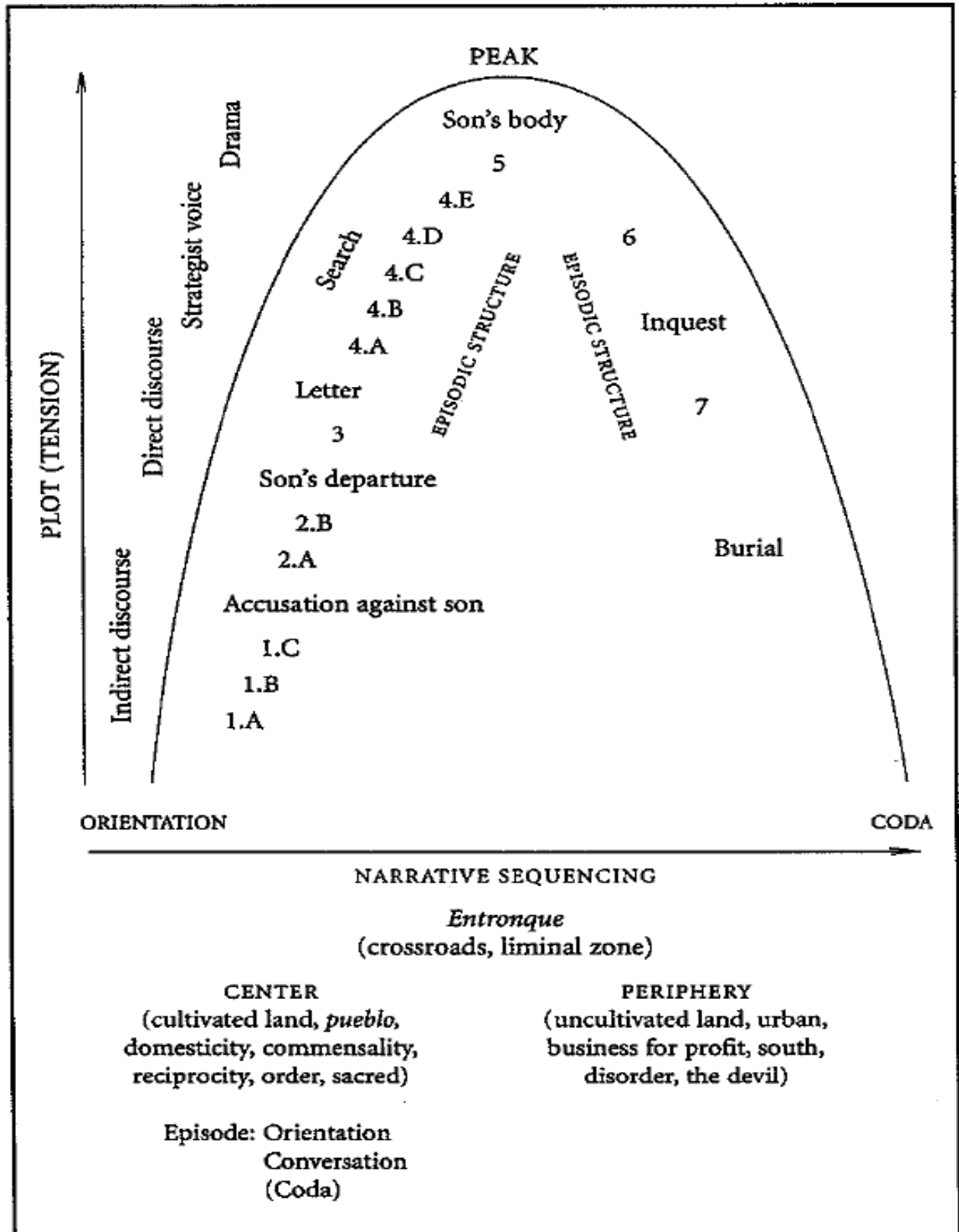


Figure 4-1. Dimensions of the text structure.

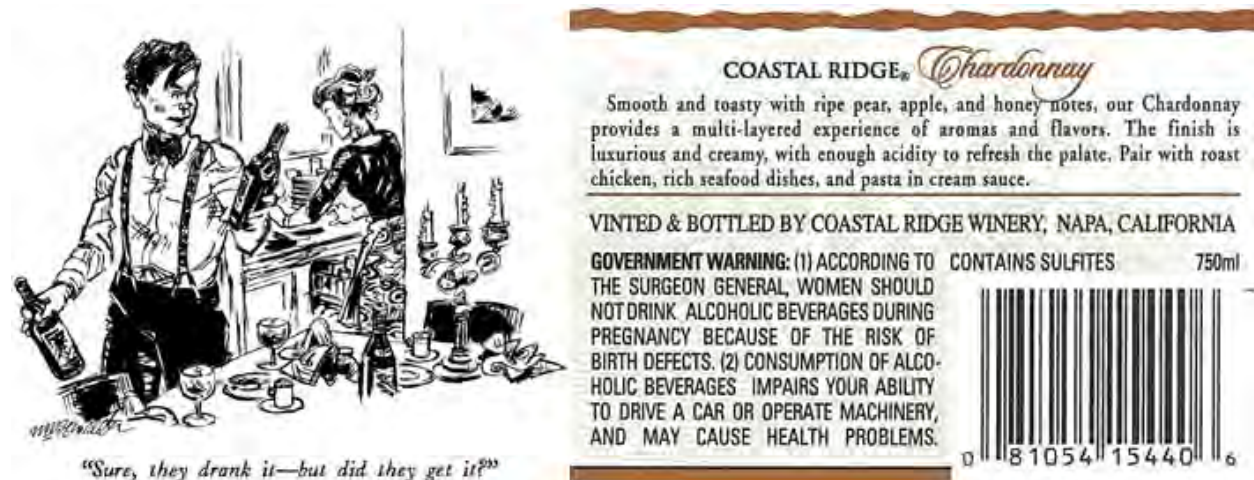
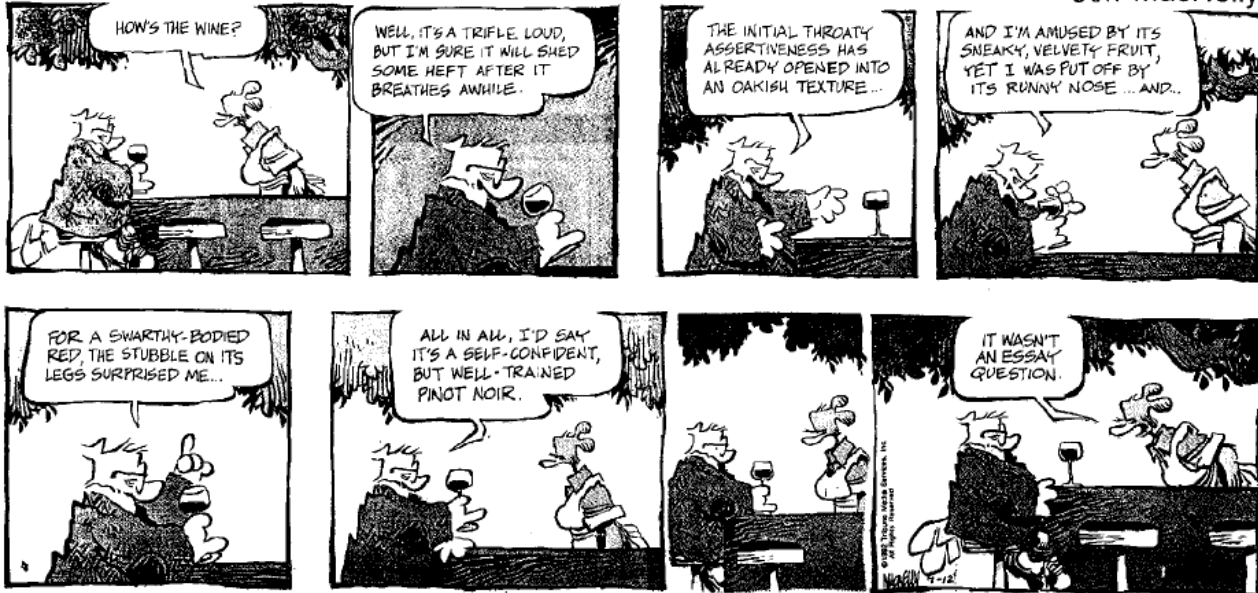
Source: Jane H. Hill "The Voices of Don Gabriel: Responsibility and Self in a Modern Mexicano Narrative" (1995)

Fashions of Speaking: Wine Talk

Ritual: Tasting of the wine at a restaurant

SHOE

Jeff MacNelly



What I like to call *oinoglossia*, “wine talk,” reveals something about how language, in contemporary American society, works as an interdiscursive vehicle for self-and other-fashioning.

In the cartoon above, a young, well-heeled dinner-party host gathers up and gazes intently at the empty bottles from which he has presumably served wine to his now-departed guests: have they “gotten” the wine, as one “gets” an artwork or the point of some other carefully fashioned aesthetic text? Perhaps the guests could not properly or adequately verbalize their own reactions to the wine, leaving the host wondering whether he and his consort—dutifully off in the kitchen doing the heavy clean-up—have wasted the wine by serving it to aesthetically underrefined and hence undeserving guests.

Like every other social institution, the yielding up of the identity (the “status”) of “wine connoisseur” (avocational or professional) is centered on tightly structured ritual, which includes a verbal component. The ritual is called the “tasting”; its verbal expression is a highly organized text, the “tasting note.” This is the interactional context that performatively authorizes identities—of both wine and taster, as it turns out, eucharistically—and to which a Bakhtinian voicing-laden literary *renvoi* (or interdiscursive indexical back-reference) is being implicitly made by degrees each time one knowingly uses a wine term in connected discourse.

Source: Michael Silverstein “Cultural Concepts and the Language-Culture Nexus” (2004)



BITTER
bitter tannin is very intense and 'green'

HARSH
tannin that dries out your mouth

AGGRESSIVE
tannin that drowns out the other wine flavors

GRIPPY
tannin that stick to the sides of your mouth

ANGULAR
tannin that hits one spot

BARNYARD
a wine that smells like farmyard animals

SMOKY
a wine that smells like smoke or camp fire

EARTHY
a wine that has a distinct dirt-like aroma

LEATHERY
a wine that has smells like leather

MUSKY
a wine that smells richly



Fine as North Dakota Wine

If you think you drank North Dakota Wine:

- You'll dislike the wine
- You'll dislike the food
- You'll finish 12 minutes sooner
- You'll eat 19% less

In one study, some diners were told their wine came from North Dakota, while others were told it was from California. Actually, it was the same wine.

California Wine

WE GO TOGETHER LIKE CALIFORNIA AND WINE!

TASTE EXPECTATIONS MAKE OR BREAK A MEAL!

© 2010 Wassink

2004 Napa Valley Cabernet Sauvignon 93 Points

A big, bold rich and expressive style that packs in lots of flavor yet manages to be elegant and stylish without being heavy. Deep perfumed currant, floral, spice and berry flavors coat the palate, ending with ripe integrated tannins.

-Wine Spectator (Aug 8, 2007)

Copyright 2008 John Crowther



"It's a naïve domestic Burgundy without any breeding, but I think you'll be amused by its presumption."



"Angular, edgy, nuanced? Better than the flabby Zinfandel we had last night? This is absolutely the last time, Charles, you give Jeremy a sip of your wine."

DISCOUNT WINE TASTINGS:

RED WHITE

NOTICE THE MUSTY AROMA OF THE CARDBOARD BOX, WITH UNDERLYING TONES OF THE PLASTIC LINER...

adrian@raesidcartoon.com

4-30

Indexicality and Deixis



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

The Meehoo with an Exactlywatt

Shel Silverstein

Knock knock!

Who's there?

Me!

Me who?

—That's right!

What's right?

—Meehoo!

That's what I want to know!

—What's what you want to know?

Me, who?

—Yes, exactly!

Exactly what?

—Yes, I have an Exactlywatt on a chain!

Exactly what on a chain?

—Yes!

Yes what?

—No, Exactlywatt!

That's what I want to know!

—I told you – Exactlywatt!

Exactly what?

—Yes!

Yes what?

—Yes, it's with me!

What's with you?

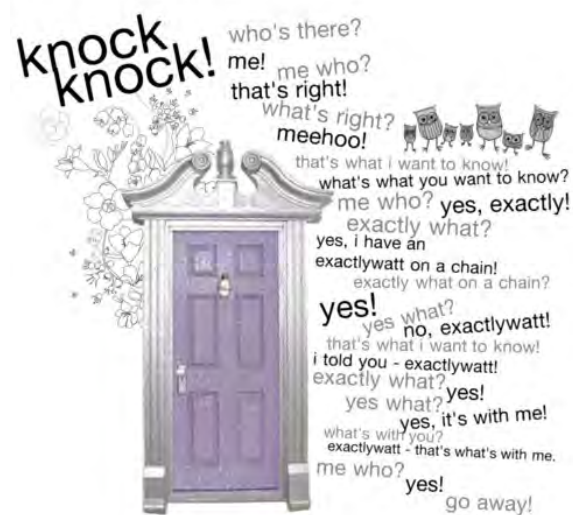
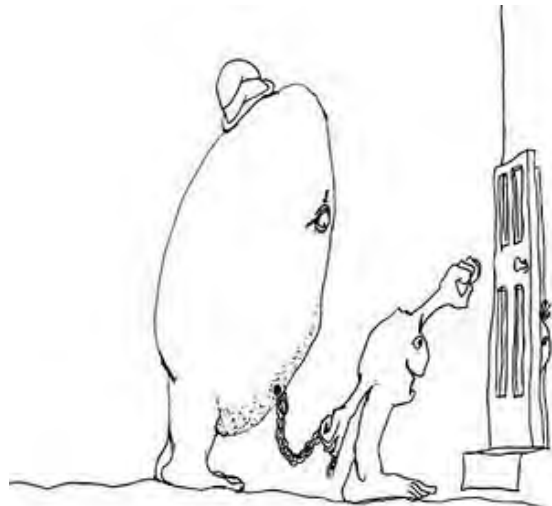
—Exactlywatt – that's what's with me.

Me who?

—Yes!

Go away!

Knock knock...



Video: SirBlakeTV: The Meehoo

The Little Grammar People:
Miss Noun and Sir Pronoun

extract from *The Little Grammar People* (Mass 1947, 21):



“My whole life is one of deep thought, because, as you can tell by my name, I have to stand in the place of Miss Noun.”

“Whatever do you mean?” asked Linda, puzzled. “Doesn’t Miss Noun stand in her own place?”

“Oh yes, certainly. Sometimes she does, but not always. You must remember that she leads a very busy life and has to be in an awful number of parts at once, and it’s my business to help her whenever I can.”

“That’s interesting,” said Barry.

“Let me explain myself more clearly,” Sir Pronoun went on. “When Miss Noun is needed in a sentence she makes quite sure she is there to begin with, but hops away again like quick-silver, partly because she has so much to do and partly because she’s afraid people may grow tired of her. I then step along and say, ‘Ladies and Gentlemen, with your kind permission, I shall represent Miss Noun for a short time, as she was afraid of tiring you and has gone.’ Sometimes I am greeted quite amiably, but other times everybody gets very annoyed, says I don’t make myself at all clear and throws me out of the sentence. Miss Noun then, realizing the situation, appears again in person, and all is well—although, I must admit—” he added dolefully, then paused.

“—that all isn’t as well as it might be with you,” Linda suggested.

“Exactly,” he replied. . . .

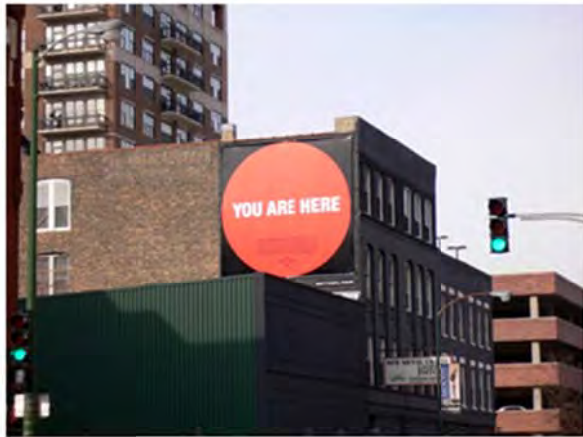
“But Sir Pronoun, just why is it that you have to think so much?” Barry asked.

“Because,” the long boy explained, “Miss Noun is so terribly changeable, and as I have to take her place I must be changeable too. I’m positively the whole time trying to decide whether I should now be a ‘personal,’ ‘demonstrative,’ ‘relative,’ or ‘interrogative’ pronoun.”

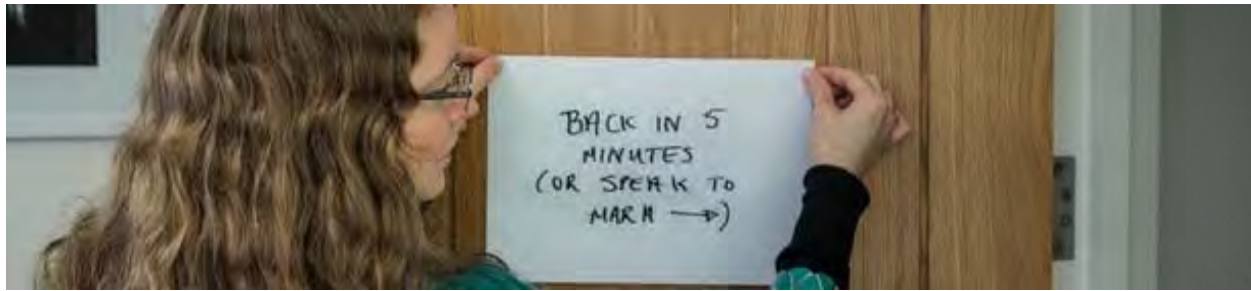


Source: Nuri Mass “The Little Grammar People” (1947)

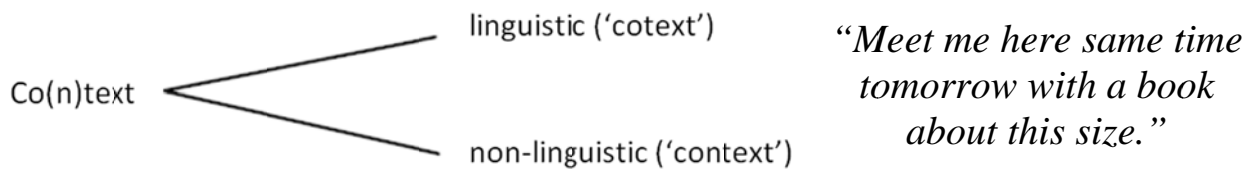
Where Is Here?



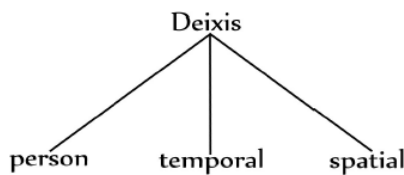
Deixis = Language's Embeddedness in Context



Deixis = "the single most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected" (Levinson 1983:54).



Category	Example
Person deixis	<i>I, you</i>
Place deixis	<i>here, there, this, that</i>
Time deixis	<i>now, then, today, yesterday, tomorrow</i>
Discourse deixis	<i>the latter, the aforementioned</i>
Social deixis	<i>tu, vous [French]</i>



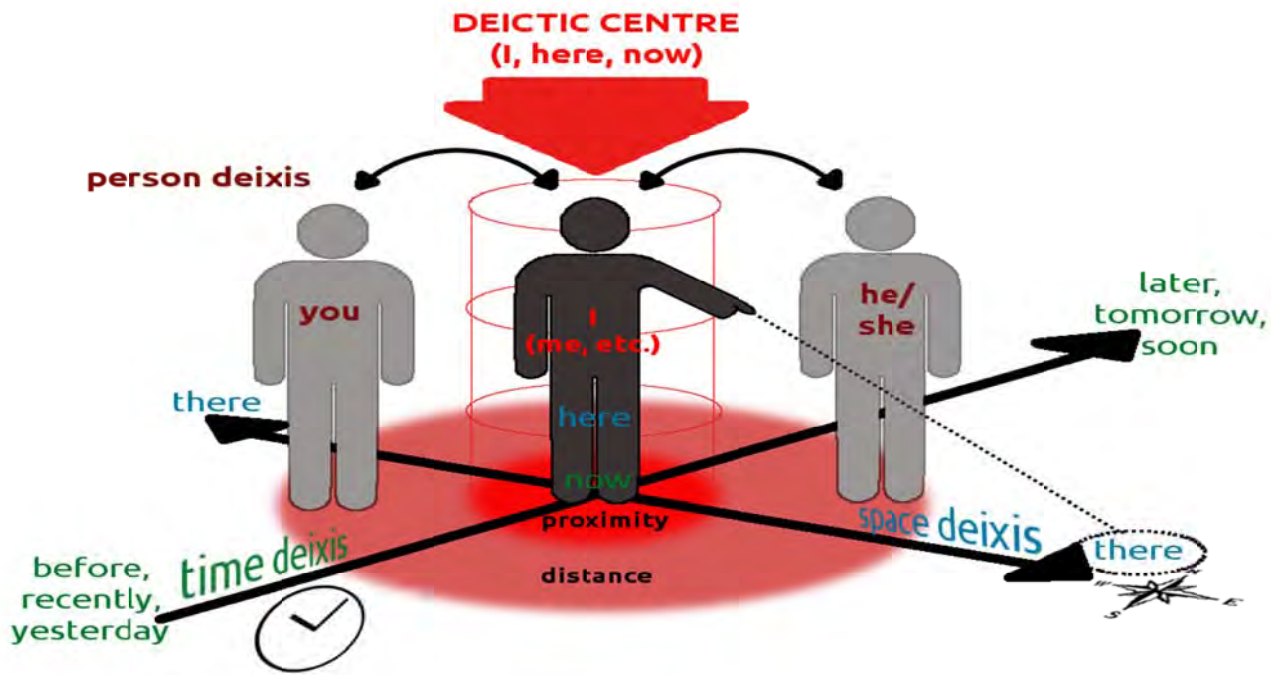
Source: Holger Diessel "Deixis and Demonstratives" (2012)

Origo = the point of orientation (refers to speaker, time and place of utterance): typically, "I-here-now"

The origo may be shifted: *When you read these lines, I'll already be gone.*



Origo: The Deictic Centre



Source: Wikipedia (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deixis>)



Source: Goscinny & Uderzo "Asterix: The Mansions of the Gods" (1973); after Jan Verschueren "Understanding Pragmatics" (1999)

"She Loves You"

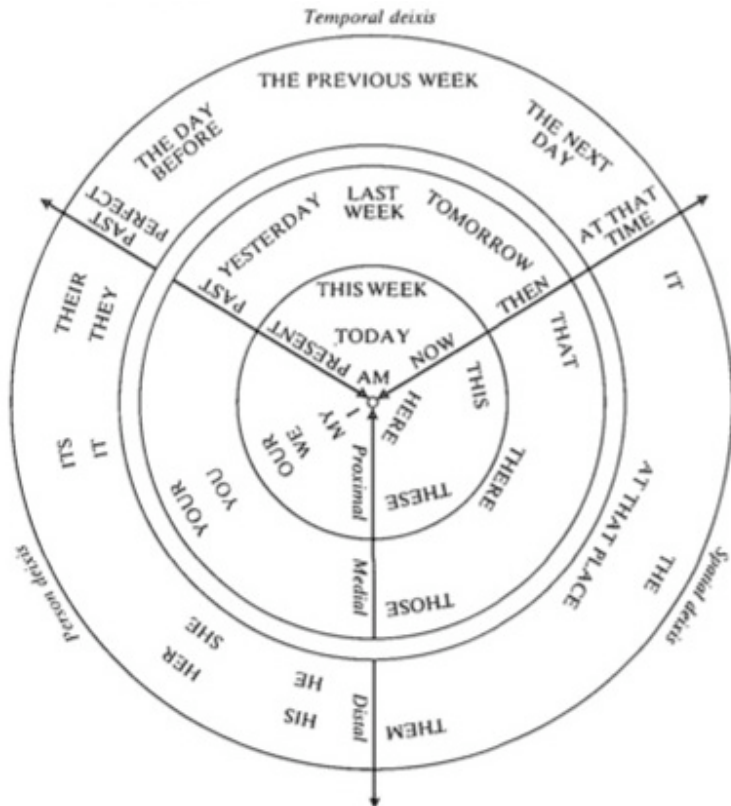


"She Loves You"

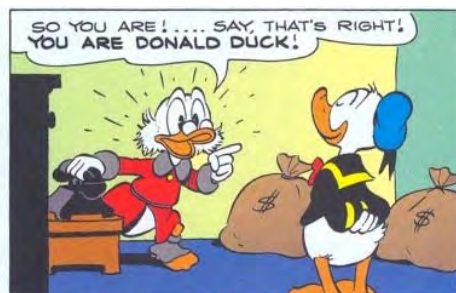
She loves you, yeah, yeah, yeah
 She loves you, yeah, yeah, yeah
 She loves you, yeah, yeah, yeah,
 yeah

You think you lost your love
 When I saw her yesterday
 It's you she's thinking of
 And she told me what to say
 She says she loves you
 And you know that can't be bad
 Yes, she loves you
 And you know you should be glad

She loves you, yeah, yeah, yeah
 She loves you, yeah, yeah, yeah
 And with a love like that
 You know you should be glad



Source: Ian P. Harman "Teaching Indirect Speech: Deixis Shows the Way" (1990) ▲

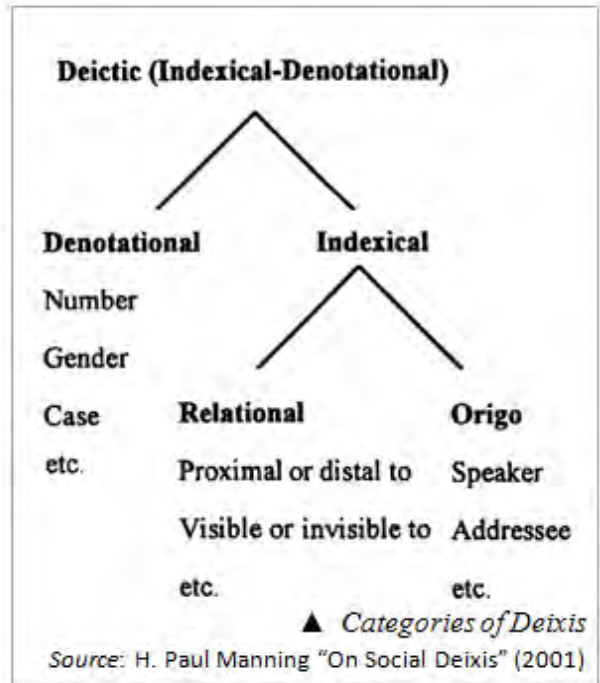


SGROSS

"I don't care if she is a tape dispenser. I love her."

Deixis & Demonstratives

- **Distance:**
Near speaker → *proximal* terms (this, here, now)
Away from speaker → *distal* terms (that, there, then)
Spatial deixis: modern English: *here/there*, but older forms are *yonder* (more distant from speaker)
- **Visibility:**
invisible-remote, invisible-occlusion, invisible-periphery
- **Elevation:**
geometric (above, below); *geographic* (uphill vs. downhill)
- **Place + Motion:**
hither (to this place), *thence* (from this place); Russian: *сюда* 'here to' vs. *туда* 'there to'
- **Motion verbs "come" and "go"**
– **go:** motion away from speaker at CT (time of speaking)
– **come:** movement towards speaker at CT; movement towards speaker at arrival time; movement towards addressee at CT; movement towards addressee at arrival time



Demonstrative Adjectives (Spanish)

este

Este refers to a masculine singular noun that is **close to the speaker**.

esta

Esta refers to a feminine singular noun that is **close to the speaker**.

estos

*Estos** refers to a masculine plur noun that is **close to the speaker**.

ese

Ese refers to a masculine singular noun that is **close to the listener**.

esas

Esas refers to a feminine plural noun that is **close to the listener(s)**.

aquel

Aquel refers to a masculine singular noun that is **far from both the speaker and the listener**.

*Notice that the plural of *este* is *estos*, not *estes*.

Summary

- Este, esta = this
- Estos, estas = these
- Ese, esa = that
- Esos, esas = those
- Aquel, aquella = that (over there)
- Aquellos, aquellas = those (over there)

Source: Laura Riddle "Demonstrative Adjectives and Pronouns" (2013)

This, that, these, those, etc. (the pointing-out adjectives and pronouns.)

Demonstrative adjectives point out people and objects and the relative position and distance between the speaker and the object or person modified.



Demonstrative adjectives are usually placed before the modified noun and agree with it in number and gender.

“Go Anywhere Today?”



Our first task is to establish a clear link with the research questions and traditions that are commonly associated with the label 'pragmatics'. To that end, we start with two examples of actual language use. The first is an extract from a dinner conversation at the Rockefeller Foundation's Study and Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy (the names of the interlocutors have been changed; as in later examples, bold type indicates stressed syllables). The second is the opening sentence of the editorial introduction to *The World in 1996*, published by *The Economist* at the end of 1995 in a series of annual publications of the same type.

(1)

1. Debby: Go anywhere today?
2. Dan: Yes, we went down to Como. Up by bus, and back by hydrofoil.
3. Debby: Anything to see there?
4. Dan: Perhaps not the most interesting of Italian towns, but it's worth the trip.
5. Debby: I might do that next Saturday.
6. Jane: What do you mean when you say **perhaps** not the most interesting of Italian towns?
7. Jack: He means **certainly** not the most interesting ...
8. Dan: Just trying to be polite ...

(2) 1996 will be a year of prosperity and peace.








(3)

1. Debby: Have you been to Como yet?
2. Dan: We went last week.
3. Debby: How do you get there?
4. Dan: We went by bus, and returned by hydrofoil.
5. Debby: Anything to see there?
6. Dan: Depends what you're interested in.
7. Debby: I mean, any historical monuments, and maybe some interesting shopping.
8. Dan: It's got a nice cathedral, and lots of silk.
9. Debby: I'd like to go on Saturday. Do you want to join me?

Deixis in Sign Language

ASL Up Close

Conjugating Verbs: *To Be*

 Deixis	 I am, me	 You are	 He, she, it is
 We are, us	 You are (plural)	 They are	

Pointing is a logical feature of a signed, non-spoken language. It is not considered rude or impolite. If a person or object is not visible, point to an empty space and continue signing. Using the index finger to point is called deixis.

Source: Jason E. Zinza “Master ASL! Level One” Unit 1 (2006)

The impossibility of complete explicitness

Assuming that we are sitting close enough together for you, Dan, having normal hearing capabilities and a workable knowledge of English, to understand me, I am addressing you. I also assume that we share some knowledge about where we are, and why we are here. I mean: I assume that you know that I know that you know, etc. Further, I guess that you, like me, do not want us to sit here silently but that we both want to interact socially and sociably by means of a conversation. Since we also share the

knowledge that it is now dinner time, that the main part of the day is over, and that during a day like this there are many things one can do, a basic option being either to remain here or to leave, it seems reasonable for me to start a conversation by asking whether you went somewhere today. So I am asking you: "Did you go anywhere today?" And I would very much appreciate it if you could say something in response to that question.

Source: Jan Verschuere “Understanding Pragmatics” (1999)

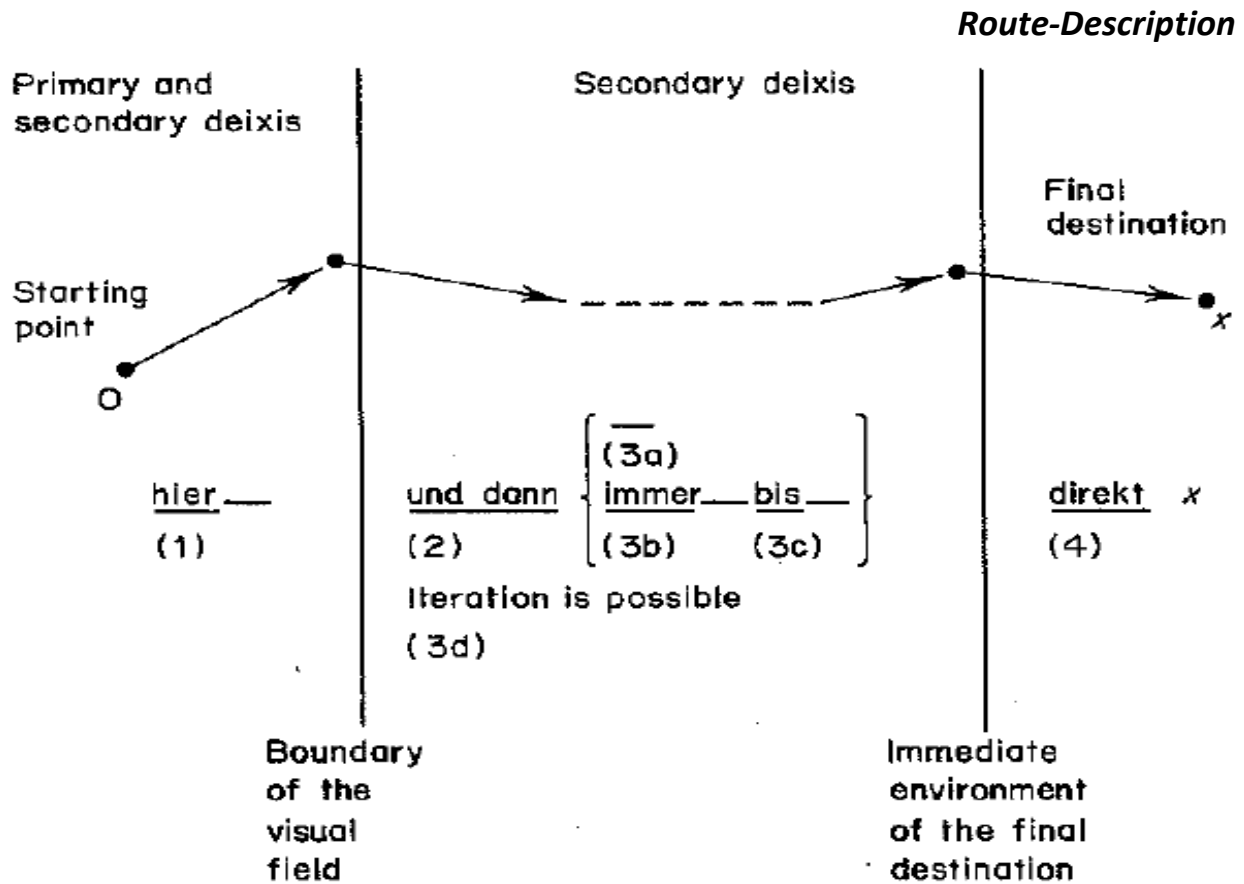


Figure 3. The minimal model of route-description. The dashes shown have to be filled by appropriate position markers and nominals

Source: Dieter Wunderlich & Rudolph Reinelt "How to Get There From Here" (1982)

Deictic Reference

Table 2.2. Some relational structures of deictic reference

Form	Denotatum type	Relational type	Indexical type*
this	"the one	Proximal to	me"
that	"the one	Distal to	you"
that	"the one	Distal to	you and me"
this	"the one	Visible to	me
that	"the one	Visible to	you and me"
here	"the region	Immediate to	you"
there	"the region	non-Immediate to	you and me"
I	"the person	Speaker of	this utterance"
you	"the person	Addressee of	this utterance"
now	"the time	Immediate to	this utterance"

* Indexical types are abbreviated and stand for participation configurations realized in the utterance and actually occupied in the interactive situation.

Source: William F. Hanks "The Indexical Ground of Deictic Reference" (1992)

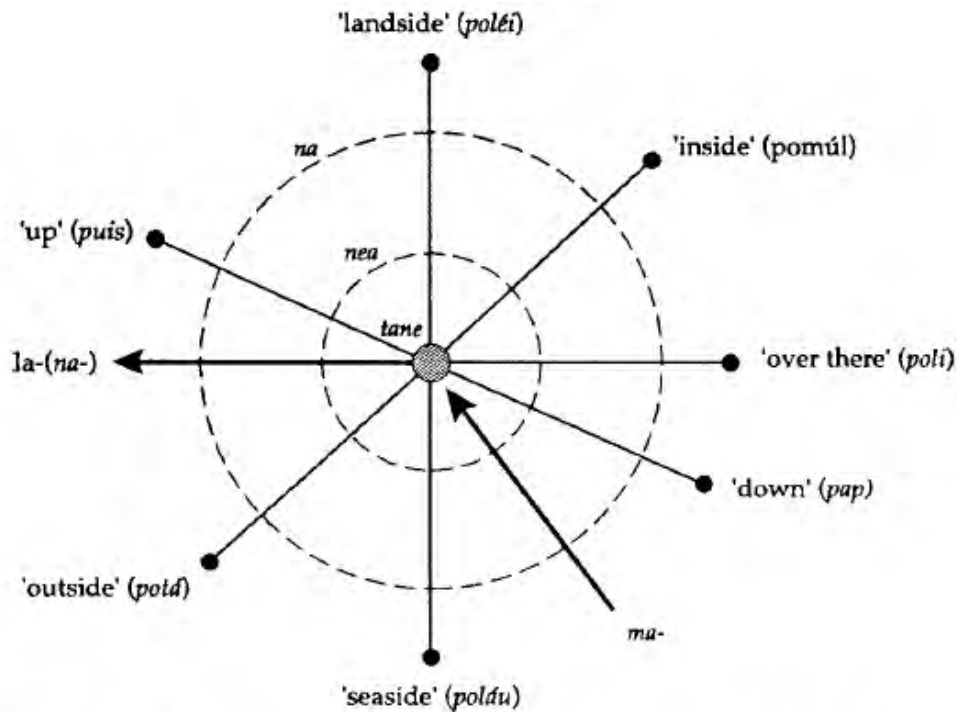
Buli Deixis

Figure 2. Movement, distance and direction in Buli deixis

<i>Nim</i>	<i>eta</i>	<i>ca,</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>i-sispe</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>poláú</i>	<i>nea'</i>
Your	knife	the,	I	Is-stick in	it	on the	close there
				the wall		seaside	

"I stuck your knife in the wall over there on the seaside."

In one short sentence the relative positions of speaker and knife as well as the distance between them are situated in relation to the landscape around them. The speaker is inland from the knife, which is some distance away (out of reach) towards the beach. There is no need to point; the location is pin-pointed without gestures. The sentence also presumes that the addressed person (the owner of the knife) occupies a position within the same spatial co-ordinates (in this case "landside" and "seaside") that makes it possible for the owner of the knife to triangulate the position of the knife by knowing his or her own position in relation to the speaker. The owner of the knife knows the knife is located "to the seaside" a short distance from the speaker. Intuitively, the owner of the knife also knows his or her position and distance relative to the speaker. With these two bits of information, the owner will be able to know the position of the knife with relative precision.

The Other Side: Ethno-Nationalism 101**Deixis of Homeland-Making: The Weather**

The very notion of 'the weather' implies a national deixis, which is routinely repeated. The papers regularly carry small, unobtrusive weather reports, typically labelled 'Weather'. [...] The reports tend to be similar. They contain a map of Britain, which is not actually labelled as Britain: the shape of the national geography is presumed to be recognizable. [...]

A homeland-making move transforms meteorology into *the* weather. And *the*

weather - with its 'other places', its 'elsewheres' and its 'around the country's' - must be understood to have its deictic centre within the homeland. 'The weather' appears as an objective, physical category, yet it is contained within national boundaries. At the same time, it is known that the universe of weather is larger than the nation. There is 'abroad'; there is 'around the world'. These are elsewheres beyond 'our' elsewheres. The national homeland is set deictically in the central place, syntactically replicating the maps of the North Atlantic. All this is reproduced in the newspapers; and all this, in its small way, helps to reproduce the homeland as the place in which 'we' are at home, 'here' at the habitual centre of 'our' daily universe.



Reflexive Language: Metapragmatics



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Meta-“...”**Metalogue: Why Do Frenchmen?**

Gregory Bateson

Daughter: Daddy, why do Frenchmen wave their arms about?

Father: What do you mean?

D: I mean when they talk. Why do they wave their arms and all that?

F: Well—why do you smile? Or why do you stamp your foot sometimes?

D: But that’s not the same thing, Daddy. I don’t wave my arms about like a Frenchman does. I don’t believe they can stop doing it, Daddy. Can they?

F: I don’t know—they might find it hard to stop.... Can you stop smiling?

D: But Daddy, I don’t smile all the time. It’s hard to stop when I feel like smiling. But I don’t feel like it all the time. And then I stop.

F: That’s true—but then a Frenchman doesn’t wave his arms in the same way all the time. Sometimes he waves them in one way and sometimes in another—and sometimes, I think, he stops waving them.

* * *

F: What do you think? I mean, what does it make you think when a Frenchman waves his arms?

D: I think it looks silly, Daddy. But I don’t suppose it looks like that to another Frenchman. They cannot all look silly to each other. Because if they did, they would stop it. Wouldn’t they? [...]

F: Well—let us suppose you are talking to a Frenchman and he is waving his arms about, and then in the middle of the conversation, after something that you have said, he suddenly stops waving his arms, and just talks. What would you think then? That he had just stopped being silly and excited?

D: No... I’d be frightened. I’d think I had said something that hurt his feelings and perhaps he might be really angry.

F: Yes—and you might be right. [...]

Source: Gregory Bateson “Metalogue: Why Do Frenchmen?” (1953)

Metalinguage

In accordance with an established use of language in philosophy and in the sciences, I use the prefix *meta-* to indicate a shift of ‘level’: from that of talking about an object to that of discussing the talk itself. The latter level is called the ‘meta’-level. Thus, I will speak of a ‘meta-language’ to indicate a language that is ‘about’ (a) language, one level ‘up’ from that language. A ‘metalinguage’ thus is a language that comments on, examines, criticizes, etc., what happens on the level of language itself, the ‘object language’. In everyday life, we use metalinguage when we put things in (verbal or literal) parentheses or in quotes. E.g., I can say: *This is strictly off the record, but...*

Here, we have a ‘verbal parenthesis’, defined by overt metalinguage: I tell my listeners or readers that what follows should be regarded as unofficial; the extent of the ‘verbal parenthesis’ is not audibly or visibly marked off, but is usually understood as being bounded by the quote’s internal cohesion, or by the topic that is being dealt with ‘off the record’.

Source: Jacob May “Pragmatics: An Introduction” (2001)

Metapragmatics

Defining language use as the making of linguistic choices, taking into account the mediating role of both the utterer’s and the interpreter’s minds, and attributing a prominent role to consciousness, implies that *language users know more or less what they are doing when using language*, even if certain choices are virtually automatic in comparison with others that may be highly motivated. This ‘knowledge’ truly manifests itself in all the choices that are made. Additionally, however, it is manifested in the language user’s **reflexive awareness** of those choices, as choices from a range of options, and hence with a specific conceptual or communicative status: while *all* linguistic choice-making implies *some* degree of consciousness, *some choices openly reflect upon themselves*. Reflexive awareness may be so central that it could be regarded as one of the original evolutionary prerequisites for the development of language. It is so central, furthermore, that *all verbal communication is self-referential* to a certain degree. In other words, *there is no language use without a constant calibration between pragmatic and metapragmatic functioning*. The systematic study of the metalevel, where indicators of reflexive awareness are to be found in the actual choice-making that constitutes language use, is the proper domain of what is usually called metapragmatics.

Source: Jan Verschuere “Understanding Pragmatics” (1999)

Indexicality & Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life

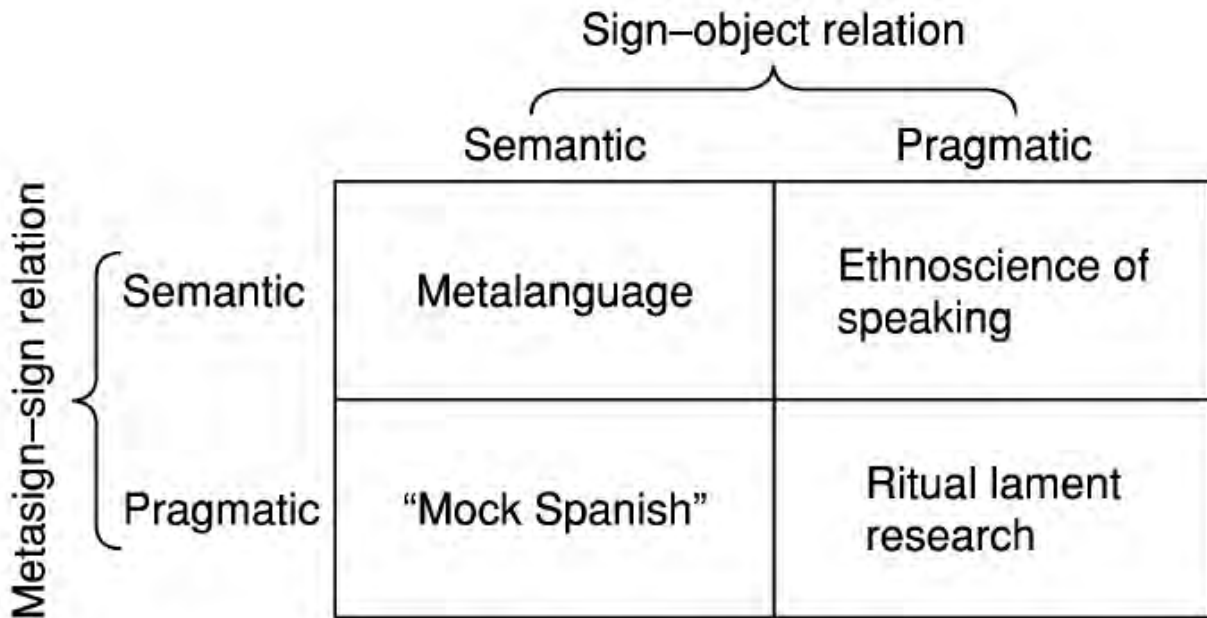


Figure 1 The semantic/pragmatic distinction can apply to either the sign-object relation or the metasign-sign relation, generating different areas for empirical investigation.

Source: Greg Urban "Metasemiosis and Metapragmatics" (2006)

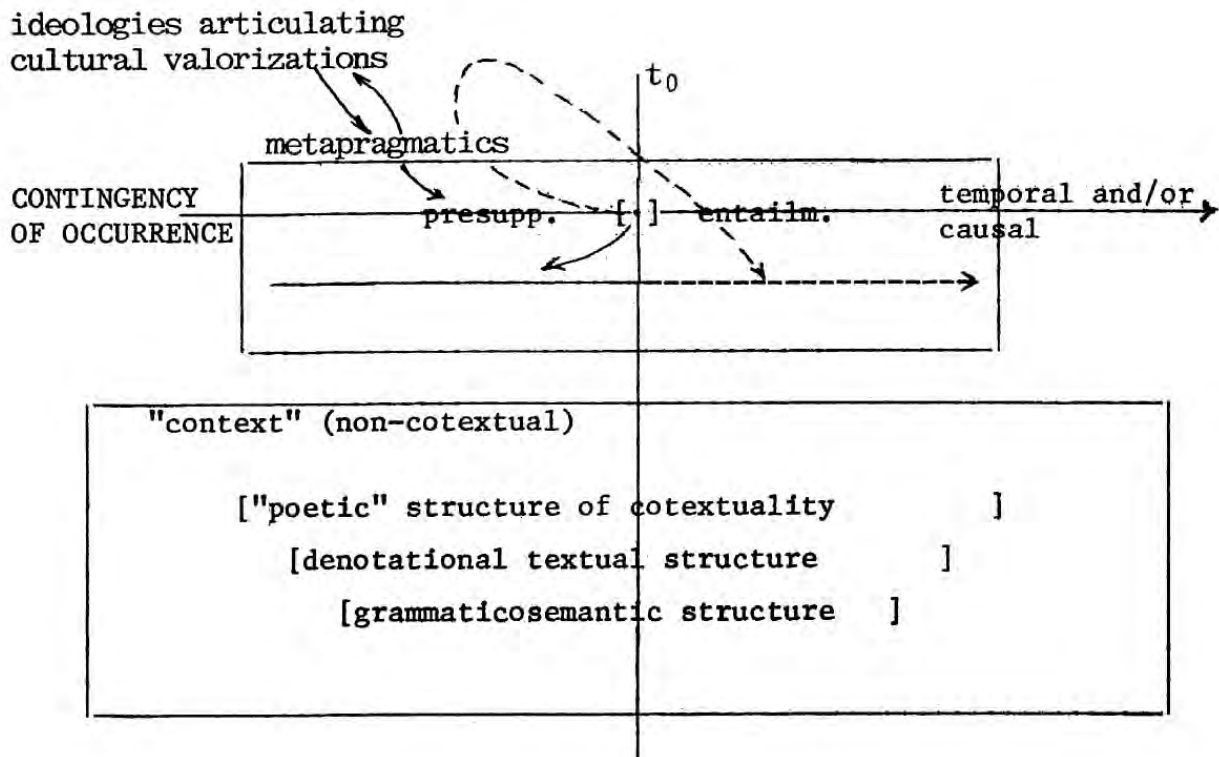


Fig. 1. Micro-contextual semiotic of indexicality.

Source: Michael Silverstein "Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life" (2003)

“So What?”

Metapragmatics of Quotative Expressions in Japanese

A: *Sore ga doo-shita no yo.*
that SBJ how-did NMLZ IP
'So what?'

B: *Sore ga dooshita tte, yoku iu wa nee, hito ga anta o*
that SBJ how-did QUOT well say IP IP I SBJ you OBJ
nagusameyootoshite hanashi o shite-iru noni.
trying.to.comfort talk OBJ am-doing though
'So what [marked with *tte*]! How dare you say that when I am talking to
you in order to comfort you.' (Kanai 1995: 111)

Scorn and disbelief (Itani 1994: 383)

Mary wa kashikoi tte.
<name> TOP smart QUOT
'Mary is smart!?'

Hesitation (Maynard 1997: 34)

Atashi de hontooni ii no ka naa tte.
me COP real ADV good NMLZ IP IP QUOT
'(I think) is he really all right with me?'

Playfulness (Suzuki 1998: 448)

A: *Kubininatta hito ga iru yoo na nyuansude...*
got.fired person SBJ exit appear COP nuance with
'(He was talking) with the nuance that there was somebody who got
fired.'

B: *Sore wa anata desu tte.*
that TOP you COP QUOT
'That's you [said in a playful tone].'

Emphasis (Maynard 1997: 31)

Daijoubu!! Zettai modoreru tte!!
sure absolute can.return QUOT
'That's for sure!! Absolutely, you can return!'

Sarcasm (Adachi 1996: 12)

Watashi wa ii mono shikakawa-nai kara, datte.
I TOP good thing only not-buy because QUOT
'I buy only good quality things, she says.'

Defiance (Okamoto 1995)

Nan dato. Tsumaranai dato.
what QUOT boring QUOT
'What?! Boring (did you say)?!'

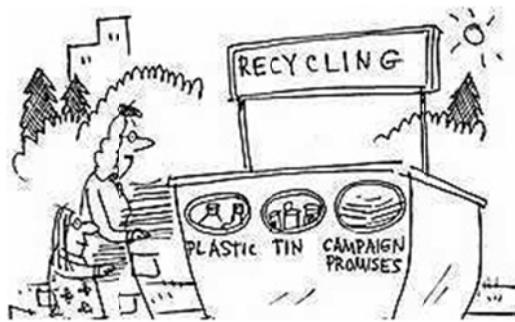
Mockery (Suzuki 2002: 170)

Benkyoo, toka itte [laughter].
study something.like saying
'Studying, just kidding [laughter].'

Various utterance-final quotative expressions in Japanese are known to provide evaluative or emotive commentary to the preceding utterance. For example, *date* (a copula *da* plus a quotative particle *te*) and *dato* (*da* plus another quotative particle *to*) have been described as a marker of sarcasm and a marker of defiance, respectively. *Toka itte* (lit. 'saying something like') functions to invalidate the preceding utterance and produces the tone of self-mockery much like 'just kidding' in English. The quotative particle *tte* in an utterance-final position signals a wide range of emotive effects such as surprise and disbelief, emphasis and hesitation, and playfulness.

I would argue that these emotive and evaluative overtones (scorn, disbelief, hesitation, playfulness, emphasis, sarcasm, defiance, and mockery) derive from the metapragmatic nature of the linguistic expressions, which in turn is derived from their originally quotative function. When you quote somebody's words, you call attention to them. By doing so, you signal that there are some problems with them. [T]he dissatisfaction with the wording may be transferred to the displeasure with the content.

Read Their Lips: Lying Politicians?



"Advertisers can't make false and misleading claims but it's okay for politicians."



“Read My Lips” in the Discourse of Theater

On August 18, 1988, Vice President George Bush ascended to the podium in the New Orleans Superdome to accept the Republican nomination for president of the United States. In the most memorable moment of his acceptance speech, Bush drew a series of contrasts between his own program and that of the Democratic nominee, Michael Dukakis. He built to a climax around a central theme of the Republican platform, fiscal conservatism and opposition to taxes:

And I'm the one who won't raise taxes. My opponent now says he'll raise them as a last resort, or a third resort. When a politician talks like that, you know that's one resort he'll be checking into. My opponent won't rule out raising taxes. But I will. The Congress will push me to raise taxes, and I'll say no, and they'll push, and I'll say no, and they'll push again, and I'll say to them, "Read my lips: No new taxes."

Video: "1988: When Bush Said Read My Lips"

Peggy Noonan, principal author of the speech and a conservative committed to the economic program entailed by the "No new taxes" expression, has stated that her goal in writing it was to "lift" Bush, to "vault him over the debris" of Dukakis's double-digit advantage in the polls. She liked "Read my lips: No new taxes" because its combination of propositional specificity and syllabic condensation, its "definiteness," in her words, carried a sense of "leadership." The "Read my lips" line was well known to have originally been written for the actor Clint Eastwood in his famous role of tough San Francisco cop Dirty Harry. Associating Bush with Eastwood was thought to be a way to alleviate public concern that the vice president was a "wimp." From the theatrical perspective, "Read my lips: No new taxes" was a triumph of the art of campaign stagecraft, a felicitous union of speech writing, the orchestration of the convention, the selection of precisely the right policy note, and Bush's skills as a performer.

Bush's staff never blamed him for breaking a promise in negotiating the 1990 budget compromise. His staff and supporters argued that it was unthinkable that the audience for the acceptance speech could have taken him literally, since it was widely known that experts agreed that it would be impossible to manage the federal budget without a tax increase. At the time of the budget compromise, some polls showed that two-thirds of the voters had not "believed" Bush's promise. For these voters, "Read my lips: No new taxes" was not, in fact, a promise but a performance of the Republican message, an allusion to the different positions of the two parties on tax policy, a "slogan." Bush's press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, was quoted in the *Post* (June 27, 1990) as saying, "He said the right thing then and he's saying the right thing now ... Everything we said was true then and it's true now: No regrets, no backing off." When reporters asked whether he would agree that Bush had broken his pledge, Fitzwater is said to have replied, "No, are you crazy?"

Reportage of this exchange was shaped almost entirely within the perspective of the discourse of truth, a point of view from which Fitzwater's remarks seemed absurd. From the theatrical perspective, however, the notion of a continuity of truth is not really ridiculous. Within the discourse of theater, "truth," like "message," has a locally contextualized meaning. Fitzwater always took "the pledge" to refer to the Republican message of fiscal conservatism, established in an intertextual series intended to penetrate the consciousness of the electorate, and not to any specific moment of definite reference.

The last six words were a quintessential sound bite, a basic component of "message." Republican campaign consultants, testing some of the most important lines from Bush's acceptance speech with focus groups in the days after the speech, found that "Read my lips: No new taxes" had an exceptionally high positive response. Based on this finding, Bush often repeated the line during his campaign.



Source: Jane H. Hill "Read My Article: Promising in American Presidential Politics" (2000)

CAMPAIGN PROMISE IN PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

Petko Ivanov

It is much easier to tell the truth than to invent lies.

Paul Grice (1989: 29)

In this short essay I address two sets of questions. The first set concerns the term “campaign promise” which has already been discussed by Jane Hill (2000) in her article on promising in American presidential politics. These questions may be formulated as follows: how does the modifier “campaign” qualify the performative formula “promise” in American political discourses, and is the “campaign promise” a promise at all? The second set of questions puts the previous ones into a different cultural setting (Bulgarian politics in 1990) in order to clarify to what degree and in what way the American and the Eastern European models of presidential rhetoric of promising are dis/similar. My main question here is: what constitutes a false promise and what is regarded as a lie in the cultural understandings of these speech acts in postcommunist Bulgarian politics.

Let me begin with the American concept of campaign promise. It has been suggested (Silverstein 1979) that the term itself is very much in pair with such expressions as ‘Dutch oven’ (not an oven but a kettle) and ‘Welsh rabbit’ (not a rabbit but melted cheese), or – from a somewhat different perspective – that it displays oxymoronic qualities. In other words, it is a special case of performative utterance made “on [political] stage,” which cannot be understood without taking into account both “promise” and “campaign,” as well as the correlation between them. Provided this is true, a *pro domo sua* definition of promise is in order.

Austin (1962) classifies speech acts, such as promising or otherwise undertaking, according to their illocutionary force under the general rubric of *commissives* – utterances which “commit the speaker to a certain course of action” (p. 157), or are at least acts of “declaring of an intention” (p. 163) to do so. Combining Austin’s concept and classificatory grid of illocutions with Grice’s (1989) identification of meaning with the speaker’s intentions and their recognition by the audience, Searle (1969) on his turn introduces as the essential condition for promising the *intention* of the speaker to place himself under an obligation of performing a certain act *in the future*. This overtly intentionalist phrasing places the act of promising within the personalistic theoretical framework of the so-called “cooperative principle” (Grice 1989), according to which talk exchanges are always conducted between autonomous agentive actors who reveal to each other the state of their minds or the state of affairs in a cooperative, purposive, and “indeed rational” manner.

The intentionalist view of promising has at least two negative consequences: first, it universalizes and reproduces the ideological regimes of personalism that are rather peculiar for Western (Euro-American) societies (Duranti 1992); and second, it overemphasizes the speaker’s commitment to the truth-value and the sincerity of the utterance (Rosaldo 1982), which more generally reflects the preoccupation of Western linguistic ideologies with the denotational use of language (Silverstein 1979). The alternative scholarly view-point of promising (and of performatives in general) shifts the focus from the processes of intentionality toward the processes of intersubjectivity, and from the referential toward the interactional understanding of its nature. These “event-centered studies of language use” (Silverstein 1998) foreground the participant roles in both the interactional building of the promisor’s and the promisee’s social identities, and in the co-production of cultural meaning in-and-by the event of promising.

With the latter understanding of promising in mind, let me turn again to the concept of campaign promise as it is discussed by Hill (2000) on the example of the President Bush’s “Read my lips: No new taxes” promise, which he made in the 1988 presidential campaign but did not fulfill later. Hill’s starting point is the quandary of whether Bush’s utterance was indeed a “broken contract,” given the fact it was made in the *voice of campaigning*, and therefore the then future President was not revealing

his intentions (as the intentionalist theory of promise would expect) but instead was inhabiting the subjectivity of a leader aspiring for the White House. Further unpacking the intentionalist vs. the interactional readings of the event, Hill introduces two Janus-faced metapragmatic discourses developed at different sites but co-existing in the American public sphere: a discourse of truth and a discourse of theater, the latter being a trade-mark property of the professional campaigners, image-builders and problem-solvers in politics. The discourse-of-truth in this schema is expectedly concerned mainly with the referentiality of the utterances, and attributes both the agency and the responsibility for them exclusively to a particular speaker (George Bush, in this case), whose authority is supposed to be derived from him having “integrity” and “character.” The discourse-of-theater, on the other hand, allocates the authorship of, and the responsibility for, the messages by distributing them among different voicings adopted by the speaker (George Bush, again), whose performance of leadership qualities is co-produced by a whole team of experts in the art of impression management. The result is that in the discourse-of-truth, which does not account for the campaign-ingredient in the American concept of campaign promising, an unfulfilled promise is qualified simply as a lie; in the theatricality discourse of campaigning, however, “broken promise” is nothing more than a *contradictio in adjectum*.

Let me now briefly consider another ethnographic case involving unfulfilled presidential promise, this time from Bulgaria. The first post-communist President of the country, Petur Mladenov (himself a former *nomenklatura* who initiated the coup d'état against Zhivkov's regime), campaigned and came into office with a single message, formulated and taken as a promise: “No violence!” Even though his supposed commitment to the policy of nonviolence was indeed not compromised during his presidency, on July 6, 1990 Mladenov was forced to resign because of a controversial remark uttered by him back on December 14, 1989, when he was not yet the President. On that day Mladenov was secretly videotaped when saying to the Minister of Defense during a mass rally in front of the Parliament: “Shouldn't we bring the tanks in?” The scandal broke out months later, on June 14 the following year, when the opposition coalition, the Union of Democratic Forces, screened the tape on national television. First Mladenov denied the authenticity of the videotape,¹ then declared it irrelevant since “no military force had been used after all.”



The public release of the tape provoked waves of outrage among the oppositionary circles in the country who accused the President of lying and demanded his immediate resignation. The protests culminated in the organization of the so-called *City of Truth* in downtown Sofia where hundreds of demonstrators camped out in more than 70 tents arranged by “streets” and administrated by a “mayor” (Elchinova & Raicheva 1991; Todorova-Pirgova 1991). Yielding to the public pressure, Mladenov finally issued an address saying that “the Bulgarian people, with their realistic and down-to-earth sense, will

¹ Using a catchy paronomasia, Mladenov initially claimed that he had said: “Shouldn't we bring Stanko in?,” referring to Stanko Todorov, the Speaker of the Parliament (cf. *Economist*, July 14, 1990, p. 49).

believe *not the words but the deeds*" of the President, and then resigned (*Duma*, July 5, 1990; cf. Nikolaev 1990).

"Mladenov case" offers a paradox: unlike President Bush, Petur Mladenov *did* fulfill his campaign promise by consistently implementing as President the politics of non-violence, yet was nonetheless retroactively accused of insincerity on the basis of events that preceded both the act of promising and the term of his Presidency. What does this paradox reveal about the local Bulgarian cultural understanding of campaign promising vis-à-vis that of the West? It is obvious that the dominant discourse in the Bulgarian case is again the discourse of truth but its alternative is the *discourse of conspiracy*, rather than the theatrical one. Over the entire Socialist period, the domain of power was perceived of by Bulgarians (as by most Eastern Europeans, for that matter) mainly in the terms of secrets, lies, and – above all – conspiracy games. In this imagination, no doubt a result of the socialist way of "living in lies" (Václav Havel 1991), every political promise already constitutes a lie, whose validation is to be sought in the past rather than in the future. Thus in a totalitarian society, including a totalitarian society-in-transition, conversely to Grice's dictum (see the motto), it is easier to tell a lie than to invent the truth.

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Source: Petko Ivanov "Campaign Promise in Presidential Politics" (UofC, 1998)

Embedded Metapragmatics in Reporting

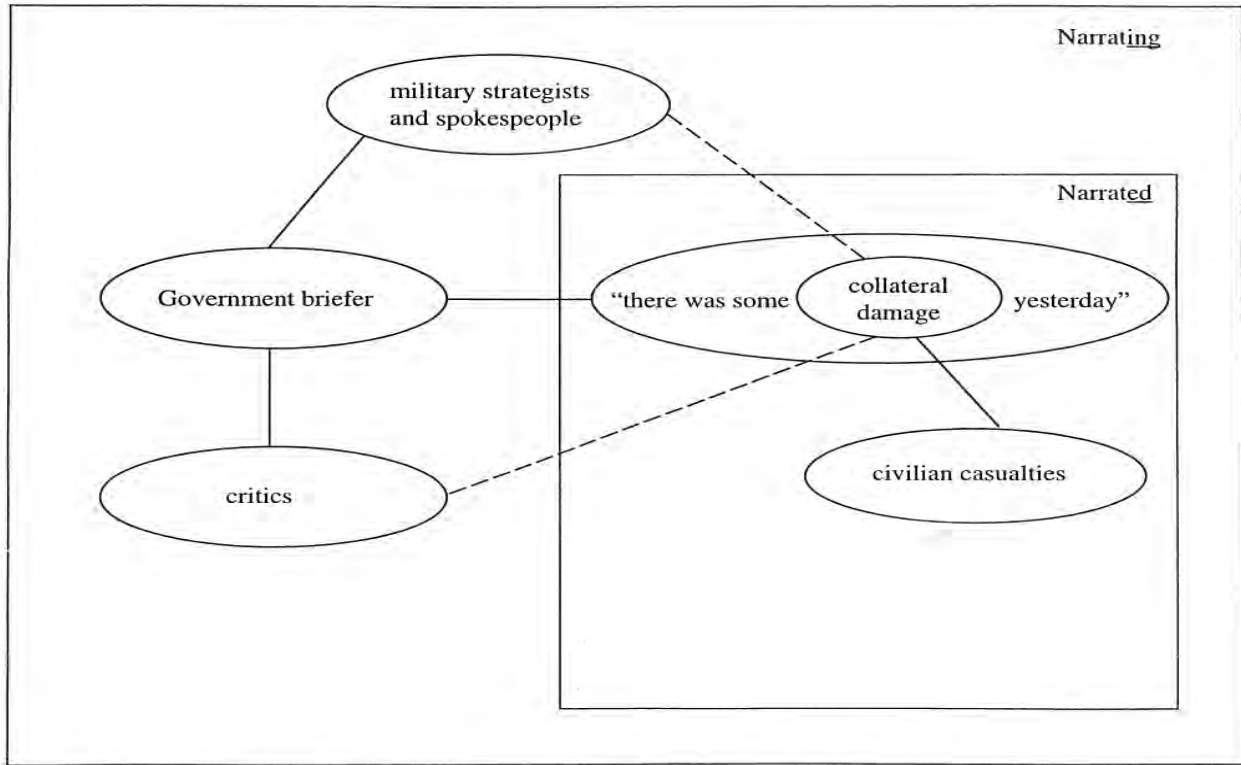


Fig. 1. Narrating and narrated events.

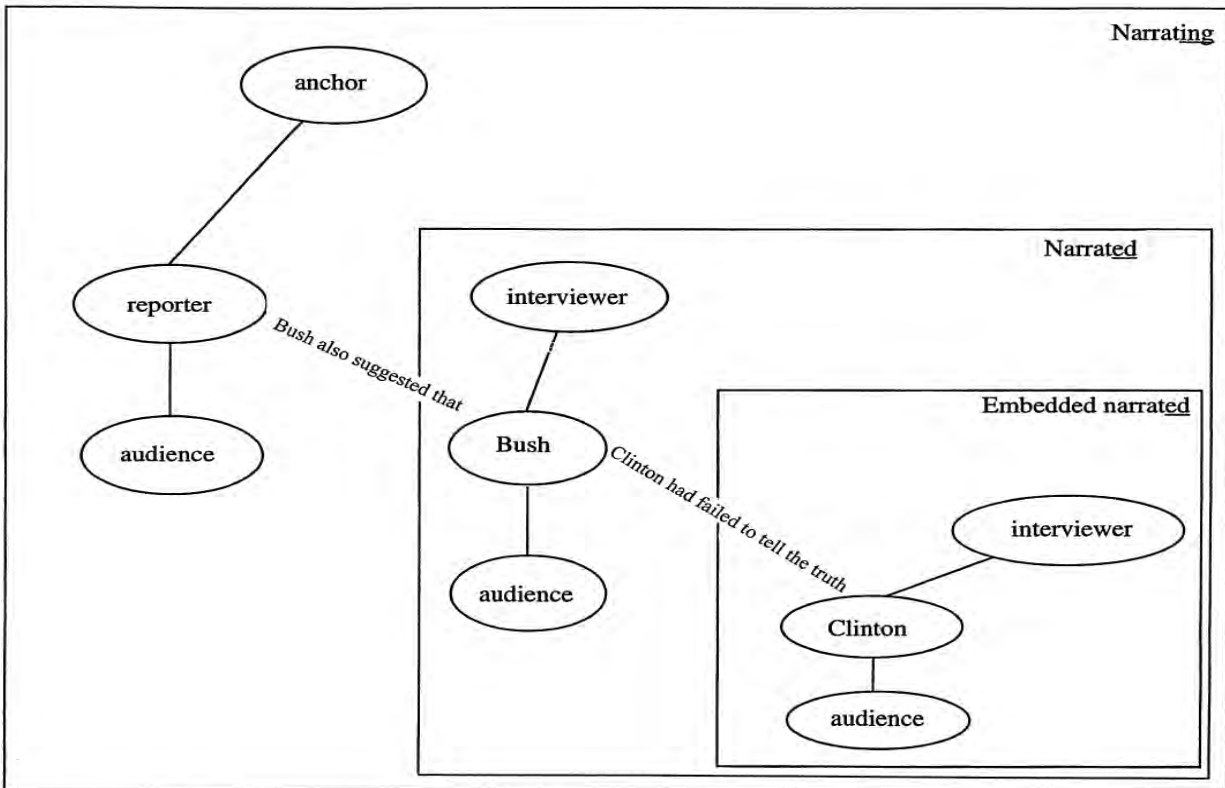


Fig. 3. An embedded metapragmatic construction.

Source: Stanton Wortham & Michael Locher "Embedded Metapragmatics and Lying Politicians" (1999)

Collateral Language

A User's Guide to America's New War



The language of war

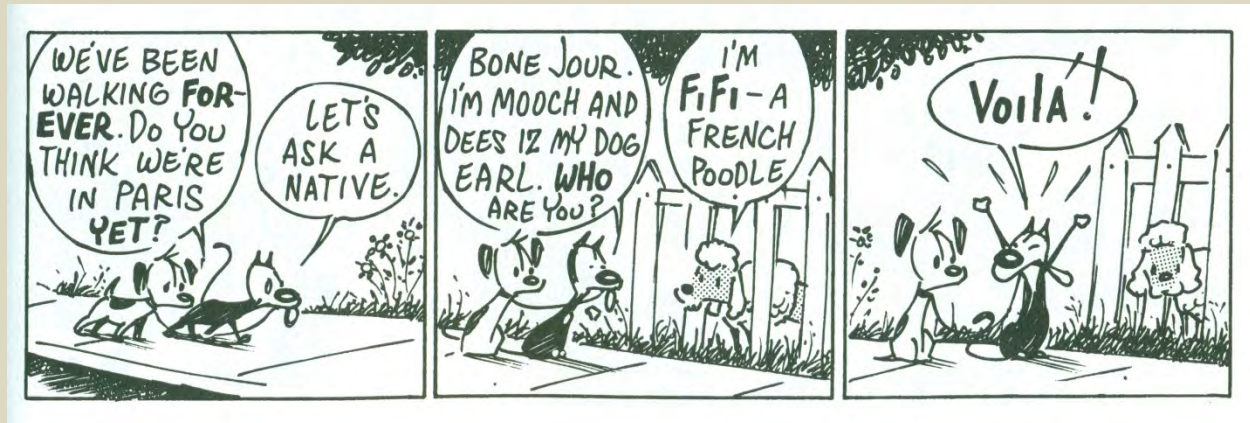
- Department of Defence
- Neutralise
- No longer a factor
- Inoperative combat personnel
- Collateral damage
- Take out
- Pacification
- Strategic redeployment
- Liberate
- Pre-emptive
- Ethnic cleansing
- Regime
- Department of War
- Kill
- Dead
- Dead soldiers
- Bombed cities
- Destroy
- Bombing
- Retreat
- Invade
- Unprovoked
- Genocide
- Government



Sources: John Collins & Ross Glover, eds. "Collateral Language: A User's Guide to America's New War" (2005)

Language Ideologies

Iconicity



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

“Veni, vidi, vici”: Iconicity in Language (Jakobson)

The resumed [by Peirce] semiotic deliberations revive the question, astutely discussed in *Cratylus*, Plato’s fascinating dialogue: does language attach form to content “by nature” (*physei*), as the title hero insists, or “by convention” (*thesei*), according to the counterarguments of Hermogenes. The moderator Socrates in Plato’s dialogue is prone to agree that representation by likeness is superior to the use of arbitrary signs, but despite the attractive force of likeness he feels obliged to accept a complementary factor – conventionality, custom, habit.

[N]ow let us attempt to approach the linguistic pattern in its iconic aspect and to give an answer to Plato’s question, by what kind of imitation (*mimêsis*) does language attach the signans to the signatum.

The chain of verbs – *Veni, vidi, vici* [‘I came. I saw. I conquered’] – informs us about the order of Caesar’s deeds first and foremost because the sequence of co-ordinate preterits is used to reproduce the succession of reported occurrences. The temporal order of speech events tends to mirror the order of narrated events in time or in rank. Such a sequence as “the President and the Secretary of State attended the meeting” is far more usual than the reverse, because the initial position in the clause reflects the priority in official standing.



The correspondence in order between the signans and signatum finds its right place among the “fundamental varieties of possible semiosis” which were outlined by Peirce. He singled out two distinct subclasses of icons – *images* and *diagrams*. In images the signans represents the “simple qualities” of the signatum, whereas for diagrams the likeness between the signans and signatum consists “only in respect to the relations of their parts.” Peirce defined a diagram as “a *representamen* which is predominantly an icon of relation and is aided to be so by conventions.” Such an “icon of intelligible relations” may be exemplified by two rectangles of different size which exhibit a quantitative comparison of steel production in the USA and the USSR. The relations in the signans correspond to the relations in the signatum. In such a typical diagram as statistical curves the signans presents an iconic analogy with the signatum as to the relations of their parts. If a chronological diagram symbolizes the ratio of increase in population by a dotted line and mortality by a continuous line, these are, in Peirce’s parlance, “symbolide features.” Theory of diagrams occupies an important place in Peirce’s semiotic research; he acknowledges their considerable merits which spring from their being “veridically iconic, naturally analogous to the thing represented.” [...]

Not only the combination of words into syntactic groups but also the combination of morphemes into words exhibits a clearcut diagrammatic character. Both in syntax and in morphology any relation of parts and wholes agrees with Peirce’s definition of diagrams and their iconic nature. [...]

Morphology is rich in examples of alternate signs which exhibit an equivalent relation between their signantia and signata. Thus, in various Indo-European languages, the positive, comparative, and superlative degrees of adjectives show a gradual increase in the number of phonemes, e.g., *high–higher–highest, altus–altior–altissimus*. In this way the signantia reflect the gradation gamut of the signata. [...]

D. L. Bolinger’s paper “Le signe n’est pas arbitraire” (1927), convincingly documents “the vast importance of cross influences” between sound and meaning and the “constellations of words having similar meanings tied to similar sounds” whatever the origin of such constellations may be (e.g., *bash, mash, smash, crash, dash, lash, hash, rash, brash, clash, trash, plash, splash, and flash*). Such vocables border upon onomatopoeic words where again the genetic questions are quite immaterial for synchronic analysis.

Peircean Subtypes of Icons

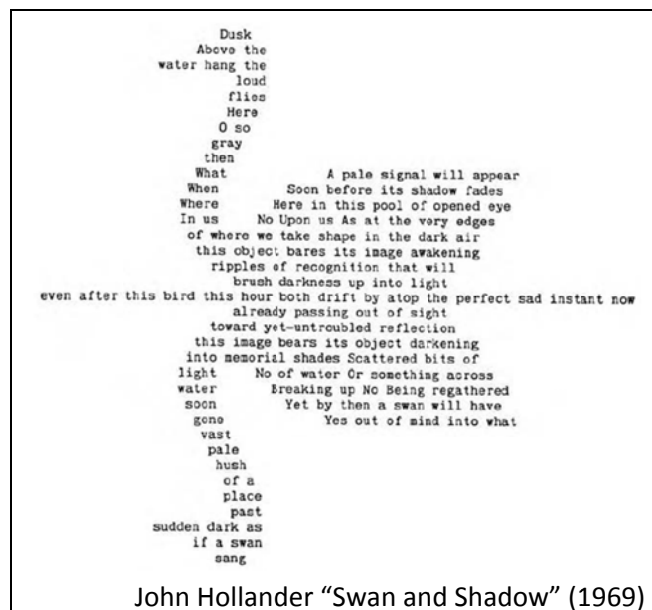
Subtypes of icon according to Peirce

Subtypes	Image	Diagram	Metaphor
How similarity is achieved	partakes of some of the simple qualities of its object	exhibits the abstract structure of its object	represents a parallelism in something else
Similarity in	quality	structure	association
Sign-Object (Sign) relationship	monadic immediate mimicry	dyadic structural or relational analogy	triadic representational parallelism
Manifestations in language	onomatopoeia sound symbolism	linearity, proximity, symmetry, asymmetry, etc.	metaphorical transfer from one domain to another

Table 1 summarizes the main characteristics of the subtypes of icons with possible manifestations in language as examples.

Source: Masako K. Hiraga "Diagrams and Metaphors: Iconic Aspects in Language" (1994)

What Is Iconicity?



Iconicity is the idea that a formal property in a sign corresponds through similarity to a property of its referent. The idea was entertained and then rejected by Plato in the *Cratylus*. Plato's conclusion was restated by Saussure as "l'arbitraire du signe" and has been a mainstay of all versions of structuralism, including notably generative grammar. Most standard textbooks dismiss the topic with examples of individual words: whale is a small word for a large animal; microorganism is a large word for a small one; QED. The relationship between form and meaning is considerably more interesting than this once we analyze complex signs and sign systems using the **notion of diagrammatic iconicity** introduced by Peirce (1932), or indeed, Saussure's closely related notion of motivation. A diagram is an attenuated icon if the relationship among its parts in some way approximates the relationship

among the elements to which these parts refer. Standard examples of the apparent diagrammatic iconicity of language then include the universal principle of isomorphism, which as a cognitive principle is largely responsible for the operation of grammatical analogy (i.e., "One form should correspond to one concept"). This can be thought of as the iconicity of paradigms. Other standard examples that correspond more to Saussure's motivation include the semantic compositionality of *dix-neuf* and other compounds; [...]; and the various uses of repetition and reduplication, such as XX typically means plurality, distributivity, iterativity, or emphasis of whatever is denoted by X. This type of motivation can be thought of as the iconicity of syntagms. It is now widely recognized that systematic correspondences do exist between linguistic diagrams and extralinguistic reality, but the nature of these correspondences is often debated.

Source: John Haiman "Iconicity" (2006)

Diagrammatic iconicity

The diagram [in Peirce's semiotics] is the second of three types of iconicity besides the *image*, which evinces a "sensuous resemblance" with its object (CP 2.279, c. 1895) and has "simple qualities" in common with it, and the *metaphor*, which represents its object by means of "a parallelism in something else" (CP 2.277, 1902). In contrast to the other two types of iconicity, the *diagram* is an icon of relations. Diagrams "represent the relations [...] of the parts of one thing by analogous relations in their own parts" (CP 2.277, 1902). Any map depicting a territory, such as the schematic of a metro is a diagram. The circuit diagram of an electrician or the floor plan of a building are similar examples of visual signs that depict relations, but among the diagrams there are also tree or box diagrams, charts, tables, visual aids, and many other graphic representations. The following algebraic equation formula is among Peirce's examples of a diagram

$$\begin{aligned} a[1]x + b[1]y &= n[1], \\ a[2]x + b[2]y &= n[2]. \end{aligned}$$

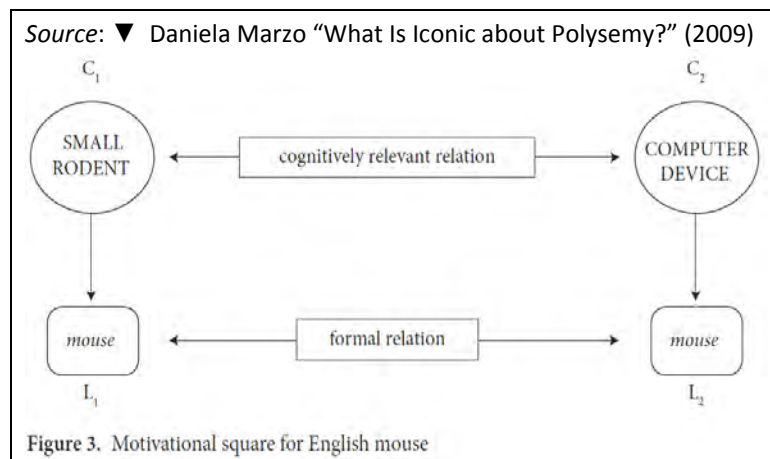
Formulae like these, written in "a regular array, especially when we put resembling letters for corresponding coefficients", are diagrammatic because they "make quantities look alike which are in analogous relations to the problem", and Peirce concludes: "In fact, every algebraical equation is an icon, in so far as it exhibits, by means of the algebraical signs (which are not themselves icons), the relations of the quantities concerned" (CP 2.282, 1893). It is evident that not only the constituents of compound numbers in "regular arrays" but also the recurrent morphemes in patterns of word formation and syntax are diagrams, according to this definition. A simple example of diagrammatic iconicity of this kind given by Waugh (1992: 13) is the following:

water watery waterfall
rain rainy raindrop
snow snowy snowshoe

The General Diagrammatic Iconicity of Language Structure. Diagrammatic iconicity is much more comprehensive than form-meaning isomorphism in language, the tendency that one and the same form tends to represent one and the same meaning. It is neither a particular verbal structure against the background of an otherwise arbitrary morphology and syntax of language nor a mere device of certain diagram-like rhetorical figures, such as parallelism, anaphora, or chiasm in a discourse world in which diagrams are the exception. Instead, verbal diagrams can be found at all levels of the language system. Even at the level of its monomorphemic lexical elements, whose composition reveals morphological arbitrariness and lack of motivation, words may be considered as diagrams. At this level, they are diagrams of their phonological form in the sense that a mental schema of the way the word is to be articulated is a mental diagram of the order, articulation, and stress pattern of its articulation.

All structures that Saussure describes as "relatively motivated" evince diagrammatic iconicity. The semantic elements which combine to a complex concept constitute a semantic diagram, for "a concept is not a mere jumble of particulars [...], it] is the living influence upon us of a diagram, or icon, with whose several parts are connected in thought an equal number of feelings or ideas" (CP 7.467, 1893). A complex word is thus a diagram of its semantic and morphological structure, a sentence is a diagram of its syntactic and semantic form, a text is a diagram of its topical and thematic structure, a narrative is a diagram of its plot, and a dissertation is diagram of the thesis it develops.

Ordo naturalis, the correspondence of narrative order to the order of the narrated events, as in



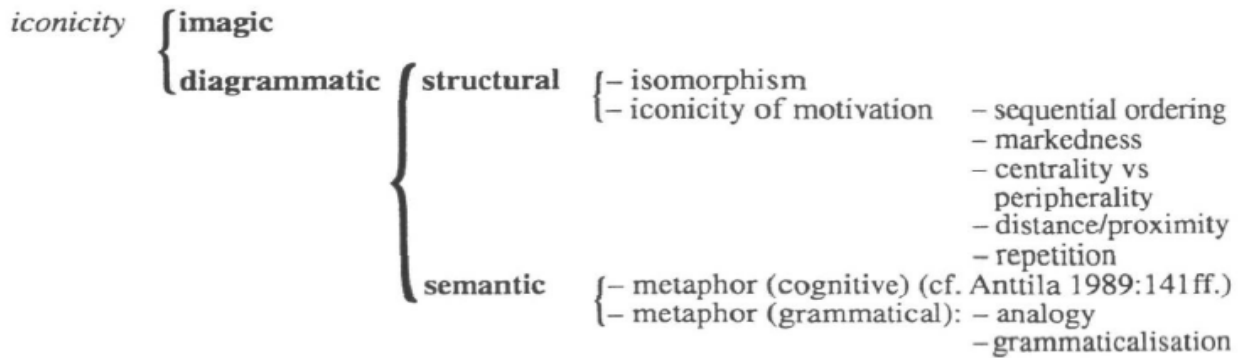
Jakobson's much-quoted *veni vidi vici*, exemplifies diagrammatic iconicity only *in addition* to the iconicity which any well-formed sentence evinces. The sentence *Mary married and had a baby* is syntactically as diagrammatic as is the sentence *Mary had a baby after she married*. The reason why the first of the two verbal representations of the same sequence of events sounds more natural is that it is twice diagrammatic, syntactically and semantically. The difference between both forms of representing the same event is thus one of the degrees of iconicity.

Source: Winfried Nöth "Semiotic Foundations of Natural Linguistics and Diagrammatic Iconicity" (2000)

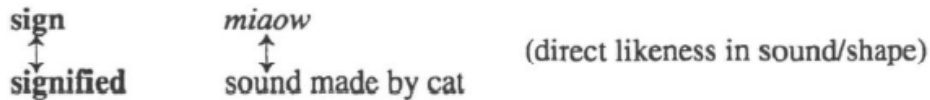
Imagic vs. Diagrammatic Iconicity

There is a basic difference between what I will call 'imagic iconicity' and 'diagrammatic iconicity':

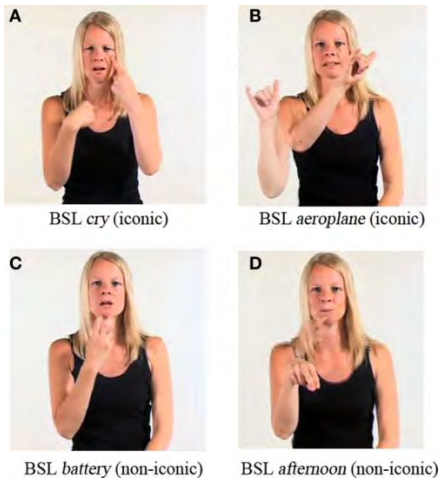
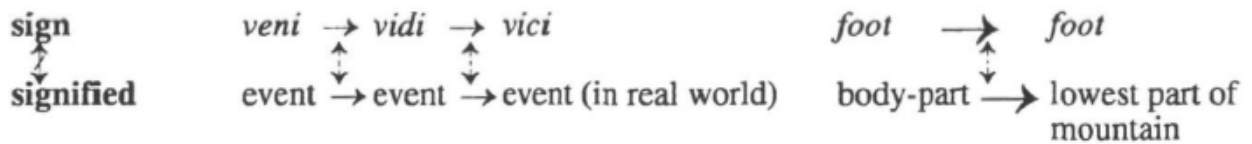
Figure 1. Types of iconicity



In imagic iconicity there is a direct, one to one relation between the sign and the signified, and this relation is iconic:



In diagrammatic iconicity, such a direct, vertical relation is missing, instead there exists an iconic link between the horizontal relation(s) on the level of the sign and the horizontal relations on the level of the signified:



Examples of iconic signs meaning *cry* (A) and *aeroplane* (B) and non-iconic signs meaning *battery* (C) and *afternoon* (D) in BSL.

Source: Pamela Perniss et al. "Iconicity as a General Property of Language" (2010)

Thus, the temporal relation between the events taking place in the real world may be iconically reflected in the way in which the signs naming these events are *ordered* on the linguistic level. Similarly, in semantic iconicity, e.g. metaphor, it is the semantic relation, the similarity between a body-object such as 'foot' and the lower part of a mountain, that leads to the same sign being used for both. Thus, although it is generally true today that most linguistic symbols (be they words – or more strictly free morphemes – or sounds) are essentially arbitrary, this is not so when one considers the combinations of morphemes and the order of words in the clause. In fact the higher the linguistic level, the less arbitrary language becomes: "Arbitrary and conventional is a fitting description of distinctive sounds, less so of words, even less of sentences, and beyond that scarcely fits at all. The larger the scope, the looser and less arbitrary the system" (Bolinger 1980:18). Thus, the moment one combines two arbitrary morphemes, like *shoe* and *box*, the word *shoebox* is no longer arbitrary, because it has a relation in form and meaning to both 'shoe' and 'box'. In other words, a 'shoebox' cannot be called a 'snailbox' or a 'shoelace'. Thus, the important and pervasive type of iconicity in language has to do with the *arrangement* of signs.

Source: Olga Fischer "Iconicity in Language and Literature: Language Innovation and Language Change" (1997)

“sip sip go”



Starbucks Ad, 2015

Iconicity in Language

Typical examples of non-arbitrary language which had been suggested before were either onomatopoeic words (e.g. *click*, *buzz*, *meow*, etc.), which are now generally considered to be of peripheral importance in languages or instances of sound symbolism, whereby parts of the sound of a word or expression are associative of the state of affairs or object referred to. For instance, the repetition of nasal sounds in "**and murmuring of innumerable bees**" (a line taken from Lord Tennyson's *The Princess*) vividly renders the humming sounds produced by the bees. [...]

Consider, for instance, the phenomenon of **onomatopoeia**. The similarity between onomatopoeic words and the objects to which they refer is most often immediately obvious, at least for onomatopoeic words in one's native language. The latter remark is not unimportant, as the meaning of onomatopoeic words is not as readily accessible as might seem at first sight. That **Japanese *nya-nya* refers to the sound made by a cat is unclear to non-native speakers of Japanese**, unless of course one is informed of the meaning of *nya-nya* in the first place – which would, however, involve a semiotic process of a non-iconic kind. We can conclude, therefore, that the same problem as in pictorial semiotics applies to linguistic iconicity: is the attested similarity functional and foundational or is it derived by comparative

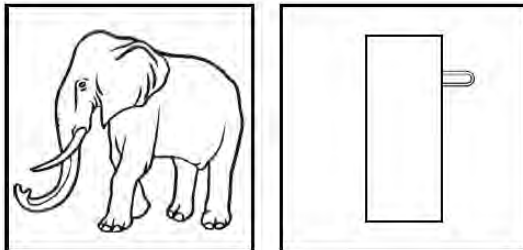
reasoning and thus merely of secondary importance or even coincidental? To answer this question [...] Sonesson suggests making a distinction between two kinds of iconicity: **primary and secondary iconicity**.

Source: Ludovic De Cuypere & Klaas Willems "Naturalness and Iconicity in Language" (2008)

Primary and Secondary Iconicity

However, we do have to learn that, in certain situations, and according to particular conventions, objects which are normally used for what they are, become signs of themselves, of some of their properties, or of the class of which they form part: a car at a car exhibition, the stone axe in the museum show-case, the tin can in the shop window, the emperor's impersonator when the emperor is away, and a urinal (if it happens to be Duchamp's "Fountain", or Sherrie Levine's paraphrase thereof) at an art exhibition. A convention is needed to tell us that they are signs – and what they are signs of.

Sonesson illustrates primary iconicity with pictures, and secondary iconicity with so-called 'doodles'; simple drawings whose ground becomes evident only once it is pointed out:



A picture of an elephant (primary iconicity), and a doodle showing a person playing trombone in a phonebooth (secondary iconicity).

Source: Felix Ahlner "Cross-Modal Iconicity (2009)

We shall use the term *secondary iconicity* to designate an iconic relation between an expression and a content, which can only be perceived once the sign function, and a particular variety of it, is known to obtain; that is, our knowledge about the existence of a convention is a condition upon the discovery of the iconic ground. The problem then becomes how to account for the possibility of there being a *primary iconicity*, that is, a case in which it is iconicity itself that is the condition upon the discovery of the sign function, that which must be perceived for the sign relation to be known to exist.

Among numerous apocryphal stories of tribes failing to recognize pictures as such, there is in fact one verified case in which the group (the Me' studied by Deregowski) had never seen paper, and was therefore led to focus on the material *per se*. When pictures were

instead printed on cloth, the Me' immediately recognized the sign function and perceived the pictures. To these people paper, being an unknown material, acquired such a prominence that it was impossible for them to see it as a vehicle for something else; on the other hand, it is precisely because paper is so trivial a material to us, that we have no trouble construing instances of it as pictorial signifiers.

Source: Göran Sonesson "The Ecological Foundations of Iconicity" (1997)

Sound Symbolism: Ideophones

Picture a late afternoon in the mountainside village of Akpafu-Mempeasem, eastern Ghana. A handful of people hang around in the shade of a mango tree when a farmer stops by to offer them some fruit for sale. A lively discussion ensues about the quality of the goods. One person notes that the cassava is nicely smooth *sinisinisinini* and that the avocado has the perfect oblong egg-like shape *sadzobwaw*; another agrees, but suspects that the banana, unripe as it is, would make one's teeth feel chalky *titiritii*. The farmer grins and leaves the fruit. Payment will follow later. The language spoken is Siwu; the words in bold are ideophones.

Ideophones have proven easy to identify, but difficult to define. The most widespread definition of ideophones is still ▼ Doke's (1935) semantic characterization, which was however self-consciously limited to

Ideophone (Idéophone) [Ideophon]

A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, color, sound, smell, action, state or intensity.

Source: C.M. Doke "Bantu Linguistic Terminology" (1935)

Bantu languages and which suffers from various other limitations. Since then, word classes identifiable as ideophones have been found in many of the world's languages. Indeed ideophony has been claimed to be a universal or near-universal feature of human language, although not all languages manifest it to the same extent. A proper definition of ideophones is essential as a reference point for cross-linguistic research and as a guide for understanding the forms of ideophones, their sensory

meanings, and their interactional uses. Ideophones are defined as *marked words that depict sensory imagery*.

Let me briefly elaborate on the elements of the definition. Ideophones are *marked* in the simple sense that they stand out from other words in several ways, including special phonotactics, expressive morphology, syntactic aloofness, and prosodic foregrounding. Ideophones are *words* (as opposed to, say, involuntary cries or nonce words), that is, they are minimal free forms that are conventionalized and have specifiable meanings. Ideophones are *vivid*, turning speaker into performer by transporting the narrated event into the speech event. Ideophones are *depictions*; that is, their mode of signification is primarily depictive rather than descriptive. Depiction implies iconicity, a perceived resemblance between form and meaning and indeed many ideophones are iconic (sound-symbolic) at several levels. Finally, ideophones depict *sensory events*, a shorthand for a broad spectrum of perceptual impressions that may include sensory perceptions, inner feelings and sensations.

Sources: Mark Dingemans "Ideophones in Unexpected Places" (2009); "The Meaning and Use of Ideophones in Siwu" (2011); "Advances in the Cross-Linguistic Study of Ideophones" (2012)

Examples of Ideophones



"Jaan!" in Hakui (An example of Japanese sound symbolism) Source: Wikipedia

ideophones proved to be that, besides emulating sounds, they can represent image schemas and mimetic schemas. The mimetic, manner-depicting function of ideophones is illustrated by (a) *fras!* 'bang' or 'ripping sound', (b) *drus!* 'a sudden vertical movement' and (c) *hop!* 'any action involving a sudden change in position of the body or a body part'. ►

An example from spontaneous spoken Bulgarian:

*fras!*¹ *ednata obuwka fras! drugata obuwka*
bang one.the shoe bang other.the shoe

No translation of (▲) is offered because it is difficult to translate such a verbless structure which **depicts** how, for example, a teenager takes off his shoes, throwing them one by one with a bang. In contrast,

the rela-ted verb, *frasna* 'hit, bang', **describes** the same situation. A peculiarity of Bulgarian

a. *i polata mi fraaas!*
and skirt.the my fraaas
'and my skirt (went) rrrrip!'

b. *puf!*³ *i drus! na dupe*
puf and drus on bottom
'hiss and down (she went) on (her) bottom'

c. *i hop! pod krevata*
and hop under bed.the
'and there! under the bed (she went)'

Source: Mira Kovatcheva "An Unrecognized Class of Words in Bulgarian and Their Word-Formation" (2014)

The Norm-al Undressing: Barthes' Striptease

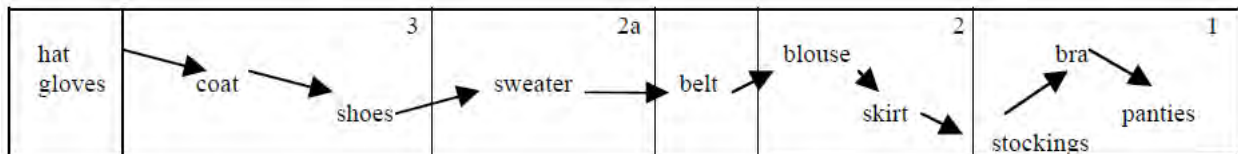
Striptease – at least Parisian striptease – is based on a contradiction: Woman is desexualized at the very moment when she is stripped naked. We may therefore say that we are dealing in a sense with a spectacle based on fear, or rather on the pretense of fear, as if eroticism here went no further than a sort of delicious terror, whose ritual signs have only to be announced to evoke at once the idea of sex and its conjuration.

Source: Roland Barthes "Mythologies" (1957)

Before we go on, we must consider Barthes' (1957) classical text on the strip-tease: the strip-tease, he says, or at least its Parisian variant, is based on a contradiction (◀). This is so, according to Barthes, because, at the beginning of the act, the woman is disguised as a Chinese woman, a vamp, or what have you, or she is adorned with feathers, furs, and the like, and the effects of these fittings remain, *even when they are taken off*. The supposedly "artistic" dancing is not intended to be erotic, but is there to out-distance the very fact of nudity; which is proven *a contrario* by what happens in the amateur competitions, where the awkward

movements of the participants *do* make their nakedness apparent, and even embarrassing. To all this, it may be retorted that [...] Barthes' evaluation really supposes an implicit, everyday assumption, which it is designed to deny, according to which the successive uncovering of the female body amounts to an increasing sexualization; and it is precisely this assumption, which we are out here to formulate in a precise way. [...]

Now let us call the 0 layer of clothing the **intimate** level, layer number one the **personal** level, layer 2 the **social** level, and layer 3 the **public** level. Given these levels, there is a first rhetorical operation, which consists in introducing incoherences in the clothing syntagms, both inside each layer, and between the layers. Thus, for instance, when Klossowski's wife is depicted, on one of Zuccas's photographs, dressed in a fur cap (public layer) and undergarments (personal layer), this is really a double rhetorical operation applied to the clothing scheme, first because the outermost elements pertain to different layers, and second because the head is on a public level, while the rest of the body remains on the personal level. [...] Suppose that the norm-al strip-tease takes on the shape suggested by the figure below:



The norm-al undressing scheme

What we have tried to do in the figure above, is to render the different layers of clothing involved in a norm-al act of undressing, as well as the shifts from upper to lower body, and vice-versa. Inside each layer, the rule is, it seems, to expose the most private parts only in the end. One obvious rhetorical operation consists in the permutation of the order between the body parts: taking the panties off before the bra (a state description contained in many pornographic pictures) is undoubtedly to unveil "the best" already at the beginning, but it also creates a tension in relation to the norm-al order of undressing, which in itself seems to carry erotic weight. There is a possibility of permuting hat, gloves, and shoes, also outside the layers to which they pertain, since usually no other clothing layers occupy the same bodily slot (the stockings do just that, to be sure, in relation to the shoes, but the distance of potential layers is appreciable).

Gloves are often kept on until the very end of the strip-tease act; what function may then this accomplish? It could be an outcrop of the common tendency in pornography to enmesh its improbable situations in some more probable ones, that is, in some everyday scheme of interpretation [...]. In this case, the gloves, just like Ms. Klossowski's fur cap, stand for the real woman the man may meet every day on the street, while the rest of the body is made to represent the pornographic utopia. Another interpretation, which does not necessarily exclude the first one, is that the experience of all the layers of clothing which norm-ally separate the fur cap or the gloves from the near-nudity of the rest of the body creates an additional tension, as if all the degrees of eroticness could be run through in a single moment. [...] The undressing has, as always, the effect of segmenting the body anew, confirming its boundaries, but the result only becomes visible after several operations have been accomplished, only some of which we can observe: the erotic loading to all appearance runs through many clothing layers at once.

Source: Göran Sonesson "Methods and Models in Pictorial Semiotics" (1988)

Iconicity in Action: “Mr. Yuk Is Mean, Mr. Yuk Is Green”



Mr. Yuk is more than a sticker. The communications program—for which the Yuk imagery is the most prominent feature—was conceived in frustration and born in tragedy. In the early 1970s, children in Pittsburgh appeared to be inadvertently ingesting poison at a higher rate than the national average. Some health officials surmised that this tragedy was occurring, at least in part, because of the *confusion* caused by the Pittsburgh Pirates logo, part of which contained the skull and crossbones—the buccaneers’ Jolly Roger—once the calling card of sea-roving bandits. To most people, the skull and crossbones was a nearly universal ideograph for “poison”—but not necessarily to children in

Pittsburgh. In fact, the city’s tiny “bucco” fans may actually have been drawn to materials sporting a skull-and-crossbones logo. Thus, Pittsburgh medical officials wanted to develop a replacement for the “visual noise” that confused some of Pittsburgh’s children. Enter Mr. Yuk, part of a campaign that attempted to replace the Jolly Roger as the symbol for poison, at least locally.

It was the design of the Mr. Yuk “look,” his unforgettable appearance, that resulted in *People* magazine profiles, Super Bowl appearances, and invitations to national TV shows. Like any new brand or star, Yuk was built, tested, rebuilt, and launched from the ground up. Mr. Yuk’s look was derived from consumers’ advice, some adult, but mostly from children. Taking the reactions of 5-year-olds, Yuk’s graphic creators forged an image that has lasted for 40 years. From the mouths of babes, Yuk was born out of the coupling of two remarkable and seemingly incompatible entities, the Jolly Roger and the Smiley Face.

Even the most “natural” looking icon is mediated through social convention and subject to the historically specific interpretative habits of its users. Consider the skull-and-crossbones, used for much of the last century to mark poisons. Some children interpreted the icon through an alternate set of conventions to mean “pirate food,” and a concerted effort was made to replace it with another conventional icon, “Mister Yucky.”

Source: Bruce Mannheim “Iconicity” (1999)



Skull & Crossbones = Pirates or Poison?

While the dominant visual gene of the Smiley Face is more obvious in Mr. Yuk, the recessive quality of the Jolly Roger is equally important. Thus, Yuk grew out of a uniquely Pittsburgh need to replace the Pittsburgh Pirates logo, part of which visually sampled the skull and crossbones, the traditional and dominant symbol of pirates and poison. Of the handful of pirate symbols that were in use in the 17th and 18th centuries, the skull and crossbones was the one that stuck. Swiped from popular medieval funeral imagery, the skull-and-crossbones icon was meant to put the fear of death in onlookers. By the time the bloody buccaneers receded in the 19th century, their icon had been evolving yet again into the West’s most prevalent ideograph for poison, the image to this day associated with death.

If we jump ahead another 100 years or so to the 20th century, and to where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio, we would find ourselves at the only place in the world where the image of the Jolly Roger meant neither bad guys nor bad stuff. As part of the communications program for the poison center, Moriarty needed new iconography to replace an evolving semiotic—and he needed it immediately. “We were in the middle of a war,” said Dr. Richard Moriarty, the “father of Mr. Yuk.”

Source: Christopher McCarrick & Tim Ziaukas “Still Scary After All These Years: Mr. Yuk Nears” (2009)

Video: “Mr. Yuk Commercial,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wLSONa3gKIQ>

Linguistic Differentiation: Semiotic Properties

Linguistic differentiation – the labeling of a way of speaking as different from or opposed to some other way of speaking — involves three kinds of semiotic processes, Irvine and Gal maintain: (1) iconization; (2) fractal recursivity; and (3) erasure. Other linguistic anthropologists have begun to identify these processes in many different linguistic and geopolitical situations, so they are important to summarize here (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37-39).

- **Iconization.** Recall from chapter I the discussion of Peirce’s three kinds of signs: *icons*, *indexes*, and *symbols*. An *icon* is a sign that refers to its object by means of similarity, such as how a “choo choo” refers to a train, or a photograph of a person relates to the person herself. *Iconization* is a process in which linguistic features appear to be similar in some way to individual speakers or whole groups. In the case of the Senegalese languages discussed by Irvine and Gal, for example, Sereer was (mistakenly) thought by linguists to be a “primitive” language with extremely simple vocabulary and grammatical forms; this characterization was applied to the speakers of the language as well, who were, Irvine and Gal report, also considered “primitive.”

- **Fractal recursivity.** When an opposition or contrast that operates at one level is projected onto another level, Irvine and Gal call this process *fractal recursivity*. An excellent example of this is provided by Stacy Pigg, who describes how her inquiries about shamans (traditional healers) in Nepal led her to a deeper understanding of how shamans are “handy symbols in the construction of ‘modernity’” (Pigg 1996:161). Whenever Pigg asked a Nepali about shamans in the area, the Nepali would claim that local shamans in that particular area (wherever she was) were not really that traditional; for “real” shamans, Pigg was always instructed to go to a place that was more “remote,” “traditional,” or “backward” (1996:160). Eventually, Pigg realized that her respondents were constructing themselves as more “modern” than the other places they mentioned. Just as she herself represented to them the “modern” or “developed” West in opposition to the “backward” Nepal (and I can confirm that the Nepali terms for “developed” and “backward” are often used by Nepalis themselves in this way), so too did city dwellers represent themselves as more “developed” in opposition to villagers. In turn, village dwellers, no matter how remote the village, would always present themselves as more “developed” than villagers living even further from the capital city, Kathmandu. This is a perfect example of Irvine and Gal’s *fractal recursivity*.

- **Erasure.** Language ideologies can render certain linguistic features, activities, or even people invisible. Irvine and Gal call this process *erasure*. In the Senegalese example described above, nineteenth-century linguists ignored or simplified complex grammatical features in Sereer because these complexities did not fit their preconceived notion of the language as “primitive.” The multilingualism of many Senegalese at the time and the overlapping nature of the linguistic terrain were also subject to erasure by nineteenth-century linguists. Similarly, the monoglot ideology dominant in the United States makes the actual linguistic diversity of the country invisible — another example of erasure. “Because a linguistic ideology is a totalizing vision, elements that do not fit its interpretive structure — that cannot be seen to fit — must either be ignored or transformed,” Irvine and Gal argue (2000:38).

The Sociohistory of Clicks in Southern Bantu

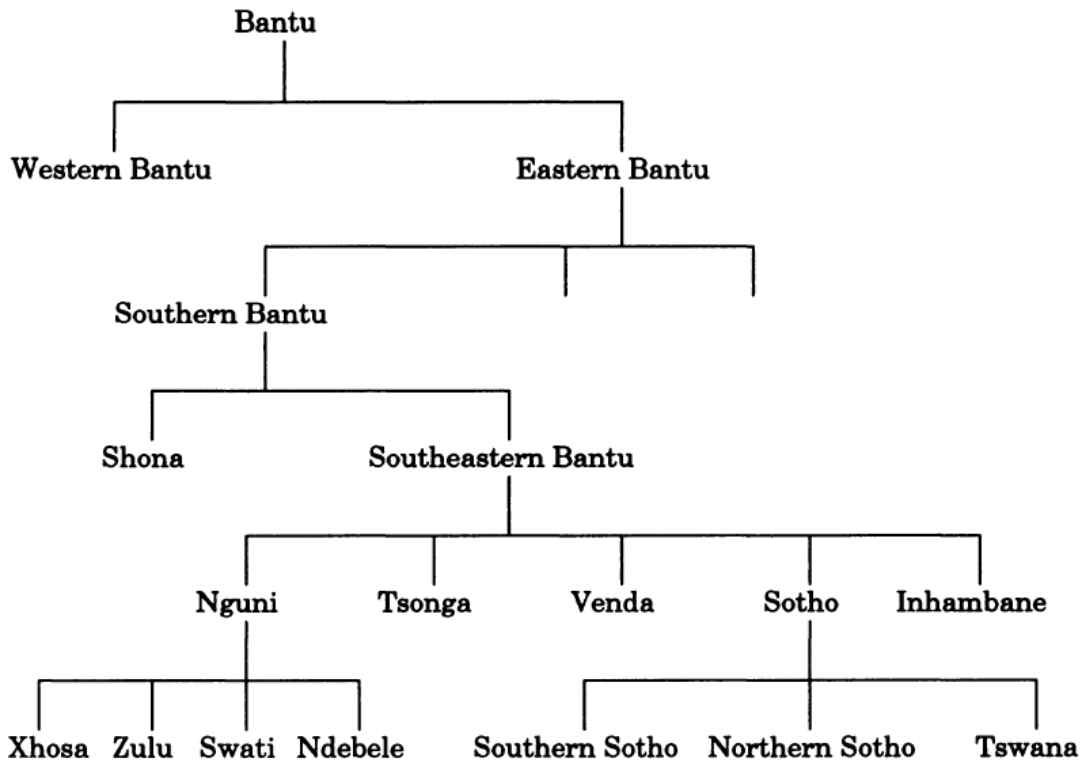


Figure 1. Relations among Southern Bantu languages.

Xhosa Clicks

that approximately one-sixth of Xhosa words and one-seventh of Zulu words contain clicks (Bourquin 1951; Lanham 1964). The vast majority of those words are of demonstrable or *presumed* Khoisan origin, although there are examples of clicks substituting for inherited Bantu consonants (cf. 2.3, below).⁴

Consonants	-	+	-	+	-	+
Implosive stops	ɓ			ɕ	k	
Voiceless stops	p	t	ts̥	ty̥		kx̥
Voiced stops	b	d	dz̥*	dy̥	g	g̥ g̥ g̥
Aspirated stops	ph̥	th̥	tsh̥*	tyh̥	kh̥	h̥ h̥ h̥
Voiceless spirants	f	s		š		x̥ h̥*
Voiced spirants	v	z				L̥ f̥
Nonnasal resonants	w	l		y		
Nasal resonants	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	ŋ̥ ŋ̥ ŋ̥
Aspirated nasals	m̥h̥*			ɲh̥		ɲh̥ ɲh̥ ɲh̥

Figure 2. The consonantal system of Xhosa, indicating inherited and borrowed elements (Lanham 1964:288). (Correlation according to affrication indicated by +/-; low frequency indicated by *.)

Source: Robert K. Herbert "The Relative Markedness of Click Sounds" (1990)

Zulu Hlonipha (Respect) Vocabulary

Zulu hlonipha (respect) vocabulary examples

	Ordinary	Hlonipha
(1)		
graze, weave	<i>aluka</i>	<i>acuka</i>
be dejected	<i>jaba</i>	<i>gxaba</i>
affair	<i>indaba</i>	<i>injuso</i>
hippopotamus	<i>imvubu</i>	<i>incubu</i>
lion	<i>imbube</i>	<i>injube</i>
house	<i>indlu</i>	<i>incumba</i>
our	<i>-ihlu</i>	<i>-iisu</i>
thy	<i>-kho</i>	<i>-to</i>
(2)		
my father	<i>ubaba</i>	<i>utsatsa</i>
brother-in-law	<i>umlamu</i>	<i>umcamu</i>
chief	<i>inkosi</i>	<i>inqobo, ingotsana (dim.)</i>
(3)		
swing	<i>lenga</i>	<i>cenga</i>
annoy	<i>nenga</i>	<i>cenga</i>

Source: Doke & Vilakazi 1958

Note: *c, q, x* = clicks (*gx* = voiced click)

b = implosive bilabial stop

Source: Judith T. Irvine & Susan Gal "Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation" (2000)

Click Production

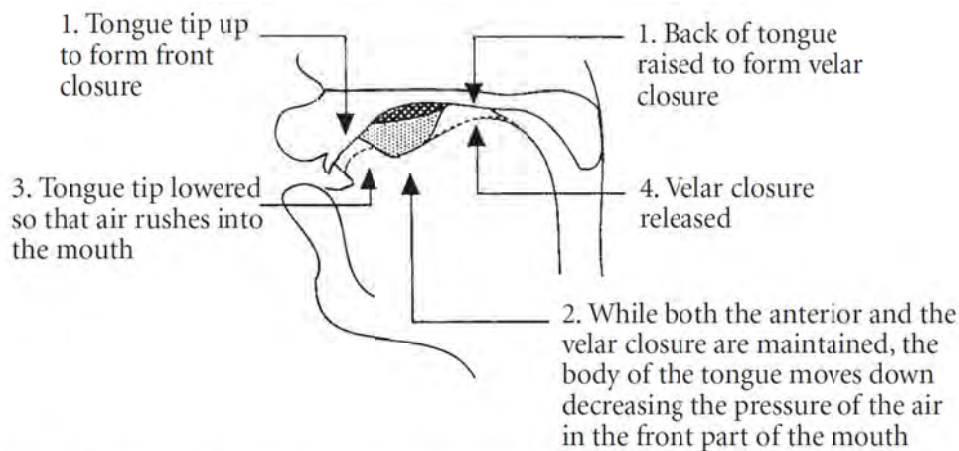
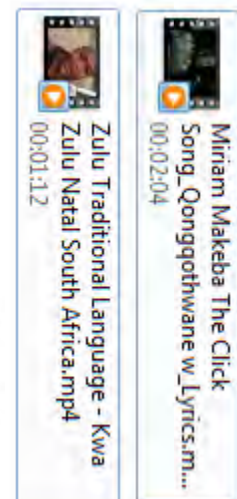


Figure 6. Click production (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 247)



Source: G. Tucker Childs "An Introduction to African Languages" (2003)

Linguistic Ideologies in Quichua-Speaking Ecuador

With Spanish being both the official and the dominant language of the country, Quichua is a proportionately large minority language¹ and is generally viewed by many (within the majority non-indigenous culture) as being spoken by the “low prestige,” “backwards,” or “peasant” portions of society. (Spanish was, in former years, equated with “speaking Christian” or, more generally, “being civilized.”) The word *runa* (‘person’ in Quichua) has even been lexicalized as a (Spanish) verb form which translates roughly as ‘mess up,’ which is a further indication of some of the attitudes regarding the Runa (Quichua) people. Similarly, these sorts of ideas have been extended to the language itself, also being considered “not good for anything.” In addition, many people expressed their reaction to someone having an “indigenous sounding ‘r’” in their Spanish² as being “uneducated” or “from the countryside,” or just “not speaking good Spanish.”

Examples of some other negative statements made regarding the Quichua in Ecuador:

(1) *El Quichua es diferente. No se utiliza la “o.”* // Quichua is different. It doesn’t utilize the (letter) “o.”

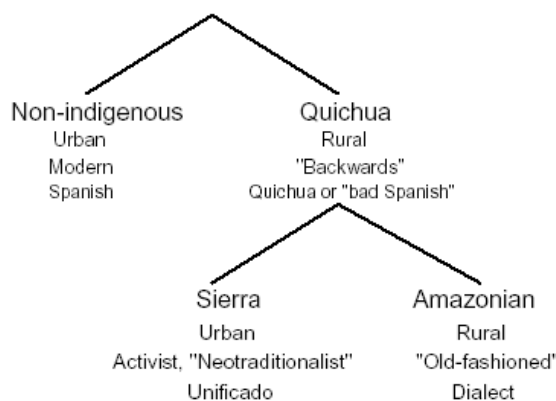
(2) *El quichua es un dialecto sin gramática.* // Quichua is a dialect without grammar. (Haboud 1998, p. 197)

(3) *Ya no hay indios. No tienen cultura... ni hablan Quichua. Son campesinos, no más.* // There aren’t any indians anymore. They don’t have a culture... nor do they speak Quichua. They’re just peasants.

Perhaps the most extreme instantiation of erasure, the statement contained in example (3) marginalizes the Quichua people (and language) into complete non-existence. In example (1), the statement relegates all of the different characteristics of Quichua to the fact that it does not have a certain vowel, thus erasing via non-acknowledgement all of the other complexities of the language. Example (2) also speaks to the ideology that Quichua is “simple”; first by placing it on the level of dialect rather than language, and second by characterizing it as not having any grammatical structure. These statements all involve the iconization of certain forms (or of an entire linguistic code) as being marginal: either “uneducated,” “backwards,” or without structure. This type of iconization (and erasure) is pervasive in linguistic ideologies that reflect the marginalization of “other.” [...]

The diagrammatic representation in Figure 1 perhaps best explicates the imposed dichotomous relationships between the non-indigenous and the Quichua, on one hand, and the Sierra Quichua and the Amazonian Quichua, on the other. The same ideological dichotomies that are found in the larger context of non-indigenous society in Ecuador are mapped onto the indigenous communities. These attributed differences are expressed and maintained (and, in some cases, created) through the pervasive ideologies of both the majority and the minority (indigenous) populations of Ecuador. The ways in which the linguistic ideologies reflect this can be readily observed in everyday metalinguistic discourse.

Table 1. Fractal recursivity



Through the process of iconization, the linguistic forms or features of a language are made to be iconic of the social identities of the speakers themselves. This furthermore creates or allows for the existence of the “other” (or, conversely, for the existence of “one”) in both indigenous and non-indigenous contexts. Within the indigenous context, while a speaker of Unified Quichua may be seen by other speakers of Unified Quichua as an educated or powerful individual for using the lexemes and structures particular to that variety, she may be seen by speakers of dialectal Quichua as a “neotraditionalist,” or as someone who is not *really* indigenous. On the other hand, speakers who utilize or emphasize dialect features in their speech are in some communities thought to be “more authentic” or “more

indigenous” than other speakers. How these features are iconized (and to what degree) is dependent solely upon the prevailing ideologies of the given community. While these semiotic properties can be observed in essentially all linguistic communities to varying degrees, they shed necessary light on languages such as Quichua. Although it has a designated and singular minority language status, and despite the movement towards standardization, it encompasses a decidedly heterogeneous population of speakers and dialects, which is in turn reflected in the pervasive ideologies.

Source: Mary Antonia Andronis “Linguistic Ideologies and Standardization in Quichua-Speaking Ecuador” (2003)

Macèdoine of Languages:

The 1990s Diplomacy of Linguistic Differentiation in Macedonia and Bulgaria

Macedonia was imagined [...] as a place of chaos and confusion, a veritable fruit salad – inspiring the French culinary term *macèdoine* – of peoples, religions, and languages.

Judith Irvine & Susan Gal

The following notes have the limited objective to bring into the discussion of the ideologies of linguistic differentiation, as explored by Judith Irvine and Susan Gal, some new examples coming from Macedonia and Bulgaria. Irvine and Gal have identified three widespread semiotic procedures, by which ideologies typically '(mis)recognize' linguistic differences, namely, iconicity, recursiveness, and erasure.¹ The first procedure, *iconicity*, concerns the essentialization of indexical links between a linguistic phenomenon and its social images, i.e., the (mis)recognition of indexicalities as "natural" icons of the social groups or the activities they point to.



Fig.1: "Macedonie" salad, €12000
Rome, 2001

The second procedure, termed by Irvine and Gal *recursiveness* (or *fractal recursivity*), deals with the repeated application of a given opposition that is available at some level of relationship, onto another levels. The opposition can be projected "up" and "down," within domain and across domains, nesting ever newest contrasts in what might be called a *matreshka* (Russian doll) manner. It is this process of increasing differences through recurrent fractalization, Irvine and Gal argue, that is actively employed in the making of new solidarities, and in the production of boundaries between groups or between linguistic varieties. There might be a question, however, of whether fractal recursivity is an independent semiotic variable on the same level with iconicity, or whether it represents a *subcategory* (a special type) of iconic relationship, or whether -- still -- it is a technique through which iconicity operates. It seems also possible to treat fractals in terms of iconicity that comes in many different levels, and multiplies itself in an endless metonymic progression.

Erasure, the third semiotic procedure involved in language differentiation, may be defined as purposeful "blindness" (which may lead to actual eradication) for everything that problematizes the linguistic "order" as it is envisioned in a particular ideological scheme. The specifically *semiotic* properties of this process can be expressed in terms of *latent indexicality*, where a presupposed indexical connection is de-stabilized, or twisted, or even driven close to

¹ See Judith T. Irvine & Susan Gal. *Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, ed. Paul V. Kroskrity, pp. 35-83. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 2000; cf. Susan Gal & Judith T. Irvine. "The Boundaries of Languages and Disciplines: How Ideologies Construct Difference." *Social Research* 62/4 (1995): 967-1001.

its zero-point of pointing (the pun is not intended), but is still available for second-order reactivations.

Proceeding from the theoretical framework developed by Irvine and Gal, let me introduce additional evidence of how the three semiotic procedures are self-consciously used as diplomatic arguments in the so-called “linguistic dispute” between Bulgaria and Macedonia in the mid-1990s. As it is known, Bulgaria was the first country officially to recognize (1992) the independent Macedonian *state*, denying at the same time the existence of Macedonian nation

and language. In the following years more than 20 economic, political, and military agreements between the two countries were prepared but not signed, since the documents needed to include an article regarding the languages in which they are issued.² Bulgaria argued that it cannot sign international documents “in Bulgarian and in one of its dialects,” and the Macedonians insisted that their language is spoken not only in Macedonia but in Bulgaria as



Fig.3: Translating “Welcome” from Bulgarian to Macedonian (Bulgarian cartoon, *Duma*, Feb. 22, 1999)

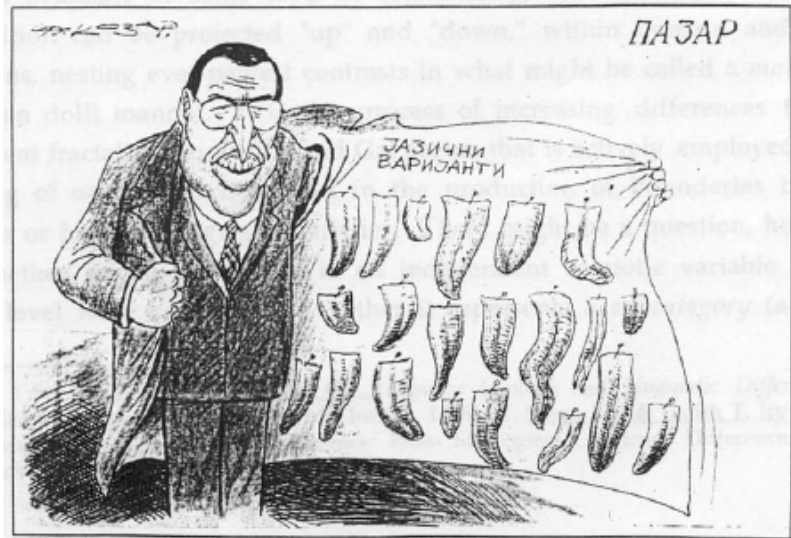


Fig.2: “Language Variants on the Market” (Macedonian cartoon)

well, a claim that was interpreted as irredentist aspiration toward the Pirin region. Both sides assumed, in other words, that a given denotational code automatically indexes the national affiliation of all its speakers, the question being only which one is the nation.

In the process, all kinds of (quasi) linguistic arguments were employed to propagate the uniqueness of selected linguistic features, instantly turning them into *iconic* representations of the respective nations. In most cases this procedure was combined with the techniques of erasure (the “superficial” features were simply ignored) and fractal recursivity. The Macedonian officials insisted, for example, that Bulgarian and

² A number of diplomatic solutions were discussed, but none was adopted (cf. a Macedonian cartoon, fig. 2, showing the Bulgarian President as he is trying to sell on the diplomatic “market” his “unacceptable” propositions, called here “mother-tongue variants”).

Macedonian are almost mutually unintelligible, while Bulgarian linguists were quick to declare that the official language in Macedonia is indeed a *foreign* language for most of the Macedonians themselves. (This “narcissism of the small differences” is the topic of a 1998 cartoon [fig. 4], in which the Bulgarian and the Macedonian Presidents cannot understand each other over the Kosovo crisis, because of saying “Fire” with different vowel stress: *Pozhàr* vs. *Pòzhar*.)

Recursiveness is especially salient when the linguistic conflict between the two countries is mapped out onto the internal politics in every one of them. In Bulgaria the language quarrel with Macedonia is regularly employed by the two major political parties, the Union of the Democratic Forces and the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party, for mutual accusations, ranging from lack

of political pragmatism to national treason. The same process is evident in Macedonia, where the newly elected (1998) government is accused by the President of being “pro-Bulgarian,” and of allegedly planning an orthographic reform that will bring the written language closer to the Bulgarian standard (cf. fig. 5, showing the prime-minister of “MakedoniЯ” and the President of “MakedoniJA”).



Fig.4: “Fire – Pozhàr vs. Pòzhar” (Bulgarian cartoon)

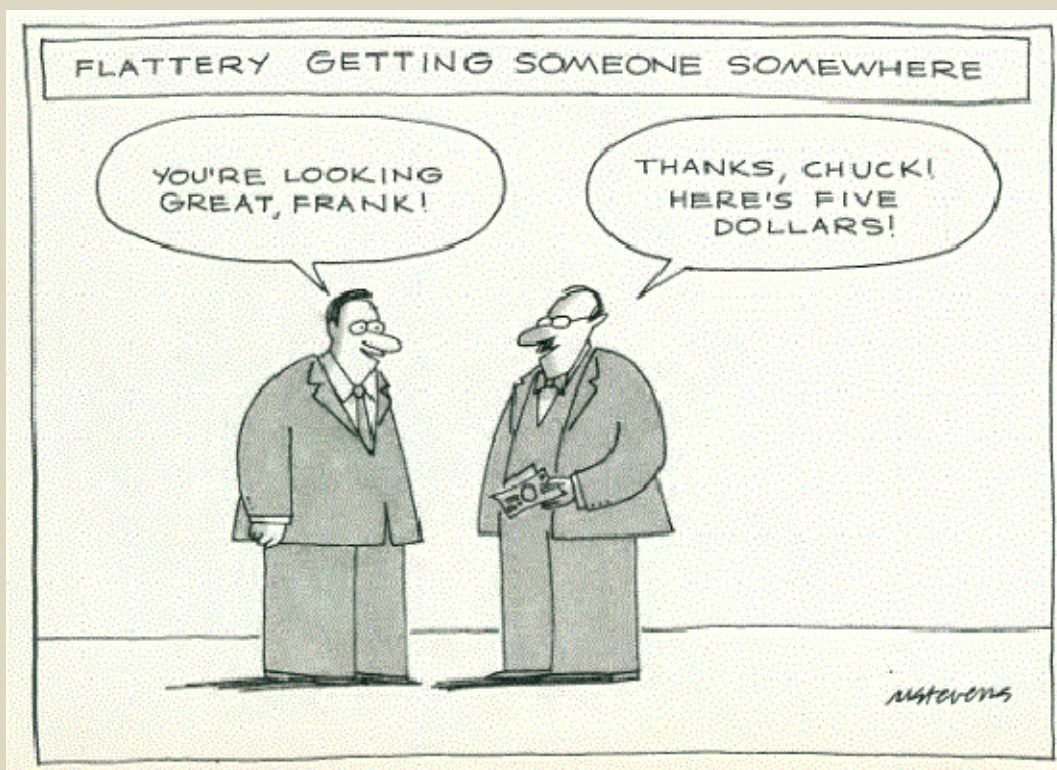


Fig.5: “MakedoniЯ vs. MakedoniJA” (Macedonian cartoon)

As evident from this discussion, the linguistic dispute between Bulgaria and Macedonia is not due to two contradictory language ideologies that compete with one another. What we are dealing with is rather one and the same ideology, focused on the nationalist holy trinity of language, nation, and state, and shared by both parties, but approached from two, as it happened, *opposite* perspectives.

Source: Petko Ivanov “Macèdoine of Languages: The 1990s Diplomacy of Linguistic Differentiation in Macedonia and Bulgaria” (2001)

Linguistic Markets *(Bourdieu)*



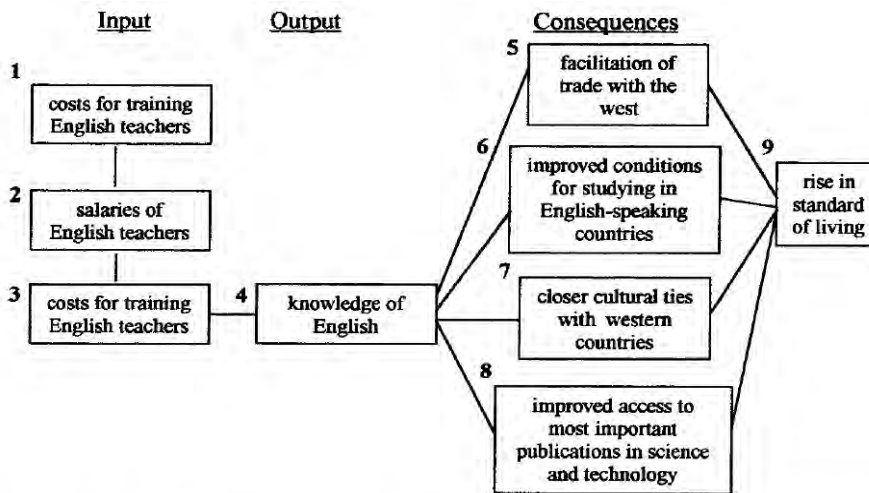
Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Bourdieu's Forms of Capital



Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as **economic capital**, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as **cultural capital**, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as **social capital**, made up of social obligations (“connections”), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.

Source: Pierre Bourdieu “The Forms of Capital” (1986)



The costs are listed in boxes 1–3 and the main benefit of the alternative is given in box 4 (‘knowledge of English’). The direct and indirect consequences of the alternative are summarised in boxes 5–9.

Figure 12.3 Cost-benefit analysis for the adoption of English as first foreign language in Poland (from Coulmas 1992: 143)

Source: Rajend Mesthrie et al., eds. “Introducing Sociolinguistics” (2009)

Video: Elements of Bourdieu: Social Capital in the Funny Pages; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1fPQ-xOLSS8>

Cultural Capital (Bourdieu)

For Bourdieu, linguistic interactions between speakers (in terms of content and, more so, style) depend largely on the social relation between the speakers. This relation is the same as their respective standing in the social space schematised in Figure 10.2. Interactions take place within a ‘linguistic market’. The latter term demarcates the specific structured space in which people interact via language. Examples of such a market include the education system, the labour market, ‘high society’, government and ordinary daily interactions between people. Favoured patterns of language (style, discourse, accents) are conceived of as symbolic assets which can receive different values depending on the market in which they are offered.

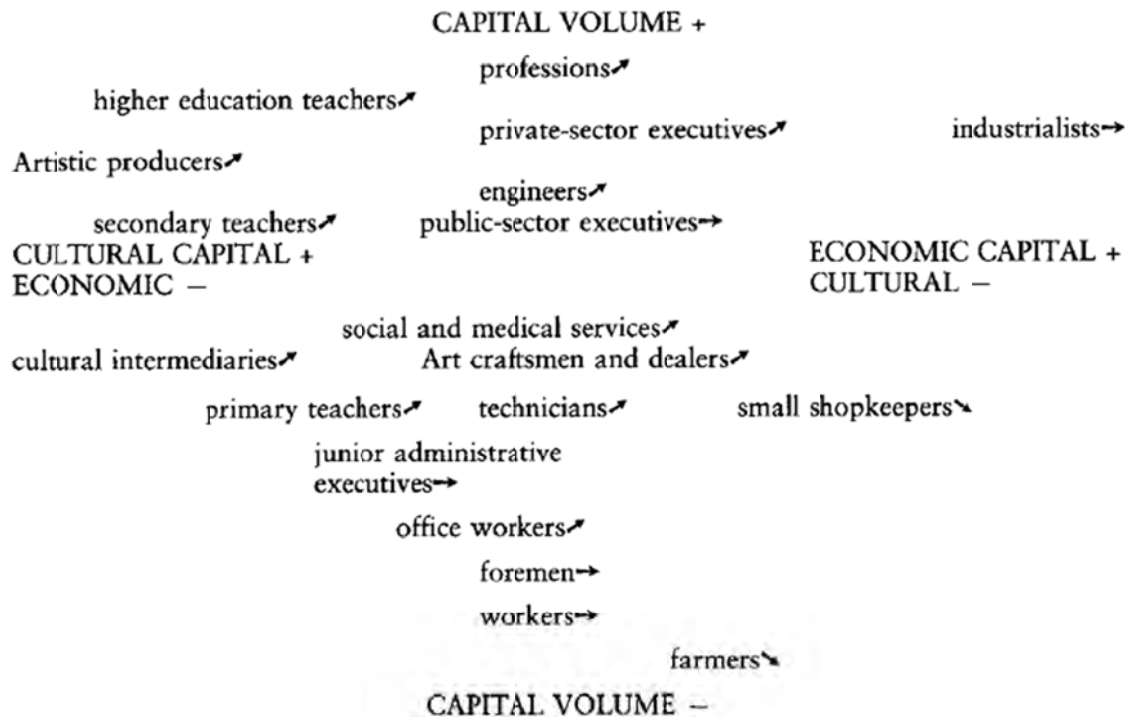


Figure 10.2 Occupations in social space according to volume and types of capital. Trajectories (i.e. how initial capital is likely to be transformed throughout life histories) are indicated by arrows (adopted and simplified from Bourdieu 1984: 128–9)³

Source: Rajend Mesthrie et al., eds. “Introducing Sociolinguistics” (2009)

Write a brief essay in class commenting on the following statement:

“Linguistic competence functions as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market. The groups which possess that competence are able to impose it as the only legitimate one in the formal markets and in most of the linguistic interactions in which they are involved. All linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant.”

Pierre Bourdieu

Cultural Capital (Examples)

Languages

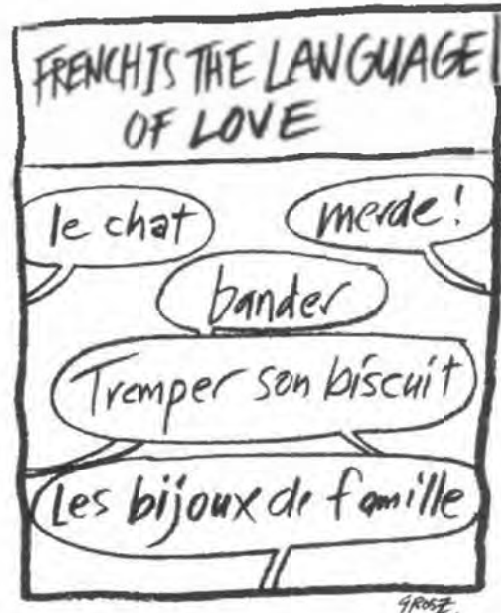


FRENCH = SUCCESS!
 When languages work, everything works!
 An extra language is an advantage
 in business... and a must for leisure!
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Berlitz

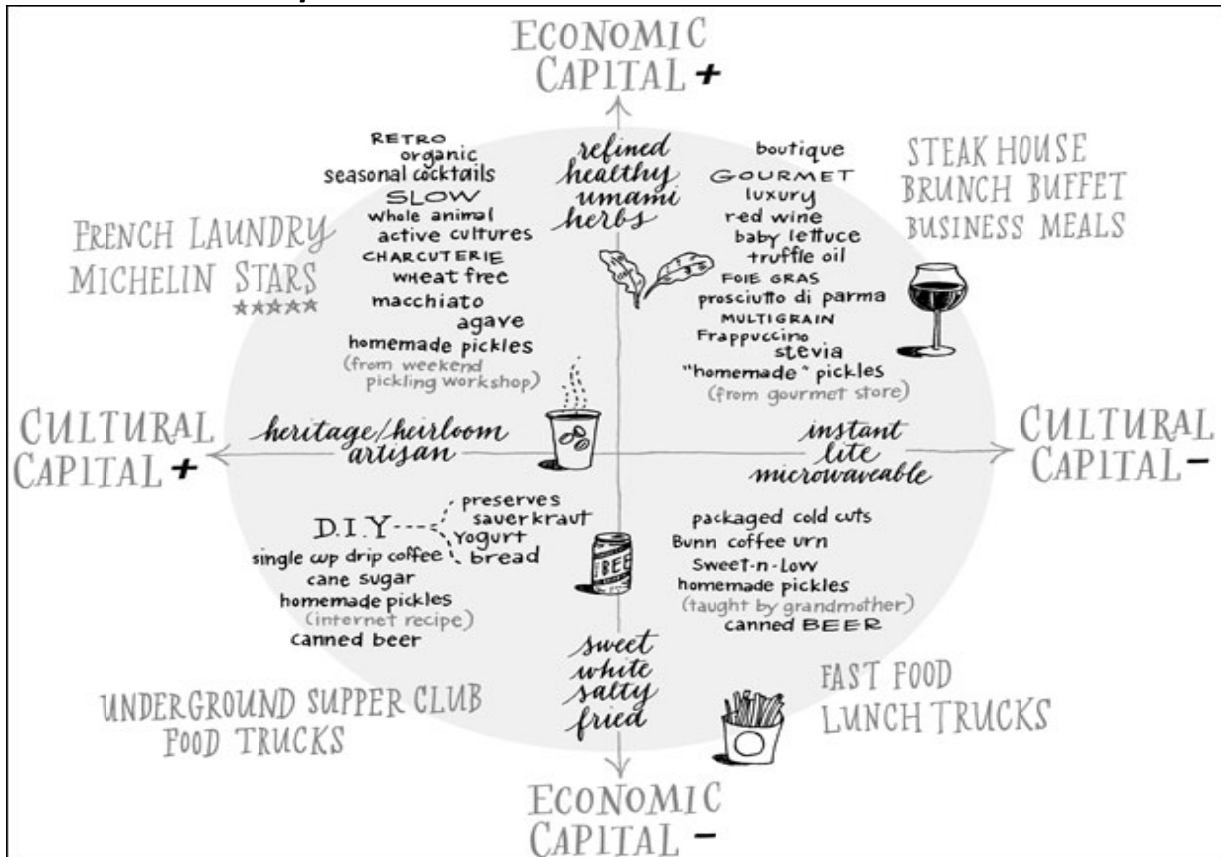
Source: Financial Times, Aug. 29, 2000



▲ Cartoon playing off the language ideology that considers French a romantic language

Source: www.CartoonStock.com

Bourdieu's Food Space



Source: illustration by Leigh Wells; <http://www.gastronomica.org/bourdieu-s-food-space/>

Linguistic Forms Indexing Identity

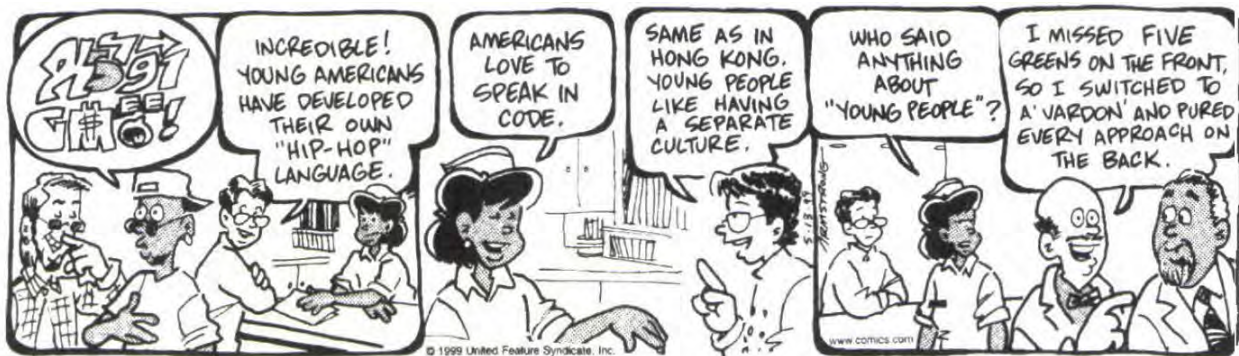
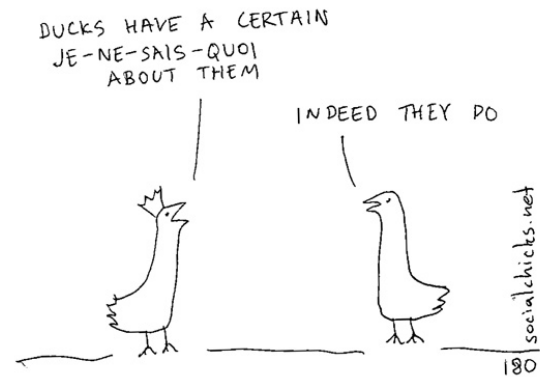


Figure 1.1 Cartoon demonstrating how certain styles of speech can both reflect and shape social identities.

Source: Jump Start © 1999 United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

Bourdieu's Notions of *Habitus* and *Doxa*

Practice theorists are interested in questions of social reproduction and social transformation – why, in other words, things sometimes change and sometimes remain the same. One concept practice theorists have used to explain this process is Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, which he uses to refer to a set of predispositions that produce practices and representations conditioned by the structures from which they emerge. These practices and their outcomes - whether people intend them to do so or not - then reproduce or transform the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977:78). *Habitus* is a difficult concept but one that is potentially very illuminating, for it can be used to describe how people socialized in a certain way will often share many perspectives and values, as well as styles of eating, talking, or behaving. To simplify, *habitus* refers to how we are predisposed (though *not* required) to think and act in certain ways because of how we have been socialized. And usually, once we act upon these predispositions, we end up reproducing the very conditions and social structures that shaped our thoughts and actions to start with. Not always, however. Because of the tensions and contradictions inherent in the *habitus*, actors are neither free agents nor completely socially determined products.

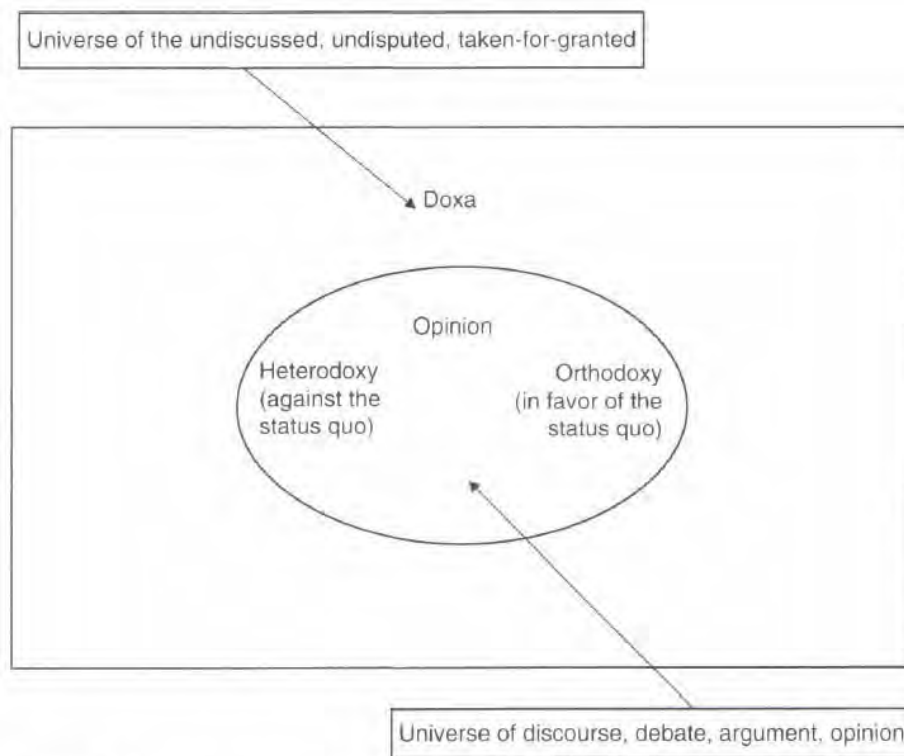


Figure 12.1 *Doxa* as that which is taken for granted and therefore outside the universe of discourse.

Source: Adapted from Bourdieu (1977:168). Used with permission of Cambridge University Press.

Another concept of Bourdieu's that can be very useful in explaining ongoing social inequality as well as occasional social change is the notion of *doxa* — that which is taken for granted, that which is “commonsense,” that which literally goes without saying (Bourdieu 1977:166–167). *Doxa* includes every social norm or cultural value that lies outside of the “universe of discourse or argument”; people do not debate *doxa* because it does not occur to them that there could be other ways of thinking or

acting. Bourdieu contrasts *doxa* with two alternatives: *orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy*. Both orthodoxy and heterodoxy exist within the universe of discourse or argument. Orthodoxy, defined by Bourdieu, is opinion in favor of the status quo and the current alignment of powers. Heterodoxy is the opposite — that is, opinion that is against the status quo (see Figure 12.1).

Source: Laura M. Ahearn “Living Language: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology” (2012)

Class Divisions in Britain

Class in Britain used to be a relatively simple matter, or at least it used to be treated that way. It came in three flavors — upper, middle and working — and people supposedly knew by some mysterious native sixth sense exactly where they stood. As the very tall John Cleese declared to the less-tall Ronnie Corbett in the famous 1966 satirical television sketch meant to illustrate class attitudes in Britain — or, possibly, attitudes toward class attitudes — “I look down on him, because I am upper class.”



Video: The Class Sketch (1966 episode of 'The Frost Report')
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K2k1iRD2f-c>

It is not as easy as all that, obviously. The 2010 election was enlivened at one point by a perfectly serious discussion of whether David Cameron, now the prime minister, counted as upper upper-middle class, or lower upper-middle class. But on Wednesday, along came the BBC, muddying the waters with a whole new set of definitions.

Having commissioned what it called The Great British Class Survey, an online questionnaire filled out by more than 161,000 people, the BBC concluded that in today's complicated world, there are now seven different social classes. (“As if three weren't annoying enough,” a woman named Laura Phelps said on Twitter.) These range from the “elite” at the top, distinguished by money, connections and rarefied cultural interests, to the “precariat” at the bottom, characterized by lack of money, lack of connections and unrefined cultural interests. [...]

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Not everyone sees it that way. In a country that is not sure whether it is (a.) obsessed with class, or (b.) merely obsessed with whether it is as obsessed about class as it used to be (if it ever really was), the survey got widespread attention. But some Britons thought the researchers had not considered the correct criteria.

“There are only two classes: those with tattoos, and those without,” said one Daily Mail reader, commenting on the paper's article about the new categories.

Another wrote: “What are they called in ‘Brave New World’? Alphas, Betas, Gammas and Epsilons? That's well on the way to becoming a factual book. We already have most of the population on ‘Soma,’ ” a reference to the antidepressant in the book.

The study was published in the journal *Sociology* and conducted by Ms. Devine in conjunction with Mike Savage, a professor of sociology at the London School of Economics, and the BBC Lab UK.

Throwing out the old formula by which class was defined according to occupation, wealth and education, it created in its place a definition calculated according to “economic capital,” which includes income and savings; “social capital,” which refers to whom one knows from among 37 different occupations; and “cultural capital,” which is defined as the sorts of cultural interests one pursues, from a list of 27. [...]

Britain remains a “status-conscious society,” he said, especially at times of social and economic insecurity. He attributed the public's love of “*Downton Abbey*” and other class-related nostalgic entertainment to a yearning for a time when things were simpler, when “even though there was a rigid class system, at least it was stable.”

Back on the Daily Mail Web site, readers continued to debate the conclusions, and the limitations, of the BBC research. “I couldn't find ‘awesome’ class,” one commenter complained. Another wrote: “What rubbish. Only three classes, working, middle and wealthy. You either have money, no money or some money.”

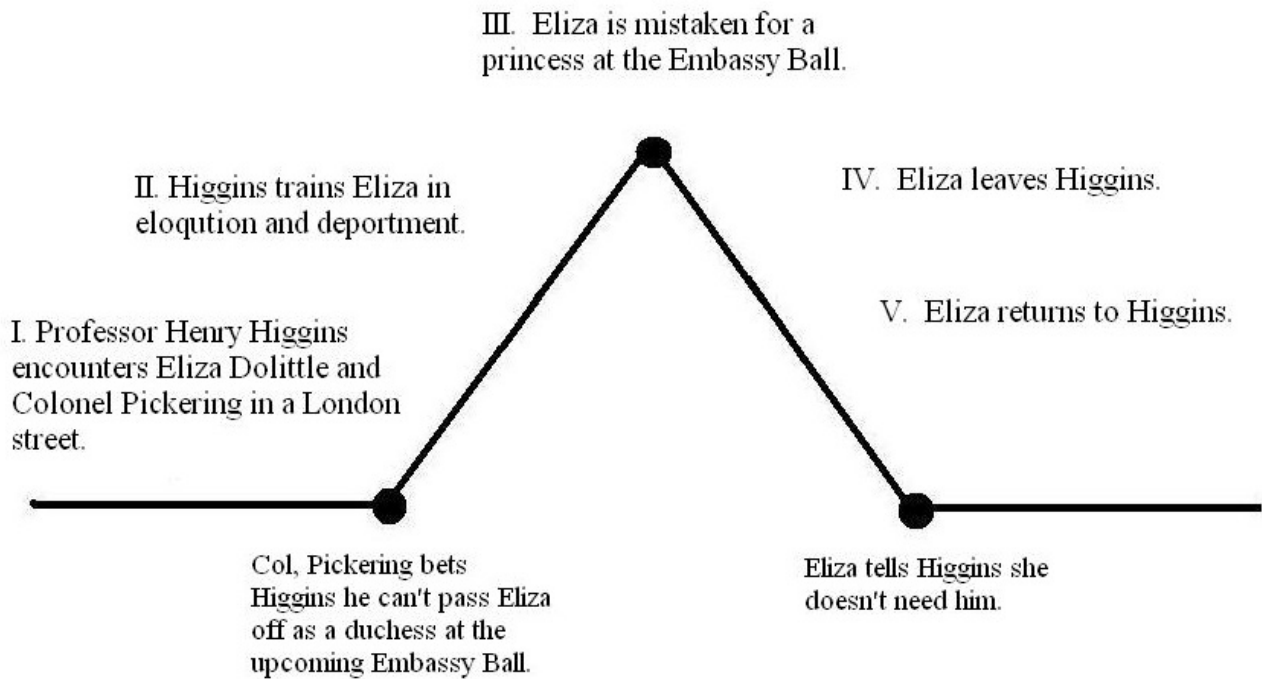
Source: Sarah Lyall “Multiplying the Old Divisions of Class in Britain” (NYT, Apr. 3, 2013)

Charting George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* (1912) & George Cukor's *My Fair Lady* (1964)

Pygmalion is a 1912 play by George Bernard Shaw, named after a Greek mythological character of the same name.

Professor of phonetics Henry Higgins makes a bet that he can train a bedraggled Cockney flower girl, Eliza Doolittle, to pass for a duchess at an ambassador's garden party by teaching her to assume a veneer of gentility, the most important element of which, he believes, is impeccable speech. The play is a sharp lampoon of the rigid British class system of the day and a commentary on women's independence.

In ancient Greek mythology, Pygmalion fell in love with one of his sculptures that came to life and was a popular subject for Victorian era English playwrights. Source: Wikipedia



Source: Gary L. Pullman "Putting Freytag's Pyramid to Use In Charting Your Own (And Others') Stories" (2011)



Original Broadway poster, 1956 (the puppeteer in the cloud represents Shaw) ▲



A political parody ▲

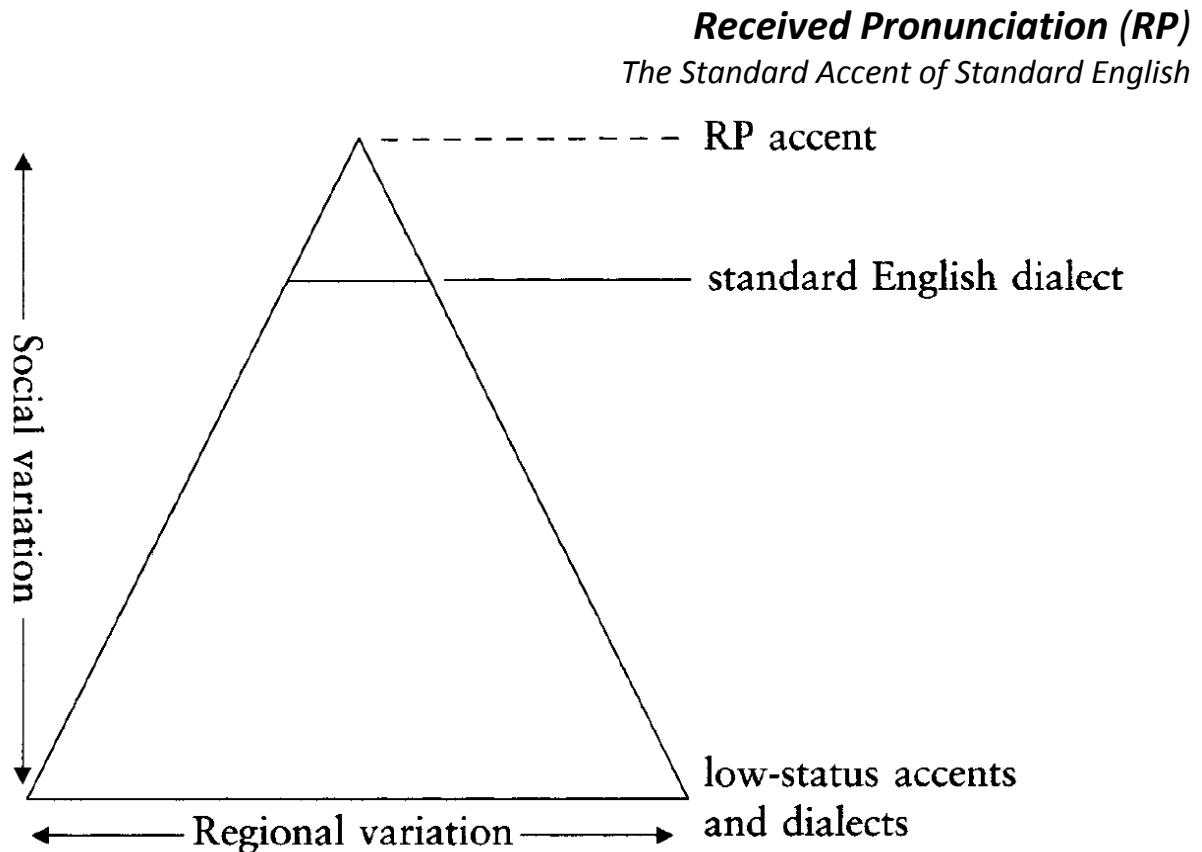


Figure 1.2 The pyramid diagram of regional and social variation in England (based on Trudgill 1975: 21)

Source: Rajend Mesthrie et al., eds. "Introducing Sociolinguistics" (2009)

Video: The first televised Christmas Broadcast or 'Queen's Speech', 1957

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mBRP-o6Q85s>

Accent speech levels in Britain

Highest ranked



Mainstream RP ('unmarked' RP)

Near-RP: educated English accents of Scotland, Wales & Ireland

Provincial accents (Yorkshire, West Country, Tyneside Geordie)

Urban accents: London (Cockney), Liverpool (Scouse), Glaswegian

Lowest ranked

Source: Giles, 1970, 1971.

Source: Asif Agha "The Social Life of Cultural Value" (2003)

Linguistic Class-Indicators in Great Britain

← U ("upper class") and non-U ("middle classes") English usage in Great Britain (1950s). Source: Wikipedia

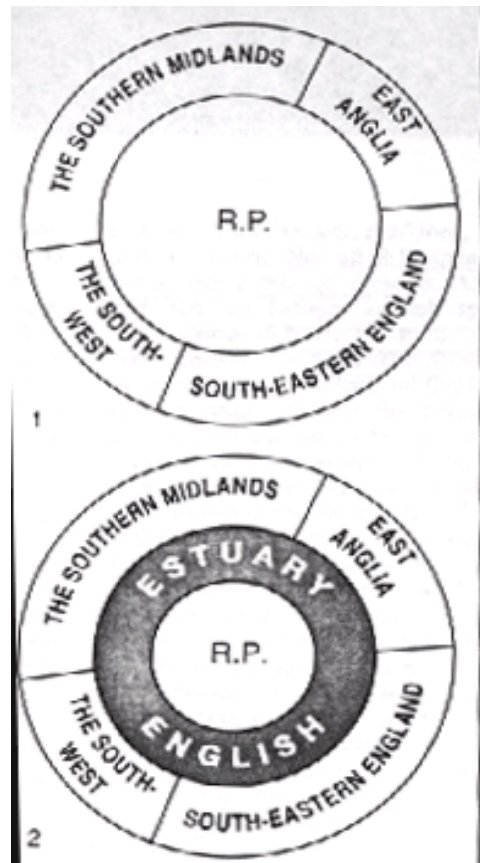
U	Non-U
Bike or Bicycle	Cycle
Dinner Jacket	Dress Suit
Knave	Jack (<i>cards</i>)
Vegetables	Greens
Ice	Ice Cream
Scent	Perfume
They've a very nice house.	They have (got) a lovely home.
Ill (in bed)	Sick (in bed)
I was sick on the boat.	I was ill on the boat.
Looking-glass	Mirror
Chimney-piece	Mante-piece
Graveyard	Cemetery
Spectacles	Glasses
False Teeth	Dentures
Die	Pass on
Mad	Mental
Jam	Preserve
Napkin	Serviette
Sofa	Settee or Couch
Lavatory or Loo	Toilet
Rich	Wealthy
What?	Pardon?
Good health	Cheers
Lunch	Dinner (for midday meal)
Pudding	Sweet
Drawing-room	Lounge
Writing-paper	Note-paper
How d'you do?	Pleased to meet you
(School)master, mistress	Teacher

Linguistic Class-indicators

41

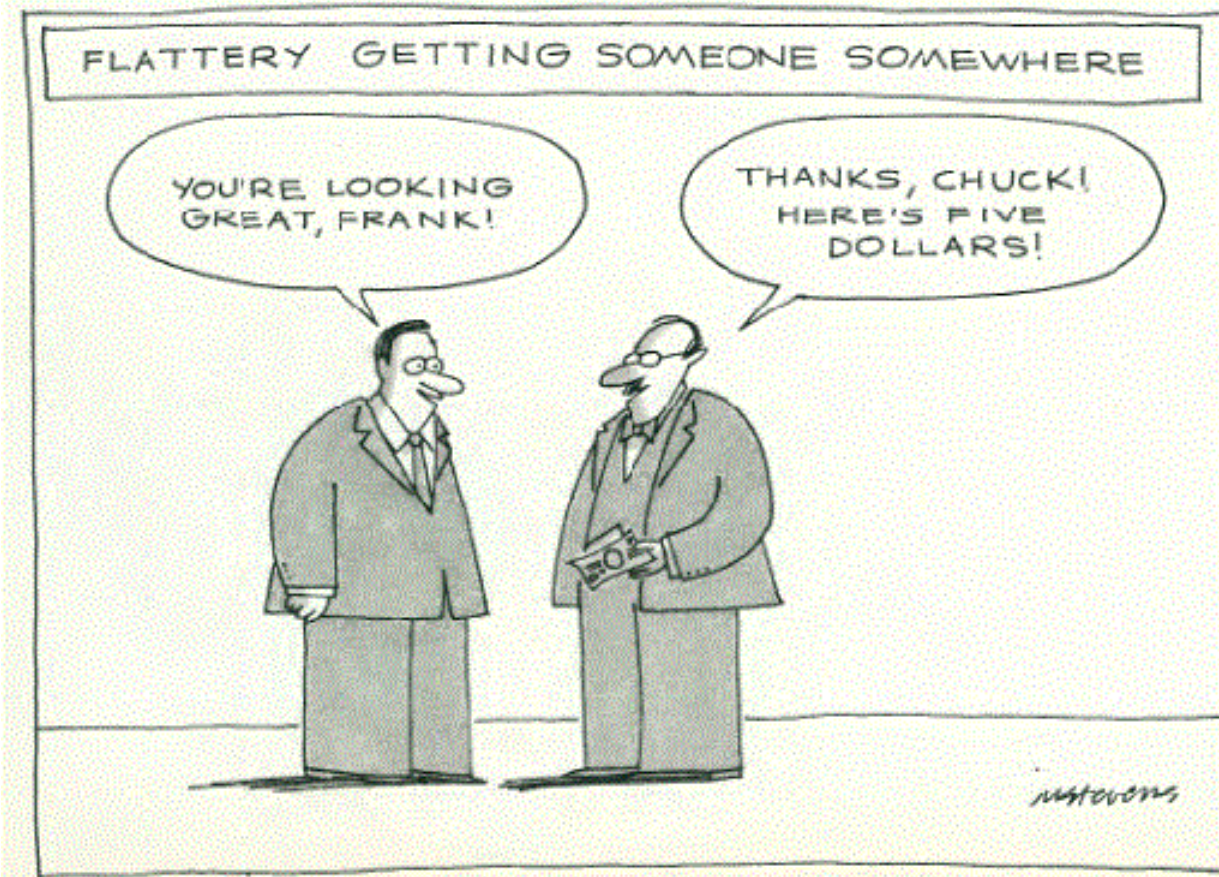
	U	non-U
<i>acknowledge</i>	[ək'nɒlɪdʒ]	[ək'nouɪdʒ] ¹
<i>Catholic</i>	(['kæ:θɪk]) ²	['kæθɪk]
<i>either</i>	['aɪðə]	['ɪjðə]
<i>extraordinary</i>	[ək'strɔ:dɪnri]	['ɛkstrə'ɔ:dɪn(ə)ri]
<i>forehead</i>	['fɒrɪd]	['fɔ:həd]
<i>geyser</i>	['geɪzə]	['gɪjzə]
<i>handkerchief</i>	['hɛnkətʃɪf]	['hɛnkətʃɪf], ['hɛnkətʃɪv]
<i>hotel</i>	([ou'tel])	[hou'tel]
<i>humour</i>	(['ju:mə])	['hju:mə]
<i>mass</i>	([ma:s]) ²	[mæs]
<i>medicine</i>	['mɛdɪsən]	['mɛdɪsən]
<i>a nought</i>	[ə / nɔ:t]	[æn / ɔ:t] ³
<i>tortoise</i>	['tɔ:təs]	['tɔ:tɔɪs], ['tɔ:tɔɪz] ⁴
<i>vase</i>	[vɑ:z]	[vɔ:z], [veɪz]
<i>venison</i>	['vɛnzən]	['venɪzən]
<i>W.</i>	['dæbəlju]	['dæbɪju] ⁵
<i>waistcoat</i>	['weɪskət]	['weɪstkout] ⁶

Source: Alan S. C. Ross "Linguistic Class-indicators in Present-day English" (1954)



"Flattery Getting Someone Somewhere"

Recently there appeared a cartoon in the *New Yorker* magazine, entitled "Flattery getting someone somewhere" (M. Stevens, 28 July 1986). "You're looking great, Frank!" says a man in business suit and necktie to another, perhaps older, man with glasses and bow tie. "Thanks, Chuck! Here's five dollars!" Bow Tie replies, handing over the cash. The joke depends, of course, on the notion that the exchange of compliments for cash should not be done so directly and overtly. We all know that Chuck may indeed flatter Frank with a view to getting a raise, or some other eventual reward; but it is quite improper in American society to recognize the exchange formally, with an immediate payment. A compliment should be acknowledged only with a return compliment, or a minimization, or some other verbal "goods." If it is to be taken as "sincere," it is specifically excluded from the realm of material payments.



© M. Stevens, *New Yorker*, 28 July 1986

Some cultural systems do not segregate the economy of compliments from the economy of material transactions and profits, however. It is doubtful, for example, that the cartoon would seem funny to many Senegalese. With a few suitable adjustments for local scene, the transfer it depicts is quite ordinary. There is, in fact, a category of persons – *the griots* – specializing in flattery of certain kinds, among other verbal arts. The income they gain from these activities is immediate and considerable, often amounting to full-time employment for those whose skills include the fancier genres of eulogy.

Source: Judith T. Irvine "When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy" (1989)



Senegalese Wolof griot, 1890;



Hausa griot at Diffa, Niger, 2007

Table 1.4. *Wolof style contrasts in morphology and syntax (Irvine 1990)*

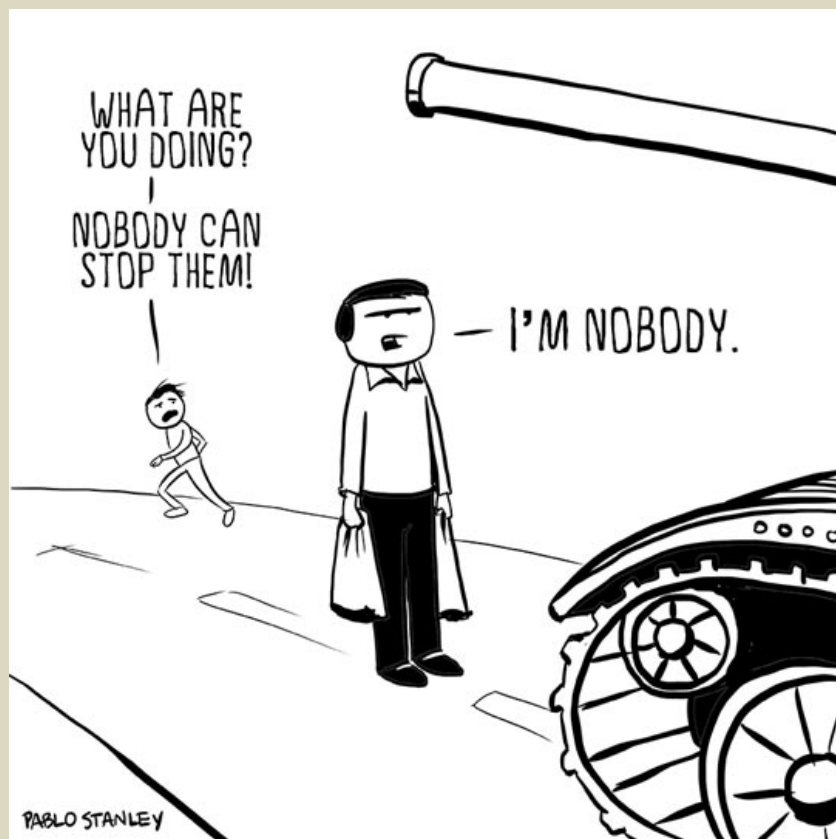
Style:	“Noble speech”	“Griot speech”
Emphatic devices:	<p>Unmarked order of basic constituents (SVO); sparse use of markers</p> <p>Sparse use of spatial deictics and determinants</p> <p>Sparse use of modifiers</p>	<p>Left dislocations; cleft sentences; heavy use of focus markers (subject focus, object focus, and “explicative” verbal auxiliary)</p> <p>Frequent use of spatial deictics, especially their “emphatic” forms</p> <p>Heavier use of modifiers; ideophones (intensifiers); more use of verb-complement construction <i>ne</i> ____, which often conveys details of sound and motion</p>
Parallelism:	<p>Little use of parallelism</p> <p>Few reduplicated forms, especially in verbs; no novel constructions using morphological reduplication</p>	<p>Repetitive and parallel constructions (e.g., parallel clauses)</p> <p>Frequent use of morphological reduplication, especially in verbs, including novel word-formations</p>
Disfluencies – morphology: (see Irvine 1978)	<p>(1) choice of noun class marker “wrong” or semantically neutral</p> <p>(2) avoidance of class markers when possible</p> <p>(3) incomplete or inconsistent concord</p>	<p>(1) “Correct” class markers, following principles of consonant harmony and/or semantic subtlety</p> <p>(2) Inclusion of class markers, when optional</p> <p>(2) Complete and consistent concord</p>
Disfluencies – syntax:	<p>Incomplete sentence structures. False starts</p>	<p>Well-formed sentence structures</p>

GRIOT is a West African historian, storyteller, praise singer, poet and/or musician. The griot is a repository of oral tradition, and is also often seen as something of a societal leader due to his traditional position as an adviser to royal personages. As a result of the former of these two functions, he is sometimes also called a bard. According to Paul Oliver in his book *Savannah Syncopators*, "Though [the griot] has to know many traditional songs without error, he must also have the ability to extemporize on current events, chance incidents and the passing scene. His wit can be devastating and his knowledge of local history formidable." Although they are popularly known as “praise singers,” griots may also use their vocal expertise for gossip, satire, or political comment.

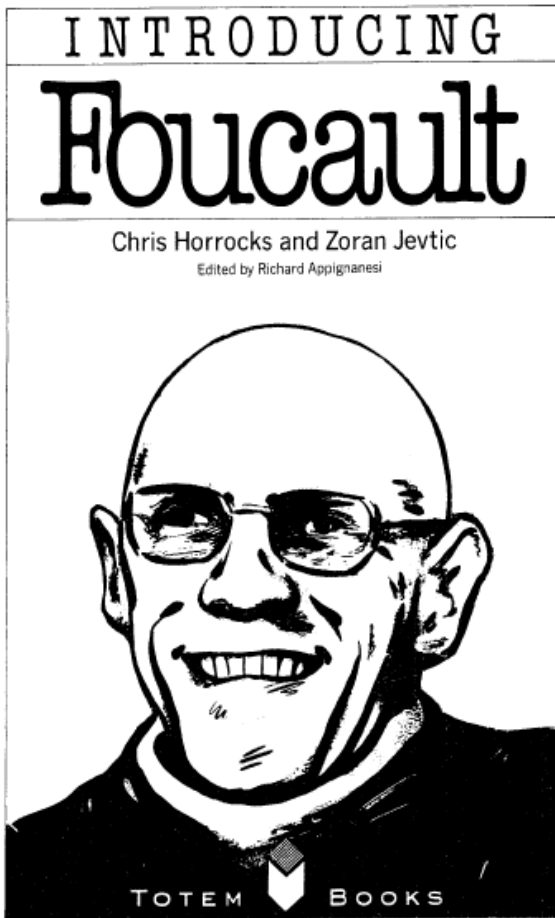
Source: Wikipedia

▲ Source: Judith T. Irvine “Style as Distinctiveness: The Culture and Ideology of Linguistic Differentiation” (2001)

Discourse, Power, Identity Formations



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)



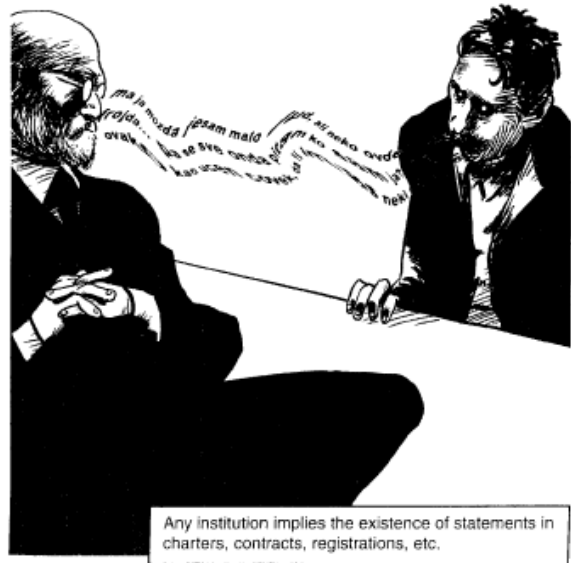
Discourse

Foucault drops epistemes as the dominant principle in history and asserts **discourse**.

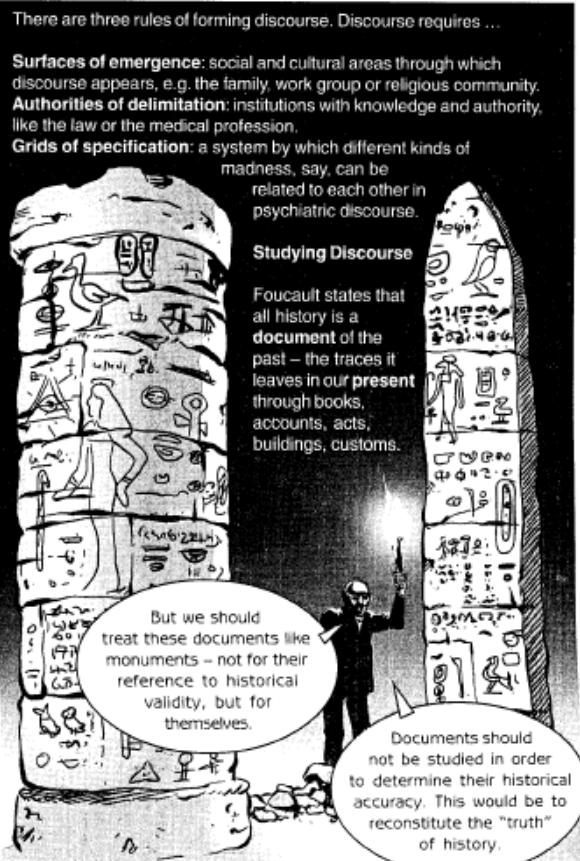
Discourses are not linguistics systems or just texts – they are **practices**, like the scientific discourse of psychoanalysis and its institutional, philosophical and scientific levels.

By analyzing **statements** – single units which constitute a discursive formation – we can see their constraints and where they situate the speaker.

In this case, the patient and analyst.

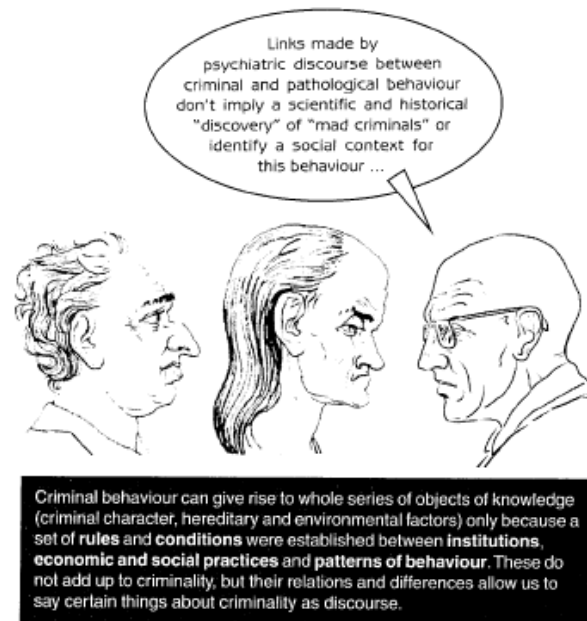


Rules of Discourse

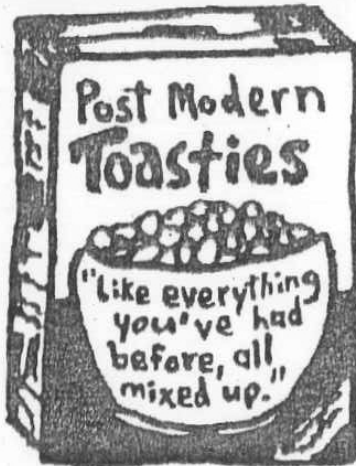


Discourse Creates its Object

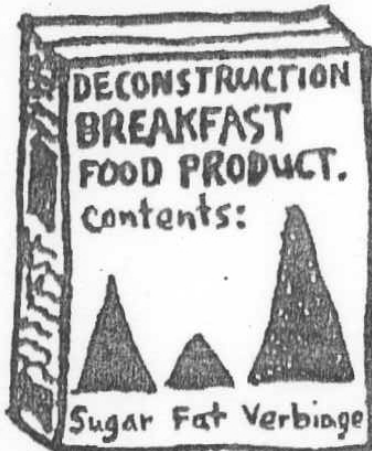
When medical, legal and judicial discourses refer to madness, they never refer to a fixed object or experience, and they don't treat it as the same object. Yet there may be regularities between these discourses.



Breakfast Theory: A MORNING METHODOLOGY



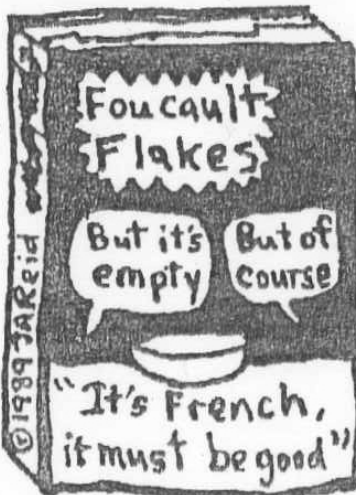
More than just a cereal, it's a commentary on the nature of cereal-ness, cerealism, and the theory of cerealativity. Free decoding ring inside.



Pretty dry and flavorless isn't it?



Your question is informed, or should I say misinformed, by the conventionalized bourgeois cereal paradigms that center on such outmoded esculatory notions as taste, nutrition and edibility.



Finally, a breakfast commodity so complex that you need a theoretical apparatus to digest it. You won't want to eat it, you'll just want to read it. A literary tour de force: Breakfast as text!

"Breakfast Theory: A Morning Methodology," by Jeff Reid. Originally appeared in *In These Times*, 29 March 1989.

Conversational Work

You are sitting in a restaurant, waiting to meet a friend. To pass the time, you go into people-watching mode. Based on what you see and hear, you create ministories about the individuals in the restaurant. You decide who the people are, what they must be to each other, their purpose in meeting, what kinds of political commitments they must have, and so on. Then you begin to focus on the man in the booth across from you.

He looks Asian—you think maybe he's Japanese. He's drinking coffee and watching the door. After a few minutes an American-looking couple join him. The woman introduces herself and her companion. You hear the following conversation:

EXAMPLE 1.1 (9:06 A.M., Turley's Restaurant. JI = Jolene Incar, LY = Lee Yamada, RL = Robert Lester)

JI: Mr. Yamada? (Yamada nods) I'm Jolene Incar (offers her hand) and this is my husband, Robert Lester (the two men shake hands). I'm sorry we're a little late. There was a car accident and we had to go the long way around. I hope you didn't have to wait long.

LY: No problem—I've only been here a minute myself. Please join me. The coffee is great.

RL: (As they slide into the booth) Jolene has been telling me about the difficulties your office has run into and I think we may be able to help you . . .

The woman's speech is accented; you conclude that your initial assumption about her being American was wrong. But the other two certainly sound American.¹ From this short exchange, you infer that (1) the men are American but the woman probably isn't; (2) the three had not met previously in person, although Ms. Incar and Mr. Yamada probably had spoken on the phone; (3) the husband and wife work together in a business; (4) the trio are meeting for business rather than for pleasure; (5) Jolene Incar cares about being perceived as a polite person; and (6) Jolene and Robert are not a traditional married couple.

In creating this story—in making these particular inferences—you have drawn upon extensive knowledge about how people in American culture talk to and about each other. Whether or not your inferences are accurate is something that would require you to question the three people. However, it is likely that many people would make the same inferences as you. This is the case because there are ways of talking that routinely go with being a certain kind of person, doing particular activities, and having certain relationships.

Talk Does Identity-Work

Although people do talk with each other to give and receive information, other activities are always getting done to. Most important for our purpose is the ongoing way talk is doing identity-work. **Identity-work** refers to the process through which talk makes available to participants and observers who the people doing the talking must be. There are two sides to identity-work:

1. Talk does identity-work. Through a person's choices about how to talk, identity-work is accomplished. That is, people's ways of talking construct pictures of who people must be.
2. People's preexisting identities (e.g., their nationality, age, profession, or social class) work to shape how they will talk.



TABLE 1.1. Kinds of Discursive Practices

Discursive practices	Description
<u>Talk's building blocks</u>	
Person-referencing practices	Words used to address others and to refer to self/others
Speech acts	Social acts performed through talk: includes criticizing, informing, praising, directing
Sounds of speech	Dialect and accent; ways of using one's voice (loudness, rate, pitch quality)
Language selection	The meaning of choosing one language, another, or a combination in talking (e.g., English, Spanish, Vietnamese)
<u>Complex discourse practices</u>	
Interaction structures	Expected ways to pair utterances, rules about taking turns
Directness style	The relative directness or indirectness with which a speaker expresses self
Narratives	Structure, content, and style of stories
Stance indicators	The linguistic, vocal, and gestural means of conveying an attitude toward a topic or the conversational partner

Language and Power

This text is part of an interview in a police station, involving the witness to an armed robbery (w) and a policeman (p), in which basic information elicitation is going on. w, who is rather shaken by the experience, is being asked what happened, p is recording the information elicited in writing.

- (1) p: Did you get a look at the one in the car?
- (2) w: I saw his face, yeah.
- (3) p: What sort of age was he?
- (4) w: About 45. He was wearing a . . .
- (5) p: And how tall?
- (6) w: Six foot one.
- (7) p: Six foot one. Hair?
- (8) w: Dark and curly. Is this going to take long? I've got to collect the kids from school.
- (9) p: Not much longer, no. What about his clothes?
- (10) w: He was a bit scruffy-looking, blue trousers, black . . .
- (11) p: Jeans?
- (12) w: Yeah.

How would you characterize the relationship between the police interviewer and w in this case, and how is it expressed in what is said?

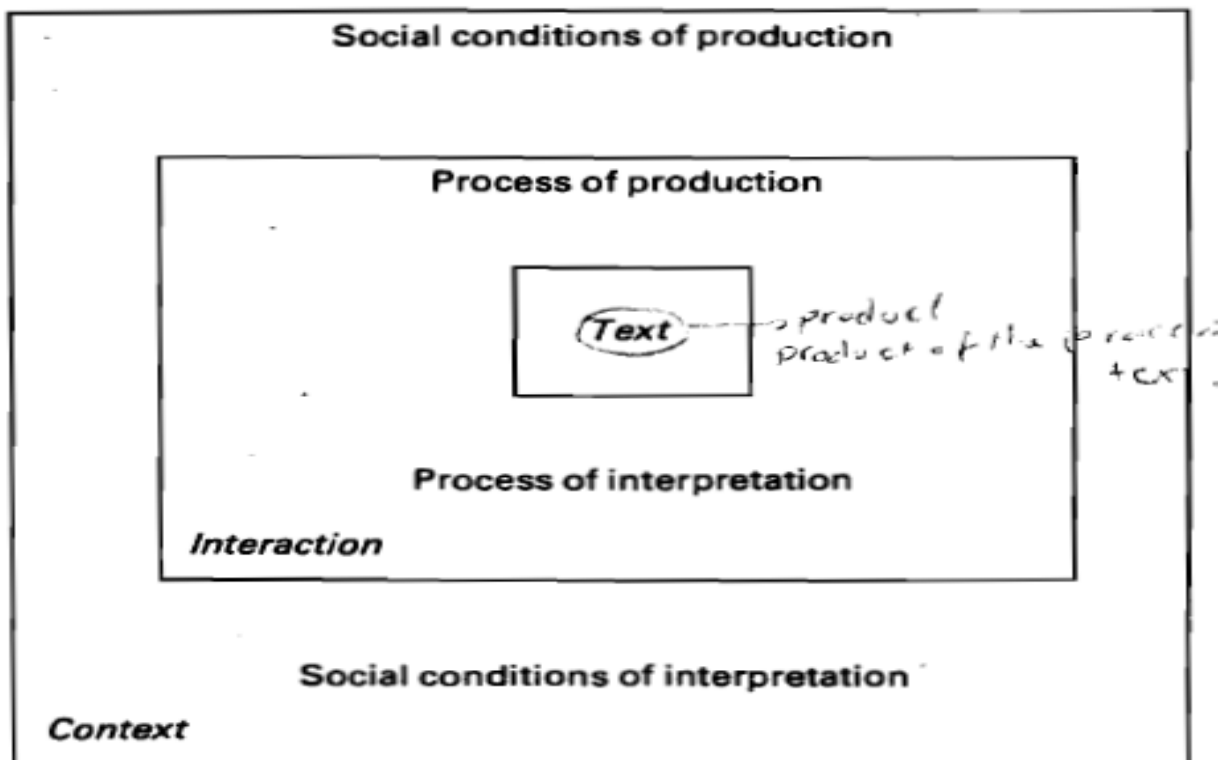


Fig. 2.1 Discourse as text, interaction and context

Source: Norman Fairclough "Language and Power" (1989)

Discourse Models

Fairclough brings a more linguistic dimension to the study of discourse than evident in Foucault's work. Figure 10.1 shows Fairclough's three-layered model of discourse, which presents discourse as simultaneously involving three dimensions:

1. a language text, which may be spoken, written or signed;
2. discourse practice (involving text production and text interpretation);
3. sociocultural practice (involving wider social and political relations).

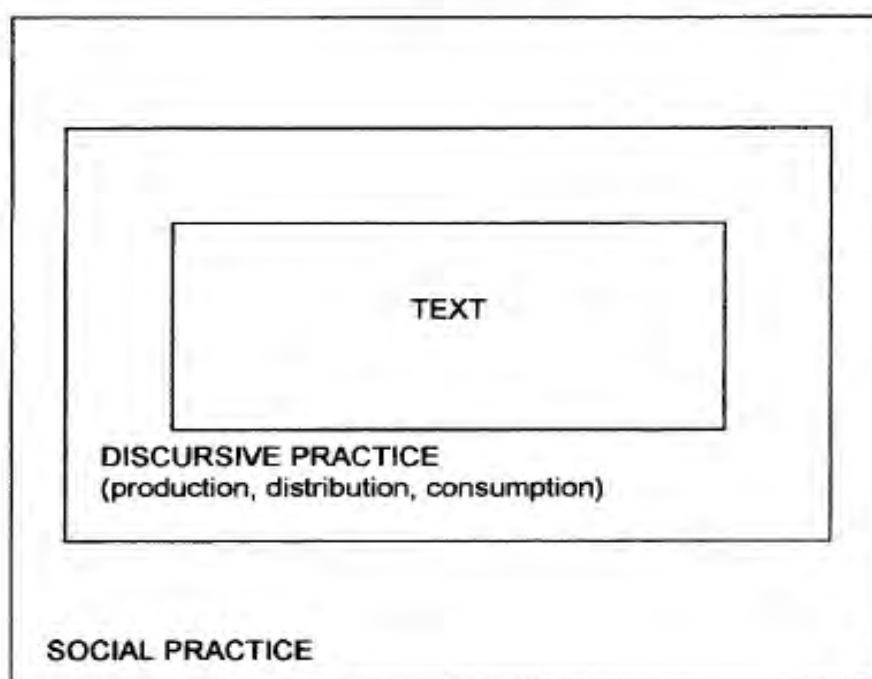


Figure 10.1 A three-dimensional model of discourse (from Fairclough 1992: 73)

To illustrate the three dimensions of this model, we take the example of an interaction between marital partners:

- **Text** – characteristics of the speech exchange in terms of conversational properties like turn-taking, narrative or argument structure, politeness phenomena, specific characteristics of the grammar and accent (including speech accommodation as described in Chapter 5).
- **Discourse practice** – what are the discourse types that are being employed in the interaction (e.g. 'pillow talk', 'small talk', 'argument', 'academic or political discussion' and so on); how does this exchange fit in with the above 'genres' or speech events; is more than one genre drawn upon?
- **Social practice** – how does this exchange derive from, reinforce or challenge expected relations between marital partners, the family as an institution and gender relations in the broader society?

Source: Rajend Mesthrie et al., eds. "Introducing Sociolinguistics" (2009)

August 14, 2013

The Effect of Obama Words on Sexual Assault Cases

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER



WASHINGTON — In an effort to stop military lawyers from using comments by President Obama to prevent sexual assault prosecutions, Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel has sent out a directive ordering the military to exercise independent judgment in the cases and effectively ignore the president's remarks.

“There are no expected or required dispositions, outcomes

or sentences in any military justice case, other than what result from the individual facts and merits of a case and the application to the case of the fundamentals of due process of law,” Mr. Hagel wrote in a memorandum dated Aug. 6 that is to be disseminated throughout the military.

Since May, when Mr. Obama said at the White House that sexual offenders in the military ought to be “prosecuted, stripped of their positions, court-martialed, fired, dishonorably discharged,” lawyers in dozens of assault cases have argued that Mr. Obama’s words as commander in chief amounted to “unlawful command influence,” tainting trials and creating unfair circumstances for clients as a result.

Their motions have had some success. At Shaw Air Force Base in South Carolina in June, a judge dismissed charges of sexual assault against an Army officer, noting the command influence issue. In Hawaii, a Navy judge ruled last month that two defendants in sexual assault cases, if found guilty, could not be punitively discharged because of Mr. Obama’s remarks. [...]

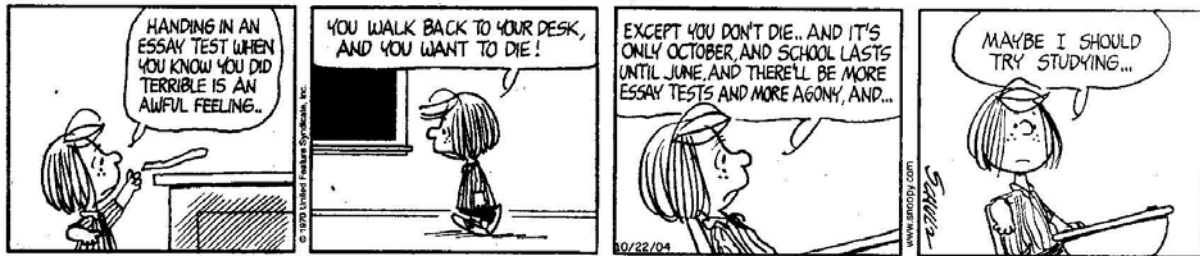
Mr. Hagel’s letter produced some skepticism. “They are trying to unring the bell,” said Richard Scheff, a lawyer who cited unlawful command influence on behalf of his client, Brig. Gen. Jeffrey Sinclair, accused of sexually assaulting an Army captain with whom he had an adulterous affair. “I don’t know how President Obama can direct that certain types of punishment be administered and now you are supposed to ignore it. How does that work?” [...]

John D. Altenburg Jr., a former deputy judge advocate general for the Army who now practices law in Washington, said the letter could be useful for the administration.

“It can only be positive,” he said. “I am not sure it was absolutely necessary, but this certainly clears the air. Most people in the military understand that comments are made by people for political purposes and they are not to take that under consideration, but this makes it clear to everybody.”

Pragmatics: Essay Topics

PEANUTS



Good luck!

Essay Topics

Please write a 3-page essay on **one** of the following topics:

- 1) On presidential promises
- 2) One Student's Many Voices
- 3) Pronouns in Prison
- 4) Thank you for what?
- 5) Based on the readings so far, formulate your own essay question and write an essay on the topic.

Good luck!

Essay question #1: On presidential promises¹

On 14 January, 1993, US President-elect Bill Clinton spoke to journalists in the wake of rumors that he might go back on some of his promises made during the electoral campaign. This issue came up with particular force after a number of Haitian “boat people” had been stopped and turned back from the coasts of Florida, and Clinton had reversed his earlier stand, made during the campaign, according to which he wouldn’t turn away any Haitian refugees. When cornered by some rather insistent journalists, Clinton came up with the following statement:

I think it would be foolish for the President of the United States, for any President of the United States, not to respond to changing circumstances. Every President of the United States, as far as I know, and particularly those who have done a good job, have known how to respond to changing circumstances. It would clearly be foolish for a President of the United States to do otherwise. (National Public Radio broadcast, 8:00 a.m., 15 January, 1993)

Three days later, on Sunday 17 January, National Public Radio news analyst Daniel Schorr read a mock “pre-inaugural statement” ascribed to Bill Clinton, in which he made the President-elect take back all his promises before the inauguration “so he wouldn’t have to break them afterwards.” Schorr/Clinton concluded his “address” with the words:

“Campaigning is not the same as governing.”

Please analyze the speech events described above from a (meta)pragmatic point of view, utilizing the analytic instruments advanced by J.L. Austin, John Searle, and especially by Jane H. Hill and Stanton Wortham & Michael Locher in their corresponding articles (available on Moodle) about campaign promises.

¹ Adapted from Jacob L. Mey “Pragmatics: An Introduction” (1993).

Essay question #2: One Student's Many Voices¹

The following story, entitled "The Power of the Word," is written by a college student, Linda, for her First-Year Composition course.

Childhood is a time in life when a person sees their parents as models of perfection. My childhood ended at age six. I remember the exact moment clearly. Seated at the kitchen table for dinner, I stared at my empty plate. The plate was white with a green flower print and I noticed several knife cuts marring the print. My mother had just left the room carrying a coffee cup which I thought was odd because she never drank coffee in the evening. I glanced over at my father for reassurance but his face was hidden by his hands.

Forgotten meals were to become a repeated ritual along with sleepless nights due to slamming doors and above all, avoidance of the basement where it lived three days out of the week. Without ever having been told, we all knew that the thing most affecting our lives was also a forbidden topic. Only once did I dare discuss it. My sister Karen and I were sitting on the old mattress in the basement with our arms around one another's shoulders. This week we were best friends, last week I pushed her into a bush. Our discussion revealed that she had even less of an understanding of what was happening than I, but on one thing we agreed – Dad was not at fault.

As I got older, it seemed to get stronger and interfere with my life more. Still, I seemed to remain passive and regard it as a mere inconvenience until my eighth birthday. It was tradition in our family that on your eighth birthday you were thrown a party. We sent out invitations, bought balloons, and decided which games were to be played. This was to be the last time I ever invited friends over, for on the planned day, it appeared. My friends had to be called and told not to come, this taught me the meaning of hate. It seemed to sense my hate and rewarded me with name calling and bruised cheeks. I was told I was "lazy" but when I cleaned the kitchen I was "showing off." I "acted too good for everyone" but "wouldn't amount to anything." I was somehow made to feel that it was my fault it acted the way it did.

One night I was awakened by loud arguing. I crawled out of bed and started making my way toward the noise. Halfway down the hall I met Karen coming out of her room and without a word, we proceeded. At the kitchen door we stopped and peeked in. Then I heard the word. It heard the word too and was angered by it for it picked up a knife and leaped toward the person who had uttered it. The force with which the knife had been thrust caused the hand to lose its grip on the handle and slide down the blade. The fingers were sliced open and the tendons severed, permanently disfiguring the hand. What kept going through my mind though was not the scene but the word. Guilt was suddenly lifted and some meaning given to all the madness by the simple utterance of the word alcoholic. Karen and I retraced our steps to our rooms, never a word being spoken.

Analyze the story from a Bakhtinian point of view, using his notions of reported speech, double-voiced discourse and dialogism. You may wish to consult Jane H. Hill's article "The Voices of Don Gabriel" (available on Moodle).

¹ Adapted from Nancy Welch "One Student's Many Voices" (1993)

Essay question #3: Pronouns in Prison¹

In a novel based on his experiences and entitled *Men in Prison*, Victor Serge (1977) describes the use of *tu* in a French prison at the beginning of the twentieth century as follows:

Once inside prison walls, the use of the familiar *tu* is practically a rule among inmates. At the house of detention, where crowds of transients are always coming and going – in that sudden physical indignity of arrest which is so much harder on new prisoners than on underworld ‘regulars’ – the guards call almost everyone *tu*. Elsewhere, after a rapid process of classification by social categories, they reserve this vulgarly familiar address for inmates who command no respect or consideration. One of my first observations – the accuracy of which was confirmed many times later on – was that this use of the familiar form by guards to inmates, or by policemen to criminals, is an instinctive recognition of a common existence and a common mentality. Guards and inmates live the same life on both sides of the same bolted door. Policemen and crooks keep the same company, sit on the same barstools, sleep with the same whores in the same furnished rooms. They mold each other like two armies fighting with complementary methods of attack and defense on a common terrain.

In a review of Andrei Amalrik’s *Notes of a Revolutionary* in *The New Yorker* (March 26, 1984), William Maxwell reports the following bit of behavior by Amalrik in a Soviet prison:

To the prison officials who addressed him by the familiar – and, in the circumstances, insulting – second-person singular, he replied by calling them ‘*ty*’ also; whereupon they instantly switched to the polite form.

Analyze the power/solidarity dynamics in the relationship between the officials and the prisoners through their choices of T/V forms. You may wish to consult once again Roger Brown & Albert Gilman’s classic article (available on Moodle).

¹ Adapted from Ronald Wardhaugh “An Introduction to Sociolinguistics” (1986)

Essay question #4: "Thank you for what?"¹

Shortly after Israeli commandos had rescued (in the middle of the night between 3 and 4 July 1976) the Jewish passengers of the Air France Flight 139 (from Tel Aviv to Paris), who were kept hostage by members of the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) at the Ugandan airport at Entebbe, the following telephone conversation took place between the Israeli Colonel Baruch Bar-Lev and President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, who had supposedly collaborated with the hijackers and who, by that time, did not yet know what had happened at the airport:

Bar-Lev: Sir, I want to thank you for your cooperation and I want to thank you very much.

Amin: You know I did not succeed.

Bar-Lev: Thank you very much for your cooperation. What? The cooperation did not succeed? Why?

Amin: Have I done anything at all?

Bar-Lev: I just want to thank you, sir, for the cooperation.

Amin: Have I done anything?

Bar-Lev: I did exactly what you wanted.

Amin: Wh- Wh- What happened?

Bar-Lev: What happened?

Amin: Yes?

Bar-Lev: I don't know.

Amin: Can't you tell me?

Bar-Lev: No. I don't know. I have been requested to thank you for your cooperation.

Amin: Can you tell me about the suggestion you mentioned?

Bar-Lev: I have been requested by a friend with good connections in the government to thank you for your cooperation. I don't know what was meant by it, but I think you do know.

Amin: I don't know because I've only now returned hurriedly from Mauritius.

Bar-Lev: Ah ...

Amin: ... In order to solve the problem before the ultimatum expires tomorrow morning.

Bar-Lev: I understand very well, sir ... Thank you for the cooperation. Perhaps I'll call you again tomorrow morning? Do you want me to call you again tomorrow morning?

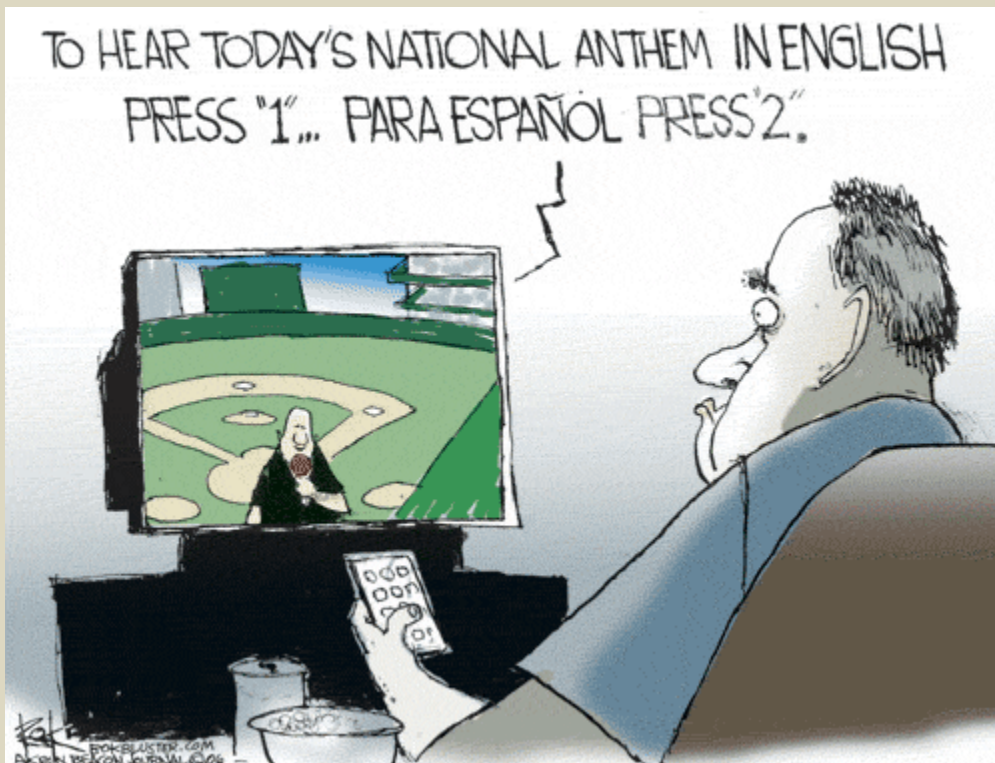
Amin: Yes.

Bar-Lev: Very well, thank you sir. Goodbye.

Describe what happens in this conversation from a pragmatic point of view. For historical context, consult the documentary video clip "The Raid on Entebbe" (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z1ct-meb6U0>).

¹ Adapted from Jan Verschuere "Understanding Pragmatics" (1999).

Speech Communities: Who Owns Language?



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Speech Community: Definitions

- * Bloomfield (1926:153-4): "1. *Definition*. An act of speech is an utterance. 2. *Assumption*. Within certain communities successive utterances are alike or partly alike... 3. *Definition*. Any such community is a speech community."
- * Chomsky (1965: 3): "Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its [the speech community's] language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of this language in actual performance."
- * Gumperz (1962/71:101): 'Linguistic community' is "a social group which may be either mono-lingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication." LC's "may consist of small groups bound together by face-to-face contact or may cover large regions, depending on the level of abstraction we wish to achieve."
- * Gumperz (1968/71:114): 'speech community': "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage." "The speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system because they are related to a shared set of social norms" (ibid.:116).
- * Gumperz (1982:24): "A system of organized diversity held together by common norms and aspirations. Members of such a community typically vary with respect to certain beliefs and other aspects of behavior. Such variation, which seems irregular when observed at the level of the individual, nonetheless shows systematic regularities at the statistical level of social facts."
- * Hymes (1967/72:54-5): "A community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety... A necessary primary term... it postulates the basis of description as a social, rather than a linguistic, entity." [For Hymes one can participate in a speech community without being a member of it.]
- * Labov (1972:120-1): "The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms. These norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage."
- * Corder (1973:53): "A speech community is made up of individuals who regard themselves as speaking the same language; it need have no other defining attributes."
- * Romaine (1994:22): "A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language. The boundaries between speech communities are essentially social rather than linguistic... A speech community is not necessarily co-extensive with a language community."
- * Silverstein (1996:285): "A linguistic community[:] a group of people who, in their implicit sense of the regularities of linguistic usage, are united in adherence to the idea that there exists a functionally differentiated norm for using their 'language' denotatively... [which is] said to define the 'best' speakers of language L."
- * Bucholtz (1999:203-7): "In sociolinguistics, social theory is rooted in the concept of the speech community... a language-based unit of social analysis... indigenous to sociolinguistics [which] is not connected to any larger social theory... 6 ways in which the speech community has been an inadequate model...: Its (a) tendency to take language as central, (b) emphasis on consensus as the organizing principle of community, (c) preference for studying central members of the community over those at the margins, (d) focus on the group at the expense of individuals, (e) view of identity as a set of static categories, (f) valorization of researchers' interpretations over participants' own understandings of their practices."

John Gumperz' "Gravy"



"The gravy? Was that 'boat' or 'train', sir?"



In a staff cafeteria at a major British airport, newly hired Indian and Pakistani women were perceived as surly and uncooperative by their supervisor as well as by the cargo handlers whom they served. Observation revealed that while relatively few words were exchanged, the intonation and manner in which these words were pronounced were interpreted negatively. For example, when a cargo handler who had chosen meat was asked whether he wanted gravy, a British assistant would say "Gravy?" using rising intonation. The Indian assistants, on the other hand, would say the word using falling intonation: "Gravy." We taped relevant sequences, including interchanges like these, and asked the employees to paraphrase what was meant in each case. At first the Indian workers saw no difference. However, the English teacher and the cafeteria supervisor could point out that "Gravy," said with a falling intonation, is likely to be interpreted as 'This is gravy,' i.e. not interpreted as an offer but rather as a statement, which in the context seems redundant and consequently rude. When the Indian women heard this, they began to understand the reactions they had been getting all along which had until then seemed incomprehensible. They then spontaneously recalled intonation patterns which had seemed strange to them when spoken by native English speakers. At the same time, supervisors learned that the Indian women's falling intonation was their normal way of asking questions in that situation, and that no rudeness or indifference was intended.

“Why You Are So Insulted with Me?”

The first example comes from a discussion, or rather an argument, between a young female staff member in an industrial language-teaching unit and a middle-aged male Indian worker. [...] The discussion between this worker and the staff member was recorded by a second center staff member [...]. A transcript of the conversation follows:

TEACHER: Mrs. N. and Mrs. G. thought originally that it was a cour to carry on with the twilight course but this is not the case.

WORKER: No. What you you take one thing at a time you ... take it that whatever they know I get that even mmm for a D. (speaker's name me and I am student in E. Technical College and Mr. W. knows me. He. . . I asked for him in the same school. He knows my qualifications and what ... uh whether I am suitable or not.

TEACHER: But this has nothing to do with....

WORKER: But you can't know and can't tell a person just uh to come into this course. If ... suppose I came to this course from uh.... Had you taken this impression that I am not suitable because I took this course

TEACHER: But it's a question of the job you're doing. The course is for people who.... I'll tell you ... it says on the information it's for youth employment officers. It's for members of the police. It's for ah teachers. It's for people in management positions. Those are the people who are going to be in the course.

WORKER: Yes uh that's uh that's your plan and that ih you make it a . . .

TEACHER: But Mr. Mr. D. it's a training course for people who are going to do those jobs.

WORKER: and and it lasts until you say. I . . . the people who are interested in this ih sort of uh . . . ed-education

TEACHER: Yes. With reference to their work, yes. Yes.

WORKER: Yes.

TEACHER: Exactly. With reference to their work.

WORKER: Profe . . . professional people them or all the people who are personally interested.

TEACHER: Why are you so uni-. . . You've applied. It doesn't matter anymore.

WORKER: Yes.

TEACHER: I don't understand ... why you are so insulted with me.

WORKER: mm I ... I am not insulting you.

The tape begins in the midst of a heated exchange. Voices are raised; speakers frequently interrupt each other and seem to be paying little attention to what the other has to say. [...] The staff member's final exasperated utterance, "I don't understand . . . why you are so insulted with me", and the worker's reply, "I am not insulting you," show that the episode ends in complete misunderstanding. After preliminary transcription and analysis, we asked both participants to go over the passage and comment on their reactions.

The staff member stated that she felt that the worker's behavior was hostile and inconsistent. On several occasions he first seemed to agree with what she said and then unexpectedly contradicted her. She felt he was questioning her competence and her sincerity. In the end, when she said (lines 28-29), "It doesn't matter anymore," referring to the fact that he did receive an application, calm tone of his reply, "Yes," implied to her that it had never really mattered to him. She then lost her temper and asked why he was so insulted. As evidence for her negative evaluations, the staff member pointed to the worker's repeated use of interjections such as "No," in line 3, which she understood as indicating agreement with her statement in line 2. "This is not the case," as well as his "Yes" in line 30, which also seemed to indicate agreement, followed by his renewed persistent arguing and occasional shouting, as in "but you can't know!" At another point, when she stated (lines 19-20) that the course was intended as a training course for people who already held certain jobs, he said calmly (line 21), "and it lasts until you say." Here again although his tone of voice suggested agreement, the content implied that he was accusing her of being arbitrary.

The Indian worker, on the other hand, had quite different interpretations. He commented on the staff member's high pitch and tone, which he interpreted as emotional and therefore impolite. He said that she interrupted him and paid no attention to the relevant information he was presenting. When asked what he meant when he said "No" in line 3, he said he did not agree with her and therefore there was no inconsistency with his later remarks. He also said that he was not shouting at any point in the conversation; he was simply trying to recapture the floor when he felt he was being interrupted.

Clearly, the misunderstanding here is not simply based on misreading of sentence content. Some of the differences in interpretation are directly traceable to particular discourse features, or "contextualization cues," as we will call them.

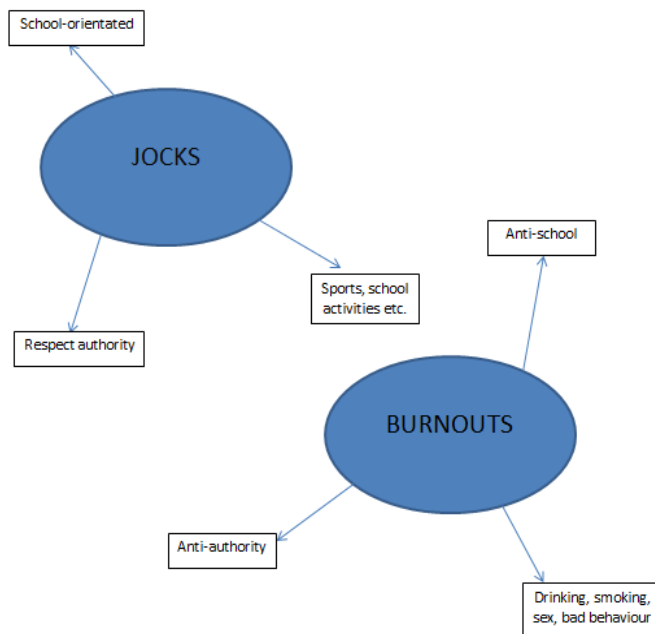
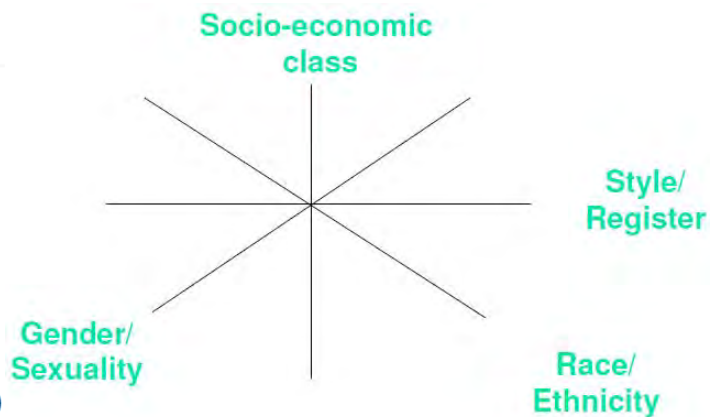
Source: John J. Gumperz "The Conversational Analysis of Interethnic Communication" (1978)

Speech Community Defined: "Mean Girls"

SC: Key Elements

- Social group
 - "INs" & "OUTs"
- Shared 'norms'
- Shared language(s)
- Shared linguistic values
- Of interest to someone...
 - (cf. "If a tree falls in the woods...")

Contributing Factors (partial ☺) Source: Penelope Eckert "Handouts on Sociolinguistics" (2007)



Source: Penelope Eckert
"High School Ethnography" (2000)

What Eckert did in her research was define groups in terms of the **social practices** the speakers engaged in. She did this by **observing** friendship groups in a school in Detroit; this method of detailed observation of a community is known as **ethnography**.

What she established were two very different groups in the school, the **jocks** and the **burnouts**, each containing individuals with a mix of social class (parental occupation, housing etc.)

The **jocks** were a group in the school who actively engaged in and enjoyed school life. The diagram below shows their key characteristics.

The **burnouts** were quite the opposite of the jocks, choosing not to become involved and interactive with the goings-on of the school and engaging in rebellious behavior.

Eckert found that people tend to **speak more like their friends** - those who shared social practices together - than others belonging in the same demographic category as them, i.e. social class.

Mean Girls

Cady (played by Lindsay Lohan) has recently moved from Africa to North Shore High School. She is quickly thrust into a suburban high school after having been home schooled her entire life. She is quickly introduced to the cliques that exist at school: the "Asian Nerds," the "Burnouts," the "Mathletes," the "Jocks," and most importantly, the "Plastics."

The "Plastics," Regina, Gretchen and Karen, are a group of three girls who run this suburban high school and are the focus of the movie. The Plastics use flattery and manipulative behavior to use people and maintain their queen bee status among the student body. Cady is quickly challenged and accepted by these girls because of her attractive looks and given a set of standards to live by. Her friends Lizzy and Damian convince Cady to infiltrate their group and to sabotage their status from the inside. Cady begins to take on the Plastic status and actually becomes one of the "Mean Girls."



Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=re5veV2F7eY>

Jocks and Burnouts

Burnouts a working class culture

- Urban Oriented – networks, destinations
- Reject institution as basis of social lives
- Consciously have-nots
- Egalitarian and solidary
 - Share goods, services and problems
- School of hard knocks
- Lay claim to adult prerogatives







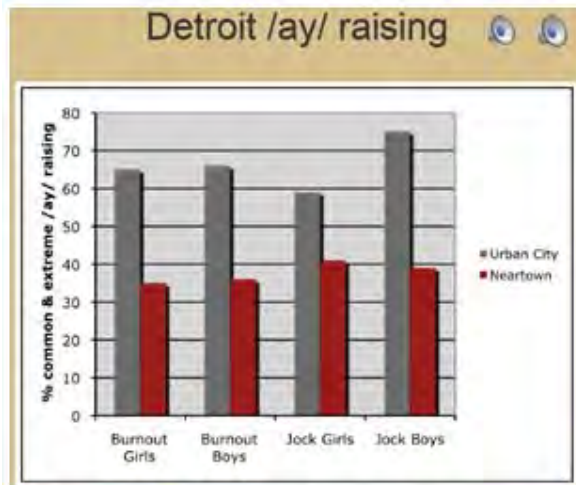
Jocks a middle class culture

- Urban area only for institutional engagement
- Base networks and activities in school
- Wear the latest fashions
- Hierarchical and cautious social relations
- Emphasis on projecting stable, healthy image
- Collegial relations with adults

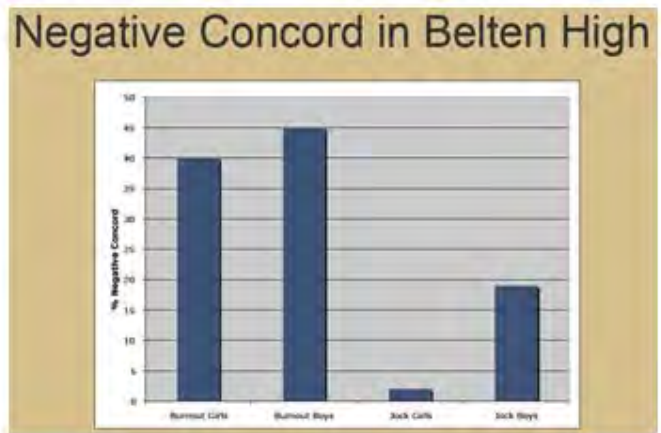




Source: Penelope Eckert "Handouts on Sociolinguistics" (2007)



▲ /ay/ The first part of the diphthong in *right* shifts towards the vowel in *all, caught*
 Example: *typing* sounds more like *toyping*

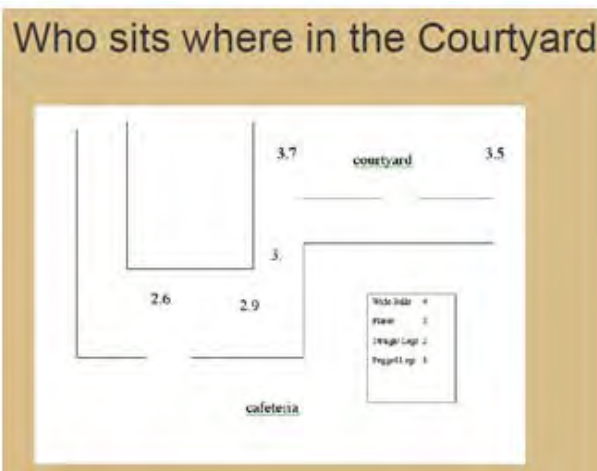


▲ Examples of Negative Concord (or Double Negation)
 "I don't never heard of that before."
 "Nothing don't come to a sleeper but a dream."

Source: Penelope Eckert "Handouts on Sociolinguistics" (2007)

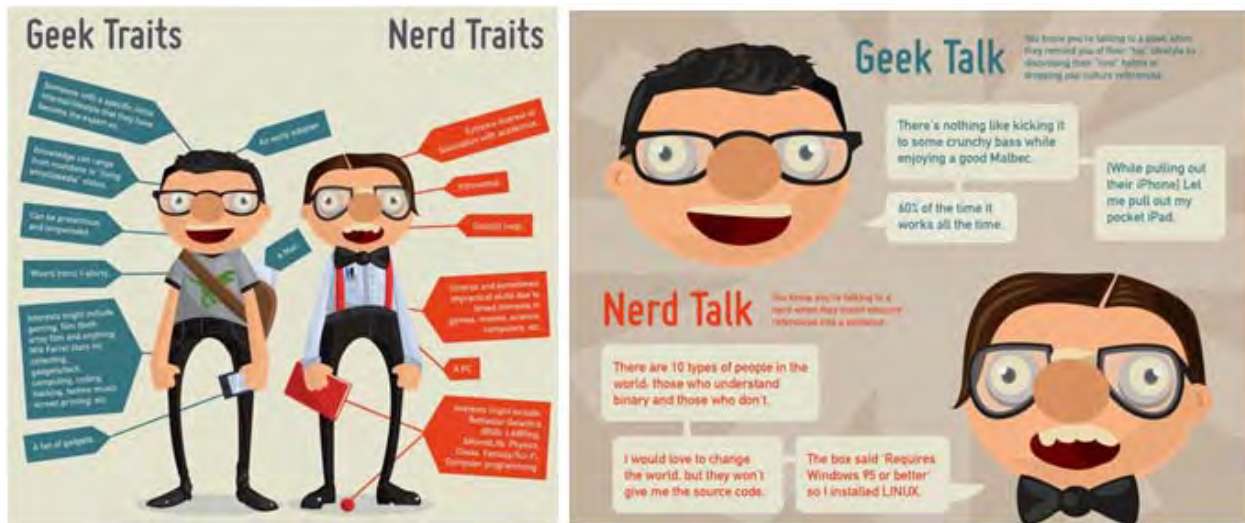
The Courtyard

Let me think. Okay. Us – you know like the burnout – yeah bye. Like the – wait bum me one – the burnout chicks, they they sit over here, and then the like the jocks chicks they sit like around here. And then
By that door?
 No like in the middle. And then um
Who are the jock chicks that hang out in the courtyard?
 I don't know. Just, you know, weirdos. And then there's like um the guys, you know, you know, like weirdos that think they're cool. They just stand like on the steps and hang out at that little heater.
By the door yeah right.
 "Hey." And then the points are inside in the cafeteria, cuz they're probably afraid to come out in the courtyard.



Source: Penelope Eckert "Handouts on Sociolinguistics" (2007)

What's a Nerd?



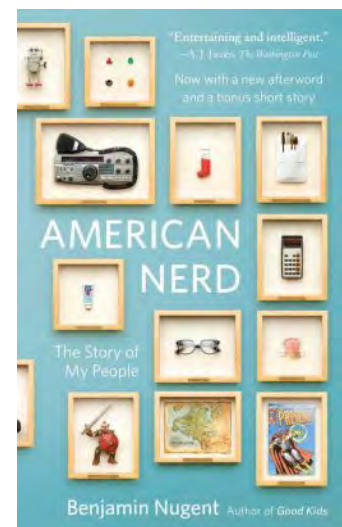
Source: Geek vs. Nerd Infographic; MastersInIT.org

What is a nerd? Mary Bucholtz, a linguist at the University of California, Santa Barbara, has been working on the question for the last 12 years. She has gone to high schools and colleges, mainly in California, and asked students from different crowds to think about the idea of nerdiness and who among their peers should be considered a nerd; students have also “reported” themselves. Nerdiness, she has concluded, is largely a matter of racially tinged behavior. People who are considered nerds tend to act in ways that are, as she puts it, “hyperwhite.”

While the word “nerd” has been used since the 1950s, its origin remains elusive. Nerds, however, are easy to find everywhere. Being a nerd has become a widely accepted and even proud identity, and nerds have carved out a comfortable niche in popular culture; “nerdcore” rappers, who wear pocket protectors and write paeans to computer routing devices, are in vogue, and TV networks continue to run shows with titles like “Beauty and the Geek.” As a linguist, Bucholtz understands nerdiness first and foremost as a way of using language. In a 2001 paper, “The Whiteness of Nerds: Superstandard English and Racial Markedness,” and other works, Bucholtz notes that the “hegemonic” “cool white” kids use a limited amount of African-American vernacular English; they may say “blood” in lieu of “friend,” or drop the “g” in “playing.” But the nerds she has interviewed, mostly white kids, punctiliously adhere to Standard English. They often favor Greco-Latinate words over Germanic ones (“it’s my observation” instead of “I think”), a preference that lends an air of scientific detachment. They’re aware they speak distinctively, and they use language as a badge of membership in their cliques. One nerd girl Bucholtz observed performed a typically nerdy feat when asked to discuss “blood” as a slang term; she replied: “B-L-O-O-D. The word is blood,” evoking the format of a spelling bee. She went on, “That’s the stuff which is inside of your veins,” humorously using a literal definition. Nerds are not simply victims of the prevailing social codes about what’s appropriate and what’s cool; they actively shape their own identities and put those codes in question.

By cultivating an identity perceived as white to the point of excess, nerds deny themselves the aura of normality that is usually one of the perks of being white. Bucholtz sees something to admire here. In declining to appropriate African-American youth culture, thereby “refusing to exercise the racial privilege upon which white youth cultures are founded,” she writes, nerds may even be viewed as “traitors to whiteness.” [...] If nerdiness, as Bucholtz suggests, can be a rebellion against the cool white kids and their use of black culture, it’s a rebellion with a limited membership.

Source: Benjamin Nugent “Who’s a Nerd, Anyway?” (2007)



Nerds, Geeks, Dorks



Definition of *NERD*

: an unstylish, unattractive, or socially inept person; especially : one slavishly devoted to intellectual or academic pursuits <computer *nerds*>

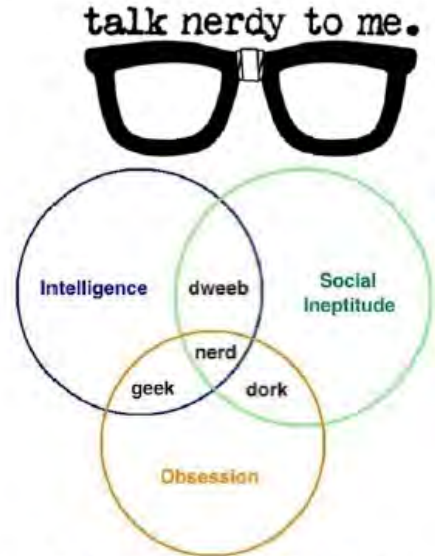
- *nerd·i·ness* noun
- *nerd·ish* adjective
- *nerdy* adjective

Examples of *NERD*

1. He dresses like a *nerd*.
2. <was such a *nerd* in college that she spent Saturday nights at the library>

Origin of *NERD*

perhaps from *nerd*, a creature in the children's book *If I Ran the Zoo* (1950) by Dr. Seuss (Theodor Geisel).
 First Known Use: 1951



	GEEK	NERD	DORK
Chief Cell-Phone Concern	Does it have BlueTooth?	Does it play games?	Who would I call?
Mantra	Can we fix it? Yes we can!	The meek shall inherit the earth	Where's the remote?
Dream Job(s)	Nasa/ILM/Google	Wizards of the Coast/Marvel Comics	American Idol Archivist
Uniform	Jeans and ironic T	Penny loafers and Aone	Whatever Mom wants
Starter Apartment Furniture	Computer Desk	Kitchen Table for D&D	Starter Apartment?
Favorite Sport	Robot Wars	Captain Kirk Drinking Game	Handheld video poker
Playlists	Knight Rider/A-Team Mashups	Lord of the Rings/Star Wars Soundtracks	139,5 Best Hits of Today, Tomorrow, and Beyond!!!
Favorite Childhood Toy	Legos	Superhero doll action-figure	Own snot
Boner Worthy	API Documentation	Babylon 5 Marathon	Bra section in the JCPenny Catalogue

Source: Wikipedia

Video: "The Simpsons: Jocks and Nerds," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IRsPheErBj8>

Communities of Practice: Nerds (1)

The frame-work is used here to analyze the linguistic practices associated with an un-examined social identity, the nerd, and to illustrate how members of a local community of female nerds at a US high school negotiate gender and other aspects of their identities through practice. I argue that nerd identity, contrary to popular perceptions, is not a stigma imposed by others, but a purposefully chosen alternative to mainstream gender identities which is achieved and maintained through language and other social practices.

I suggest six ways in which the speech community has been an inadequate model for work on language and gender:

- (a) Its tendency to take language as central.
- (b) Its emphasis on consensus as the organizing principle of community.
- (c) Its preference for studying central members of the community over those at the margins.
- (d) Its focus on the group at the expense of individuals.
- (e) Its view of identity as a set of static categories.
- (f) Its valorization of researchers' interpretations over participants' own understandings of their practices.

TABLE 1. *Linguistic identity practices of nerds at Bay City High School.*

Linguistic Level	Negative Identity Practices	Positive Identity Practices
Phonology	Lesser fronting of (uw) and (ow) ^a	
Phonology	Resistance to colloquial phonological processes such as vowel reduction, consonant-cluster simplification, and contraction	Employment of superstandard and hypercorrect phonological forms (e.g. spelling pronunciations)
Syntax	Avoidance of nonstandard syntactic forms	Adherence to standard and superstandard syntactic forms
Lexicon	Avoidance of current slang	Employment of lexical items associated with the formal register (e.g. Greco-Latinate forms)
Discourse		Orientation to language form (e.g. punning, parody, word coinage)

^aIn Bucholtz 1998 I offer a fuller discussion of the phonological and syntactic patterns of nerds. The present article focuses primarily on lexicon and on discursive identity practices. The variables (uw) and (ow) are part of a vowel shift that is characteristic of California teenagers (Hinton et al. 1987, Luthin 1987). It is stereotypically associated with trendy and cool youth identities.

Communities of Practice: Nerds (2)

- (1) 1 Carrie: Where where do those seeds come from
 2 (points to her bagel)
 3 (laughter)
 4 Bob: [Poppies.]
 5 Fred: [Sesame plants.]
 6 Carrie: {But what do they look like?} (high pit
 7 Fred: I have no idea. hh
 8 Bob: Sesame:.
 9 Carrie: [Is anybody- h]
 10 Fred: Ask me (.) [tomorrow.]
 11 I'll look it up for you. h
 12 Carrie: h Is anybody here knowledgeable about
 13 the seeds on top of bagels?/
 14 Fred: /Sesame.
 15 Bob: They're sesame?
 16 They're not sunfl- ?
 17 No,
 18 of course they're not sunflower.
 19 Loden: Yeah,
 20 [What kind of seeds are-
 21 Carrie: [Because sunflower are those whoppin;
 22 Bob: [Yeah.
 23 Yeah.
 24 I know.
 25 (laughter)
- (4) 49 Carrie: He's like (.) has this (.) castle,
 50 (xxx: Is he xxx king?)
 51 Carrie: No--
 52 Yeah,
 53 he is.
 54 Loden: hh
 55 Carrie: He has this--
 56 {He has this castle right?
 57 except it's all crusty,}
 58 (rustling of lunch bag, clanging of aluminum can)
 59 (Fred: Uh huh.)
 60 Carrie: And so he lives on a boat [in the moat.]
 61 Bob: [A crusty-]
 62 (Fred crushes her aluminum can)
 63 Kate: Whoa!
 64 (quiet laughter)
 65 Bob: Is it really [crusty?]
 66 Carrie: [He's-]
 67 And so like the- like because- the people are trying to
 68 him that like he should stay in the castle and he's all,
 69 {"No, it's crusty!"} (high pitch, tensed vocal cords)
 70 (laughter)
 71 Carrie: [{"I'm in the moat!"}] (high pitch, quiet)
 72 right,
 73 Bob: What's wrong with [crusty castles?]
 74 Carrie: [And so-]
 75 Well,
 76 Would [you want to live]=
 77 Kate: [Crusty (castles).]
 78 Carrie: =in a castle full of crust?
 79 [{"iəi}] (noise of disgust and disapproval)
 80 Kate: [How gross.]
 81 Bob: [I mi:ght.]
 82 Carrie: Huh?
- (2) 26 Bob: They come from trees.
 27 They have big trees and they just
 28 [ra:in down seeds]
 29 [(laughter)]
 30 Carrie: [No they don't.]
 31 Uh uh.
 32 Why would little tiny seeds [come from-]
 33 Fred: [[into baskets.]] (smiling qu
 34 Ye:p,
 35 [([I've been there.))] (smiling quality)
 36 Carrie: [No:]
 37 Loden: [No:]
 38 Bob: [[Little tiny leaves come from trees,]]
 39 Fred: [[And the whole culture's built around it.]]
 40 like in: some countries,
 41 All they do is like the women come out and they have ba
 42 th(h)eir h(h)eads and they st(h)and under a [tree.]
- (3) 43 Carrie: [My-]
 44 You sound like my crusty king,
 45 I'm writing this (.) poem because I have to like incorpora
 46 words into a poem, and it's all about-
 47 (interruption, lines omitted)
 48 Fred: So what about this king?
- (5) 83 Bob: What kind of crust?
 84 Like,
 85 bread crust?
 86 Carrie: Like
 87 Bob: Like [eye crust?]
 88 Carrie: [crusty crust.]
 89 Like [boo:tsy] (high pitch, tensed vocal c
 90 crust.
 91 (laughter)
 92 Bob: Oh.
 93 Well,
 94 Maybe if it's bootsy,
 95 I don't know.
 96 Fred: {Boot[sy!]} (falsetto, sing-song)
 97 Kate: [(coughs)]
 98 (laughter)

<u>underline</u>	emphatic stress or increased amplitude
(.)	pause of 0.5 seconds or less
(n.n)	pause of greater than 0.5 seconds, measured by a stopp
h	exhalation (e.g. laughter, sigh); each token marks one p
()	uncertain transcription
< >	transcriber comment; nonvocal noise
{ }	stretch of talk over which a transcriber comment applie
[]	overlap beginning and end
/	latching (no pause between speaker turns)
=	no pause between intonation units

The community of practice, having revolutionized the field of language and gender almost as soon as it was first proposed, enables researchers of socially situated language use to view language within the context of social practice. Perhaps the most valuable feature is that the community of practice admits a range of social and linguistic phenomena that are not analyzed in other theoretical models. Local identities, and the linguistic practices that produce them, become visible to sociolinguistic analysis as the purposeful choices of agentive individuals, operating within (and alongside and outside) the constraints of the social structure. To describe and explain such complexity must be the next step not only for language and gender scholars, but for all sociolinguists concerned with the linguistic construction of the social world.

Source: Mary Bucholtz "Why Be Normal? Language and Identity Practices in a Community of Nerd Girls" (1999)

Two Nations Divided by the Same Language

"Network American" (a.k.a. "Mainstream United States English")

"If native speakers from Michigan, New England, and Arkansas avoid the use of socially stigmatized grammatical structures such as "double negatives" (e.g., *They didn't do nothing*), different verb agreement patterns (e.g., *They's okay*) and different irregular verb forms (e.g., *She done it*), there is a good chance that they will be considered standard English speakers even though they may have distinct regional pronunciations. In this way, informal standard English is defined negatively. In other words, if a person's speech is free of the structures that can be identified as nonstandard, then it is considered standard." [Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998:12] ▼ <http://www.soundcomparisons.com/Eng/Direct/Englshes/SglLgRPStandard.htm>

"Received Pronunciation" and Urban Accents in England

The spirit might be willing, but the flesh is still weak when it comes to not discriminating against people with the sorts of accent you hear in gritty Alan Bleasdale dramas or from Benny at the late Crossroads motel. The Institute of Personnel and Development came to that insight after questioning recruitment specialists, who confessed that, yes, people with strong regional accents were often discriminated against at work or when applying for jobs. The basic gist is that if you have a Liverpool, Glasgow or Birmingham accent, and you are really keen to get that job, then learn sign language before your interview. Those are the three accents that are seen as "negative" by some employers.

Accent one London recruitment consultant told the institute, "communicates background, education and birthplace and frankly, some backgrounds are more marketable than others. I would advise anyone with a "redbrick" or industrial accent to upgrade. Politicians and lawyers do it, so why shouldn't others?" Another consultant said: "Let's face it—people with a Scouse accent sound whiny and people with Brummie accents sound stupid." [Smith 1997:6]

Two examples

Two somewhat different images of a linguistic standard are displayed; only the British example focuses on accent, while the American example focuses on lexis and on language choice. The British example, entitled "Can Your Accent Blight Your life?", describes the experiences of Helen, a Manchester woman who moved to London in search of employment:

"In the arts where no one has a regional accent [i.e., RP is the expected norm]... my CV was good enough to get me interviews, but... as soon as they heard me speak... I wasn't taken seriously..." And when Helen finally landed a job with a community theatre project in Islington, North London, she was told she'd only been selected because the area would benefit from a "common touch." Helen encounters similar reactions in casual interpersonal encounters: "People can't see further than my voice and assume I'm aggressive and common. They think I should own pigeons and have an outside toilet." [Daubney 1996:23]

The American example comprises an extract taken from a transcript of a 1987 screening of *The Oprah Winfrey Show* called "Standard and Black English," where both studio audience and telephone callers contributed on the topic of African American English:

Second Caller:
Winfrey:
Second Caller:

Hi, Oprah?

Yes

I guess what I'd like to say is that what makes me feel that blacks tend to be ignorant is that they fail to see that the word is spelled A-S-K, not A-X. And when they say "aksed," it gives the sentence an entirely different meaning. And this is what I feel holds blacks back.

Winfrey:

Why does it give it a different meaning if you know that's what they're saying?

Second Caller:

But you don't always know that's what they are saying.



Ask vs. Aks

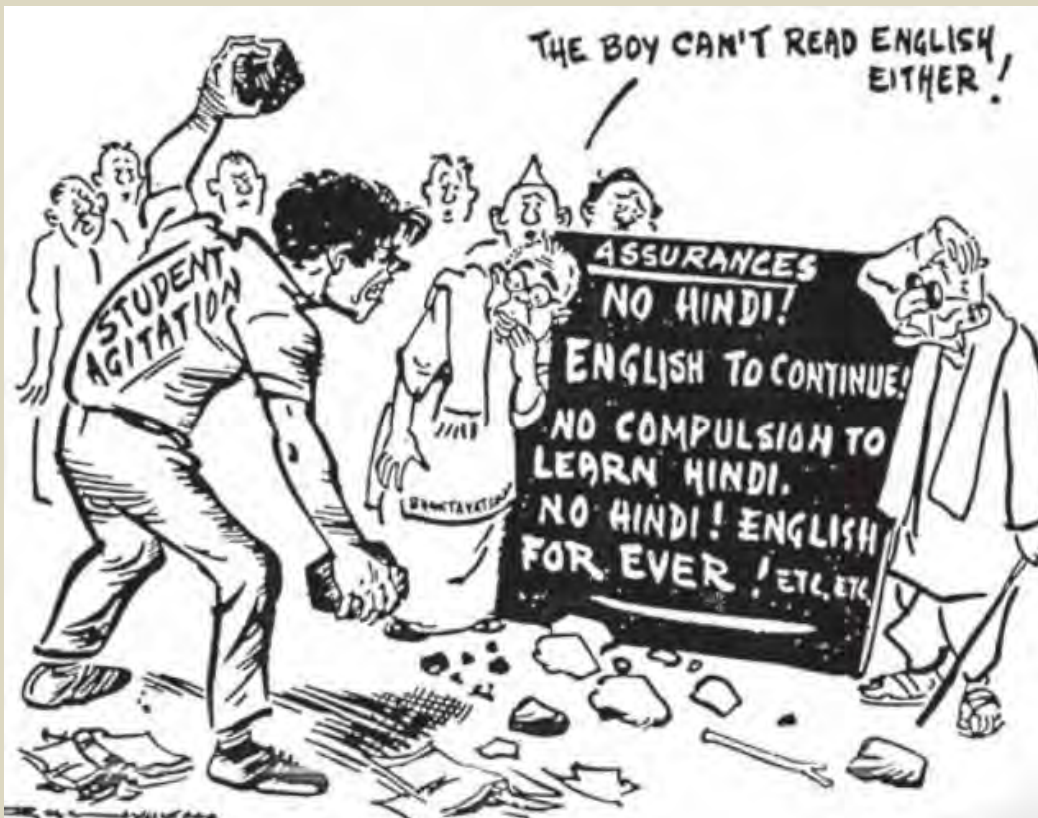
Script & Identity

Vukovar, Croatia, Feb. 2013: "Ne Ćirilici! = "No to Cyrillic!"



Videos: Protests in Croatia over bilingual street signs; Thousands of Croats rally against Serb Cyrillic signs
"Top Lista Nadrealista: Jezici," min. 3.20, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DztrX5dXmxU>

Choosing a Code: Diglossia and Code-Switching



The cartoon dates to 1965, when opposition to the planned imposition of the Hindi language across India generated unrest over much of the country.

Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Ideologies of Bilingualism

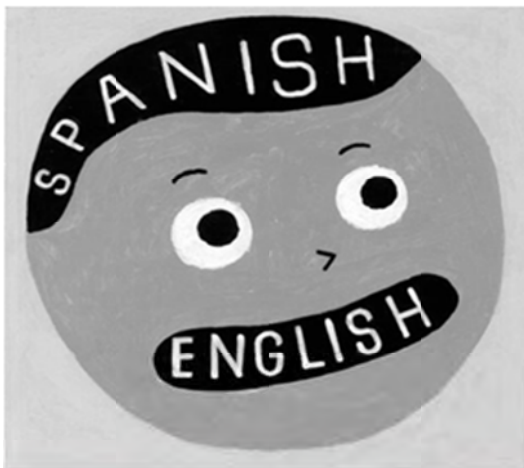


'Gina is by lingual . . . that means she can say the same thing twice, but you can only understand it once.'

Source: Rajend Mesthrie et al., eds. "Introducing Sociolinguistics" (2009)



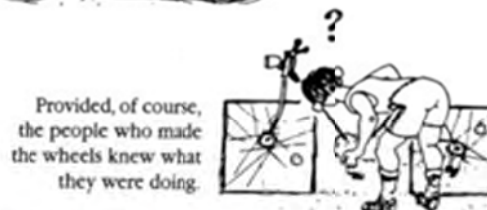
(The Guardian" zur Krise des Englischunterrichts in Großbritannien)



Don't cut off our tongues!

Save the Northern Territory bilingual programs

The Effects of Bilingualism



Source: J. Cummins "Negotiating Identities: Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society" (2001)

Diglossia According to Ferguson

For convenience of reference the superposed variety in diglossia will be called the H ("high") variety or simply H, and the regional dialects will be called L ("low") varieties or, collectively, simply L. All the defining languages have names for H and L, and these are listed in the accompanying table.

ARABIC		
	H is called	L is called
Classical (= H)	' <i>al-fuṣḥā</i>	' <i>al-ʿāmmiyyah</i> , ' <i>ad-dārij</i>
Egyptian (= L)	' <i>il-faṣīḥ</i> , ' <i>in-naḥawī</i>	' <i>il-ʿāmmiyya</i>
SW. GERMAN		
Stand. German (= H)	<i>Schriftsprache</i>	[<i>Schweizer</i>] <i>Dialekt</i> , <i>Schweizerdeutsch</i>
Swiss (= L)	<i>Hoochtüütsch</i>	<i>Schwoyzertüütsch</i>
H. CREOLE		
French (= H)	<i>français</i>	<i>créole</i>
GREEK		
H and L	<i>katharévusa</i>	<i>dhimotikí</i>

A dozen or so examples of lexical doublets from three of the sample languages are given below. For each language two nouns, a verb, and two particles are given.

GREEK		
H		L
<i>íkos</i>	house	<i>spíti</i>
<i>ídhor</i>	water	<i>neró</i>
<i>éteke</i>	gave birth	<i>eyénise</i>
<i>alá</i>	but	<i>má</i>
ARABIC		
<i>ḥiḍā'un</i>	shoe	<i>gazma</i>
<i>'anfun</i>	nose	<i>manaxír</i>
<i>ḍahaba</i>	went	<i>rāḥ</i>
<i>mā</i>	what	<i>'zh</i>
<i>'al'āna</i>	now	<i>dīlwa'ti</i>
CREOLE		
<i>homme, gens</i>	person, people	<i>moun</i> (not connected with <i>monde</i>)
<i>âne</i>	donkey	<i>bourik</i>
<i>donner</i>	give	<i>bay</i>
<i>beaucoup</i>	much, a lot	<i>âpil</i>
<i>maintenant</i>	now	<i>kou-n-yé-a</i>

listing of possible situations is given, with indication of the variety normally used:

	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		x
Personal letter	x	
Speech in parliament, political speech	x	
University lecture	x	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		x
News broadcast	x	
Radio "soap opera"		x
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	x	
Caption on political cartoon		x
Poetry	x	
Folk literature		x

A tentative prognosis for the four defining languages over the next two centuries (i.e., to about A.D. 2150) may be hazarded:

SWISS GERMAN: Relative stability.

ARABIC: Slow development toward several standard languages, each based on an L variety with heavy admixture of H vocabulary. Three seem likely: Maghrebi (based on Rabat or Tunis?), Egyptian (based on Cairo), Eastern (based on Baghdad?); unexpected politico-economic developments might add Syrian (based on Damascus?), Sudanese (based on Omdurman-Khartoum), or others.

HAITIAN CREOLE: Slow development toward unified standard based on L of Port-au-Prince.

GREEK: Full development to unified standard based on L of Athens plus heavy admixture of H vocabulary.

Diglossia vs. Bilingualism (questionable!)

		Diglossia	
		+	-
Bilingualism	+	1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
	-	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

Source: Robert McColl Millar "Language, Nation, and Power" (2005)

The following example from Trudgill (1983b, pp. 118–19) shows how different the Zürich variety of Swiss German is from High German:

Low variety – Swiss German

En Schwyzer isch er zwaar nie woorde, weder en papiirige na äine im Hëërz inc; und eebigs häd mer syner Spraach aagmërkt, das er nüd daa aufgewachsen ischt. Nüd nu s Muul häd de Ussländer verraate, au syni Möödeli. Er häd lieber mit syne tüütsche Landslüüte weder mit de Yhämische vercheert, und ischt Mitglied und Zaalmäischter von irem Veräin gsy.

High Variety – Standard German

Ein Schweizer ist er zwar nie geworden, weder auf dem Papier noch im Herzen; und man hat es seine Sprache angemerkt, dass er nicht dort aufgewachsen ist. Nicht nur die Sprache hat den Ausländer verraten, sondern auch seine Gewohnheiten. Er hat lieber mit seinen deutschen Landsleuten als mit den Einheimischen verkehrt, und ist Mitglied und Zahlmeister ihres Vereins gewesen.

English

He never actually became Swiss, neither on paper nor in his heart; and you could tell from his language that he had not grown up there. It was not only his language that showed that he was a foreigner – his way of life showed it too. He preferred to associate with his German compatriots rather than with the natives, and was a member and the treasurer of their society.

Source: Ronald Wardhaugh "Introduction to Sociolinguistics" (1986)

Marrying Another Speaker of Your Language = Incest

An interesting example of multilingualism exists among the Tukano of the northwest Amazon, on the border between Colombia and Brazil (Sorensen, 1971). The Tukano are a multilingual people because men must marry outside their language group; that is, no man may have a wife who speaks his language, for that kind of marriage relationship is not permitted and would be viewed as a kind of incest. Men choose the women they marry from various neighboring tribes who speak other languages. Furthermore, on marriage, women move into the men's households or longhouses. Consequently, in any village several languages are used: the language of the men; the various languages spoken by women who originate from different neighboring tribes; and a widespread regional 'trade' language. Children are born into this multilingual environment: the child's father speaks one language, the child's mother another, and other women with whom the child has daily contact perhaps still others. However, everyone in the community is interested in language learning so most people can speak most of the languages. Multilingualism is taken for granted, and moving from one language to another in the course of a single conversation is very common. In fact, multilingualism is so usual that the Tukano are hardly conscious that they do speak different languages as they shift easily from one to another. They cannot readily tell an outsider how many languages they speak, and must be suitably prompted to enumerate which languages they speak and to describe how well they speak each one.

Multilingualism is a norm in this community. It results from the pattern of marriage and the living arrangements consequent to marriage. Communities are multilingual and no effort is made to suppress the variety of languages that are spoken. It is actually seen as a source of strength, for it enables the speakers of the various linguistic communities to maintain contact with one another and provides a source for suitable marriage partners for those who seek them. A man cannot marry one of his 'sisters,' i.e., women whose mother tongue is the same as his. People are not 'strangers' to one another by reason of the fact that they cannot communicate when away from home. When men from one village visit another village, they are likely to find speakers of their native language. There will almost certainly be some women from the 'home' village who have married into the village being visited, possibly even a sister. The children of these women, too, will be fluent in their mothers' tongue. Many others also will have learned some of it because it is considered proper to learn to use the languages of those who live with you.

Source: Ronald Wardhaugh "Introduction to Sociolinguistics" (1986)

Old Church Slavonic & Slavic Vernaculars

Examples of Old Church Slavonic influence on Russian		
Russian word	Slavonic word	Russian term
голос <i>golos</i> (voice)	гласъ <i>glasŭ</i>	гласная <i>glasnaia</i> (vowel)
город <i>gorod</i> (city, town)	градъ <i>gradŭ</i>	City names: Вольгоград <i>Volgograd</i> , Калининград <i>Kaliningrad</i> , etc., but Новгород <i>Novgorod</i> (wfw. Newtown)
молоко <i>moloko</i> (milk), кормить <i>kormit'</i> (feed)	млѣко <i>mlĕko</i> , питѣти <i>pitĕti</i>	млекопитающие <i>mlekopitayushchie</i> (mammals)

Source: Wikipedia

Diglossia in Language Landscapes



Diglossia: Portuguese and Creole; Mindelo, São Vicente Island, Cape Verde (2006). Portuguese can be read on the upper sign, while Creole is written on the two beer advertisements.



◀ A sign along the road in Bandar Seri Begawan, the capital of Brunei, which reads "Prioritise the Malay language." The text at the top of the sign says the same in the Arabic-based Jawi script.

▲ Source: Wikipedia ▼

In Brunei, Standard Malay (Bahasa Melayu) is promoted as the national language and is the H variety, while Brunei Malay is used very widely throughout society and it constitutes the L variety. One major difference between these dialects of Malay is that Brunei Malay tends to have the verb at the front, while Standard Malay generally places it after the subject. It has been estimated that 84% of core vocabulary in Brunei Malay and Standard Malay is cognate, though their pronunciation often differs very considerably. While Standard Malay has six vowels, Brunei Malay has only three: /a, i, u/.

One complicating factor is that English is also widely used in Brunei, especially in education, as it is the medium of instruction from upper primary school onwards, so it shares the H role with Standard Malay. Another code that competes for the H role in some situations is the special palace register of Brunei Malay, which includes an elaborate system of honorific terms for addressing and referring to the Sultan and other nobles. Finally, although Standard Malay is used for sermons in the mosques (as expected for the H variety), readings from the Qur'an are in Arabic.

Language Regulation: Ramadan in Morocco

During Ramadan, it is illegal for Muslim Moroccans to eat, drink, or smoke in public. Article 222 of the Moroccan Penal Code states that “anyone who is known for belonging to the religion of Islam and ostensibly breaks the fast in public during the time of fasting in Ramadan, without the reasons permitted by this religion risks between 1 and 6 months in prison and a fine”. Throughout the month of Ramadan, restaurants and cafés change their hours accordingly, opening only at the hour of the sunset *iftar* meal which breaks the fast. The only exception, as far as I experienced in the capital of Rabat, is McDonald’s. [...] This sign was posted outside the door of the McDonald’s in Agdal, a newer part of the city that was built during the Protectorate era. It is presently one of the wealthiest neighborhoods of Rabat, inhabited by many expatriates - mostly French - and the Moroccan elite. Located along the central shopping area of Avenue Fal Ould Oumeir, this establishment is commonly frequented by the upper-class residents of Agdal. The sign reads:



*McDo Ramadan Hours
7 days a week
10:30 am - 3:00 am*

*Dear customers,
the McDonald's Morocco family
wishes you a Blessed Ramadan*

*For on-site consumption
we wish to remind you that
eating in a public place
during the days of Ramadan
is governed by the laws
of the kingdom.*

*For your own comfort,
please inquire about
the provisions of these laws
to avoid any inconvenience.*

Thank you for understanding.

◀ *Notice to McDonald's customers
regarding Ramadan laws. Rabat, 2013.*

This is a striking example of language regulation, for it imposes French – *with no Arabic translation!* – as its chosen medium through which to navigate the space of McDonalds in negotiation with the public place of the street. The content of the sign – a legal disclaimer directed to out-group members – strengthens the power of its message by using a language that functions as an icon of political and economic power, secularism, and modernity in Morocco. This effectively discourages Moroccans who may not have a solid grasp of French from entering the establishment, while encouraging foreigners and non-Muslims to enter the space. A 2013 Morocco World News article entitled “Eating in

Public during Ramadan: the Moroccan Schizophrenia” elaborates on the association between French speakers and secularism that becomes an especially sensitive topic during the religious performance of daily fasting:

French-Moroccans are often seen as faithless people, or Muslims who have given up religion and do not respect it as tradition as the rest of the Moroccans. Because of this prejudice some Moroccans have towards the French-Moroccans, they would criticize them for eating in public but wouldn't act further regarding the matter (Amarir 2013, Morocco World News).

In this linguistic exchange, denying competency in Darija and insisting upon French reflects the very message embedded in the sign posted on the McDonald's door: that the French language indexes a distance from the religious and traditional performances of Moroccan culture, while promoting an identity of secular cosmopolitanism. In the specific cultural space of McDonald's in Agdal during Ramadan, speaking French implies that one is not a practicing Muslim, which in turn increases the likelihood of being served food without drawing attention.

I'm sure they do speak Arabic... they just want to show off. He's only a security guard. He's nothing. They are coming there to break the fast. I'm sure the father and the mother don't fast. Most of the elite, they don't do the Ramadan.

Source: Sybil Bullock “Language Ideologies in Morocco” Honors Thesis, ConnColl (2014)

Multilingual Signs



A trash can in Seattle labeled in four languages: English, Chinese 垃圾, Vietnamese (should be *rác*), and Spanish. Tagalog also uses the Spanish word. (Source: Wikipedia)



The three-language (Tamil, English and Hindi) name board at the Tirusulam suburban railway station in Chennai, South India. Almost all railway stations in India have signs like these in three or more languages (English, Hindi and the local language). Source: Wikipedia.



"STOP/ARRÊT": bilingual stop sign in Ottawa, Ontario



City limit sign in Sorbian areas of Germany.



Bilingual (Slovak and Hungarian) street sign (Saint Stephen street), Štúrovo/Párkány, Slovakia

Diglossia in Greece: Καθαρεύουσα vs. Δημοτική

Katharevousa (Greek: καθαρεύουσα, [καθα'revusa], lit. "puristic [language]"), is a conservative form of the Modern Greek language conceived in the early 19th century as a compromise between Ancient Greek and Dimotiki of the time. Originally, it was widely used both for literary and official purposes, though seldom in daily language. In the 20th century, it was increasingly adopted just for official and formal purposes, until Dimotiki became the official language of Greece in 1976 and Andreas Papandreou abolished the polytonic system of writing in 1981.

Demotic Greek (Greek: δημοτική [γλώσσα] [ðimoti'ci], "[language] of the people") or **dimotiki** is the modern vernacular form of the Greek language. The term has been in use since 1818. Demotic refers particularly to the form of the language that evolved naturally from ancient Greek, in opposition to the artificially archaic Katharevousa, which was the official standard until 1976. The two complemented each other in a typical example of diglossia until the resolution of the Greek language question in favor of Demotic.

Source: Wikipedia

κλασσικόν Ούζο Μυτιλήνης “Σαμαρά”

* Mytilene (Μυτιλήνη) – a town on the island of Lesbos, North Aegean, Greece.



Traces of Katharevousa (the high-register Greek) in drink inscriptions:

1) Morphologically: the ending 'ν' in the adjective κλασσικόν;

2) Polytonic spelling using diacritic marks for different accents (acute, grave, circumflex; rough [with /h/] vs. smooth [without /h/] breathing); a simpler, monotonic orthography was introduced in 1982.

3) Classic keyword (high-style vocab): οίκος (house);

4) Morphologically: aorist passive participle ιδρυθείς (established);

5) Dative with the year (τω).

Source: "Griechische Sprachfrage," Wikipedia

Who is “Japanese” in Hawai‘i?

This study examines how people who are often categorized as *Japanese* or *Japanese Americans* in Hawai‘i use a variety of categories or references to themselves and others (hereafter I refer to “references to groups of people” as “categories”) and how their mutual orientation to the meaning of categories may instantiate their ethnicity. My analysis is mainly concerned with how participants deploy emergent categories to interactively position themselves and co-participants, constructing and negotiating “who-we-know-we-are” at the moment of interaction (Schegloff 1972).

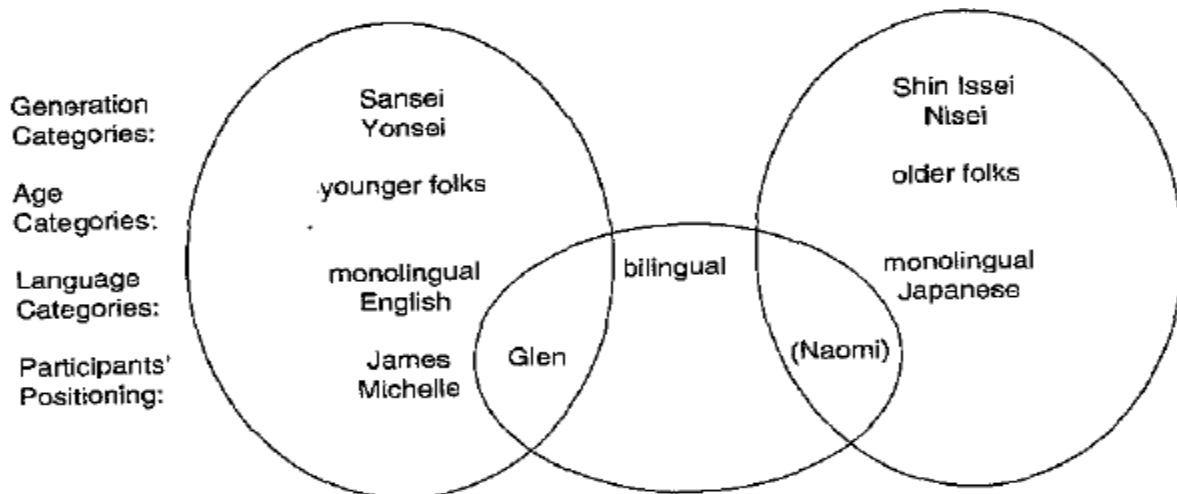


Figure 9.4. Participants' Positioning within Generation, Age, and Language Categories

Source: Asuka Suzuki “Who is “Japanese” in Hawai‘i?” (2009)

Spheres of Interaction: Starting Point for Code Analysis

I propose the idea of *spheres of interaction* as a starting point for code analysis. Spheres are sets of relations polarized by axes of social inequality. One's inner sphere is made of relations with people most equal to one; one's outer sphere is made of relations with people who have structural advantages over one. There is no precise line between inner and outer; the key distinction is the polarity of equality. For people whose lives and options are not greatly constrained by race and class difference, the polarity is minimal. The more race and class disadvantage limits people's options, the greater the polarity.

Linguistic differences are mapped onto this polarity. Working-class Puerto Ricans have an *inner sphere* of relations among family, friends, and neighbors with whom English is no problem. Their *outer sphere* is defined by relations with bosses, landlords, teachers, doctors, social workers, and others with the advantage of authority, class, and stereotypically (though not always actually) race; with these people, English can be a problem. Between these poles are more or less neutral relations with Anglophone storeowners, co-workers, and other relatively distant people who have no direct authority over one; these do not concern us here.

Source: Bonnie Urciuoli “The Political Topography of Bilingualism” (1998)

“What Is Spanish” for NYC’s Puerto Rican Children

Children have far less access to codified Spanish than to codified English. Their sense of “what is Spanish” arises mostly from what maps onto familiar relations and practices. This is probably why children found my speaking Spanish so odd. In many ways, metalinguistic classification is social classification. Children found my Spanish “weird” because it did not fit their classification of social relations; to them, Spanish is bounded by the familiar and the familial. To them, a “real” Spanish accent is the sound of a familiar reality, belonging to the internalized “home” language of their primary socialization (Berger and Luckmann 1967). Thus, to José, my accent was hopelessly (as he put it) “different from real people’s Spanish.” José’s reaction to finding Spanish in a speaker where it should not be (me) is, in a way, the opposite of Terri’s surprise that José does not know that “oven” is *horno* in Spanish. She does not find Spanish where it should be. She is surprised to find their everyday linguistic experiences not quite parallel: “If you don’t know *that*, I don’t know who you is.” This sense of displacement, of not quite knowing who one is or where one fits in, often emerges when children talk about their linguistic knowledge. In the next episode, which took place later that afternoon, Rosa Rivera’s son Freddy (age nine) and his buddy Mike (age ten, and Terri’s brother) come by to see if the cookies are done:

- Terri: You got to talk Spanish into the tape we got.
 Freddy: I can’t talk Spanish.
 Terri: *Habla español*. [Speak Spanish]
 Freddy: *Que no pue*—I can’t talk Spanish.
 Terri: *Ah pues, si tu no puedes hablar español*—that’s why the tape recorder. [Oh, well, if you can’t speak Spanish—]
 Freddy: Yeah? I’ll go—I’ll go—I’ll go uh-uh-uh-uh. That’s gonna come out, that’s gonna come out. Uh-uh-uh-uh.

In what sense does Freddy “not know Spanish”? He can make requests and code-switch with his mother, as he demonstrated one evening in the

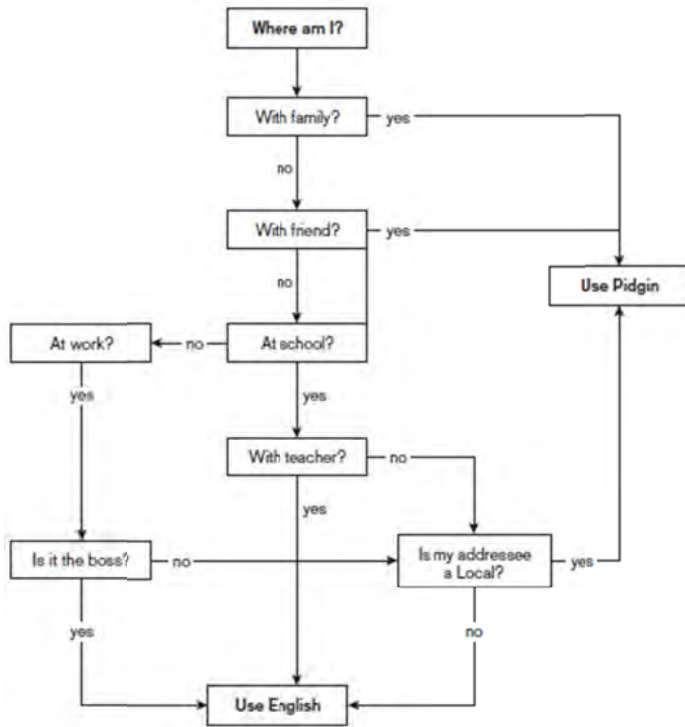
middle of an interview in their apartment. He asked Rosa if he could stay over at Mike’s:

In functional terms, Freddy’s Spanish competence grows from familiar household routines (the kind Terri, above, assumed she and Jose shared), where he routinely code-switches. He knows the forms and how to put them together. What he has not learned is to classify this as “Spanish.” This gives him stage fright when Terri tells him to act on his metalinguistic sense and “talk Spanish into the tape.” What metalinguistic sense? Freddy asks in effect. As a nine-year-old boy, he has no clear-cut set of practices and relations in which his language behavior is clearly defined as Spanish, whereas for girls like Terri there are. It may be that to Freddy and other boys his age, Spanish is not a “thing” that they “have” in the way that girls do. How much he may grow into it is an open question.

- Freddy: *¿Si yo puedo spend the night abajo?* [If I could spend the night downstairs?]
 Rosa: *No estás*— [You’re not—]
 Freddy: *¿Qué?* [What?]
 Rosa: (To me) Do you see what he do? “*¿Si yo puedo spend the night abajo?*” He just did it, he didn’t say it in English and he didn’t say it in Spanish. He mixes everything.
 Freddy: [[xx xx xx]] the refrigerator?
 Rosa: Shut up or I scream.
 Freddy: *¡Mami!*
 Rosa: Hmmm?
 Freddy: *¿Adonde están ropas?* [Where are my clothes?]
 Rosa: (Teasing) *¿Adonde están ropas?*
 Freddy: *¿Ropas?*
 Rosa: I give it to you tomorrow. Just put on shorts and go downstairs. I’m busy now.

Making Language Choices

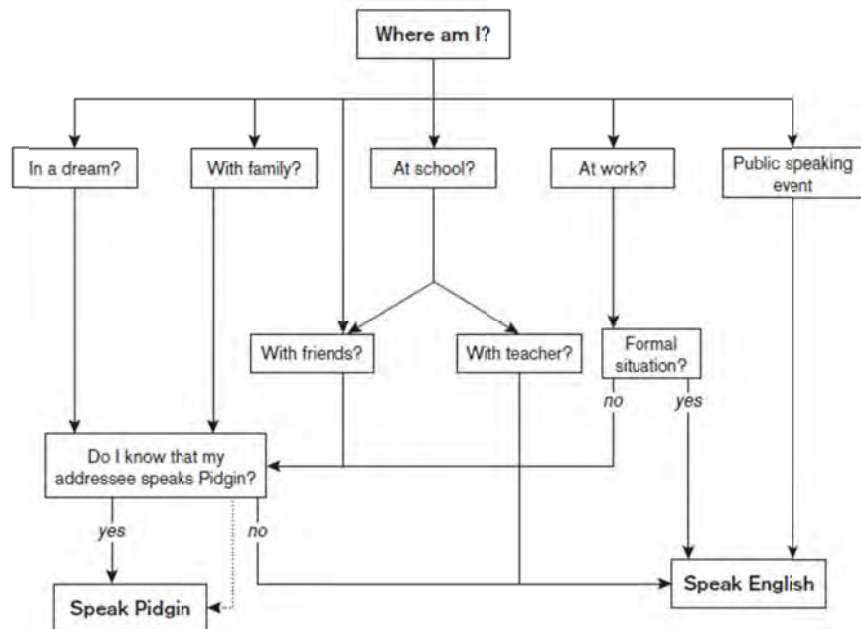
Speakers may conceptualize the relationship between location, addressee and in-group identity in different ways. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 are decision trees, representing what two groups of students at the University of Hawai'i said they bear in mind when they try to decide whether to use Pidgin or Standard American English. Each box in a decision tree marks a point where the students felt they would ask themselves a crucial question. If they answered 'yes' to that question, they would follow one path out from that box; if they answered 'no' they would follow another path from the box. Sometimes the domain and addressee factors pile up on each other and they felt that one decision follows another before they would come to a decision about which variety to use. At other times, the decision is simple, and a 'yes' answer would take them directly to the choice of one variety rather than another.



In ◀ Figure, the students have used the classic notation of a decision tree and there is

almost always a 'yes' and a 'no' route out from each question they ask themselves. The second group of students (Figure ▼) felt that their domain or location was the most meaningful place to start. But notice how important it is for them whether or not their addressee can speak Pidgin. Whereas the first group in Figure ▲ indicate that they would always use Pidgin with their friends, the second group say they would generally only do so if they were speaking to a friend who also speaks Pidgin. You might think it is a little odd to address someone in a language that they cannot speak, but there are several reasons why speakers might choose to use Pidgin with friends and peers regardless. One is that friends may have **passive knowledge** of Pidgin even if they are not fluent speakers themselves (passive knowledge of a language means you can understand it, while **active knowledge** means you can understand and produce it). Another reason is that using Pidgin in every peer interaction may be a way in which these students can assert the importance of Pidgin as a marker of in-group and Local (native to Hawai'i) identity.

Another thing that is interesting about the second group of students' decision tree is that they explicitly note that sometimes they violate their own norms or expectations. The dotted line shows that under some circumstances they would deliberately choose to use Pidgin with an addressee even if they know that person doesn't speak the language and may have trouble understanding.



Many of the junctures in the decision trees are completely below the level of conscious control or awareness. People will tell you that they simply know that it feels right to speak one variety or another in certain places or with certain people. However, on occasions speakers will play with and flout those norms or expectations.

Mock Languages: Spanish



"Mock Spanish" exemplifies a strategy of dominant groups that I have called "incorporation." By "incorporation" members of dominant groups expropriate desirable resources, both material and symbolic, from subordinate groups. Through incorporation, what Toni Morrison calls "whiteness" is "elevated". Qualities taken from the system of "color" are reshaped within whiteness into valued properties of mind and culture. This process leaves a residue that is assigned to the system of color, consisting of undesirable qualities of body and nature. These justify the low position of people of color in the hierarchy of races, and this low

rank in turn legitimates their exclusion from resources that are reserved to whiteness. By using Mock Spanish, "Anglos" signal that they possess desirable qualities: a sense of humor, a playful skill with a foreign language, authentic regional roots, an easy-going attitude toward life. The semiotic function by which Mock Spanish assigns these qualities to its Anglo speakers has been called "direct indexicality" by Ochs (1990). "Direct indexicality" is visible to discursive consciousness. When asked about a specific instance of Mock Spanish, speakers will often volunteer that it is humorous, or shows that they lived among Spanish speakers and picked up some of the language, or is intended to convey warmth and hospitality appropriate to the Southwestern region. They also easily accept such interpretations when I volunteer them.

The racist and racializing residue of Mock Spanish is assigned to members of historically Spanish-speaking populations by indirect indexicality (Ochs 1990). Through this process, such people are endowed with gross sexual appetites, political corruption, laziness, disorders of language, and mental incapacity. This semiosis is part of a larger system by which a "fetishized commodity identity" (Vélez-Ibáñez 1992) of these populations is produced and reproduced, an identity which restricts Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans largely to the lowest sectors of the regional and national economies. This indexicality is "indirect" because it is not acknowledged, and in fact is actively denied as a possible function of their usage, by speakers of Mock Spanish, who often claim that Mock Spanish shows that they appreciate Spanish language and culture.

Source: Jane H. Hill "Mock Spanish: A Site for the Indexical Reproduction of Racism in American English" (1995)



"Antonio Mendoza would like an *enchilada*"
Video: Saturday Night Live Clip

Palin Says Obama Lacks Cojones



Former Alaska Governor Sarah Palin went on FOX News Sunday and told host Chris Wallace that Arizona Governor Jan Brewer has the cojones that President Obama lacks. She is fighting for Americans. She is fighting to secure our borders. She is fighting for our sovereignty, security, and integrity as a people and a nation.

◀ Video: Palin Says Obama Lacks Cojones 2010



Video: Bill Santiago "Cojones"

Mock Spanish in the Workplace

Anglo-owned Mexican restaurant in Texas

- Manager:** You have to finish *todo eso, porque* I have other things to do. *todo eso*, all this; *porque* because
- Manager** (later to Anglo employee): Did you see that? He didn't finish that – he didn't do what I told him!
- Rusty:** Maybe he didn't understand you.
- Manager:** Oh, he understood me all right, he's just lazy.

* * *

- Manager:** Did you go psst psst with the *manguera* ['hose']?
- Employee:** *Sí, sí.* ['Yes, yes']
- Manager:** Did you put *bolsas* ['bags'] in your *basura* ['garbage'] cans?
- Employee:** *Sí, sí.*
- Manager:** (to Rusty, working nearby): He didn't understand a thing I said. It takes them a while to get used to that. The scary thing is eventually they start to know what I'm saying.

Topic of inquiry: The influence of language ideology on interactions between English-speaking Anglo and monolingual Spanish-speaking employees in an Anglo-owned Mexican restaurant in Texas. Because of the widespread acceptability of "grossly non-standard and ungrammatical" Mock Spanish (Hill 1998), Anglo directives in Spanish (or in English with Mock Spanish

elements) are often misinterpreted by Spanish speakers. The Anglos' disregard for producing grammatical (or even understandable) forms in Spanish shifts the communicative burden almost entirely to the Spanish speaker, who is often left with insufficient semantic content for interpreting Anglo speech. Anglo managers typically do not question whether their limited use of Spanish is sufficient for communicative success, and Anglos typically assume that the Spanish speakers are responsible for incidents resulting from miscommunication. A directive that fails (in that the requested act is done incorrectly or not done at all) is almost always interpreted on the basis of racist stereotypes of Spanish speakers as lazy, indignant, uncooperative, illiterate, or unintelligent. The Anglo use of Spanish marginalizes Spanish speakers within interactions, demonstrating a general disregard for Spanish speakers as cultural actors. The Anglo use of Mock Spanish to index a particular Anglo ethnic stance diminishes the ability of Spanish to serve a communicative function. The ideology of Mock Spanish reinforces racial inequality by restricting the agency of Latino workers.

- Bartender:** Rusty, how do you say "ice"?
- Rusty:** *hielo* ([ijelo])
- Bartender:** (moving back into the bar area) What?
- Rusty:** *hielo.*
- Bartender:** Yellow?
- Rusty:** No, *hiii-jielo*
- Bartender:** *hielo?* ([ijelo])
- Rusty:** Yea
- Bartender:** I'll just say "yellow." That's close enough, right?
- Bartender** (back to the server): Just say "yellow" – like the color.

Most use of Spanish by Anglos in the restaurant involved the substitution of single Spanish morphemes into otherwise English sentences, as in the following examples:

There's *agua* ['water'] on the *piso* ['floor'].

Did you *limpia* the *baño*?
(*limpia* 'clean' 3rd singular present or adjective; *baño* 'bathroom')

Why is this still *sucio* ['dirty']?

Can you *ayuda* with these boxes?
(*ayuda* 'help' 3rd singular present or noun)

Although Anglo speakers used Spanish often, the syntactic structure of these utterances was consistently English. The syntactic structure of Spanish was never involved. Anglo use of Spanish almost always involved cases of "nonce loans" or "insertions" of Spanish constituents into English sentences.

In contrast, Spanish-speaking employees often use Spanish as a tool of solidarity and resistance. The fact that Anglos pay little attention to what is said in Spanish allows the Latino workers to use Spanish as a means of controlling resources in the restaurant. The lack of attention to Spanish also makes it possible for Spanish speakers to talk openly about (and sometimes mock) Anglo workers and managers, even when the referent is able to hear what is being said. Although Anglo uses of Spanish may be seen as ways of limiting the agency of Spanish speakers, Latino workers use Spanish to develop an alternative linguistic market in which individual agency may be asserted in different ways.

Source: Rusty Barrett "Language Ideology and racial Inequality: Competing functions of Spanish in an Anglo-owned Mexican Restaurant" (2006)

“Hasta La Vista, Baby”



Many Whites object to bilingual health and safety postings in any context. Predictably, they are objects of parody. In the 1980 comedy film *Airplane*, as the catastrophe begins, warning lights come on over the seats, with the “bilingual” message seen in ▶ Source: Jane H. Hill “The Everyday Language of White Racism” (2008)



8.4.6.2 Covert policy reflected at state level

What constituted the covert policy that resulted in the abovementioned restrictive measures might be stated explicitly as follows:

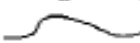
- 1 ‘Children have a ‘right’ to education in English.’ This notion is strongly held by teachers of the ‘good schools’ movement and can still be heard.
- 2 English is the language of liberty, freedom, justice and American ideals.
- 3 Non-English languages are the languages of tyranny, oppression, injustice and un-Americanness.
- 4 Children cannot learn American ideas through non-English languages (a ‘folk-Whorfian’ idea, see Mertz 1982).
- 5 Bilingualism is *bad* for children and should be discouraged in schools.

“English is the language of liberty”

◀ Source: Harold Schiffman “Linguistic Culture and Language Policy” (2009)

Mock Languages: Asian

TABLE 16.1. Prototypical Features of Mock Asian

Description of Mock Asian Feature	Examples and Comments
<i>Phonological Features</i>	
1. Neutralization of the phonemic distinction between /r/ and /w/	[ɹ]→[w] <i>wrong</i> pronounced as <i>wong</i> , <i>right</i> pronounced as <i>white</i>
2. Neutralization of the phonemic distinction between /r/ and /l/	[ɹ] →[l] <i>fried rice</i> pronounced as <i>fried lice</i> [l]→[ɹ] <i>Eileen</i> pronounced as <i>Irene</i> , <i>like</i> pronounced as <i>rike</i> , <i>hello</i> pronounced as <i>herro</i>
3. Alveolarization of voiceless interdental fricative 'th' [θ] to [s]	<i>thank you</i> pronounced as <i>sank you</i> , <i>I think so</i> pronounced as <i>I sink so</i>
4. Nonsensical syllables with the onset 'ch' [tʃ]	<i>ching-chong, chow</i>
5. Nonsensical syllables with the coda 'ng' [ŋ]	<i>ching-chong, ting, ping</i>
6. Alternating high-low intonational contour; one tone for each syllable	H L H L <i>ching—chong—ching—chong</i>
7. Epenthetic 'ee' [i] at the end of a closed word	<i>break-ee, buy-ee, look-ee</i>
8. Reduplication of word	<i>pee-pee</i> ; not unique to Mock Asian
<i>Lexical Features</i>	
9. Phrase-final <i>how</i>	<i>ching-chong-how</i>
10. <i>ah-so</i> : [aʊoː]; low tone for initial syllable; high-low falling tone for final syllable; final syllable lengthening; backing of /o/; optional interdentalization to [θ] of voiceless alveolar fricative /s/; optional creaky voice at the end of the word.	 <i>ah—so::</i> <i>ah—tho::</i>
11. <i>hai-YAH!</i> [hɑiːyɑː] Initial syllable: low-high rising intonation; syllable lengthening Final syllable: high-low falling intonation; explosive, increased amplitude.	Associated with martial arts; final syllable often accompanied by a "karate chop," or a quick, one-handed, downward movement of open-palmed hand (pinky first, palm and back of hand horizontally aligned, fingers extended and parallel to one another)
12. <i>OOOoooOOh</i> [oːoːoːoːoː]: high pitched; nasal airflow; high-low-high intonation; creaky voice on low tone; backing of /o/ (through exaggerated lip-rounding and lengthening of oral cavity); variations with different vowel qualities exist	Associated with martial arts; usually accompanied by gestures that simulate "kung fu moves"
<i>Syntactic Features</i>	
13. Neutralization of nominative-accusative case distinction for first-person singular pronoun	<i>Me so horny; me Chinese, me play joke, me put pee-pee in your coke</i> ; not unique to Mock Asian
14. Reduplication of two-word sentence structure	<i>You breakee, you buyee</i>
15. Telegraphic speech (absence of grammatical morphemes)	<i>You breakee, you buyee; Long time no see</i> ; not unique to Mock Asian

Mock Languages: Asian

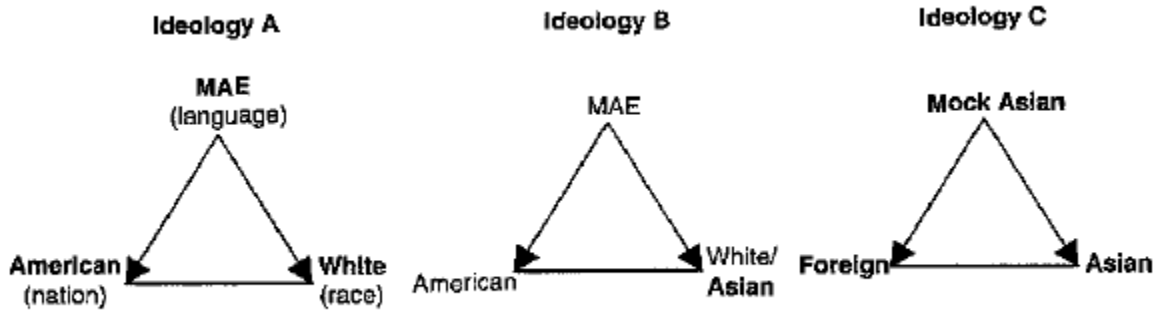


Figure 16.1. Ideologies of Language, Race, and Nation in Cho's Performances of Mock Asian

Source: Elaine W. Chun "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery: Mock Asian" (2009)

Racist Slur in the Media

A Chinese Call center:

Caller: Hello, can I speak to Annie Wan?
Operator: Yes, you can speak to me..
Caller: No, I want to speak to Annie Wan!
Operator: Yes I understand you want to speak to anyone. You can speak to me. Who is this?
Caller: I'm Sam Wan .. And I need to talk to Annie Wan! It's urgent.
Operator: I know you are someone and you want to talk to anyone ! But what's this urgent matter about?
Caller: Well... just tell my sister Annie Wan that our brother Noe Wan was involved in an accident. Noe Wan got injured and now Noe Wan is being sent to the hospital. Right now, Avery Wan is on his way to the hospital.
Operator: Look, if no one was injured and no one was sent to the hospital, then the accident isn't an urgent matter! You may find this hilarious but I don't have time for this!
Caller: You are so rude! Who are you?
Operator: I'm Saw Ree ..
Caller: Yes! You should be sorry . Now give me your name!!
Operator: That's what I said. I'm Saw Ree ..
Caller: Oh God.....
From --Good Wan!



Racist slur video: Colbert Cracks Up - Suq Madiq



◀ On today's [July 12, 2013] Noon newscast on KTVU, the station claimed it had "just learned the names of the 4 pilots on board" Asiana flight 214 which crashed last Saturday. But the station was given bad information that made it all the way into the newscast. If you read the names it becomes immediately clear this is a joke, which went unnoticed by the newsroom, producers and the anchor.

Video: Asiana Pilots names from KTVU News

Freedom Fries



Freedom fries is a political euphemism for French fries in the United States. The term came to prominence in 2003 when the Republican-controlled Congress officially renamed the menu item in Congressional cafeterias in response to France's opposition to the proposed invasion of Iraq. The renaming quickly gained notoriety as part of a greater wave of political and popular anti-French sentiment in the United States. Although originally supported by Americans with several restaurants changing their menus as well, following declining support for the Iraq War, the term became irrelevant.

Source: Wikipedia



“John Le Kerry”

“La France, comme vous savez, est vraiment – c’est le plus ancien des alliés des Etats-Unis. On vous remercie pour ça aussi. Et maintenant je parle en anglais parce qu’autrement on me laisse pas rentrer chez moi.”

“France, as you know, is really—it’s the oldest ally of the United States, so we would like to thank you for that, too. And now I’ll speak in English, because otherwise they won’t let me return home.”

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry in Paris, Feb. 27, 2013

John Kerry attacked for his French connections during 2004 presidential campaign

It is not going to be a pretty American election. Already the Bush administration has embarked on a campaign to portray John Kerry as a flip-flopping, tax-raising, European-educated wimp. The presumptive Democratic candidate has responded by describing the president as a job-destroying, budget-busting, alliance-breaking unilateralist.

But perhaps the surest indication that the looming political season will be ugly has come from repeated Republican suggestions that Kerry “looks French.”

Not only that: the senator is said to betray a dubious fondness for things French, even the language. A recent comment from Commerce Secretary Don Evans that the Massachusetts Democrat is “of a different political stripe and looks French” was only the latest of several jibes, mainly from conservative talk-show hosts and columnists, that have included allusions to “Monsieur Kerry” and “Jean Chéri.”

For some months now, the Republican House majority leader, Tom DeLay, has been opening speeches to supporters with an occasional routine. He says hi, then adds: “Or, as John Kerry might say, ‘Bonjour.’”

Source: Roger Cohen “The Republicans’ Barb: John Kerry ‘Looks French’.” *NYTimes*, Apr.3, 2004



“John Le Kerry”: A Parody

President Bush told the monolingual audience that, “at a time when American values are being assaulted by a country we’ve had to liberate twice in the last century, it’s a bit much that Senator Kerry goes around acting like the headwaiter at some snooty French restaurant.”

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld today said that Senator Kerry, when he was a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy, “probably” went to Vietnam for the purpose of winning the country back “for the French.”

During the first Presidential debate, last night, President Bush repeatedly addressed Democratic challenger John Kerry with French expressions, calling him “*mon vieux*,” “*mon cher*,” and even “*mon petit chou*.” The latter means, literally, “my little cabbage.”

Senator Kerry for the most part ignored the President, until Mr. Bush asserted that Mr. Kerry looked as though he had “been weaned on a cornichon.” At this point, the Senator had apparently had enough.

“*Merde, alors!*” he said, his face a mask of cold, distinctly Gallic fury. “*Assez! Salopard! Tu veux un morceau de moi? Eh?*” [Enough! Bastard! You want a piece of me? Eh??]

In what was viewed by many as a bid to woo Hispanic voters, Mr. Bush responded in Spanish, inviting Mr. Kerry either to kiss a burro or to sit on a burrito. The exact meaning was not immediately clear.

Both sides claimed victory.

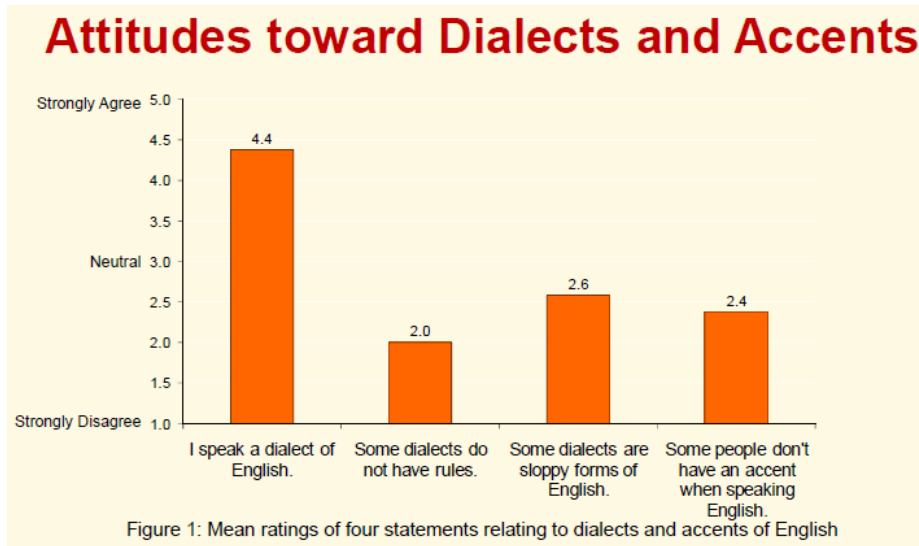
Source: Christopher Buckley “John Le Kerry.” *The New Yorker*, May 19, 2003

Language Variation and Change (Labov)



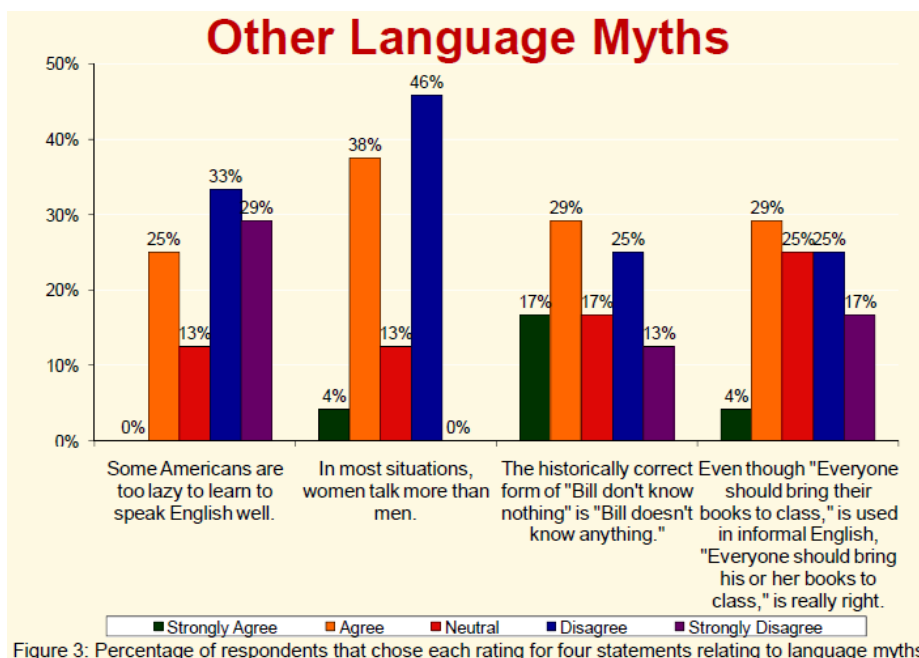
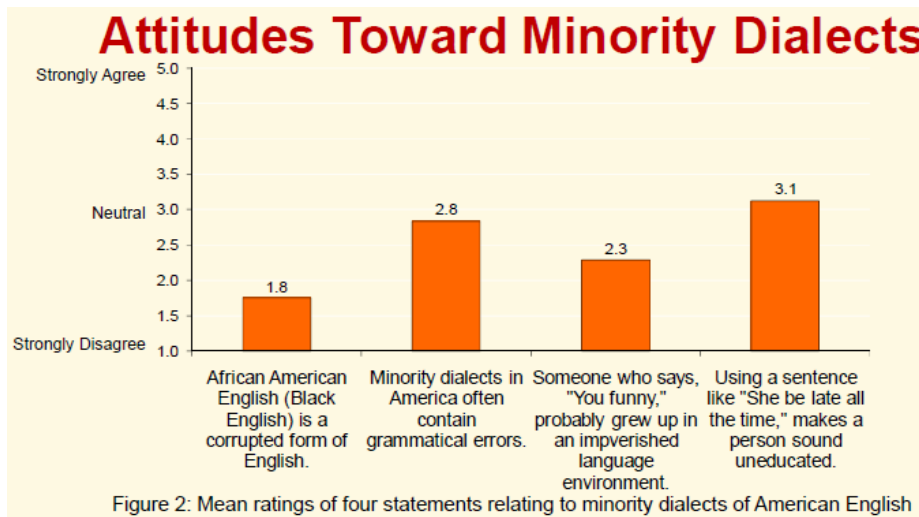
Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Language Myths



◀ Source: Anna Merry & Erica J. Benson "Attitudes toward Language Variation and the Liberal Arts" (2009)

'I don't have an accent!' wails the friend indignantly. And we are all amused because the pronunciation of the utterance itself demonstrates to our ears that the claim is false. The speaker who voices this common refrain believes absolutely that his or her speech is devoid of any distinguishing characteristics that set it apart from the speech of those around them. We listeners who hear it are for our part equally convinced that the speaker's accent differs in some significant respect from our own. The key to understanding this difference of opinion is not so much in the differences in speech sounds that the speakers use but in the nature of 'own-ness' - what does it mean to be 'one of us' and to sound like it? It all comes down to a question of belonging. Accent defines and communicates who we are.



The fact is that everyone has an accent.

▲ Source: John H. Esling "Myth 20: Everyone Has an Accent Except Me" (1998)

Folk Linguistics: SAE & Regionalism

A commonplace in United States linguistics is that every region supports its own standard variety; no one region is the locus (or source) of the standard. Historically, that is a fair assessment; no center of culture, economy, and government such as Paris or London ever dominated. Therefore, the truth in some texts is as Falk (1978) has it: "In the United States there is no one regional dialect that serves as the model. What is considered standard English in New York City would not be considered standard in Fort Worth, Texas. Each region of the country has its own standard."

[However], it is very doubtful that non-linguists in the United States believe that there is no region or area which is more (or less) standard than others. [Some] introductory texts use the national newscaster suggestion [...]:



"SAE [Standard American English] is an idealization. Nobody speaks this dialect, and if somebody did, we wouldn't know it because SAE is not defined precisely. [...] The best hint we can give you is to listen to national broadcasters." (Fromkin & Rodman 1993) Couple of pages earlier, however, they wrote that "the word *right*, pronounced as [rayt] in the Midwest, New England, and the Middle Atlantic states [...], is pronounced [raət] in many parts of the South." Fromkin and Rodman here

Source: Wikipedia

come much closer to a folk linguistic description of a standard as their own prejudices peek through. SAE is exemplified in the Midwest, New England, and the Middle Atlantic states while the South has another variety (by implication, clearly not standard).

What linguists believe about standards matters very little; what non-linguists believe constitutes precisely that cognitive reality which needs to be described – one which takes speech community attitudes and perception (as well as performance) into account.

If speakers are presented with the task of identifying the areas of the United States where the most "correct" English is spoken, for example, how will they respond?

Hand-drawn maps. ► The most straightforward way of discovering what respondents believe about areas is to have them draw maps. In the first attempt to use this technique in dialect study, Preston (1982a) asked undergraduates at the University of Hawaii to "draw maps of the areas of the United States where people speak differently." He also asked them to label the areas they outlined with the name of the variety of English spoken there or, if they did not know or use one, with the label they usually assigned the speakers who lived there.

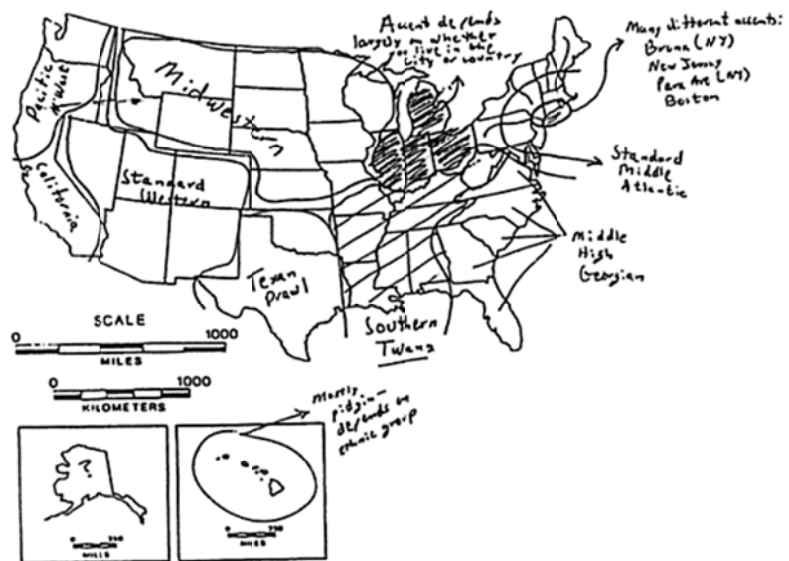


Figure 2.1 A Hawaii respondent's hand-drawn map of US speech areas

He also asked them to label the areas they outlined with the name of the variety of English spoken there or, if they did not know or use one, with the label they usually assigned the speakers who lived there.

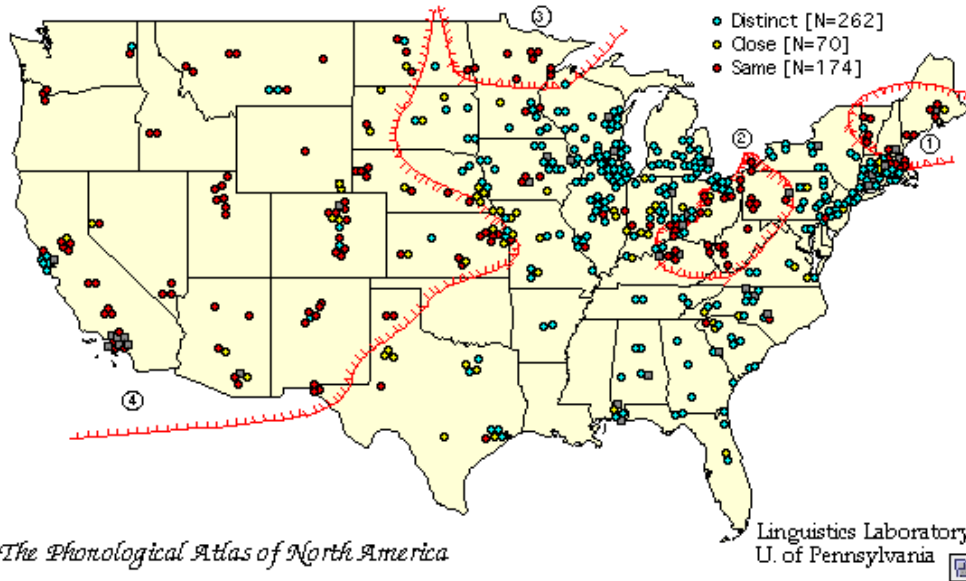
Source: Nancy Niedzielski & Dennis Preston "Folk Linguistics" (1999)

Some American Isoglosses

Phonological: COT vs. CAUGHT

Updated: Oct 4, 1996

Map 1. The Merger of /o/ and /oh/:
 Contrast in production of /b/ and /bh/ before /t/ in COT vs. CAUGHT.



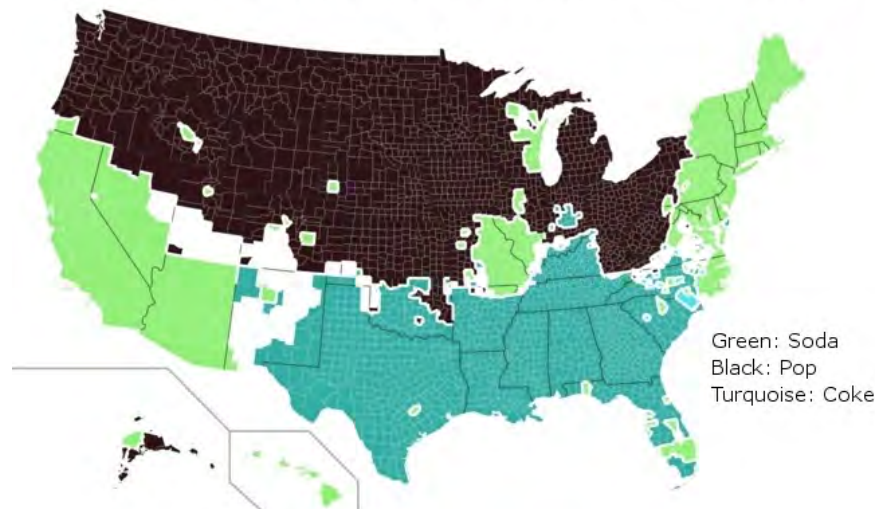
A Cot ▲

◀ Source: William Labov "The Organization of Dialect Diversity in North America," http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/ICSLP4.html

Video: "Catching Cots," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EaYZIjTICUo>

Lexical: Soft Drinks

The Soft Drink Borders: Soda, Pop, or Coke?



Interactive Survey: <http://www.popvssoda.com/>

Video: "Mapping How Americans Talk: Soda vs. Pop vs. Coke," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4HLYe31MBrg>

The speech accent archive <http://accent.gmu.edu/howto.php>

Additional Surveys:

How Y'all, Youse and You Guys Talk: Interactive Quiz

What does the way you speak say about where you're from? Answer all the questions to see your personal dialect map. http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/12/20/sunday-review/dialect-quiz-map.html?_r=0

Harvard Dialect Survey by Bert Vaux & Scott Golder (2002):

<http://www4.uwm.edu/FLL/linguistics/dialect/maps.html>; http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/cambridge_survey/

Labov: Martha's Vineyard

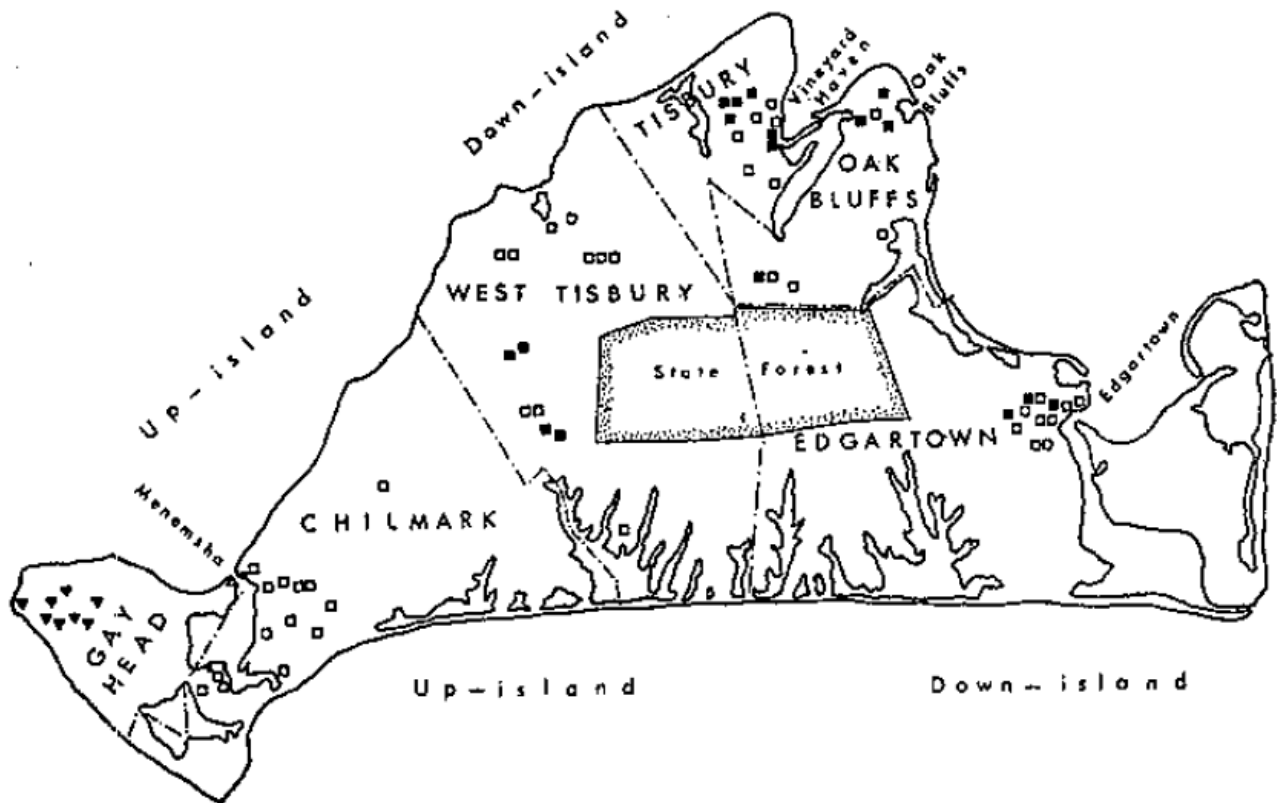


Fig. 1.1. Location of the 69 informants on Martha's Vineyard. Ethnic origin is indicated as follows: □ English, ■ Portuguese, ▼ Indian. Symbols placed side by side indicate members of the same family.

TABLE 1.3.
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION
OF CENTRALIZATION

	(ay)	(aw)
<i>Down-island</i>	35	33
Edgartown	48	55
Oak Bluffs	33	10
Vineyard Haven	24	33
<i>Up-island</i>	61	66
Oak Bluffs	71	99
N. Tisbury	35	13
West Tisbury	51	51
Chilmark	100	81
Gay Head	51	81

TABLE 1.4.
CENTRALIZATION BY
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

	(ay)	(aw)
Fishermen	100	79
Farmers	32	22
Others	41	57

TABLE 1.5.
CENTRALIZATION BY ETHNIC GROUPS

Age level	English		Portuguese		Indian	
	(ay)	(aw)	(ay)	(aw)	(ay)	(aw)
Over 60	36	34	26	26	32	40
46 to 60	85	63	37	59	71	100
31 to 45	108	109	73	83	80	133
Under 30	35	31	34	52	47	88
All ages	67	60	42	54	56	90

Source: William Labov "The Social Motivation of a Sound Change" (1963)
 Sound Files: William Labov "A Life of Learning. Six People I Have Learned From" (2009)
<http://www.acls.org/publications/audio/labov/complete.aspx?id=4462>

Labov: Martha's Vineyard (cont.)

Chilmarkers pride themselves on their differences from mainlanders:

You people who come down here to Martha's Vineyard don't understand the background of the old families of the island . . . strictly a maritime background and tradition . . . and what we're interested in, the rest of America, this part over here across the water that belongs to you and we don't have anything to do with, has forgotten all about. . .

I think perhaps we use entirely different . . . type of English language . . . think differently here on the island . . . it's almost a separate language within the English language.

The indexes speak for themselves:

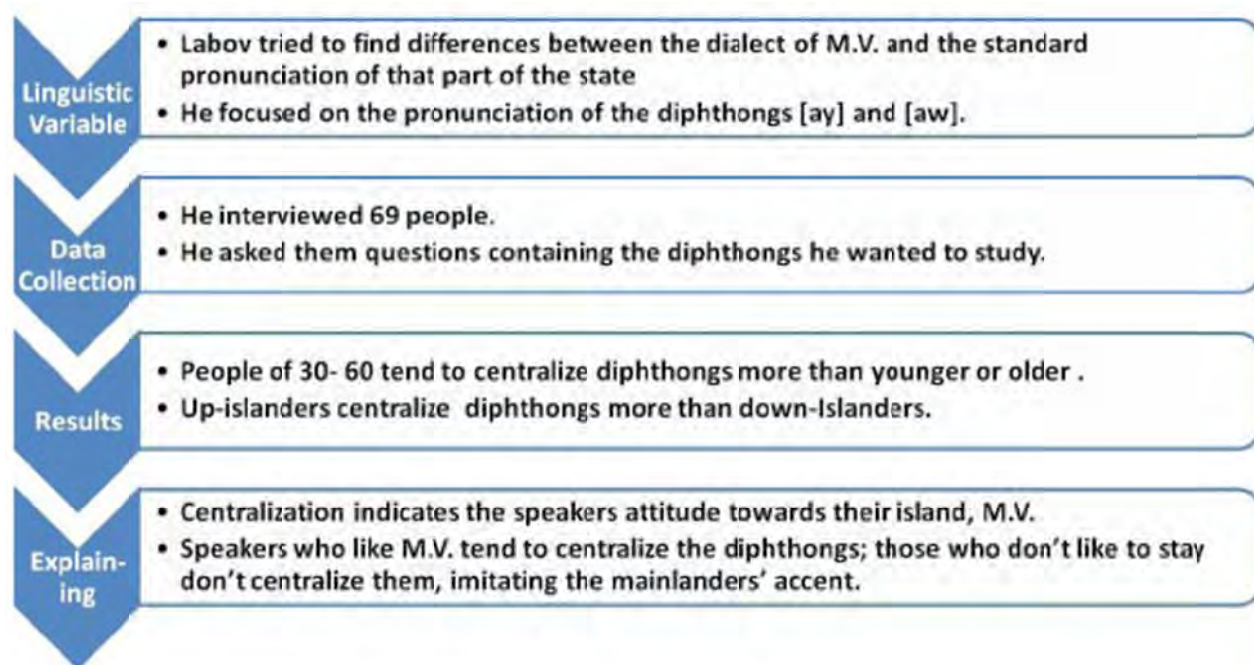
Down-island, leaving	Up-island, staying
(ay)(aw)	(ay)(aw)
00-40	90-100
00-00	113-119

TABLE 1.6.
CENTRALIZATION AND ORIENTATION
TOWARDS MARTHA'S VINEYARD

Persons		(ay)	(aw)
40	Positive	63	62
19	Neutral	32	42
6	Negative	09	08

The following abstract scheme may serve to summarize the argument which has been advanced so far to explain the spread and propagation of this particular linguistic change.

1. A language feature used by a group A is marked by contrast with another standard dialect.
2. Group A is adopted as a reference group by group B, and the feature is adopted and exaggerated as a sign of social identity in response to pressure from outside forces.
3. Hypercorrection under increased pressure, in combination with the force of structural symmetry, leads to a generalization of the feature in other linguistic units of group B.
4. A new norm is established as the process of generalization levels off.
5. The new norm is adopted by neighboring and succeeding groups for whom group B serves as a reference group.

Labov: Martha's Vineyard (cont.)

Source: Elhassan Rouijel "Sociolinguistics: William Labov" (2013)

"For this island, the rapidly changing social scene allowed social divisions to drive differentiation of sociolinguistic variants. The native up-islanders resented the outsiders for overshadowing the traditional industry of fishing, in contrast to the down-islanders who supported the tourists. Labov implemented the apparent-time construct, assessing the percentage of raised, centralized variants against age groups."

Source: R. Bayley & C. Lucas "Sociolinguistic Variation: Theories, Methods, and Applications" (2007)

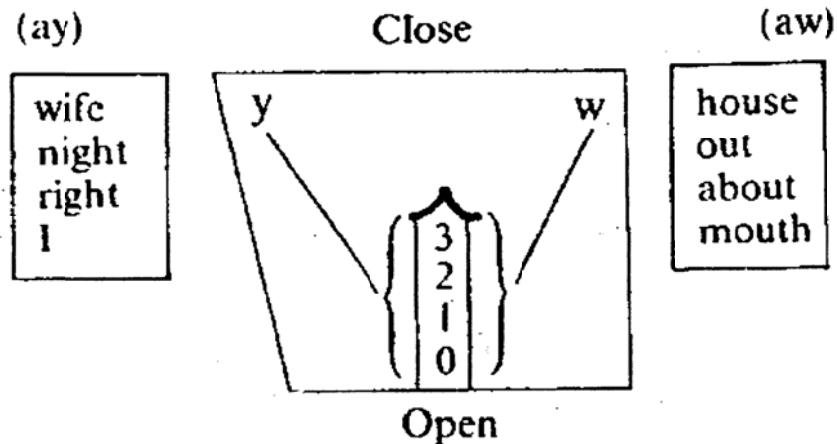
Saving an Innocent Prisoner

- "In 1987,... a number of bomb threats were made in repeated telephone calls to the Pan American counter at the Los Angeles airport. Paul Prinzivalli, a cargo handler who was thought by Pan American to be a "disgruntled employee," was accused of the crime, and he was jailed. The evidence was that his voice sounded like the tape recordings of the bomb threat caller. The defense sent me the tapes because Prinzivalli was a New Yorker, and they thought I might be able to distinguish two different kinds of New York City accents. The moment I heard the recordings I was sure that he was innocent; the man who made the bomb threats plainly did not come from New York at all, but from the Boston area of Eastern New England. .. Afterwards, Prinzivalli sent me a card saying that he had spent fifteen months in jail waiting for someone to separate fact from fiction." (<http://www.pbs.org>)

Source: Elhassan Rouijel "Sociolinguistics: William Labov" (2013)

Labov: Martha's Vineyard (cont.)

As a base of his studies Labov used some data from the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (1933). There it was mentioned that in that period the island speech was characterized by mild centralization of the /ay/ diphthong in words such as wife, night, right, I, and little to no centralization of the /aw/ diphthong in house, out, about, month (Matthew Whelpton, p 46 ▼).



About 30 years later Labov returned to Martha's Vineyard to restart the studies which he had found in the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* and interviewed about 70 people. There he developed his idea of anonymous interviews by asking people questions like "When we speak of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, what does right mean? ... Is it in writing? ... If a man is successful at a job he doesn't like, would you still say he was a successful man?" (Trippel 1997) so that they would use some of the words containing the (ay) or (aw) diphthong in their answers.

In 1961 he discovered several changes. One of them was that the centralisation in the quadrilateral of (ay) variable had spread to the (aw) variable. In a more concrete way this means that in Martha's Vineyard the (ay) turns out to be realized as [ɔɪ] and [ɔʊ] while (aw) is realized as [ɔɪ] and [ɔʊ]. One of the results was that the centralisation most often happened by people around the age 30 to 60.

Labov also noticed that especially fishermen living in the up-island regions centralised the two diphthongs. But here was not only a difference between groups of different ages and occupation but also between the different ethnic groups. As a result of Labov's observations it turned out that "the English Yankees and Indian inhabitants were more likely to use centralization than the Portuguese" (Trippel 1997).

Source: Maria Juchem "W. Labov: Case Study Martha's Vineyard and New York" (2003)

KEY TERMS

Diphthong: Two vowel sounds occurring in the same syllable e.g., cow, eye

Centralized Diphthong: Diphthongs articulated with the tongue body in the center of the mouth

Demand Characteristics: A demand characteristic is a subtle cue that makes participants aware of what the experimenter expects to find or how participants are expected to behave. Demand characteristics can change the outcome of an experiment because participants will often alter their behavior to conform to the experimenters expectations

Dialect: A variety of language distinguished from other varieties of the same language by features of phonology, grammar and vocabulary. A dialect is distinguished by its speakers, and their geographic and social whereabouts

Phonological Change: Any sound change which alters the number or distribution of phonemes in a language over time

Source: University of Sheffield's "All About Linguistics" Website (2010)

Labov: NYC Department Stores

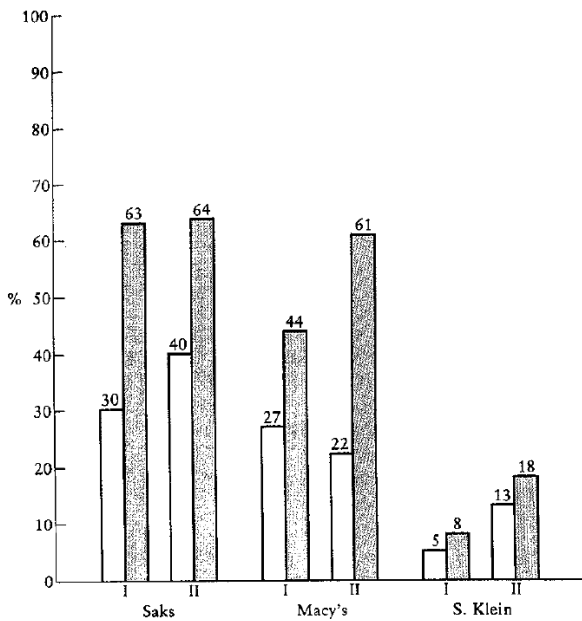


Figure 7.1. Percentage of /r/; /r/ in first (I) and second (II) utterances of *fourth* (white) and *floor* (solid) in three New York City department stores
Source: based on Labov (1972b, p. 52)

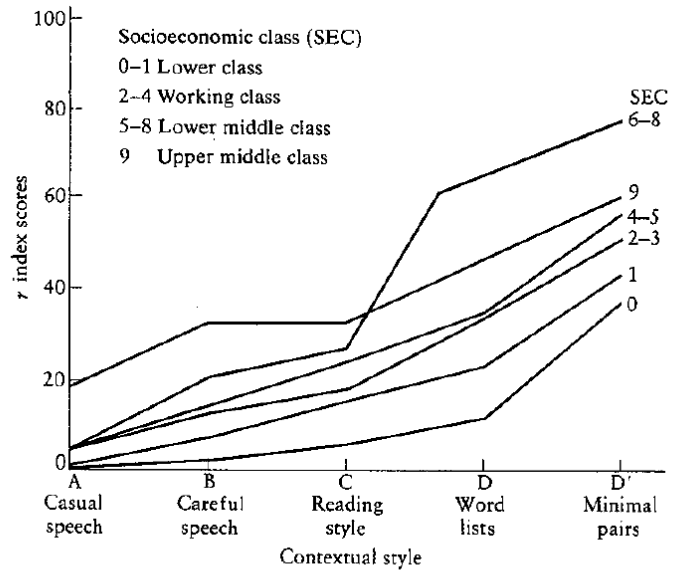


Figure 7.2. R-pronunciation in New York City by social class and style of speech
Source: Labov (1966, p. 240)

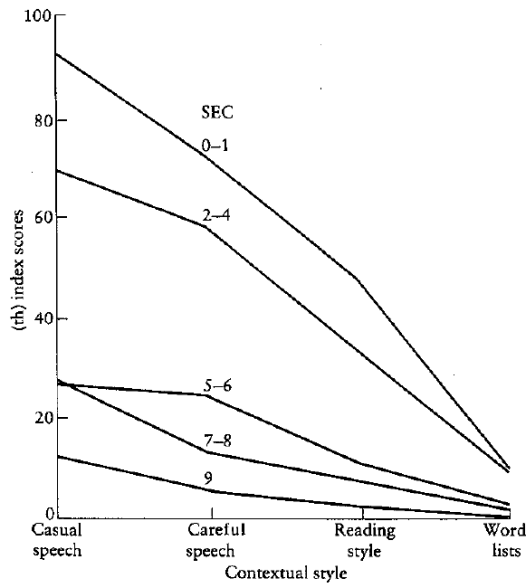
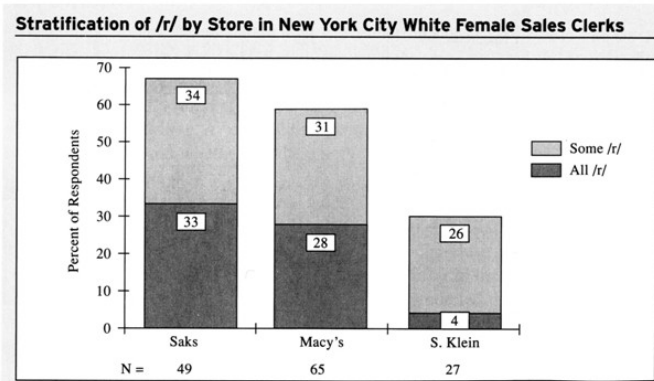


Figure 7.3. Stylistic and social stratification of (th) in *thing, three, etc.* in New York City SEC as in figure 7.2.
Source: Labov (1966, p. 260)

Source: Ronald Wardhaugh "Variation Studies" (1986)



(Source: Finegan, 2004: 392)



“Peasant Men Can't Get Wives”

TABLE 1. Language choice pattern of women

Informant	Age	Social situations (identity of participant)										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
A	14	H	GH		G	G	G			G		G
B	15	H	GH		G	G	G			G		G
C	25	H	GH	GH	GH	G	G	G	G	G		G
D	27	H	H		GH	G	G			G		G
E	17	H	H		H	GH	G			G		G
F	39	H	H		H	GH	GH			G		G
G	23	H	H		H	GH	H		GH	G		G
H	40	H	H		H	GH		GH	G	G		G
I	52	H	H	H	GH	H		GH	G	G	G	G
J	40	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	GH	GH		G
K	35	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	H		G
L	61	H	H		H	H	H	H	GH	H		G
M	50	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		G
N	60	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	G
O	54	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	H
P	63	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	H
Q	64	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
R	59	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H

No. of informants = 18

Scalability = 95.4%

- 1 = to god
- 2 = grandparents and their generation
- 3 = bilingual clients in black market
- 4 = parents and their generation
- 5 = friends and age-mate neighbors
- 6 = brothers and sisters

- 7 = spouse
- 8 = children and their generation
- 9 = bilingual government officials
- 10 = grandchildren and their generation
- 11 = doctors

G – German, H – Hungarian, GH – both German and Hungarian.

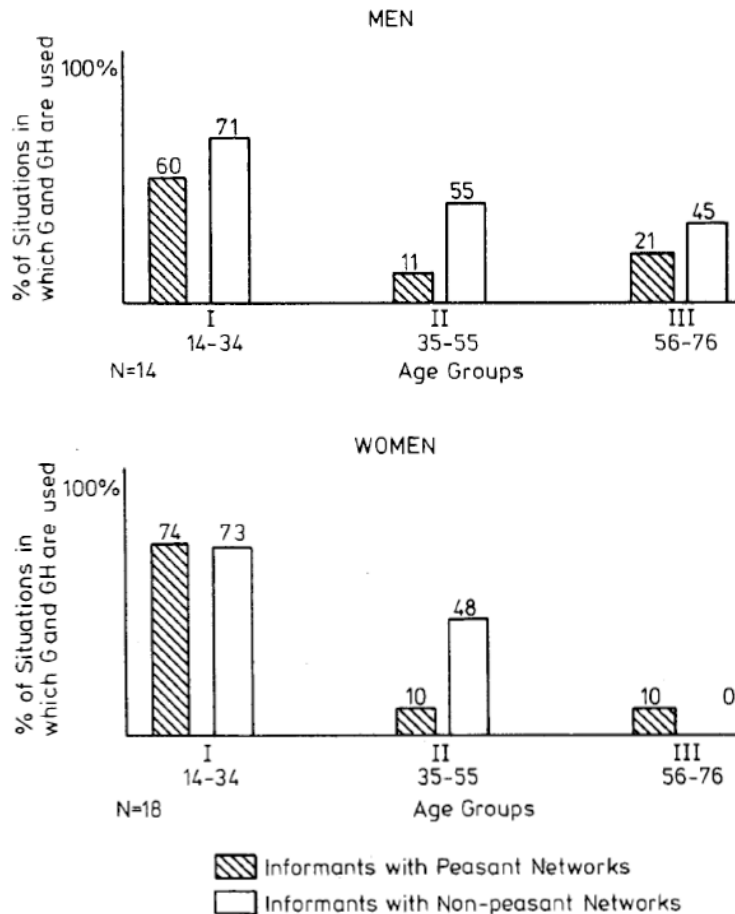


FIGURE 1. Percentage of G and GH Language Choices of Informants with Peasant and Nonpeasant Social Networks in Three Age Groups

Oberwart (Felsőőr) is a town located in the province of Burgenland in eastern Austria. It has belonged to Austria only since 1921 when as part of the post-World War I peace agreements the province was detached from Hungary.

Language shift from German-Hungarian bilingualism to the exclusive use of German is occurring in the community discussed. Young women are further along in the direction of this change than older people and young men. The linguistic contrast between German and Hungarian is shown to represent the social dichotomy between a newly available worker status and traditional peasant status; thus the choice of language in interaction is part of a speaker's presentation of self. Young women's stated preferences concerning this social dichotomy and their changing marriage strategies indicate that their greater use of German in interaction is one aspect of their general preference for the worker's way of life it symbolizes. Rather than simply isolating a linguistic correlate of sex, the present study suggests that women's speech choices must be explained within the context of their social position, their strategic life choices and the symbolic values of the available linguistic alternatives.

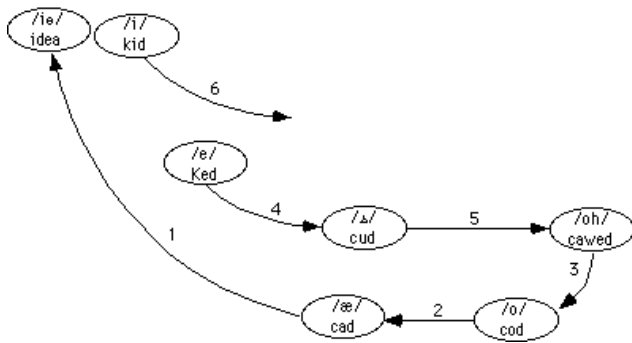
Source: Susan Gal “Peasant Men Can't Get Wives: Language Change and Sex Roles in a Bilingual Community” (1978)

The Northern Cities Vowel Shift (NCS)



◀ Still from the classic Saturday Night Live sketch "Bill Swerski's Super Fans," whose characters spoke in NCS accents.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llXYAXwvC44>

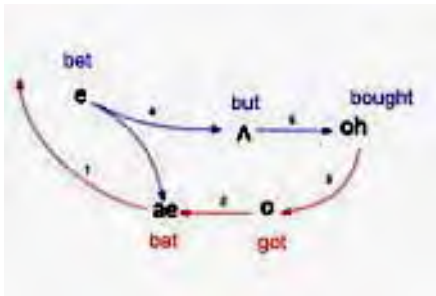
Figure 1. The Northern Cities Shift



You could say the Chicago accent began the first time someone pushed their BAT vowel to the extreme high, front part of their mouth. This is how BAT became b-e-a-t, but it didn't end there. Once BAT moved out of the way, the remaining vowels spread out in a seismic reshuffling that linguists call a "chain shift." Imagine a crowded el car, where people are packed like sardines. If one person exits, all the remaining passengers will spread out to take advantage of the extra room. Same thing with the linguistic "chain shift." In the case of the Chicago accent, the BAT moved, so now the BOT vowel moves to occupy the space that BAT once occupied ("hot" becomes "hat"). Then, the "aw" vowel in a word like "stalk" moves to fill the space vacated by BOT's short "o" ("stalk" is now pronounced like "stock"). BUT moves into BOUGHT's spot, and so on. Up to six vowels sounds are ultimately involved in this movement, which its discoverer, W. Labov, named the Northern Cities Shift.

The Northern Cities Shift, as mapped by Labov and his team. The left side of the diagram corresponds to the front of the mouth.

▲ Source: Annie Minoff "Chuh Kaw Go, What Do You Really Sound Like?" (2012)



The NCS involves changes to the six vowels illustrated by the words *caught*, *cot*, *cat*, *bit*, *bet*, and *but*.

The NCS involves changes to the six vowels illustrated by the words *caught*, *cot*, *cat*, *bit*, *bet*, and *but*. The *bet* vowel also sometimes reveals a slightly different tendency toward lowering so that *bet* comes to sound more like *bat*. Finally, there is the vowel of *but* which is traditionally produced with a central tongue position. In the NCS this vowel is shifted backward and may acquire some lip rounding making *but* sound like *bought*.

Source: M. Gordon "The Midwest Accent" (2010)



SOME SAMPLES FROM Eric Weaver's tongue-in-cheek "MICHIGAN ACCENT PRONUNCIATION GUIDE"

- Cloze:** Clothes. "Thar kleeza vial cloze-horse."
- Cronze:** Crayons. "Thar menz gaver some cranz for her birchiday."
- Flyerr:** Fire.
- Frigeraider:** Refrigerator. "Why waze energy on that first syllable? 'Maahm sez you left the milk outta the frigeraider again."
- Grange:** Garage. "Abhh, shuddup an' go park yer caher in the friggri' grange."
- GROSHeries:** Groceries. "'Woidjammed goint to the groshy rove?"
- Mier:** Mirror. "Eev' lookin the mier ... yull breakh."
- Pop:** Pop. "I've wabp by SevenuhLeven and goobuh pulp?"
- Ruff:** Roof. "Mere's simpat. michiganative.com."

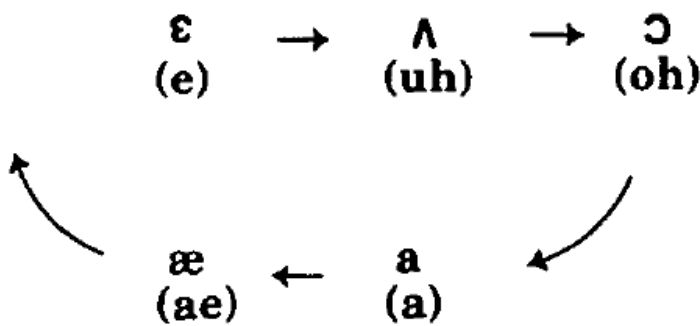
The Northern Cities Vowel Shift (cont.)

Binary notation for the word classes of North American English

	SHORT		LONG					
			Upliding				Ingliding	
	Front upgliding		Back upgliding					
	V		Vy		Vw		Vh	
nucleus	front	back	front	back	front	back	front	back
high	i	u	iy		iw	uw		
mid	e	ʌ	ey	oy		ow		oh
low	æ	ɑ		ay		aw	æh	ah

bit put beat suit boot
 bet but bait quoit boat bought
 bat pot bite bout halve pa,father

Source: William Labov "The Hierarchical Structure of English Vowel Systems" (2010)



The speakers in the Detroit area are involved in the Northern Cities Chain Shift (Labov, Yaeger, & Steiner, 1972), a pattern of vowel shifting involving the fronting of low vowels and the backing and lowering of mid vowels (◀ Figure). The older changes in this shift are the fronting of (ae) and (a), and the lowering and fronting of (oh). The newer ones are the backing of (e) and (uh).

The Northern Cities Chain Shift

Source: Penelope Eckert "The Whole Woman: Sex and Gender Differences in Variation" (1990)

General principles of chain shifting
 In chain shifts,

- I. **Long** vowels rise.
- II. **Short** nuclei fall.
- II. **Back** nuclei shift to the front.

--Labov, Yaeger & Steiner 1972

Video: Labov discussing the Northern Cities Vowel Shift ►
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9UoJ1-ZGb1w>



Source: William Labov "The Hierarchical Structure of English Vowel Systems" (2010)

Three Waves of Variation Study

The treatment of social meaning in sociolinguistic variation has come in three waves of analytic practice.

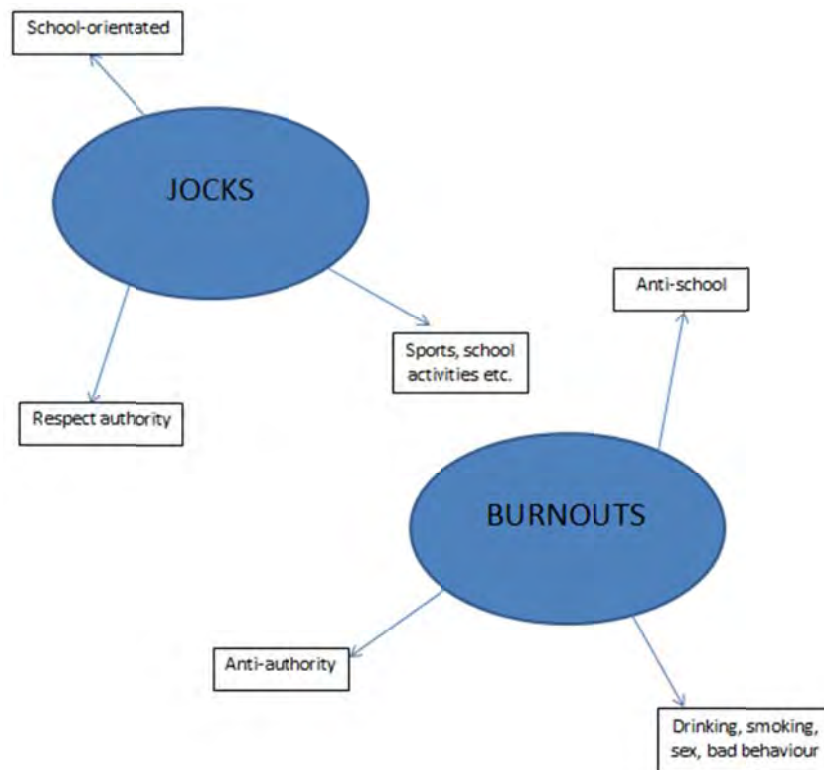
First Wave

William Labov initiated the first wave of quantitative studies of variation with his monumental work, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. The studies in this tradition use survey and quantitative methods to examine the relation between linguistic variability and major demographic categories (class, age, sex class, ethnicity). The results of these studies have combined to develop the "big picture" of the social spread of sound change, in which the socioeconomic hierarchy figures as a map of social space and change spreads outward from the locally-based upper working class.

Second Wave

The second wave of variation studies employs ethnographic methods to seek out the relation between variation and local, participant-designed categories and configurations. These commonly give local meaning to the more abstract demographic categories outlined in the first wave.

Both first and second wave studies focus on some kind of speech community, and examine linguistic features by and large as a function of their defining role as local/regional dialect features. These studies view the meanings of variants as identity markers related directly to the groups that most use them.



Eckert found that people tend to *speak more like their friends* – those who shared social practices together – than others belonging in the same demographic category as them, i.e. social class.

Source: University of Sheffield's "All About Linguistics" Website (2010)

Third Wave

Building on the findings of the First and Second Waves of variation studies, the Third Wave focuses on the social meaning of variables. It views styles, rather than variables, as directly associated with identity categories, and explores the contributions of variables to styles. In so doing, it departs from the dialect-based approach of the first two waves, and views variables as located in layered communities. Since it takes social meaning as primary, it examines not just variables that are of prior interest to linguists (e.g. changes in progress) but any linguistic material that serves a social/stylistic purpose. And in shifting the focus from dialects to styles, it shifts the focus from speaker categories to the construction of personae.

Language Variation & Indexicals

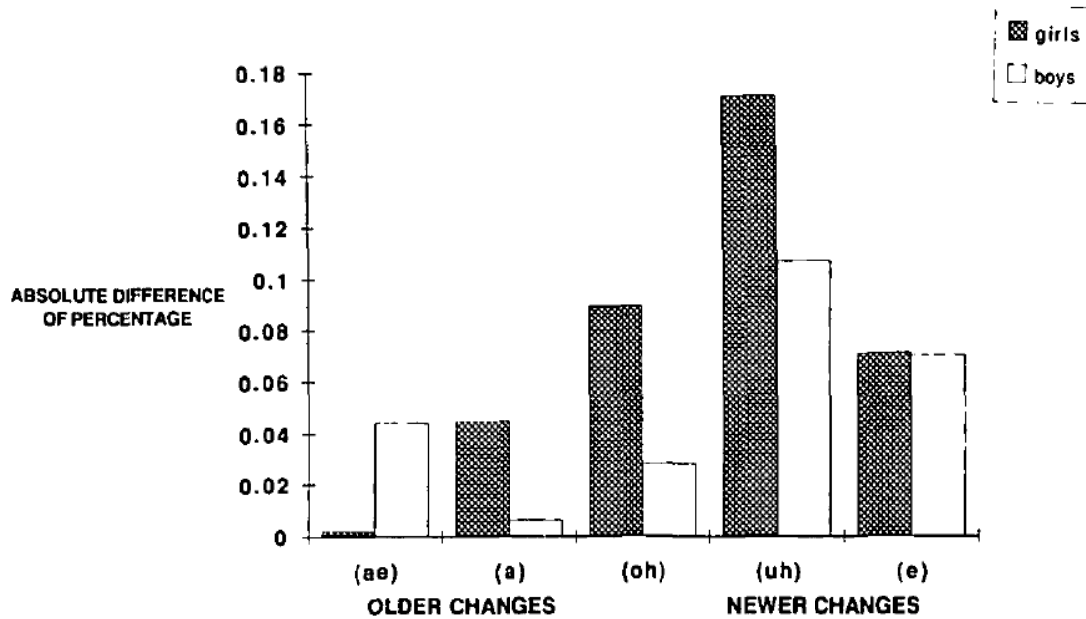


FIGURE 5. Absolute differences of percentages for Burnouts and Jocks, calculated separately for girls and boys (note that for (ae), Burnouts actually trail Jocks).

Source: Penelope Eckert “The Whole Woman: Sex and Gender Differences in Variation” (1990)

	NCS older, fronting			NCS newer, backing			negation
	æ > eə	a > æ	ɔ > a	ʌ > ɔ	ay > oy	ɛ > ʌ	
jock boys							
jock girls	gray	gray	gray				
burnout girls	black	black	black	black	black	gray	gray
burnout boys				gray	gray	gray	gray

Figure 1: Use of Detroit variables involved in the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) by gender and social category. Black = greatest use, gray = second greatest use

Source: Penelope Eckert “Variation and the Indexical Field” (2008)

Accents indexing Identity



◀ Boston Accent: Witness to Fatal Stabbing;
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XtR68AvwrCw>

Valley Girl contest (Real People c. 1982) ▶
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sHf089jI9H4>



Language Variation and Indexical Order

The first quantitative community study of linguistic variation was all about social meaning. On the basis of ethnographic observations and interviews on Martha's Vineyard, William Labov (1963) established that the pronunciation of /ay/ had been recruited as an indexical resource in a local ideological struggle. [...] This move was a textbook example of the workings of what Silverstein (2003) has termed "indexical order," by which a feature that had simply marked a speaker as a Vineyarder came to be used stylistically within the island to index a particular kind of Vineyarder, foregrounding a particular aspect of island identity. This study established without question that speakers exploit linguistic variability in a systematic way to add a layer of social meaning to the denotational meaning that is the primary focus of most linguists. And in so doing, it raised a congeries of questions about both the linguistic and the social embedding of variation.

Source: Penelope Eckert "Three Waves of Variation Study" (2012)

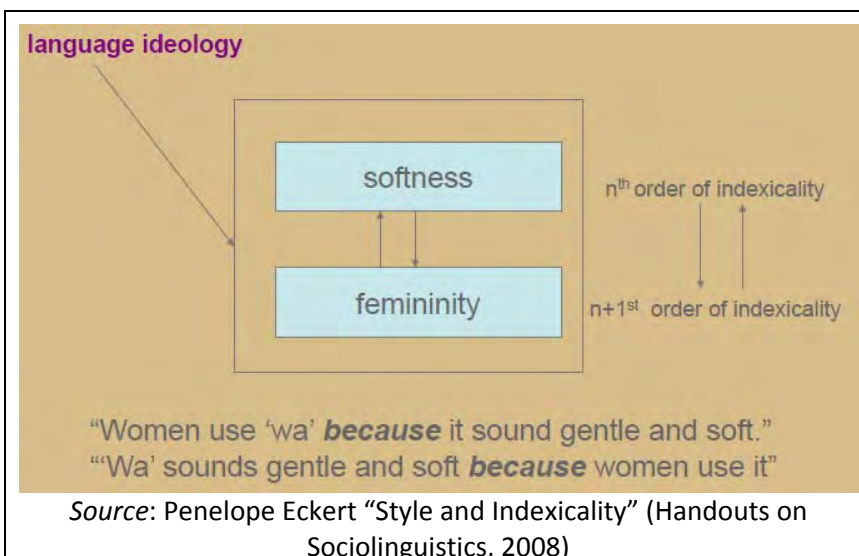
Dialectics of Indexical Order

n -th indexical order

- Any n -th order indexical presupposes that the context in which it is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort, relative to which we can model the "appropriateness" of its usage in that context. At the same time, there will tend to be a contextual entailment... regularly produced by the use of the n -th order indexical token as a direct consequence of the degree of ideological engagement users manifest in respect of the n -th order indexical meaningfulness (Silverstein 2003:193-194)

$n+1$ st indexical order

- Once performatively effectuated in-and-by its use, the n -th order indexical form can itself also be conceptualized as well in terms of its $n+1$ st order indexical relationship to context. That is, it is as though a coterminous indexical form presupposes as well a transcendent and competing



overlay of contextualization possibly distinct from the n -th order one with which we began.... $N+1$ st order indexicality is thus always already immanent as a competing structure of values potentially indexed in-and-by a communicative form of the n -th order, depending on the degree of intensity of ideologization (Silverstein 2003:194)

Source: Michael Silverstein

"Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life" (2003)

"Kentucky Fried Hillary": Accents in Politics

I don't think there's ever been an era when politicians' speech and accents received so much critical scrutiny. During the primaries, a clip of Hillary Clinton's brief foray into Southern intonations made the rounds of the internet and cable shows under the heading "Kentucky Fried Hillary." Last January, William F. Buckley criticized John Edwards for manipulating audiences with a "carefully maintained Southern accent." Barack Obama has been knocked for occasionally falling into what some people called a "blackcent" that his upbringing didn't entitle him to. And even Michelle Obama was accused of pandering after her husband's surprise victory in the Iowa primary, when she said "There ain't no blacks in Iowa."



Videos: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YaDQ1vluvZI>
Hillary Clinton's accent evolution (1983–2015)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UCyvyvo6dtQ>

calculates everything, including her accent and laugh." And Obama's linguistic shapeshifting led the African American conservative Shelby Steele to ask, "Who's the real [Obama]? What's his voice?" [...]

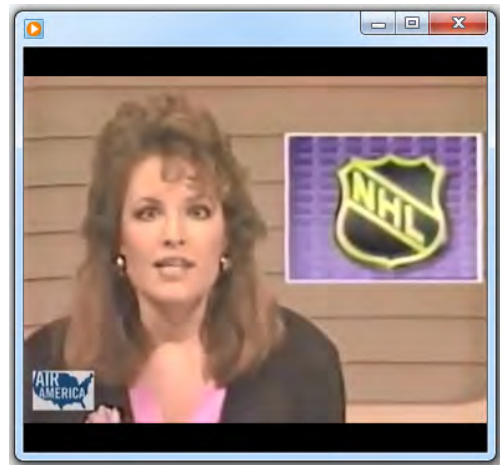
Like Bill Clinton, Palin can signal authenticity simply by refashioning her original accent, rather than acquiring a new one. You can actually hear how this developed if you pull up the YouTube video of Palin as a twenty-four-year-old Anchorage sportscaster fresh from her broadcasting classes in college. She wasn't in control of her accent back then: she scattered the desk with dropped *g*'s: "Purdue was killin' Michigan." "Look what they're doin' to Chicago." It's strikingly different from the way she talks now in her public appearances, not just because she's much more poised, but because she's learned how to work it. When she talks about policy, her *g*'s are decorously in place – she never says "reducin' taxes" or "cuttin' spendin'." But the *g*'s disappear when she speaks on behalf of ordinary Americans: "Americans are cravin' something different," or "People ... are hurtin' 'cause the economy is hurtin'." It's of a piece with the *you betchas, doggoness*, and other effusions that are calculated to signal spontaneous candor.

Now there are clearly a lot of people who find this engaging, but I can't imagine that anybody really supposes it's artless. What it is, rather, is a stone-washed impersonation of a Matanuska-Susitna Valley girl. I wouldn't be surprised if Palin and her friends perfected this way back in high school. There's no group that's so unself-conscious that its members don't get a kick out of parodying their own speech: most Brooklynites do a very creditable Brooklyn, and every student at St. Paul's and Choate can do a dead-on preppie lockjaw.

It isn't just Democrats who come in for this. George W. Bush has been derided for exaggerating a West Texas twang that sounds nothing like the way his brother Jeb talks. And the reactions to Sarah Palin's speech mirror all the intense feelings she's aroused: it's grating, it's charming; it's illiterate, it's folksy; it's contrived, it's genuine.

You could pin some of that on the new media. Time was when candidates could tailor their speech to audiences in South Carolina or New York without having to worry that an audio clip of every *y'all* or *youse* would be instantly posted on the Web for the rest of the country to ponder.

But none of this would have any interest for us if accents didn't seem to offer a window on character. Mention someone's accent, and you unleash all the jargon of authenticity. Karl Rove charges that "[Hillary]



Video: Sarah Palin Sports Report from 1987
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gV-vWrU27Go>

Speech Events: Ethnography of Communication



'Doing Nothing'

- MOTHER (Calling out the window to child in yard): Joshua, what are you doing?
- JOSHUA: Nothing...
- MOTHER: WILL YOU STOP IT IMMEDIATELY!
- "What I like best is doing nothing.... It's when people call out at you just as you're going off to do it. 'What are you going to do, Christopher Robin?' and you say, 'Oh, nothing,' and then you go and do it."

Source: A.A. Milne "The House on Pooh Corner" (1928)



Why Linguistics Needs the Sociologist

COMPARISON OF EMPHASES IN "STRUCTURAL" AND "FUNCTIONAL" LINGUISTICS

"Structural"	"Functional"
(1) Structure of language (code)	(1) Structure of speech (speech act)
(2) Single homogeneous code, single homogeneous community	(2) Speech community as matrix of multiplicity of internally varied codes ("organization of diversity")
(3) Referential function—fully semantized instances of use as norm	(3) Gamut of functions (expressive, poetic, emphatic, etc.)
(4) Use merely implements, perhaps limits, or may correlate with what is analyzed as code: analysis of code precedes analysis of use.	(4) Organization of use discloses additional structural relations among elements of code; comprises possibilities excluded by analysis of code in abstraction from use; shows code and use in integral (dialectical) relation.
(5) Functional (adaptive) equivalence of languages	(5) Functional (adaptive) differentiation of languages
(6) Essential (potential) equality of all languages	(6) Existential (actual) inequality of languages
In sum:	
(7) Concepts of speech community, speech act, fluent native speaker, functions of speech and of languages, taken for granted, or arbitrarily postulated.	(7) Concepts of speech community, speech act, fluent native speaker, functions of speech and of languages, taken as problematic and to be investigated.

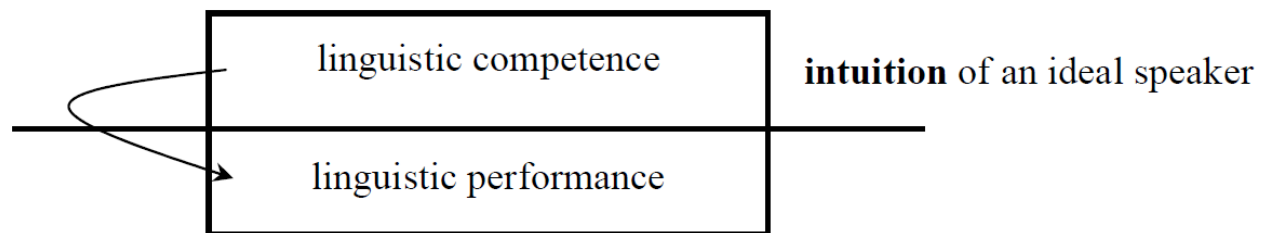
Source: Dell Hymes "Why Linguistics Needs the Sociologist" (1967)

Communicative Competence (Dell Hymes)

Hymes was inspired by Noam Chomsky's distinction on **linguistic competence** and **performance**. He proposed that we should study the knowledge that people have when they communicate—what he calls **communicative competence**. Just like linguistic competence which tells you whether a sentence is grammatical or not, communicative competence tells you whether an utterance is **appropriate** or not within a situation.

□ According to Chomsky (1965):

Linguistic theory is primarily about the language of an **ideal speaker-hearer**, in a completely **homogeneous speech community**, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by grammatically irrelevant conditions, such as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance. This is the **generative linguistic** tradition, especially prominent in the USA. "A record of natural speech will show numerous false starts, deviations from rules, changes of plan in mid-course, and so on." Chomsky (1965)



□ Agreeing with Garfinkel (1972), Hymes (p.55) says that "what to grammar is imperfect, or unaccounted for, may be artful accomplishment of social act."

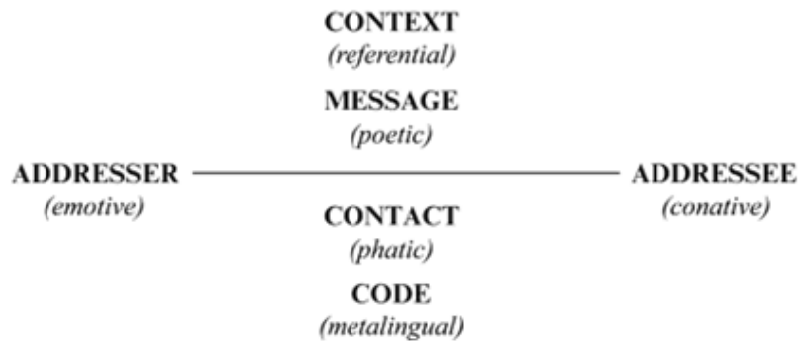
□ Hymes has a clever analogy:

linguistic competence	linguistic performance
innately-derived power in the Garden of Eden	eating the apple, thrusting the perfect speaker-hearer into a fallen world
intuition and linguistic knowledge of an abstract, isolated, ideal speaker-hearer	real speech of interlocutors in a social world
internal to linguistic structure	external to linguistic structure
language form	language function & use
grammaticality as a criterion	acceptability as a criterion
East coast linguistics (US)	West coast linguistics (US)
Douglas Building (UA)	Haury Building (UA)
Generative Linguistics (Chomskyian school)	Linguistic Anthropology, Sociolinguistics, Functional Linguistics
<i>la langue</i> (de Saussure)	<i>la parole</i>

Hymes proposes a theory of language performance (i.e. language use). Its criterion is acceptability. This theory pursues the models/rules that underlying people's linguistic performance. This is what he calls communicative competence.

Source: Chienjer Charles Lin "Communicative Competence: Dell Hymes" (2004)

Jakobson vs. Hymes Models of Communication



▲ Jakobson's Model of Communication

There seem to be three aspects of speech economy which it is useful to consider separately: *speech events*, as such; the *constituent factors* of speech events; and the *functions of speech*. With each aspect, it is a question of focus, and a full description of one is partly in terms of the rest.

Speech Events

One good ethnographic technique for getting at speech events, as at other categories, is through words which name them. Some classes of speech events in our culture are well known: Sunday morning sermon, inaugural address, pledge of allegiance. Other classes are suggested by colloquial expressions such as: heart-to-heart-talk, salestalk, talk man-to-man, woman's talk, bull session, chat, polite conversation; chatter (of a team), chew him out, give him the lowdown, get it off his chest,

Factors in Speech Events

Any speech event can be seen as comprising several components, and the analysis of these is a major aspect of an ethnography of speaking. Seven types of component or factor can be discerned. Every speech event involves 1. a Sender (Addresser); 2. a Receiver (Addressee); 3. a Message Form; 4. a Channel; 5. a Code; 6. a Topic; and 7. Setting (Scene, Situation).⁵

Functions in Speech Events

One can point to seven broad types of function, corresponding to the seven types of factor already enumerated. (Each type can be variously named, and the most appropriate name may vary with circumstances; alternatives are given in parentheses.) The seven are: 1. Expressive (Emotive); 2. Directive (Conative, Pragmatic, Rhetorical, Persuasive); 3. Poetic; 4. Contact; 5. Metalinguistic; 6. Referential; 7. Contextual (Situational).

S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G.: A Research Tool

In order to organize the collection of data about speech events and speech acts in numerous societies with an eye towards cross-cultural comparison, Hymes formulated a preliminary list of features or components of these events to be described. The list was intended to be a 'useful guide' towards identifying components of speech considered to be universal. Eight particular components of events were chosen based on Hymes' study of ethnographic material. The model is also based on Jakobson's (1960) paradigm of six factors or components in any speech event: addresser, addressee, message, contact, context and code, each of which corresponds to a different function of language: emotive, conative, poetic, phatic, referential and metalingual. Hymes' model includes the following dimensions, which he formulated as the 'mnemonically convenient' title 'SPEAKING', where each letter in the word 'speaking' represents one or more important components of an ethnography of speaking. The features of the list can be grouped generally into a concern with describing setting (time and place, physical circumstances) and scene (psychological setting), purposes (functions and goals), speech styles and genres, and participants (including speaker) addressor, hearer, addressee), as well as the interrelationships among them. The SPEAKING model is an etic scheme but meant to be made relevant to individual societies and eventually result in an emic description that prioritizes what is relevant to the local participants. The goal of this descriptive tool is to force attention to structure and reveal similarities and differences between events and between ways of organizing speaking. From the investigative categories represented in the model, Hymes proposed ethnographers would develop a universal set of features that could easily be compared in order to learn about differences such as important relationships between rules of speaking and setting, participants and topic, and begin to define the relationships between language and sociocultural contexts.

In order to speak a language correctly, one does not only need to learn its vocabulary and grammar, but also the context in which words are used. In the speaking model the following aspects of the linguistic situation are considered:

S - Setting and Scene - The setting refers to the time and place while scene describes the environment of the situation.

P - Participants - This refers to who is involved in the speech including the speaker and the audience.

E - Ends - The purpose and goals of the speech along with any outcomes of the speech.

A - Act Sequence - The order of events that took place during the speech.

K - Key - The overall tone or manner of the speech.

I - Instrumentalities - The form and style of the speech being given.

N - Norms - Defines what is socially acceptable at the event.

G - Genre - The type of speech that is being given.

Source: Dell Hymes "Foundations of Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach" (1974)

Source: Elizabeth Keating "The Ethnography of Communication" (2001)

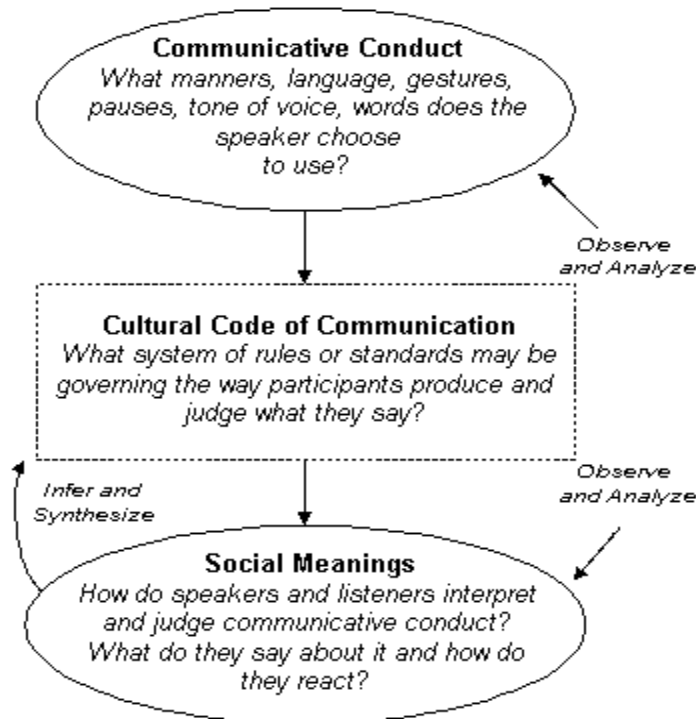
▼ The SPEAKING model (Hymes 1974)

Setting/Scene	The setting refers to the time and place, while scene describes the "psychological setting" or "cultural definition" of a scene.
Participants	Speaker and audience.
Ends	Purposes, goals, and outcomes.
Act sequence	Form and order of events.
Key	The "tone, manner, or spirit" of the speech.
Instrumentalities	Channels, forms, and styles of speech.
Norms	Social rules governing the event and the participants' actions and reaction.
Genres	The type of speech or event.

Source: Susan C. Herring "A Faceted Classification Scheme for Computer-Mediated Discourse" (2007)

Cultural Codes of Communication

Strategies for Studying Cultural Codes of Communication



Source: Gerry Philipsen "Speaking Culturally: Explorations in Social Communication" (1992)

Apologies are routinized in the sense that they are expressed with stereotyped formats. The following strategies were attested in research conducted by Janet Holmes in New Zealand, given with examples from her data (Holmes 1990:167):

1. An explicit expression of apology:
 - (a) Offer apology: "I apologize"
 - (b) Express regret: "I'm afraid"; "I'm sorry"
 - (c) Request forgiveness: "excuse me"; "forgive me"
2. An explanation or account, an excuse or justification:

"I wasn't expecting it to be you"; "we're both new to this"
3. An acknowledgment of responsibility:
 - (a) Accept blame: "it was my fault"
 - (b) Express self-deficiency: "I was confused"; "I wasn't thinking"; "I didn't see you"
 - (c) Recognize the hearer as entitled to an apology: "you're right"; "you deserve an apology"
 - (d) Express lack of intent: "I didn't mean to"
 - (e) Offer repair/redress: "we'll replace it for you"; "I'll bring you another"
4. A promise of forbearance:

"I promise it won't happen again"

Source: Nancy Bonvillian "Outline of an Ethnography of Communication" (1993)

"How are you?": Greetings

Criteria for Identifying Greetings across Languages:

1. near-boundary occurrence;
2. establishment of a shared perceptual field;
3. adjacency pair format;
4. relative predictability of form and content;
5. implicit establishment of a spatio-temporal unit of interaction; and
6. identification of the interlocutor as a distinct being worth recognizing.

There is widespread evidence that greetings are an important part of the communicative competence necessary for being a member of any speech community. They are often one of the first verbal routines learned

by children and certainly one of the first topics introduced in foreign language classes. They are also of great interest to analysts of social interaction, who see them as establishing the conditions for social encounters. [...] Researchers have felt at ease identifying "greetings" in different languages and providing hypotheses about what greetings "do" for or to people. I suggest that this has been possible due to the widespread belief that greetings are verbal formulas with virtually no propositional content or zero referential value. [...]

Whatever greetings accomplish, they do it by virtue of the participants' ability to match routine expressions with particular sociohistorical circumstances. To say that greetings are constituted by formulaic expressions only tells half of the story. The other half is how such formulaic expressions may be adapted to, and at the same time help establish, new contexts. [...] Greetings are, indeed, toward the formulaic end of the formulaic-creative continuum that runs across the full range of communicative acts through which humans manage their everyday life, but they can also communicate new information to participants through the types of questions they ask and the kinds of answers they produce. [...]

Contrary to what is assumed by most existing studies of greetings, greetings are not necessarily devoid of propositional content; they can be used to gather information about a person's identity or whereabouts. The Samoan "Where are you going?" greeting, for example, is seeking information about the addressee and, unlike what is argued by Sacks (1975) about the English "How are you?", in answering the Samoan greeting, a lie is not the "preferred" answer.

Source: Alessandro Duranti "Universal and Culture-Specific Properties of Greetings" (1997)

Hillary Clinton Meets the Capps

Hillary Clinton meets members of the Capps family during a visit at Santa Barbara Community College in September 1996:

Key: HC= Hillary Clinton; WC= Walter Capps; LC= Lois Capps; TC= Todd Capps

- HC: yeah. there's a lot of good things happening=
 WC: ((gestures with hand to LC))
 HC: =//HI::!
 WC: do you (remember) Lois,
 //my wife,
 HC: I do.
 LC: //thank you.
 HC: I'm glad to see you.
 LC: //three years ago you were here
 HC: your daughter says hello
 //hehaha!
 LC: ((laughs))
 WC: ((chuckles))
 LC: this is our son Todd.
 WC: this is our son,
 HC: //hi::! how are you?
 TC: hi! how are you? Nice
 //to see you.
 HC: nice to see you. Thanks.
 WC: we have (...)



Source: Alessandro Duranti's webpage with audio-visual clips for greetings
<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/anthro/faculty/duranti/audvis/greetings.htm>

Gossiping: "They Even Gossip about Gossip"

Gossip is commonly defined as a negatively evaluative and morally laden verbal exchange concerning the conduct of absent third parties that takes place within a bounded

In other societies, gossip is defined as an activity in which only certain types of individuals engage. For example, on Nukulaelae Atoll in the Central Pacific, the word that most closely resembles "gossip" is fatufatu, literally, "to make up [stories]." This term, however, is most clearly associated with women's interactional activities. When men engage in what an outsider would recognize as gossip, they are said to sauttala, "chat"; labeling their chatting as fatufatu would implicitly question their masculinity, even though men's sauttala resembles women's fatufatu in many respects. The characterization of women's communicative activities as reprehensible and unwholesome gossip and of men's as morally neutral talk, a phenomenon observed in numerous societies, enables men to denigrate women's social activities and thus justify gender hegemony.

group of persons in a private setting. In many societies, gossip is regarded as devoid of value and consequence, or as a reprehensible activity to be avoided or even feared; yet gossip is so pervasive that it is probably a universal phenomenon in one form or another. It is closely related to "scandal," defined as gossip that has become public knowledge, and "rumor," defined as the unconstrained propagation of information about an event of importance to the group. These general characterizations raise a number of problems. [...] In short, an airtight and universal definition of what constitutes gossip is probably not possible because the category itself is subject to context-dependent interpretations, and possibly contestation, by members of the same society.



Source: Niko Besnier "Gossip" (*Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, 1996)

Gossip in Zinacantan

Like most of us, villagers in the hamlets of Zinacantan, in the Mexican state of Chiapas, spend much of their time gossiping about friends and neighbors. They even gossip about gossip. [...] Gossip trades on a separation between public and private information; it celebrates leakage from one domain into the other, brought about at the townhall, by child spies, or by empassioned but incautious disclosures. [...] Zinacantecos have a deep ambivalence about gossip: their exaggerated sense of privacy carries with it a fascination with and a curiosity about others' private affairs.

In Zinacantan gossip is not merely "social control" – enforcing certain behavior or insuring that people observe social or cultural norms. In Zinacantan, as elsewhere, gossip is one sort of behavior by which people manage their social faces: keeping an eye out while limiting other people's view of oneself.

Source: John Beard Haviland "Gossip as Competition in Zinacantan" (1977)

"Is it true that old Maria divorced Manuel?"
 "Yes. She complained that she awoke every morning with a wet skirt. Old Manuel used to piss himself ever night, just like a child."
 "When he was drunk, you mean?"
 "No, even when he was sober. 'How it stinks!' she said."
 "Ha ha ha. She spoke right out at the townhall."

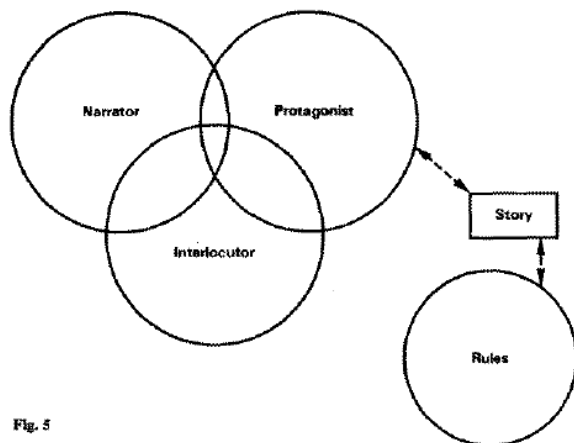


Fig. 5

Gossip reveals a set of relationships between narrator and protagonist. If the narrator is himself involved in a factional dispute with which the protagonist is also connected, we obviously expect the gossip to reflect whether the two are on the same or opposite sides. Moreover, gossip often draws an implicit moral contrast between the protagonist and the narrator. [...] Gossip is plainly *aimed* at the interlocutor. People try, through gossip, to convince their interlocutors, to arouse their sympathies, or to recruit their support. [...] The skillful gossip appeals selectively to rule-like propositions to create and deliver the desired impression. Moreover, a prudent gossip often elicits as much information from his interlocutor as he himself is prepared to divulge.

Finally, I may extend my ◀ diagram to include the salient groups to which protagonist, narrator, and interlocutor belong and to relate the particular story recounted in a single gossip session to the entire "cultural code" which "governs" behavior. One might study what groups can (or commonly do) gossip with what groups about what other groups. [...] The striking thing about gossip is its absorptive capacity; it contains clues to an unlimited set of ethnographic facts. [...] We are able to master gossip as an activity only when we have, essentially, mastered the whole culture.

Source: John Haviland "Gossip, Reputation, and Knowledge in Zinacantan" (1977)

Controlling Child's Behavior

Adults frequently convey implicit messages in their attempts to control a child's behavior. The following list offers possible ways of phrasing caregivers' admonitions (adapted from Halliday 1973:65):

1. That's very naughty of you.
2. I'll smack you if you do that again.
3. I don't like you to do that.
4. That thing doesn't belong to you.
5. You're making me very unhappy by doing that.
6. That's not allowed.

The basic goal underlying all of these sentences is essentially the same: to convince a child not to continue or repeat a particular act. But each carries a somewhat different, although mutually compatible, social message:

1. Behavior is disapproved on moral grounds
2. Threat of punishment
3. Emotional appeal
4. Action violates notions of private ownership
5. Emotional blackmail
6. Behavior violates external rules

Source: Nancy Bonvillian "Outline of an Ethnography of Communication" (1993)

Children and (Prescriptive) Manners, 1960s

The main procedures that a little child needs to learn first and fast are not too much of a challenge. A baby will build "please" and "thank you" into his speech as he learns to talk if those words are said to him as consistently as they should be said to an adult. And any three-year-old can master the following rules if the grown-ups in his life give him half a chance by constant example:

1. Answer nicely when spoken to.
2. Say "hello" and "good-bye" politely.
3. Stand up for visitors.
4. Don't start to eat first at the table.
5. Don't interrupt in a noisy or insistent fashion.

It is a rare child of four who cannot remember the exact time of his favorite television program, and so even a prekindergartner is certainly quite able (with perhaps a few secret signals from his parents) to add the following to his basic social graces:

6. Eat with reasonable silence and tidiness.
7. Chew with the lips closed.
8. Make a simple introduction correctly.
9. Don't contradict a grown-up flatly.
10. Say "Excuse me" (once in a while).
11. Don't interrupt (quite so much).

Source: Llewellyn Miller "The Encyclopedia of Etiquette" (1967)

American Court Proceedings as a Communicative Event



1. **Setting:** Trials or hearings are communicative events that occur in particular settings, namely courtrooms. The courtroom itself has a structural design separating seating areas for various categories of participants and orienting them in relation to one another.
2. **Participants:** Participants include judges, lawyers, defendants (and plaintiffs), witnesses, jurors, spectators, and court officials. Each participant's behavior is conditioned by his/her role. The judge is singled out by her/his seating position in the front, usually on a raised platform, of the courtroom and by special attire. The judge clearly controls communicative behavior of other participants, each of whom has certain obligations to speak or not to speak. In fact, failure to speak when so directed or failure to be silent otherwise are legally punishable offenses ("contempt of court"). Only judges, lawyers, and witnesses may speak publicly. Other participants (jurors, spectators, officers) must remain silent. Specific discourse patterns are expected of each type of participant. Lawyers may make introductory and concluding statements or ask questions. Witnesses answer questions. Judges have greater latitude in the kinds of speech appropriate for them; they can make statements, ask questions, and issue commands and rulings.
3. **Topics:** Topics of discussion are rather rigidly defined. The communicative event is about "something," and all speech behavior must be relevant to that issue. Rights of participants to introduce or change topics are narrowly limited and permission to incorporate extraneous speech must be asked of the judge (and granted). In lawyers' questioning of witnesses, it must be clear that questions are relevant to the central issue or are a logical development from it. Similarly, witnesses' answers must be germane to the topic. Judges have some flexibility in topic choice, but they too are limited by the overall focus.
4. **Goals:** Goals of participants vary according to their role in the proceeding. Individual communicative behavior is oriented toward achieving specific goals. Speakers choose words, tone of voice, facial expression, gesture, and so on, to accomplish their purpose: for example, the judge must appear impartial, lawyers speak and act aggressively, defendants portray themselves as innocent, witnesses appear honest and reliable, and jurors remain silent but convey interest in the speech and behavior of others.

Source: Nancy Bonvillian "Outline of an Ethnography of Communication" (1993)

Pazarlik: Bargaining in Turkey as a Speech Event

Pazarlik is a social as well as a business practice in Turkey. Most Turks enjoy bargaining and haggling. They expect to do a lot of it during a negotiation and *may be seriously offended if you refuse to play along*.

Prices often move 40 percent or more between initial offers and final agreement. Leave yourself a lot of room for concessions at different stages. When conceding, present this as a decision you made because you like and respect your counterpart. Always ask the other side to reciprocate.

Deceptive techniques are frequently used. This includes tactics such as telling lies and sending fake non-verbal messages, pretending to be disinterested in the whole deal or in single concessions, misrepresenting an item's value, or making false demands and concessions. [...] Do not take such tactics personally. [...] Even when you can see right through a lie, it would be a grave personal insult to state or even hint that your counterpart is not telling the truth. [...] Be careful not to moralize or appear to imply that local customs are unethical.

Source: Lothar Katz "Negotiating International Business: Turkey" (2008)



Monty Python - Life of Brian - The Haggling scene
Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u75XQdTxZRc>



Negotiation at Grand Bazaar

ISTANBUL, Turkey —

The first rule of shopping in the centuries-old markets of Istanbul is this: The asking price is merely a suggestion. In fact, it's barely a suggestion. A price is equivalent to a declaration that a merchant is open for business. But you will not pay that number, and he does not expect you to.

The second rule is to walk away, because the mere act of turning is the most effective method of chipping away at that price. Merchants expect you to walk away, and if you don't, they probably pity you. For instance, a colorful brass lamp on sale for 30 Turkish lira, or about 16 U.S. dollars, becomes 25 lira, then 20 lira and then 15 lira before you retreat five steps. When

you truly have no interest in the lamp, you begin feeling guilty for having ever entertained the thought of buying it.

The third rule — and this is the most essential, maddening and amusing rule — is that you're never done negotiating. You might think you are done; you might think you have won. You're not done, and you haven't won.

Consider an afternoon spent walking through the historic halls of Istanbul's most famous market, the teeming Grand Bazaar, amid throngs of people and past crammed stalls as merchants chirp, "Excuse me, lady, very nice!" Or, "Here — for your mother-in-law!" [...]

A round-faced man approached and introduced himself as Super Mario. When we said we were American, he said he lived in Laguna Beach, Calif., in 1975.

"Today is my birthday!" he added.

Super Mario gave us tastes of anything we wanted: half a dozen types of Turkish delight, pinches of spice and small handfuls of nuts. "You know where the almonds come from?" he asked. "California."

I appreciated the honesty, even as one of his colleagues told another customer that, sure enough, it was his birthday too.

We came to like Super Mario as he guided us to the three or four spices we bought, sealing the deal with several handshakes. The next day we returned to the Spice Bazaar and headed straight for Super Mario's stall. He brightened at seeing us, and I asked if it was still his birthday.

"Again it is my birthday!" he said.

Source: "How to Negotiate with Merchants Who've Been Doing it for Centuries" // *Miami Herald*, 2012; Video: "Negotiation at Grand Bazaar," <http://danariely.com/2011/02/01/negotiating-at-istanbuls-grand-bazaar/>

How to Interpret and Use Restaurant Menus

The waiters and waitresses, however, do have some control. While customers certainly have their own intentions when asking questions, waitresses and waiters have their own intentions when responding. When customers ask questions about the menu, in addition to exercising their own authority, they also introduce the opportunity for waiters and waitresses to gain control of the interaction. A good example of how this control could be manipulated by a waiter or waitress comes from Chris Fehlinger, the web-master of *bitterwaitress.com*, in an interview with *New Yorker* magazine:

“A lot of times when people asked about the menu, I would make it sound so elaborate that they would just leave it up to me,” he said, “I’d describe, like, three dishes in excruciating detail, and they would just stutter, ‘I, I, I can’t decide, you decide for me.’ So in that case, if the kitchen wants to sell fish, you’re gonna have fish.” He also employed what might be called a “magic words” strategy: “All you have to do is throw out certain terms, like *guanciaie*, and then you throw in something like *saba*, a reduction of the unfermented must of the Trebbiano grape. If you mention things like that, people are just, like, ‘O.K.’” (Teicholz, 1999)

Knowing what a customer wants often goes beyond simply being able to describe the food. It also involves knowing which descriptions will more likely sell and requires being able to apply the menu to the specific situation. For instance, in the following transcription I approach a table to take a food order while one customer is still reading the menu (Customer 3b). She asks me to explain the difference between veal scaloppini and veal scaloppini sec.

Tony: (to Customer 3a and Customer 3b) hi
 Customer 3b: what’s the difference between scaloppini and scaloppini sec?
 Tony: veal scaloppini is a tomato-based sauce with green onions and mushrooms / veal scaloppini sec is with marsala wine green onions and mushrooms
 Customer 3b: I’ll have the veal scaloppini sec
 Tony: ok / would you like it with spaghetti / ravioli / french fries
 Customer 3b: ravioli
 Customer 3a: and / I’ll get the tomato one / the veal scaloppini with mushrooms
 Tony: with spaghetti / ravioli / french fries
 Customer 3a: can I get steamed vegetables
 Tony: you want vegetables and no starch? / it already comes with vegetables / (.) (Customer 3a nods yes) ok / great / thank you
 Customer 3a: thanks

Source: Tony Mirabelli “Learning to Serve: The Language and Literacy of Food Service Workers” (2004)

Rules for Ritual Insults

<p>Classroom scene:</p> <p>Mrs. Tripp: Miss Hayashijima? Student: Yes, sir.</p> <p>Source: Susan Ervin-Tripp "The Structure of Communicative Choice" (1973)</p>	<p>Observe the following sequence used by two ten-year-olds entering a delicatessen:</p> <p>A: Your mother! B: Your father! A: Your uncle!</p> <p>The danger of sounds being misinterpreted as personal remarks cannot be overstated.</p>
<p>BEV (Black English Vernacular) practice of sounding:</p> <p>Boot: His mother was so dirty, when she got the rag take a bath, the water went back down the drain.</p> <p>Here the only flaw in the surface structure is perhaps the absence of <i>and</i> before <i>take a bath</i>. The underlying structure of this sentence might be shown as in the diagram below.</p>	<p>Ritual Insults Among White Peer Groups:</p> <p>Whereas the BEV (Black English Vernacular) practice of sounding ranges over a wide variety of forms and topics which are combined with great flexibility, the white forms are essentially a limited set of routines. Two of the most common begin with "Eat shit":</p> <p>A: Eat shit. B: What should I do with the bones? A: Build a cage for your mother. B: At least I got one. A: She is the least.</p> <p>A: Eat shit. B: Hop on the spoon. A: Move over. B: I can't, your mother's already there.</p>

Source: William Labov "Rules for Ritual Insults" (1973)

Hijras and the Use of Sexual Insult

Table 25-1. Selected examples of hijra verbal insults

Expression used by the hijras	Literal translation into English	<i>Hijra</i>
(a) khasam kā gannā cūs	'Go suck your husband's sugarcane!'	is a term used in in
(b) khasam ke yār sārē bāzār ke kele cāṭ le, peṭ bhar jāyegā	'Husband's lover, go and lick all the bananas at the bazaar, then you'll get full.'	India to refer to an
(c) pattaḷ kuttā cāte hai, terā bhāī hai	'The dog who licks the leaf-plate is your brother' (i.e., 'You are just like a dog who eats other people's leftovers').	individual who is
(d) thūktā jā aur laddā khātā jā, mue	'Keep on spitting and eating <i>laddū</i> (ball-shaped sweets), you good-for-nothing'.	transsexual or
(e) lakṛī bec lakṛī	'Sell that stick!' (Singh 1982 glosses this expression as follows: "In other words, the addressee should open up a store for selling his private parts").	transgender. In Pakistan, the <i>hijras</i> identify themselves
(f) gilās mē pānī bharkar soyā rah, mue	'Fill the glass with water and go to sleep, you good-for-nothing'.	as either
(g) terī saut ko kutte kā bāp rakhe thā. tab to kuch na bolā. ab tūrr jūrr karē hai.	'When that father-of-a-dog kept your co-wife you never said a word. <u>Now</u> you're complaining?'	female, male or third gender.

Source: Singh (1982)(recorded in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh).

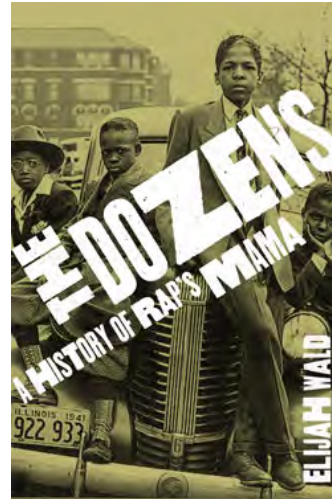
Kira Hall "Go Suck Your Husband's Sugarcane": Hijras and the Use of Sexual Insult" (1997)

The Dozens: Yo Momma

The Dozens is a game of spoken words between two contestants, common in Black communities of the United States, where participants insult each other until one gives up. It is customary for the Dozens to be played in front of an audience of bystanders, who encourage the participants to reply with more egregious insults to heighten the tension and consequently, to be more interesting to watch. Among African-Americans it is also known as "roasting", "capping", "clowning", "ranking", "ragging", "sounding", "joning", "woofing", "wolfing", "sigging", or "signifying", while the insults themselves are known as "snaps."

"I want all you women to fall in line,
And shake yo shimmy like i'm shakin' mine,
You shake yo shimmy and you shake it fast,
If you can't shake the shimmy, shake yo' yes yes
yes,
You a dirty mistreater, a robber and a cheater,
Stick you in a dozens and yo pappy is yo cousin,
And yo mama do the lawdylawd"

Those lyrics are from "The Dirty Dozen" by Speckled Red, the great Louisiana bluesman.



The Dozens, "yo mama" jokes in particular, gave birth to modern rap and hip-hop

Comments in the game focus on the opposite player's intelligence, appearance, competency, social status, financial situation, and disparaging remarks about the other player's family members—mothers in particular ("yo' mama...")—are common. Remarks in the Dozens can be expressed in rhyme or general language. More simplistic forms are found among younger children:

Participant 1: "I hear your mother plays third base for the Phillies."

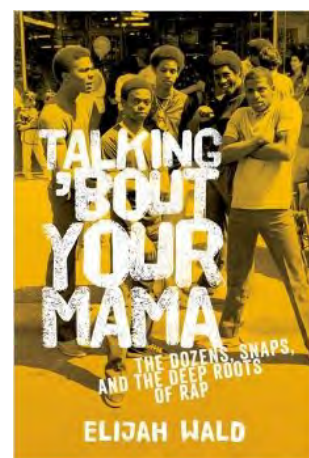
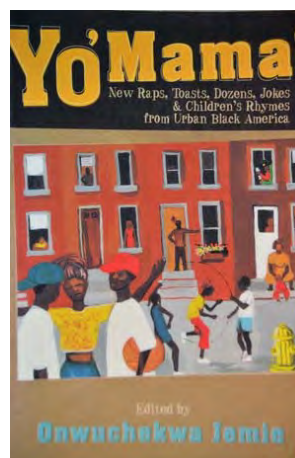
Participant 2: "Your mother is a bricklayer and stronger than your father."

Participant 1: "Your mother eats shit."

Participant 2: "Your mother eats shit and mustard."

Adolescents incorporate more sexual themes in their versions, often called the "Dirty Dozens":

If you wanta play the Dozens
Play them fast.
I'll tell you how many bull-dogs
Your mammy had.
She didn't have one;
She didn't have two;
She had nine damned dozens
And then she had you.



Yo mom so stupid it takes her an hour to cook minute rice
I saw yo mom kicking a can down the street and asked her what she was doing, she said movin'!!
Yo mom so fat she wears a phone booth for a beeper!!
Yo mom so fat she bleed gravy!!

Source: Wikipedia & other internet sites

The New York Times

'Fat Talk' as a Genre



Over winter break, Carolyn Bates, a college senior, and a friend each picked out five pairs of jeans at a Gap store in Indianapolis and eagerly tried them on. But the growing silence in their separate fitting rooms was telling. At last, one friend called out, “Dang it, these fit everywhere but my thighs! I wish my legs weren’t so huge.” The response: “My pair is way too long. I need to be taller or skinnier!”

The young women slumped out of the store, feeling lousy.

This exchange is what psychological researchers call “fat talk,” the body-denigrating conversation between girls and women. It’s a bonding ritual they describe as “contagious,” aggravating poor body image and even setting the stage for eating disorders. Some researchers have found that fat talk is so embedded

among women that it often reflects not how the speaker actually feels about her body but how she is expected to feel about it.

And while research shows that most women neither enjoy nor admire fat talk, it compels them. In one study, 93 percent of college women admitted to engaging in it.

Alexandra F. Corning, a research associate professor in psychology at the University of Notre Dame, wondered whether a woman’s size would affect her likability when she engaged in fat talk. As an online experiment, Dr. Corning showed 139 undergraduates photos of two thin and two overweight women, each making either a positive or negative remark about her body.

Because of the stigma against heavier people, Dr. Corning expected that the most popular option would be a thin woman who made positive comments about her body. But she found that wasn’t the case.

The most likable woman chosen by the students was overweight and quoted as saying: “I know I’m not perfect, but I love the way I look. I know how to work with what I’ve got, and that’s all that matters.”

The results were heartening, Dr. Corning said, a glimmer that nearly two decades of positive body-image campaigns may be taking hold.

But, she acknowledged, her experiment had limitations. “Are the students really liking these women the most? Or are they saying it because they think they should?” said Dr. Corning. “They might like them more, but would they really want to hang out with them?”

Renee Engeln, who directs the Body and Media Lab at Northwestern University, cautioned that “we have complicated reactions to confident women in general, and particularly to women who are confident about their bodies. Women sometimes see them as arrogant.”

Fat talk has insinuated itself among men, too, Dr. Engeln added, though it is far less frequent than with women. In addition, men are more likely to place emphasis on different issues, like muscular bulk or being too thin, something women rarely fret about, she said.

But putting a stop to fat talk is difficult. Dr. Corning said, in part because it feels airless and scripted and seems to offer the responder no avenue to change the dynamic without threatening the relationship. She gave an example:

First friend: “I can’t believe I ate that brownie. I am so fat!”

Second friend: “You must be joking — you are so not fat. Just look at my thighs.”

The second friend’s reply, an “empathetic” self-deprecating retort to maintain the friendship on equal standing, includes reflexive praise of the first friend’s body, supposedly feeding the first friend’s hungry cry for affirmation, Dr. Corning said. But to do so, the second friend has eviscerated herself, a toxic tear-down by comparison.

Dr. Corning said that to break the cycle, a person shouldn’t engage. But particularly for younger women, it’s hard to say something like, “Hey, no negative self-talk!” or “Why do we put ourselves down?”

Instead, for adolescents, she suggested, “Keep it light; it’s not a moment for major social activism. Teenagers can change the topic. They do it all the time.”

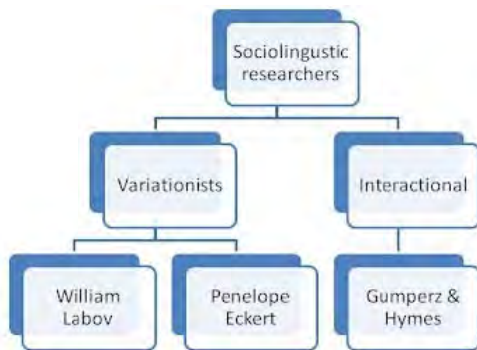
Ms. Bates, who recently graduated from Notre Dame, pointed out that “when you focus on clothes and make it about your body, you’ve put your friend in a position where she can’t say anything right. She can’t be honest, because it could come off as hurtful.”

That winter day, as she and her friend drove away from the Gap feeling so deflated, her friend said, “We always get good clothes from that store, but their new pants just don’t ‘get’ us!”

It wasn’t that their bodies didn’t fit the clothes; the clothes didn’t fit their bodies.

Ever since, said Ms. Bates, when the friends try on clothes that don’t fit, their go-to remark has become, “This doesn’t get me!” And, taking a cue from the positive-image primer, they leave it at that.

Interactional Sociolinguistics

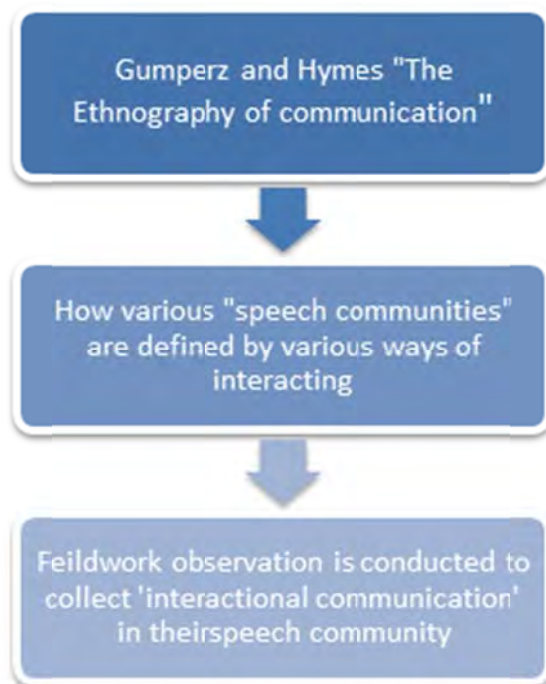


Variationist Sociolinguistics – Strand of Sociolinguistics which is interested in looking at social variation within dialects and examine how variation is rule governed.

Interactional Sociolinguistics – Strand of Sociolinguistics which looks at different styles of interaction by speech communities.

Interactional Sociolinguistics

Interactional Sociolinguists focus on language in its social context, the language used in interaction by closely observing a "speech event" in a particular community. Ethnographic Observation (Interactional): Fieldwork conducted within a community to study the linguistic behaviors between different cultures and social groups through observation and interpretation by which a recording device is used to document the findings. However one problem in trying to elicit natural speech data when they know they are being observed is labelled '*observers paradox*' which refers to the presence of the observer affecting the language produced, the speaker may become self-conscious which raises the question, how natural is the speech data?



The Seven Factors:

There are seven different factors that all serve a particular function in a certain 'speech event' associated with interactional sociolinguistics:

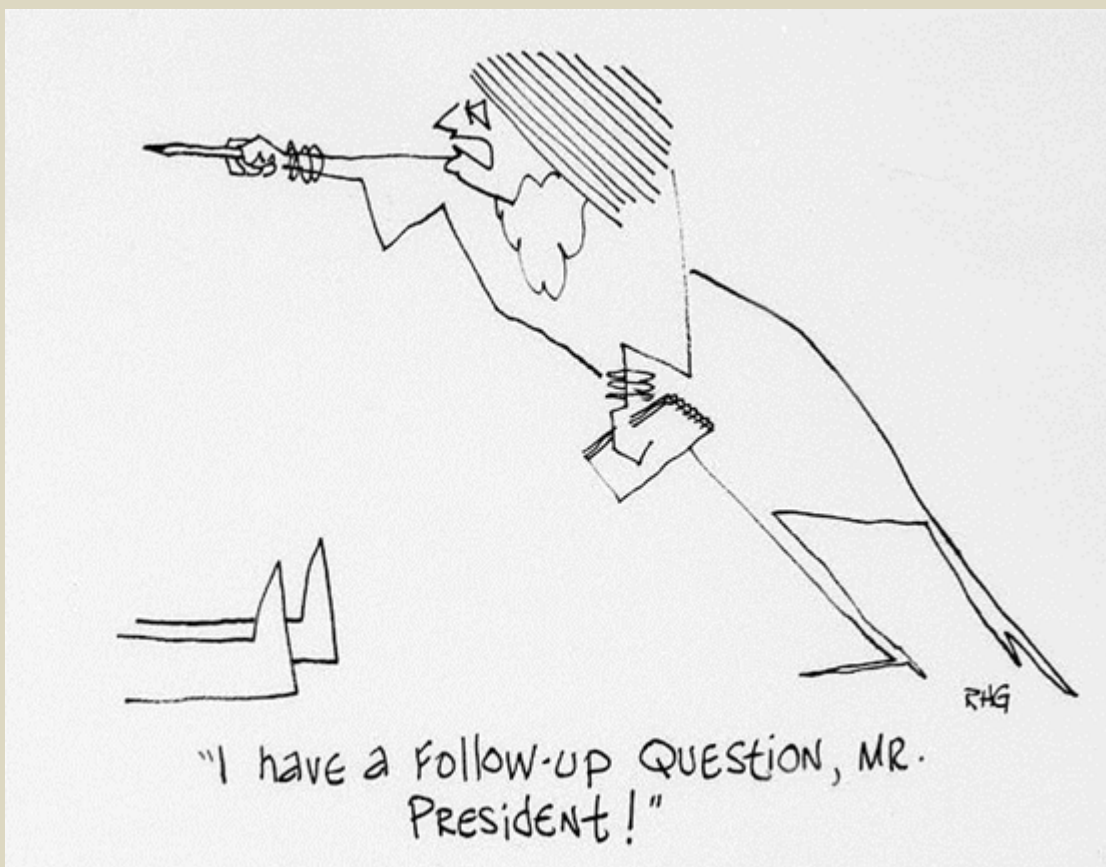
1. Speaker - Writer
2. Hearer - Reader
3. The message that is passed between them
4. The topic expressed by the message form
5. Location of speech event
6. Emotive/ expressive function which is the speaker - writer attitude
7. Referential/ denotative function stressing the topic

This model is referred to as "ethnography of communication" (Gumperz & Hymes).

"Underlying the speech event is a complex set of socially recognized rules" [Spolsky 1998] which are easily identifiable when the social rules are violated.

Source: Jenny Cheshire "University of Sheffield's All About Linguistics Website" (2010)

Conversational Practices: Footing (Goffman)



Drawing of Helen Thomas by Dick Growald

Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

UPI Te-sonoto
Wearing white pants, a navy blue jersey shirt and long white beads, UPI's Helen Thomas leaves the White House through the North Portico. President Nixon asked Miss Thomas yesterday if pants outfits were less expensive than dresses. When Mr. Nixon was informed they were not, the Chief Executive commanded: "Then change."



Nixon Turns Fashion Critic 'Turn Around..'

WASHINGTON—(UPI)—President Nixon, a gentleman of the old school, teased a newspaper woman yesterday about wearing slacks to the White House and made it clear that he prefers dresses on women.

After a bill-signing ceremony in the Oval Office, the President stood up from his desk and in a teasing voice said to UPI's Helen Thomas: "Helen, are you still wearing slacks? Do you prefer them actually? Every time I see girls in slacks it reminds me of China."

Miss Thomas, somewhat abashed, told the President that Chinese women were moving toward Western dress.

"This is not said in an uncomplimentary way, but slacks can do something for some people and some it can't." He hastened to add, "but I think you do very well. Turn around."

As Nixon, Attorney General Elliott L. Richardson, FBI Director Clarence Kelley and other high-ranking law enforcement officials smiling, Miss Thomas did a pirouette for the President. She was wearing white pants, a navy blue jersey shirt, long white beads and navy blue patent leather shoes with a red trim.

Nixon asked Miss Thomas how her husband, Douglas Cornell, liked her wearing pants outfits.

"He doesn't mind," she replied.

"Do they cost less than gowns?"

"No," said Miss Thomas.

"Then change," commanded the President with a wide grin as other reporters and cameramen roared with laughter.

Helen Thomas in 1973



What was the reception?

First of all, Helen Thomas herself wrote the article about this incident; according to anthropologist Michael Silverstein, "this is what we call 'payback' time." At first glance, it seems like a neutral report of a conversation, but take a closer look. From the very beginning, Nixon is set up as the bad guy—a "gentleman of the old school" who "teased a newspaper woman."

The mocking, faux fashion report tone continues from the headline into the description of Thomas' outfit. What seems like a harmless personal interest story tacked onto a news article was actually a protest against this treatment—and it required damage control by the president. Within the next week, Thomas' fellow reporters went on the record as saying that they were on her side, and wished she had not played along with the president. Even the First Lady weighed in, saying that there was no rule against women wearing pants in the White House.

Source: Miranda Weinberg "Is It Wrong to Comment on the Appearance of Professional Women?" (2013)

President [Nixon] Prefers Women in Skirts

Part 2

Tuesday, August 14, 1973

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

Tuesday, Aug

Helen Thomas Dresses Up for Nixon

Los Angeles Times Service
 Washington, D. C. — Helen Thomas wore a black and white print dress to the White House the day after President Nixon told her he didn't like women in slacks, but — amid some gentle teasing from her colleagues — she said it didn't mean she was giving up pants forever.

"Hey, Helen, are you caving in?" one journalist asked, laughing, as he walked by. Miss Thomas, UPI White

she should have taken the president on," said Alan Lidow, of Golden West Broadcasters. "She was too nice."

Another reporter, who did not wish to be identified, agreed.

"She was ridiculed," he said. "It was a cheap way for the president to get a laugh — at her expense."

"Gowns" Cheaper?

The exchange occurred a week ago in the Oval Office after a bill signing ceremony. President Nixon said to Miss Thomas, who was wearing slacks and an overblouse, "Helen, are you still wearing slacks? Do you prefer them actually? Every time I see a girl in slacks, it reminds me of China."

He asked her if they cost less than "gowns." No, she said. "Then change," he said, grinning, as the rest of the room erupted in laughter.

Miss Thomas did not challenge him. "I was not offended," she said. "I knew he was only trying to tease, to make small talk. It was not ill meant."

Warren, listening to her comments, added: "Helen and the president have a very good rapport."

But after Warren left, Miss Thomas said:

Old School

"It's pretty well known the president does not like pantsuits on women. His own daughter Julie says she doesn't even wear them to walk the dog around the White House grounds. The president has not been out on the American scene enough to recognize that pants are not just a trend —

but a part of the American woman's wardrobe.

"I don't know the president very well, but I do know he is a gentleman of the old school," she continued. "He views women as he saw them in the '30s or '40s. Or even '50s."

She was received several letters and telephone calls, all but one urging her not to give in. One postcard, from Hampton, Va., was critical: "I just want you to know that I heartily concur with

"I think I'll wear my kilt to work tomorrow."

President Nixon's views on women who wear slacks in public. Your legs must really be something to be ashamed of if you lower yourself and show so little respect for the honor accorded you of being allowed in the White House . . . Why can't women be content to look like women and let men wear the long pants? To me you are a disgrace to womanhood."

Miss Thomas shrugged. "I don't think I've ever dressed improperly for the White House," she said.

Miss Thomas does not think the incident will prove to be inhibiting to White House visitors, both tourists and official reception guests. Helen Smith, Mrs. Nixon's press secretary, agreed.

No Set Thing

"There is no set thing on etiquette here at the White House," Mrs. Smith said. "People can wear whatever

they like. Remember Joan Kennedy? She came here in a suede gauchio outfit once."

Mrs. Nixon, however, would never wear pants in the White House, she said, not even a dressy pantsuit.

"But she does wear them at Camp David or San Clemente," Mrs. Smith said.

There is also an unspoken rule that pants are forbidden to members of her staff when they are on the job, Mrs. Smith said.

"We just know she wouldn't like it, so we don't do it," Mrs. Smith said. "If

one of her staff wore pants, she would probably say something to me about it. She doesn't think slacks are becoming to White House staff members who might come into contact with guests. But she doesn't care what the guests wear. She feels it's up to them."

Women staff members on the west side of the White House, where the executive offices of the president are located, are also expected not to wear pants.

"One secretary told me she was considering wearing

them on Saturdays, when no one is around, but decided against it after my encounter with the president," Miss Thomas said.

Although dress standards have been relaxed in many government offices, pants have not become totally accepted for women in some of these places: On Capitol Hill, for example, where there are no official rules governing clothing, women aides wearing pantsuits have been harassed upon attempting to enter the legislative chambers.

"It was a cheap way for the president to get a laugh — at her expense."

House correspondent, smiling, shook her head from side to side.

Even Deputy White House Press Secretary Gerald Warren couldn't resist cracking: "I think I'll wear my kilt to work tomorrow."

Way of Life

"I won't stop wearing them," she said. "I plan to continue. Pantsuits are part of my way of life. I'm always in motion, jumping on and off helicopters, in and out of Air Force One, constantly on the run from one vacation resort to another — where casual attire is the thing."

Some of Miss Thomas' comrades in the White House press corps felt her response to the president was almost too diplomatic. "We're all on Helen's side around here, but we think

Blacks Can Sunburn

Women's News Service
 Philadelphia, Pa. — If you're black, you don't have to worry about sunburn, right? You say it's because

given by Dr. John A. Kenney, chairman of the division of dermatology at Howard University College of Medicine.

cal. Black skin also has the same number of pigmentation particles. The only difference is in their distribution.



UPI legend Helen Thomas was the subject of this July 25, 2007, Doonesbury by editorial cartoonist Garry Trudeau

DOONESBURY Garry Trudeau



Goffman's "Footing"

WASHINGTON [UPI]—President Nixon, a gentleman of the old school, teased a newspaper woman yesterday about wearing slacks to the White House and made it clear that he prefers dresses on women.

After a bill-signing ceremony in the Oval Office, the President stood up from his desk and in a teasing voice said to UPI's Helen Thomas: "Helen, are you still wearing slacks? Do you prefer them actually? Every time I see girls in slacks it reminds me of China."

Miss Thomas, somewhat abashed, told the President that Chinese women were moving toward Western dress.

"This is not said in an uncomplimentary way, but slacks can do something for some people and some it can't." He hastened to add, "but I think you do very well. Turn around."

As Nixon, Attorney General Elliott L. Richardson, FBI Director Clarence Kelley and other high-ranking law enforcement officials smiling [*sic*], Miss Thomas did a pirouette for the President. She was wearing white pants, a navy blue jersey shirt, long white beads and navy blue patent leather shoes with red trim.

Nixon asked Miss Thomas how her husband, Douglas Cornell, liked her wearing pants outfits.

"He doesn't mind," she replied.

"Do they cost less than gowns?"

"No," said Miss Thomas.

"Then change," commanded the President with a wide grin as other reporters and cameramen roared with laughter. [*The Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia), 1973]

Source: Ervin Goffman "Footing" (1979)

The participation format, following the Goffmanian framework, could be sketched out as follows:

	innocent narrative	meta narrative
Author	self in the observed world (<i>me</i>)	self in the observing world (<i>I</i>)
Animator	self who says X	self who says something about saying X
Principal	social status X	social status Y

Source: Barbara Pizziconi "Facework and Multiple Selves in Apologetic Metapragmatic Comments in Japanese" (2011)

I have illustrated through its changes what will be called "footing."² In rough summary:

1. Participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self is somehow at issue.
2. The projection can be held across a strip of behavior that is less long than a grammatical sentence, or longer, so sentence grammar won't help us all that much, although it seems clear that a cognitive unit of some kind is involved, minimally, perhaps, a "phonemic clause." Prosodic, not syntactic, segments are implied.
3. A continuum must be considered, from gross changes in stance to the most subtle shifts in tone that can be perceived.
4. For speakers, code switching is usually involved, and if not this then at least the sound markers that linguists study: pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, tonal quality.
5. The bracketing of a "higher level" phase or episode of interaction is commonly involved, the new footing having a liminal role, serving as a buffer between two more substantially sustained episodes.

Source: Ervin Goffman "Footing" (1979)

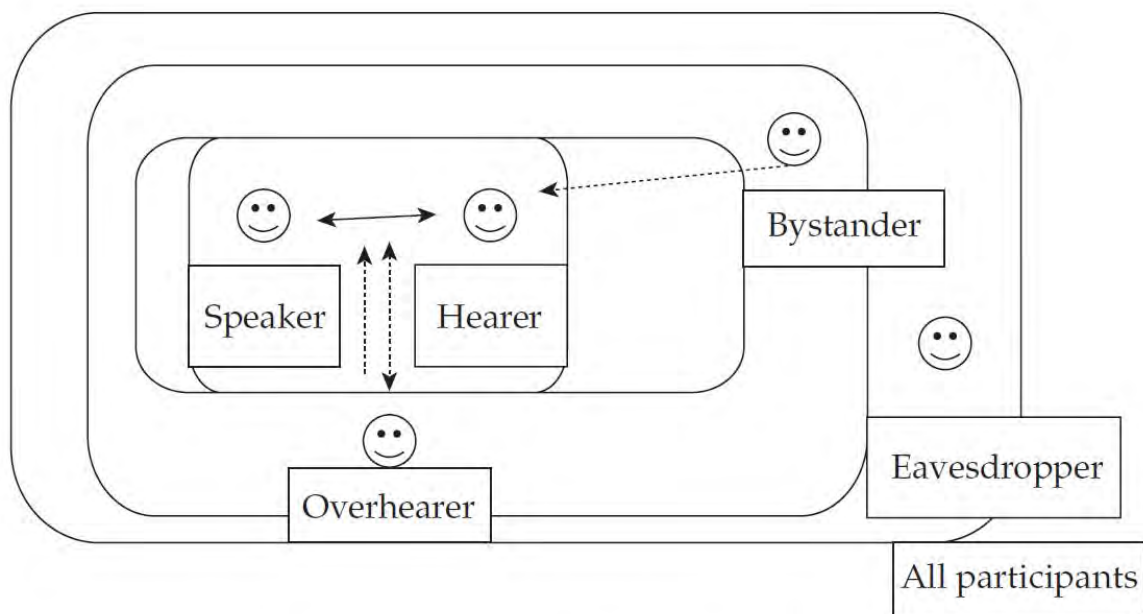


Figure 4.1 Diagramming participation. Adapted from Clark (1996). © Cambridge University Press.

Source: Lourdes de León "Language Socialization and Multiparty Participation Frameworks" (2011)

Praising Attorney General's Looks

WASHINGTON — President Obama late Thursday night called Kamala Harris, the California attorney general, and apologized to her for telling a group of wealthy donors that she is the “best-looking attorney general in the country.”



Video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fcptrSu_eiA

Mr. Obama made the comment on Thursday morning at a fund-raiser outside San Francisco. He praised Ms. Harris as being “brilliant,” adding, “she is dedicated and she is tough” before commenting on her looks.

There was a quick reaction on social media sites, with some people accusing Mr. Obama of being sexist and others defending his comment as harmless.

But the president’s aides apparently knew the potential for political damage. Soon after Air Force One returned Mr. Obama from his

West Coast fund-raising trip, he called Ms. Harris and apologized, according to Jay Carney, the White House press secretary.

“You know, they are old friends and good friends,” Mr. Carney said, “and he did not want in any way to diminish the attorney general’s professional accomplishments and her capabilities.”

Mr. Carney repeatedly remarked on Ms. Harris’s abilities, calling her “a remarkably effective leader as attorney general” and “an excellent attorney general” who has “done great work.” The president, Mr. Carney said, “fully recognizes the challenge women continue to face in the workplace and that they should not be judged based on appearance.”

A spokesman for Ms. Harris, Gil Duran, said in a statement on Friday: “The attorney general and the president have been friends for many years. They had a great conversation yesterday, and she strongly supports him.”

While Ms. Harris did not seem offended, others were on her behalf. Robin Abcarian wrote on the Web site of The Los Angeles Times that the comment was “more wolfish than sexist,” and “may be a little problem he needs to work on.”

Joan Walsh wrote on Salon that “my stomach turned over” when she heard about the comment. “Those of us who’ve fought to make sure that women are seen as more than ornamental — and that includes the president — should know better than to rely on flattering the looks of someone as formidable as Harris,” she said.

Ms. Harris, 48, was elected to the statewide office in 2010 after serving two terms as district attorney of San Francisco. She is the first woman to hold the post and the first with African-American and South Asian heritage. Her name has come up as a possible candidate for governor, or even for the United States Supreme Court if a seat is vacated during Mr. Obama’s second term. She has been an ally of the president’s, speaking at the Democratic National Convention that renominated him last year.

Source: Michael D. Shear “Obama Apologizes for Praising Attorney General’s Looks” NYT, April 5, 2013

“Horsing Around” New Zealand Style

Prime Minister John Key of New Zealand has apologized for “horsing around” in which he pulled the ponytail of a waitress.

New Zealand’s Prime Minister, John Key, has apologized to a cafe worker who accused him of a form of torment usually associated with playground bullies: hair-pulling.



The two bottles of personalized wine Key gave the waitress

was “just trying to be playful and jolly,” cultivating a nice-guy image to earn votes. But her agitation grew as the behavior continued, and although she tried to avoid him, he did not stop, she wrote in the post on a left-leaning New Zealand website, The Daily Blog.

In an interview with a New Zealand television station after the waitress’s account was published, Mr. Key said the hair-pulling had taken place in the context of frequent “horsing around” and “practical jokes” at the cafe.

“It’s a very warm, friendly relationship. In that context, you’d say yes,” he said when asked if pulling a waitress’s hair was appropriate behavior for a prime minister. “But if you look at it now, no.”

In her blog post, the waitress said that at first she did not complain directly to the prime minister, but that when he tried to pull her hair on March 13, she backed away, wagged her finger and repeatedly said no. Two weeks later, she said, after he tugged on her hair once more as he left the cafe, she told him, “Please STOP or I will actually hit you soon!”

According to the waitress, Mr. Key returned shortly thereafter with two bottles of wine and said: “This is for you, sorry. I didn’t realize.” She wrote that his assertion that he had not been aware that his behavior was unwelcome “was almost more offensive than the harassment itself.”

The waitress said the prime minister’s wife, Bronagh Key, had witnessed some of the hair-pulling and asked him to stop.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Key confirmed that he had apologized to the waitress, according to The New Zealand Herald.

The news set off a torrent of criticism in New Zealand on Wednesday. Metiria Turei, co-leader of the opposition Green Party, called Mr. Key’s behavior “weird,” The Herald reported.

“A lot of New Zealanders know what it’s like to feel as if you’re not taken seriously in a job,” The Herald quoted her as saying. “As politicians, our job is to make people feel safe at work, not bullied.”

The waitress made her complaint public in an anonymous blog post on Wednesday, saying that Mr. Key, a frequent visitor to the Auckland cafe where she works, had tugged on her ponytail repeatedly over a period of months, starting during the general election campaign last year. Mr. Key, the prime minister since 2008, won a third term with his center-right National Party’s victory in September.

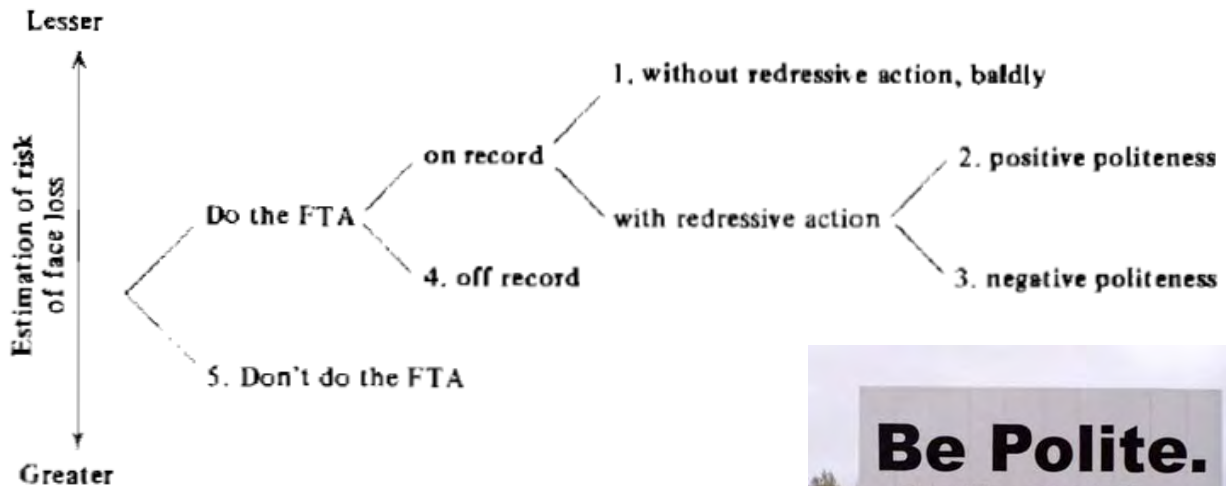
The waitress said that at first she thought Mr. Key

'Face-threatening acts' (FTA)

We make the following assumptions: that all competent adult members of a society have (and know each other to have)

- (i) 'face', the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two related aspects:
 - (a) negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition
 - (b) positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants
- (ii) certain rational capacities, in particular consistent modes of reason from ends to the means that will achieve those ends. (Brown & Levinson 1987)

Circumstances determining choice of strategy:



Your *face* in pragmatics is your public self-image:

- FACE-THREATENING ACT: *Give me that paper!*
- FACE SAVING ACT: *Could you pass me that paper, please?*

Negative and positive face

o **Negative face** is the need to be independent to have a freedom of action and not to be imposed by others.

o Example: Your friend asks for a ride to the airport

o Negative face needs: You think, this is not favorable, I don't feel like driving this guy to the airport. I have other stuff that I could be doing, like sleeping, or saving the gasoline in my car. He can find his own ride (Goffman: 1967).

o **Positive face** is the need to be accepted, even liked by others, to be treated as a member of the group and to know that his or her wants are shared by others.

o Example: Your friend asks for a ride to the airport.

o Positive face needs: You think, I better like him because I want him to like me, and I want the reputation of being a reliable person (Goffman: 1967).

o In conclusion, we can say that negative face is the need to be independent and positive face is the need to be connected.

Source: Erving Goffman "On Face-Work" (1967)

Face and Politeness Theory

Examples of face-threatening acts

	Negative FTAs	Positive FTAs
Affecting hearer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orders/requests • Suggestions/advice • Reminders • Threats/warnings/dares • Offers • Promises • Compliments/envy/admiration • Strong negative emotions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disapproval/criticism/contempt/ridicule/complaints/reprimands/accusations/insults • Contradictions/disagreements/challenges • Violent emotions • Irreverence/taboo • Bad news/boasting • Emotional/divisive subject matter • Non-co-operation • Inappropriate terms of address
Affecting speaker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Giving thanks • Acceptance of thanks/apology • Excuses • Acceptance of offers • Responses to hearer's faux pas • Unwilling/reluctant promises/offers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apologies • Acceptance of compliment • Breakdown of physical control • Self-humiliation/deprecation • Confessions/admissions of guilt • Emotional leakage/non-control of laughter/tears

Positive and negative politeness strategies

Negative	Positive
1. Be indirect	1. Notice/attend to hearer
2. Question/hedge	2. Exaggerate
3. Be pessimistic	3. Intensify interest
4. Minimise imposition (verbally)	4. Use in-group markers
5. Give deference/humble oneself	5. Seek agreement
6. Apologise/admit imposition/indicate reluctance/give overwhelming reasons/beg forgiveness	6. Avoid disagreement
7. Impersonalise speaker and hearer (pronominally/passive voice/indefinites/reference terms/point of view distancing)	7. Presuppose/raise/assert common ground
8. State FTA as general rule	8. Joke
9. Nominalise	9. Assert/presuppose knowledge of/concern for hearer's wants
10. Go on-record with indebtedness	10. Offer/promise
	11. Be optimistic
	12. Include both speaker and hearer
	13. Give (or ask for) reasons
	14. Assume/assert reciprocity
	15. Give gifts (goods/sympathy/understanding/cooperation)

Source: Penelope Brown & Stephen Levinson "Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage" (1987)

Saving Face in China



Bill Gates' 'hand in pocket' draws criticism in South Korea (Apr. 23, 2013)

South Korea Appalled by Bill Gates' One-Handed Handshake

When it comes to doing business in China, “respect for people’s feelings is paramount — this sensitivity that needs to be taken in respect to people’s ‘face,’ ” Tom Doctoroff of J. Walter Thompson advertising said.

“Face — a cliché, but it’s so true — is the currency of advancement,” he said. “It’s like a social bank account. You spend it and you save it and you invest. And when you take away somebody’s face you take away someone’s fundamental sense of security.”

“You make someone lose face if you make them feel that they’ve given a wrong or silly answer” in a meeting, Mr. Doctoroff said. “You need to take whatever people are saying, whether it’s a creative idea or a strategy idea, and you need to find that kernel of wisdom in there. Usually there is something that is relevant. And they need to build on that.

“If you end up with a Charlie Brown situation, with the entire class ha-ha-ing, that’s a disaster, and people will loathe you for it.”

Christine Lu, chief executive of Affinity China, a luxury venture group, said, “If you understand that dealing with people in China is all about face — giving face, getting face, saving face and not letting that person lose face — then you’re all covered.”

And when it comes to Westerners, there is a historic aspect to the Chinese concern about face, said Saul Gitlin of Kang & Lee Advertising.

“Because of China’s history of exploitation by foreign countries who colonized China or raided China for business purposes, particularly in the business sphere, Chinese do not want to be seen culturally as having been ‘had’ by Western businesspeople,” he said.

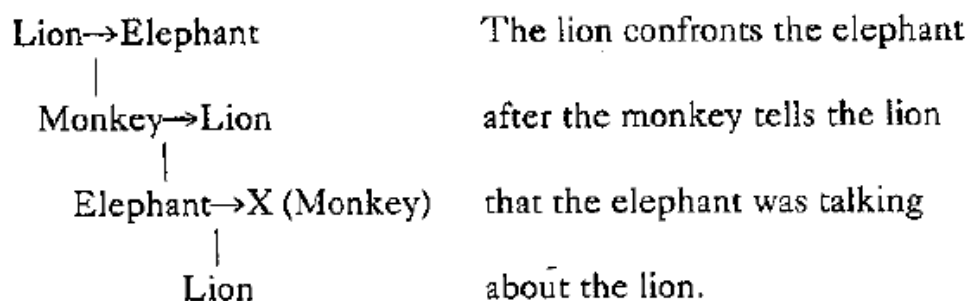
“That may sound fairly intuitive, but it is related to the very recent 200-year history in China, up through the middle part of last century, when Western businesspeople clearly had the upper hand commercially and politically in China,” he explained. So “it’s very important for Western businesspeople to show respect.”

Gender: “The well-known Mao statement that ‘women hold up half the sky’ really is quoted in China,” said Laurie Underwood of China Europe International Business School in Shanghai. “It is a fact that the Communist system created an equal playing field for men and women, much more so than elsewhere in Asia and even more equal than in the United States.” As a result, “there is no stigma attached to working for a female boss and women are very much respected in business,” Ms. Underwood said. “The difference between foreigner and Chinese is much more important in Chinese business culture than the difference between men and women.”

Source: The International Herald Tribune, December 13, 2010

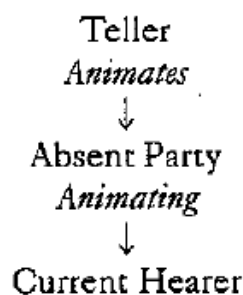
Instigating

The sequence of events which occurs as a result of stories' being told about what was said in a story recipient's absence is parallel to the sequencing of events resulting from the "signifying" which occurs in one of the most popular of black folklore forms, "The Signifying Monkey" (Abrahams 1964: 147–157; Dorson 1967: 98–99). In that tale's "toast" form, the monkey provokes a dispute between the lion and the elephant by telling the lion that the elephant was insulting him behind his back. The lion then confronts the elephant:



In the girls' he-said-she-said event, a parallel series of events occurs when an intermediary party (like the monkey) reports to someone what was said about her in her absence.

which the stories are embedded.⁴ In a variety of ways, the absent party's actions toward the current hearer are portrayed as offensive. Thus, in describing what Kerry said about Julia, Bea (lines 26–31) reports that Kerry had characterized Julia as having acted stupid:



- (2)
- | | | |
|----|------|--|
| 26 | Bea: | <i>She</i> said, <i>She</i> said that um, (0.6) |
| 27 | | that (0.8) if that <i>girl</i> wasn't |
| 28 | | there = <i>You</i> know that girl that always |
| 29 | | makes those funny jokes, *h Sh'aid if |
| 30 | | that <i>girl</i> wasn't there <i>you</i> wouldn't be |
| 31 | | <i>actin'</i> , (0.4) a:ll <i>stupid</i> like that. |

“When Shall We Go for a Ride?”

The data analysed is a phone call between a 15-year-old girl and a male Member of Parliament. I explore how ‘harassment-in-action’ may be embedded in the mundane procedures of talk. Analysis of the MP’s strategies to pursue the girl’s acceptance of his invitation to ‘come for a ride’ revealed a number of patterns: recurrent invitations, personal knowledge displays, an orientation to secrecy and confidentiality and implicit and explicit threats. The girl’s strategies to resist the MP’s suggestions were formulated according to the norms of preference organization, by doing dispreferred activities, using repair initiators and standard responses. I argue that although no single feature of the talk could directly index sexual harassment, the ‘formal analysis’ of (recurrent) patterns of interaction, combined with the cultural knowledge about the identity of the interactants, forms a basis to construct also a feminist-informed explication of ‘sexual harassment’.

Extract 1

043 MP: **I see=are you busy now in the**
 044 **daytime.**
 045 **(0.8)**
 046 G: **I shall work now I came just**
 047 **from the job,=and then I**
 048 **will go a ↑ gain,**
 049 **.hh [°and >work<°**
 050 MP: **[Yes.**
 051 **(1.0)**
 052 MP: → **I see: >I see<.=When shall**
 053 **we go for a ride then.**
 054 **(.)**
 055 G: **↓What did you say.**
 056 MP: → **When shall we go for a ride**
 057 **(.)**
 058 G: **Hey listen I don’t k°now° hhh**
 059 **(.)**
 060 MP: **h What?**
 061 **(0.6)**
 062 MP: → **Are you coming with me then.**
 063 **(0.5)**
 064 MP: → **Do [you dare to come.**
 065 G: **[I don’t know. hhh**
 066 **(.)**
 067 MP: → **↓But come along, ↓**
 068 **(0.6)**
 069 G: **Why is ↑ that**
 070 MP: **(We-) well I know why, (.)**
 071 **see I have heard (.)**
 072 **I know (.) I know >much more**
 073 **about you than you think<.**
 074 **(0.7)**
 075 G: **Is that so.**
 076 MP: **Ye:s? Yes I a- Absolutely.**

Extract 3

132 MP: → **↑Yea::: (.) <listen I know a**
 133 **lot> more than you think.**
 134 **(0.8)**
 135 MP: **Absolutely. and I won’t ever**
 136 → **tell these things to your**
 137 **Daddy >you know cause I<**
 138 **(.) do know your Daddy. .hhh**
 139 **I won’t gossip (no) #m# I**
 140 **won’t do that I am nice**
 141 **enou[gh but,**
 142 G: **[.hhh hh=**
 143 MP: → **=But I know a lot about**
 144 **°you°.**

Extract 5

409 MP: **Hey listen:: mt äää (1.5)**
 410 **#eee# so well if I phone you**
 411 **y’know an:d (.) you keep your**
 412 **mouth shut up and you tell**
 413 **nothing.=**
 414 G: **=Nono.**
 415 MP: **Absolutely.**
 416 G: **Yesyes.**
 417 MP: **And you can trust that<**
 418 **I don’t tell**
 419 **↓anyt[hing↓ either.**
 420 G: **[O:[kay,**
 421 MP: **[Absolutely nothing.**
 422 G: **°Yea,°**
 423 MP: **=Ok- okay one hundred percent**
 424 **((sure)).**
 425 G: **Yea?,**
 426 MP: **.h Well: (0.8) äää (1.2)**
 427 **wellwell: (.) some afternoon**
 428 **after your schoolday.**
 429 **(.) will you come for a ride**
 430 **somewhere.**

Final Paper

Transcribing conventions



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Final paper (7-10 pages)

- 1) Record an ordinary conversation after asking the participants for permission;
- 2) Transcribe it in accord with the transcribing conventions;
- 3) Analyze the conversation using the instruments acquired during the course.

BREAK _a LEG

TRANSCRIBING CONVENTIONS

The transcribing conventions used in these data are based on those devised by Gail Jefferson in the course of research undertaken with Harvey Sacks (Sacks, Schegloff, ed. Jefferson 1974, pp. 731–733).

<p>A: When I was youn $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ger} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right]$ do B:</p>	<p>Brackets around portions of utterances indicate that the portions bracketed overlap one another. Segments to the left and right of these denote talk in the clear.</p>
<p>B: 'S what I said = A: = But you didn't</p>	<p>An equal sign is used to indicate that no time elapsed between the objects "latched" by the marks.</p>
<p>?!,."</p>	<p>Punctuation marks are used for intonation, not grammar.</p>
<p>LOUDLY</p>	<p>Capital letters are used to mark speech that is much louder than surrounding talk.</p>
<p>°softly</p>	<p>Degree signs are used to mark speech that is much quieter than surrounding talk.</p>
<p>((sniff))</p>	<p>Double parentheses designate descriptions, rather than transcriptions.</p>
<p>(0.5)</p>	<p>Parentheses around a number mark silences in seconds and tenths of seconds.</p>
<p>We:::li</p>	<p>Colons indicate that the immediately prior syllable is prolonged.</p>
<p>But-</p>	<p>A hyphen marks an abrupt cut-off point in the production of the immediately prior syllable.</p>
<p>(word)</p>	<p>Single parentheses with words in them offer candidate hearings of unintelligible items.</p>
<p>()</p>	<p>Empty parentheses encase untimed pauses.</p>
<p>(#)</p>	<p>Parentheses around a score sign designate a pause of about one second.</p>
<p>(.)</p>	<p>Parentheses around a period indicate a pause of one-tenth of one second.</p>
<p>hh, hh eh-heh, .engh-henh</p>	<p>These are breathing and laughter indicators. A period followed by "hh's" marks an inhalation. The "hh's" alone stand for exhalation. The "eh-heh" and ".engh-henh" are laughter syllables (inhaled when preceded by a period).</p>

Transcribing conventions

This system for transcribing talk to written form was devised by Gail Jefferson, and is more extensively explained in Atkinson and Heritage (1984, pp. ix-xvi), in Beach (1989, pp. 89-90), and elsewhere. The symbols are used to represent characteristics of talk besides the words themselves, such as silences, overlapping talk, voice intonation, and laughter.

Symbol	Meaning
...	Ellipses indicate talk omitted from the data segment. ³⁶
[]	Square brackets between lines or bracketing two lines of talk indicate the beginning (l) and end (l) of overlapping talk.
(0.4)	Numbers in parentheses represent silence measured to the nearest tenth of a second.
(.)	A dot enclosed in parentheses indicates a short, untimed silence (sometimes called a micropause), generally less than two-or three-tenths of a second.
End of line = start of line	Equal signs are latching symbols. When attached to the end of one line and the beginning of another, they indicate that the later talk was “latched onto” the earlier talk with no hesitation, perhaps without even waiting the normal conversational rhythm or “beat”.
<u>Wait a minute</u>	Underlining shows vocal stress or emphasis.
STOP	All-uppercase letters represent noticeable loudness.
Oh: no:::	Colons indicate an elongated syllable; the more colons, the more the syllable or sound is stretched.
Wait a mi-	A hyphen shows a sudden cutoff of speech.
This is a (rehash)	Parentheses around words indicate transcriber doubt about what those words are, as in the case of softly spoken or overlapped talk.
This is a ()	Empty parentheses indicate that some talk was not audible or interpretable at all.
((coughing))	Double parentheses enclose transcriber comments.
When? ats all right. Well, I don't know,	Punctuation marks are generally used to indicate pitch level rather than sentence type. The apostrophe (') indicates missing speech sounds and normal contractions. the period indicates a drop in pitch; the question mark shows rising pitch (not necessarily a question); and the comma represents a flat pitch or a slight rising-then-falling pitch. When used, the exclamation point (!) shows “lively” or animated speech.
.hh	The h preceded by a period represents an audible inbreath. Longer sounds are transcribed using a longer string: .hhhh
hh st(h) upid	The h without a leading period represents audible exhaling, sometimes associated with laughter; and laughter itself is transcribed using “heh” or “hah” or something similar. When laugh tokens are embedded in a word, they are often represented by an h in parentheses.
pt	The letters pt by themselves represent a lip smack, which occasionally occurs just as a speaker begins to talk.
Didjuh ever hear uv'im	Modified spelling is used to suggest something of the pronunciation.
9A:	For ease of identification in the discussion, speakers are identified by letters, and each line is numbered.
10B:	

Source: <http://kaching.sw.hku.hk/Share/Scales/Transcribing%20conventions.htm>



Emanuel A. Schegloff's
Home Page

Source: <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/schegloff/>

A Conversation about Recording a Conversation

A conversation was recorded between four girls at dinner in a dining hall. The girls all knew that they were being recorded and the conversation was about the fact that they were being recorded. This was done to highlight how they would conform their speech to fit the expectations they believe the recorder has of them. What was discovered was that each girl had her own agenda (conscious or unconscious) for that conversation which can be uncovered by looking at the power dynamic within the group and the individual speech patterns.

EVK: ((Sarcastically)) I love how it features your face!

EJ: Well that's just with my webcam video thing but um it's just gonna I'm just gonna make I'm just gonna do the voice part of recording it

LG: So what's this project?

EJ: It's I have to tuh record a conversation and then I have to um (1.2) I have to write a paper on like analyzing the conversation

LG: oh cool

KM: ((approaches table)) What are you guys doing?

EJ: We're recording a conversation for my my sl-my language in culture class

EVK: You're now in her paper

EJ: Yeah you're now in my paper and it's gonna be awesome!

KM: For what class?

EJ: My language and culture class

KM: SEX! PENIS!

((Everyone laughs hard))

EJ: That is so analyzable! Thank you so much! ((Laughs))

EVK: ((Giggling)) SEX!

EJ: (Giggles)

EVK: MOOSETRACKS!

LG: ((Sarcastically)) You guys are horrible! Yeah!

EVK: WHAT ARE MOOSETRACKS!? ARE THEY REAL MOOSES!?

((Everyone laughs))

KM: ((In a childish voice)) ice cream

LG: Well I mean yeah you love moosetracks so I mean you could put that in there

EJ: Well ye ah-

KM: Why are you doing this?

EJ: Um because I have to record it and then I have to type it up and then I have to analyze it

EVK: YOU HAVE TO TYPE THIS UP!?

EJ: Oh yeah and I have to-

EVK: THAT'S UNBELIEVABLE

EJ: and I have to use like all the like sym-

KM: What class is this for?

EJ: Language in culture

KM: What's that in? Is it anthropology?

EJ: Yeah

KM: Is that the same thing as linguistics?

EJ: No but it it-

KM: Is that the same thing as Slavic studies?

EJ: It is it is- ((Giggles))

KM: Is that the same things has government?

EJ: No not government it's-

KM: Is that the same thing as concert band?

((Everyone laughs))

EJ: It's listed as anthropology and Slavic studies but you can also get it listed as-

KM: So it's linguistics?

EJ: But you can well you can you can also get it listed as linguistics but right now it doesn't count that way

KM: no:::::::

EVK: so it's really just linguistics

EJ: but you have to get it like specially done

“But That *Actually* Happened!”

Exploring the Speech Genre of Brainstorming¹

Jen Herbert

In the scene below, I am conversing with my best friend, Britt Cangemi, in her dorm room at Conn. As co-captains of the women’s tennis team at school, we are brainstorming for our “Paper Plate Awards,” a tradition in which a silly superlative is created for every team member, written on a paper plate and then awarded to its winner. At the tennis banquet, which was hosted the day after this scene, Britt and I read the plates out-loud one at a time. The team had fun guessing whose belonged to whom, before the answer was revealed and the plate awarded to its addressee. At this moment, Britt and I are the only ones in her dorm room. She is sitting at her desk and I am sitting on the floor at her feet.

- 1 **BC:** Will!
 2 (2.0)
 3 **JH:** ((through giggles)) Most likely to eat every brownie crinkle in Harris!
 4 (1.5)
 5 **BC:** Most likely to eat a brownie crinkle off a radiator.
 6 (1.0) ((JH starts giggling again))
 7 Yup!
 8 (1.0)
 9 **JH:** But that actually happened. I don’t under[stand ur
 10 **BC:** ((jokingly aggravated)) [I KNOW!]
 11 (1.0)
 12 **JH:** (with voice raised to a significantly higher pitch) Is that the funny part about it?
 13 (1.8)
 14 **JH:** Because, if it [actually-
 15 **BC:** [((Cause) Jeff actually bought a pair of shoes, and doesn’t wear them.
 16 ((earlier in the conversation, we assigned Jeff the Paper Plate Award of “Most Likely to Buy
 a Pair of Shoes and Never Wear Them”))
 17 (0.8)
 18 **JH:** But he will wear them eventually. But he is most likely to never, ever ((starts giggling))
 19 wear them. .hhh It’s different!
 20 (4.0)
 21 **JH:** Of course Will is the most likely to eat a brownie crinkle off the radiator, [because HE
 22 HAS!
 23 **BC:** [Most likely
 24 to-

¹ *Acknowledgement:* The essay was written for the course ANT/SLA 226 “Language in Culture,” taught at Connecticut College by Prof. Petko Ivanov in the Spring semester of 2013.

- 25 **BC:** Okay, FINE! ((in an unsure, “brainstorming” tone)) Most likely to eat
 26 (1.0)
 27 a brownie crinkle
 28 (0.5)
 29 made of poop!
 30 (.)
 31 ((defensively)) Hahaha, I don’t know!
 32 ((both burst out laughing))
 33 **JH:** ((through laughs)) That’s the stupidest thing you’ve said!
 34 ((more laughing from both))
 35 ((Britt’s iPhone buzzes, indicating a text message))
 36 **BC:** ((annoyed, looking at phone)) What? Alright Sara, help me here...
 37 ((Britt had texted Sara, the other co-captain, earlier to get her suggestions for awards to assign people))

What I believe makes this excerpt so interesting is its function as a clear and comprehensive example of the phenomenon we all know as “brainstorming.” I’ve never heard the process of conversational brainstorming labeled as a “speech genre” before, but here my analysis of the structure of this conversation as well as what is at stake will prove that brainstorming, too, has a set of conditions to be met, akin to the rules that define genres like greetings and apologies, as explored by Mikhail Bakhtin.

Roman Jakobson (1960) was first to introduce the model of variables within communication (see fig. 1); this includes an addresser and addressee, as well as the context, contact, code, and message that interplay between them.



Fig. 1

Jakobson’s factors (or variables) of verbal communication.

He also outlined a model of corresponding functions (fig. 2):

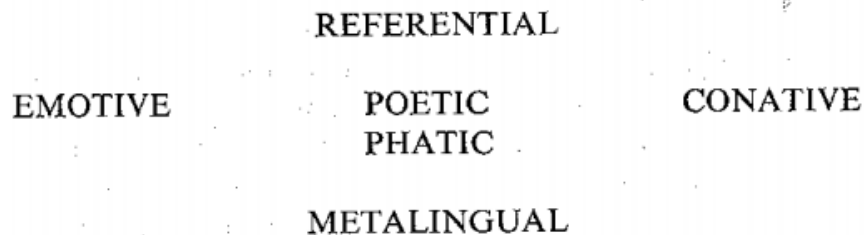


Fig. 2

Jakobson’s scheme of functions of verbal communication, corresponding to his factors.

While verbal communication always exists as an exchange of some kind, regardless of function, brainstorming creates another level entirely, in that it is an exchange about *the potential effectiveness* of one's ideas and one's *words themselves*. The first aspect of brainstorming is that we allow ourselves the imaginative freedom to be creative with our ideas in real time. Secondly, as we bounce ideas off of others, we look for positive feedback and encouragement in return to validate our creation. In this way, the speech genre of brainstorming is quite infatuated with a version of Jakobson's "contact" or phatic function, which is the act of questioning whether one's peers are on the same page, or here: whether or not agreement exists between the speakers. That this conversation will be in the speech genre of brainstorming is evidenced in the first five lines when the topic for brainstorming is introduced ("Will!"), there is a pause allotted for thinking, and then I throw out the first idea. Britt reinforces my idea and proves it's on the right track by repeating my words almost exactly, with just a slight alteration of her own. The stakes are low because the two of us find the topic fun, evidenced by our giggling. Because of our close relationship, we also do not feel the discomfort and pressure that some feel in certain brainstorming situations to only throw out quality ideas and not share potentially "stupid" ones. However, some conditions of the speech genre still must hold. When I do not reinforce Britt's idea as she had reinforced mine, except for more giggling on my end, Britt interestingly reinforces her *own* idea in line 7 with the mock self-confidence of "yup" to fill in the silence gap.

It is here that the conversation turns and a mini misunderstanding/debate is sparked when Britt wants me to check in with her, and the two of us realize we are no longer on the same page. I believe debate, too, is a speech genre frequently embedded in that of brainstorming, ready to emerge when Jakobson's phatic variable makes it clear that agreement does, in fact, *not* exist. In this conversation, the move towards debate is evidenced by an increase in volume of speech as well as the frequency of interruptions and exclamatory sentences.

The topic of the misunderstanding seems to be the function of the "most likely to" superlative form. The two of us become polarized—I analyze myself as being on the side of "Team Semantics" and Britt on "Team Sociolinguistics." The confusion I express in lines 9, 12, and 14 is rooted in wondering why Britt would give Will the reward of "*most likely* to eat a brownie crinkle off of a radiator" (italics mine) if this is an act he has indeed *already* performed earlier this semester. The epicenter of the debate appears to be the word "actually" which is strikingly utilized 3 times, each with strong emphasis, in a period of less than 20 seconds. Semantics would propose that one receives a "most likely to" award for something their personality strongly suggests they *would* do, but they haven't *actually* done yet. My argument reaches its climax after the longest pause in the conversation of 4 seconds (line 20), and then I frustratingly blurt, "Of *course* Will is most likely to eat a brownie crinkle off the radiator, because *HE HAS!*" The debate comes to a close with Britt conceding in line 25, when the tone of her "fine!" pragmatically suggests she recognizes my argument. Brainstorming can ensue again, for Britt has validated my point with positive, albeit sassy, feedback and we have once again agreed to be on the same page.

I placed Britt on “Team Sociolinguistics” in this mini debate because Britt seems to value the function of the “most likely to” superlative form more for the enjoyable, living experience it will provide during the banquet, rather than each award’s semantic accuracy. While it cannot be directly proven by the contents of this conversation, it is most likely that Britt wanted to award Will with “most likely to eat a brownie crinkle off a radiator” because this is a fun, fond memory of hers that she wished to relive with the entire team during the banquet. In the spirit of Mikhail Bakhtin (1985), Britt was “hearing voices”—and interestingly in this case—hearing particularly how her own voice would function at the banquet the next day to create a particular experience, and hopefully, a good time.

The brainstorming continues with Britt attempting a “most likely to” award that correctly fits the semantic conditions I have presented. Britt appears to be exasperated or struggling at this point, as seen in the long pauses she takes mid-sentence to think, and especially in finishing her sentence with the ridiculous, “throw-away” statement of “poop” in line 29. It is as if she has given up on brainstorming and wishes to do it no longer. Her suggestion is given a striking three forms of feedback: 1). Self-reflection in line 31 (which we saw Britt do earlier in line 7), 2). Mutual acknowledgment, through laughter, of the idea’s silliness in line 32, and 3). My negative reception of her idea in line 33. We laugh not only at the “potty mouth” term, but more for what it represents—the end of our small misunderstanding, our clear mutual struggle in brainstorming a superlative to assign Will, and an enjoyment of our solidarity as friends and the lack of care we have for sounding foolish around each other (as stated previously, brainstorming in groups of mere acquaintances can often be an uncomfortable activity).

The buzzing of Britt’s phone functions as a clear, concrete marker that the footing, a notion of conversational stance as outlined by Erving Goffman (1979), of this particular conversation is over. It triggers Britt to break her laughter and the moment we were sharing, and instead whip her head towards her phone. She then continues in line 36 by directing her speech at Sara, the sender of the text that made the phone buzz, although Sara can’t obviously hear her. It’s the first time Britt’s speech is directed towards anyone but me, and especially because the two of us are the only ones in her room, this is an easy indicator that the footing has changed, and brainstorming is temporarily over.

It is curious to note that Will was never ultimately rewarded with a Paper Plate Award that had anything to do with brownie crinkles at all. Instead, he won “Most Likely to Propose Marriage to Every Girl on the Team.” At the banquet, this award was easily guessed and was also a crowd favorite, encouraging some of the loudest laughter of the evening. While Will has never *actually* proposed marriage seriously to any girl on the team, he frequently enjoys pretending that different girls are his wife. This inspires silly, mock fights between the girls when they find out that Will has moved on to a new “wife of the day.” It fit the semantic conditions I so faithfully wished to adhere to, while it also allowed the team to relive fond memories, providing the fun social experience that was important to Britt.

The speech act of brainstorming thus sheds bright light on the conditions necessary for building and reinforcing solidarity amongst a group. Though one might feel exposed while

sharing their creations and ideas with others, positive feedback from the group not only strengthens the validity of the idea itself, but also the camaraderie amongst the group's members. By accepting an individual's idea, the group is essentially also accepting the individual who offered it. However, as the conversation between Britt and I proves, this verbal culture can be strengthened and enjoyed in many other ways during the brainstorming process: through the debate of ideas, the mutual recognition of the difficulty of brainstorming, and the ability to laugh at less than successful attempts.

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Gendered Wor(l)ds



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Learning Gender

Use over time for: gender



The word *gender* - Use over time (Google Ngram Viewer)

practical hair-do

amazed expression

very feminine hand pose

elongated lashes and neat eyebrows

pouting, made up lips

You mean a woman can open it?

implies she's been reliant on her husband in the past

'woman' is emphatic, underlined

'clumsiness' semantic field

assumes women do the grocery shopping

very obvious clause, not really needed to be pointed out – insults intelligence

▲ Source: Luke Conor Baker "Gender and Advertising" (2012)



How Do We Learn Gender



The photograph “Growing Up Female” by Abigail Heyman (1974) uses the frame of the mirror to show two things as ‘separate and disconnected’ in this way, the woman’s face in the mirror – her ‘real self’, perhaps – and the paraphernalia she uses to make herself presentable to the world – her ‘mask’, perhaps. It is a very heavy frame, and that constructs the divide between her two ‘selves’ as a very deep one.

Source: Theo van Leeuwen “Introducing Social Semiotics” (2005)

Dove Real Beauty Sketches



In Dove’s online video (<http://www.youtube.com/user/doveunitedstates>), a forensic artist sketches each woman twice, first from the woman’s description of herself, left, then from someone else’s description.

Source: Tanzina Vega “Ad About Women’s Self-Image Creates a Sensation” (2013)

1970s Gender Socialization: "I'm Glad I'm a Boy! I'm Glad I'm a Girl!"



Source: Whitney Darrow "I'm Glad I'm a Boy! I'm Glad I'm a Girl!" (1970)

Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-RzTKS00Ti4>

Stereotypes: “Women Talk, Men Feel Nagged”

‘Once I didn’t talk to my wife for six months’, said the comedian. I didn’t want to interrupt’.

The building of relationships through talk is a priority in the brain-wiring of women. Italian women are the top talkers speaking up to 6,000-8,000 words a day. They use additional 2,000-3,000 vocal sounds to communicate, as well as 8000-10000 gestures, facial expressions, head movements and other body signals. This gives these women a daily average of more than 20,000 communication ‘words’ to relate their messages.

Western women speak up to 80% of that figure. That just explains why the British Medical Association recently reported that women are four times more likely to suffer with jaws problems.

Contrast a woman’s daily ‘chatter’ to that of a man. He utters just 2,000-4,000 words and 1,000-2,000 vocal sounds, and makes a mere 2,000-3,000 body language signals. His daily average adds up to around 7,000 communication ‘words’ – just over a third the output of most women.

Fiona: ‘Hi Darling...it’s good to see you back home. How was your day?’

Mike: ‘Good’

Fiona: ‘Brian told me that you were going to finalize that big deal with Peter Thomson today. How did it go?’

Mike: ‘Fine’

Fiona: ‘That’s good. He can be a really tough customer. Do you think he’ll take your advice?’

Mike: ‘Yeah.’

... and so on.

This speech difference becomes apparent at the end of the day when a man and a woman sit down together for dinner. He’s completed his 7,000 ‘words’ and has no desire to communicate any more. Her state depends on what she has been doing that day. If she’s spent the day talking with people, she may have used her quota of ‘words’ and also has little desire to say much more. If she’s been home with young children she will be lucky to have used 2-3,000 ‘words’. She still has up to 15,000 to go! We’re all familiar with friction at the dinner table.

Source: Allan & Barbara Pease “Why Men Don’t Listen and Women Can’t Read Maps” (2000)



Drawing by Leo Cullum; copyright © 1995 The New Yorker Collection. All rights reserved.



Family Talk

- (1) *Wife*: We didn't go to the party because you didn't want to.
 (2) *Husband*: I wanted to. You didn't want to.

Here's the conversation that led to the decision not to go.

- (3) *Wife*: Bob's having a party. Wanna go?
 (4) *Husband*: OK.
 (5) *Wife* (later): Are you sure you want to go?
 (6) *Husband*: OK. Let's not go. I'm tired anyway.

- (7) *Husband*: Let's go visit my boss tonight.
 (8) *Wife*: Why?
 (9) *Husband*: All right, we don't have to go.

- (10) *Wife*: Do you want to go to my sister's?
 (11) *Husband*: OK.

- (12) *Wife*: Do you really want to go?
 (13) *Husband*: You're driving me crazy. Why don't you make up your mind what you want?
 (14) *Wife*: My mind? I'm willing to do whatever you want, and this is what I get?

- (15) *Wife*: How could you not get me a birthday present?
 (16) *Husband*: I did. I gave you the radio.
 (17) *Wife*: That's not a birthday present. You must've just seen it on sale or something.
 (18) *Husband*: You wanted a radio. I busted my ass to find you one.
 (19) *Wife*: How could you think I wanted a radio for my birthday?

- (20) *Husband*: I can't stand it. You want to live like a hippie. I can't live like that.
 (21) *Wife*: Whaddya mean? What's wrong with the way we live?
 (22) *Husband*: You know what I mean.
 (23) *Wife*: (Protestations of ignorance)
 (24) *Husband*: (Finally) You refuse to buy decent furniture. You want to live with this crap forever.
 (25) *Wife*: Since when do you want to buy furniture? You never said anything about buying furniture.
 (26) *Husband*: You knew I wanted to buy furniture.
 (27) *Wife*: How could I know?
 (28) *Husband*: You knew.

- (29) *Mother*: Where are your galoshes?
 (30) *Son*: In the closet.
 (31) *Mother*: Don't give me any backtalk. Get them on.



'I want to talk about us. Actually, I want to talk about us and when I'm through, if you want to talk about us I'll let you'
 Punch Magazine, 1991

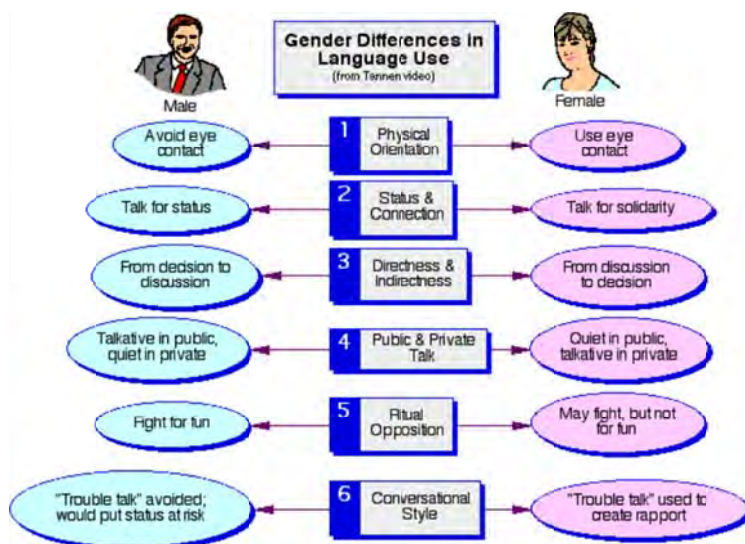
Language and Woman's Place (Robin Lakoff)

- (3) (a) Oh dear, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again.
 (b) Shit, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again.
- (4) (a) *Oh fudge, my hair is on fire.
 (b) *Dear me, did he kidnap the baby?
- (5) (a) What a terrific ideal
 (b) What a divine ideal!
- (12) The way prices are rising is horrendous, isn't it?
- (13) (a) When will dinner be ready?
 (b) Oh . . . around six o'clock . . . ?
- (14) (a) Close the door.
 (b) Please close the door.
 (c) Will you close the door?
 (d) Will you please close the door?
 (e) Won't you close the door?
- (15) (a) A (woman) that I know makes amazing things out of
 (lady)
 shoelaces and old boxes.
 (b) A (woman) I know works at Woolworth's.
 (lady)
 (c) A (woman) I know is a dean at Berkeley.
 (lady)
- (16) (a) She's only twelve, but she's already a woman.
 *lady
 (b) After ten years in jail, Harry wanted to find a woman.
 *lady
 (c) She's my woman, see, so don't mess around with her.
 *lady
- (18) (a) He is a master of the intricacies of academic politics.
 (b) *She is a mistress . . .
- (19) (a) *Harry declined to be my master, and so returned to his wife.
 (b) Rhonda declined to be my mistress, and so returned to her husband.
- One must be *someone's* mistress.
- (21) (a) He's a professional.
 (b) She's a professional.
- (22) (a) Mary hopes to meet an eligible bachelor. (24) (a) Mary is John's widow.
 (b) *Fred hopes to meet an eligible spinster. (b) *John is Mary's widower.

Summary of Robin Lakoff's "Language and Woman's Place"

The linguistic identification of women's language as "powerless" and men's language as "powerful" has its origins in early readings of the work of Robin Lakoff (1975), who argued in *Language and Woman's Place* that sex differences in language use both reflect and reinforce the unequal status of women and men in our society. After identifying an array of linguistic features ideologically associated with women's speech in American English—among them lexical items associated with women's work; "empty" adjectives such as *divine*, *charming*, and *cute*; tag questions in place of declaratives; hedges such as *sort of*, *kind of*, and *I guess*; intensifiers such as *so* and *very*; and hypercorrect, polite linguistic forms—Lakoff suggested that the association of indirect speech with women's language and direct speech with men's language is the linguistic reflection of a larger cultural power imbalance between the sexes. Her treatise, packaged beneath the unapologetically feminist photograph of a woman with bandaged mouth, has inspired two decades of heated debate among subsequent language and gender theorists. A number of feminist scholars have argued that Lakoff's identification of women's language as culturally subordinate serves to affirm sexist notions of women as deviant and deficient, and sociolinguists steeped in Labovian empirical argumentation have dismissed her claims altogether as quantitatively invalid (see Bucholtz &

Source: Kira Hall "Lip Service on the Fantasy Lines" (1995)



Linguistic features of 'women's language' according to Lakoff:

- a) Lexical hedges or fillers
- b) Tag questions
- c) Rising intonation on declaratives
- d) Empty adjectives
- e) Precise colour terms
- f) Intensifiers
- g) 'Hypercorrect' grammar
- h) 'Superpolite' forms
- i) Avoidance of strong swear words
- j) Emphatic stress.

Source: <http://rezhamiftahurrazaq.wordpress.com/2012/06/11/sex-politeness-and-stereotypes/>
 Video: "Genderlect," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dU5ouvK44fo>

Researching Gender in Conversation: Part I

Feature	Research	Comment
Women's Work Words (Topics talked about)	Robin Lakoff (1975) Mira Komarovsky (1962) Jennifer Coates (1996) Deborah Tannen (1992)	Women's vocab includes trivial words because they are relegated to decisions about such unimportant subjects. 58 working class USA couples, women spoke about family, personal matters. Men spoke about money, business, sport, work, local politics. Men prefer topics that allow participants to take turns at being the expert. Women is more personal. Men usually assume role of information giver or fixer because this reinforces strength and status.
Weak Expletives	Robin Lakoff (1975) Cheri Kramer (1974) Jennifer Coates (1996)	Women use 'oh dear' instead of shit. Looked at cartoons in The New Yorker found male characters swore more than female.
Tag Questions <i>(Isn't it? wasn't it? Don't you?)</i>	Robin Lakoff (1975) Pamela Fishman (1980) Janet Holmes (1984) Cameron and Coates (1988) Jennifer Coates (1996)	Adds uncertainty to a statement so a speaker doesn't impose her point of view. Women use 3 times more tags. NOT because of uncertainty but because they were trying to keep the conversation going . Modal Tags - seek information Affective Tags - softening/concern Facilitative Tags - drawing listener in 61% modal tags used by men, 75% facilitative tags used by women. Monitor whether others are in agreement. Respect the face needs of others when discussing sensitive issues. Men use questions to seek information from each other.
Intensifiers <i>(so, such)</i> Qualifiers <i>(Perhaps, maybe)</i>	Robin Lakoff (1975) Dale Spender (1980)	Avoiding strong statements or committing to an opinion. Uncertainty. Show uncertainty when used by women but certainty and authority when used by men. <i>"Perhaps you've misinterpreted me, Maybe you should do it again."</i>

Researching Gender in Conversation: Part II

Hedges	Robin Lakoff (1975)	Punctuate speech with uncertainty.
	Fishman (1980)	Women use 'you know' 5 times more than men. NOT uncertainty but again doing conversational work.
	Cameron and Coates (1988)	Help statements to become negotiable and even retractable, depending on the rest of the group's comments.
	Jennifer Coates (1996)	Men hedge less.
Hypercorrect Grammar	Robin Lakoff (1975)	Women more likely to comply to grammatical rules.
	Peter Trudgill (1970)	(Norwich study showed women using correct pronunciation - <i>running not runnin</i>)
	Jenny Cheshire (1970's)	Reading Study - Even at an early age females are using more standard forms.
Interruptions	Zimmerman and West (1975)	98% of the interruptions were men and they interrupted women more than same sex conversation. Women also interrupt other women more than they do men.
	Deborah Tannen (1992)	Interruptions and overlaps can be supportive (co-operative overlap). Women.
Overlaps	Zimmerman and West (1975)	Men overlap with women more (100% of the overlaps were men's)
Silences	Zimmerman and West (1975)	Single sex conversation - 1.35 secs Mixed sex conversation - 3.21 secs Women kept being interrupted and so spoke less.
	Deborah Tannen (1992)	Women see listening and supporting as essential to group bonding. They assume a turn will be granted.
Competition	Deborah Cameron and Jennifer Coates (1988)	The adversarial style of conversation where speakers vie for turns and where participants are more likely to contradict each other than to build on each other's contributions.
Co-operation	Deborah Cameron and Jennifer Coates (1988)	Refers to a particular type of conversation, where speakers work together to produce shared meanings.
Minimal Responses	Jennifer Coates (1988)	Women make well-placed minimal responses but the men made them too late. This indicated a lack of interest and support, which led to the woman falling silent.
Imperatives	Deborah Tannen (1992)	Men use more. Use them to their sons more than daughters. Women use cloaked imperatives "Let's"

Messages vs. Metamessages in Talk

From Jules Feiffer's "Grown-Ups: A Play" (1982)

Jake criticizes Louise for not responding when their daughter, Edie, called her. His comment leads to a fight, even though they're both aware that this one incident is not in itself important.

JAKE: Look, I don't care if it's important or not, when a kid calls its mother the mother should answer.

LOUISE: Now I'm a bad mother.

JAKE: I didn't say that.

LOUISE: It's in your stare.

JAKE: Is that another thing you know? My stare?

Louise ignores Jake's message – the question of whether or not she responded when Edie called – and goes for the metamessage: his implication that she's a bad mother,

LOUISE: If I'm such a terrible mother, do you want a divorce?

JAKE: I do not think you're a terrible mother and no, thank you, I do not want a divorce. Why is it that whenever I bring up any difference between us you ask me if I want a divorce?

The more he denies any meaning beyond the message, the more she blows it up, the more adamantly he denies it, and so on:

JAKE: I have brought up one thing that you do with Edie that I don't think you notice that I have noticed for some time but which I have deliberately not brought up before because I had hoped you would notice it for yourself and stop doing it and also – frankly, baby, I have to say this – I knew if I brought it up we'd get into exactly the kind of circular argument we're in right now. And I wanted to avoid it. But I haven't and we're in it, so now, with your permission, I'd like to talk about it.

LOUISE: You don't see how that puts me down?

JAKE: What?

LOUISE: If you think I'm so stupid why do you go on living with me?

JAKE: *Dammit! Why can't anything ever be simple around here?!*

It can't be simple because Louise and Jake are responding to different levels of communication. [. . .] Jake tries to clarify his point by overelaborating it, which gives Louise further evidence that he's condescending to her, making it even less likely that she will address his point rather than his condescension.

What pushes Jake and Louise beyond anger to rage is their different perspectives on metamessages. His refusal to admit that his statements have implications and overtones denies her authority over her own feelings. Her attempts to interpret what he didn't say and put the metamessage into the message make him feel she's putting words into his mouth – denying his authority over his own meaning.

Messages vs. Metamessages in Talk (cont.)

Throughout their argument, the point to Louise is her feelings – that Jake makes her feel put down – but to him the point is her actions – that she doesn't always respond when Edie calls:

LOUISE: You talk about what I do to Edie, what do you think you do to me?

JAKE: This is not the time to go into what we do to each other.

Since she will talk only about metamessages, and he will talk only about messages, neither can get satisfaction from their talk, and they end up where they started – only angrier:

JAKE: That's not the point!

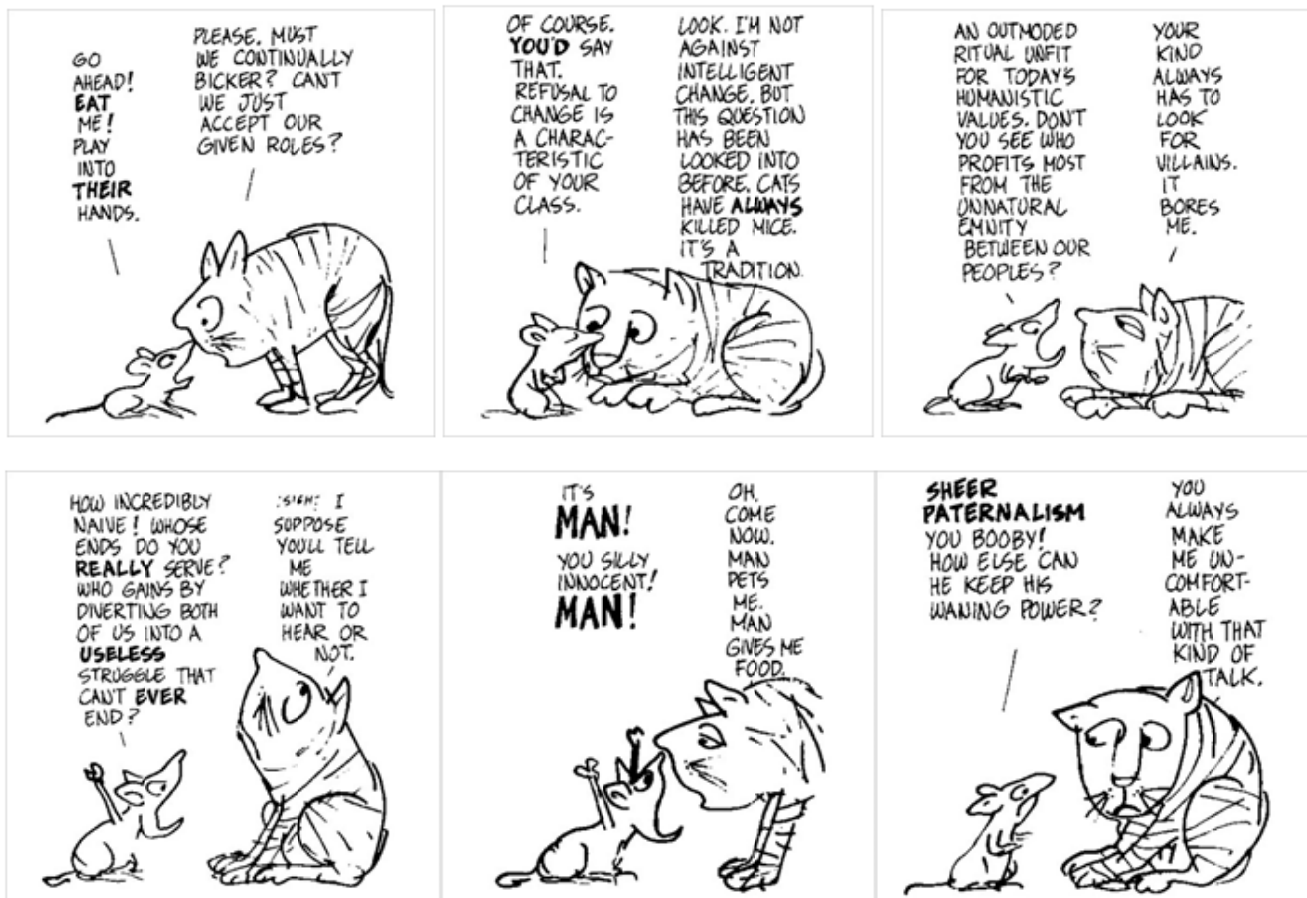
LOUISE: It's *my* point.

JAKE: It's hopeless!

LOUISE: Then get a divorce.

Source: Deborah Tannen "Talk in the Intimate Relationship: His and Hers" (2006)

Jules Feiffer: "Explainers"



Source: David Kamp "Cartoons for Grown-Ups" (2008)

Rapport vs. Report Talk

RAPPORT-TALK AND REPORT-TALK

Who talks more, then, women or men? The seemingly contradictory evidence is reconciled by the difference between what I call *public* and *private speaking*. More men feel comfortable doing “public speaking,” while more women feel comfortable doing “private” speaking. Another way of capturing these differences is by using the terms *report-talk* and *rapport-talk*.

For most women, the language of conversation is primarily a language of rapport: a way of establishing connections and negotiating relationships. Emphasis is placed on displaying similarities and matching experiences. From childhood, girls criticize peers who try to stand out or appear better than others. People feel their closest connections at home, or in settings where they *feel* at home—with one or a few people they feel close to and comfortable with—in other words, during private speaking. But even the most public situations can be approached like private speaking.

For most men, talk is primarily a means to

preserve independence and negotiate and maintain status in a hierarchical social order. This is done by exhibiting knowledge and skill, and by holding center stage through verbal performance such as storytelling, joking, or imparting information. From childhood, men learn to use talking as a way to get and keep attention. So they are more comfortable speaking in larger groups made up of people they know less well—in the broadest sense, “public speaking.” But even the most private situations can be approached like public speaking, more like giving a report than establishing rapport.

Source: Deborah Tannen “You Just Don’t Understand: Women and Men in Conversation” (1990)

Jenny Coates (1993)

The Chattering Sexes (ARTICLE)

- Talk is central to women’s friendship
- ‘Jointly constructed utterances’ - co-operation
- ‘Women talk’ is a great skill - monitoring each other very carefully
- Women and men talk about different things

Deborah Tannen (1992)

(See the sheet I have given you “You just don’t understand”)

Source: Deborah Tannen “Gender and Discourse” (1996) ↓

Interpreting Interruption in Conversation

- (3)
- 1 Dara: Listen, listen, listen, listen.
 - 2 Max: Say it in slow motion, okay?
 - 3 Steph: Betty bought a bit of bitter butter and
 - 4 she said this butter’s bitter. If I
 - 5 put it in my batter, it will make my
 - 6 batter bitter. So Betty bought a bit
 - 7 of better butter to
 - 8 Dara: [You never heard
 - 9 that before?
 - 10 Max: No. Never
 - 11 Dara: Max, seriously?
 - 12 Max: Seriously.
 - 13 Dara: It’s like the famous to
 - 14 Steph: [tongue twister.
 - 15 Max: No. The famous tongue twister is
 - 16 Peterpiperpicked]
 - 17 Dara: [Same thing. It’s like
 - 18 that. It’s like that one.
 - 19 Max: You keep interrupting me.

- Men structure their interactions with others mostly as a framework to achieve independence and strength. They see the alternative as a weakness and dependence.
- Women structure interactions as a framework for affiliation; to achieve interdependence and maintain the strength of the community or group.

<u>6 contrasts:</u>	Status vs. support
	Independence vs. intimacy
	Advice vs. understanding
	Information vs. feeling
	Orders vs. proposals
	Conflict vs. compromise

Rapport & Report

Women	Men
• Talk too much	• Get more air time
• Speak in private contexts	• Speak in public
• Build relations	• Negotiate status/avoid failure
• Overlap	• Speak one at a time
• Speak symmetrically	• Speak asymmetrically

Video: “Deborah Tannen: That’s Not What I Meant! - Signals, Devices, and Rituals,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5TII8Y3I28>

Ethnic Style in Male–Female Conversation

(5) A couple had the following conversation:

Wife: John's having a party. Wanna go?

Husband: OK.

Wife: I'll call and tell him we're coming.

Based on this conversation only, put a check next to the statement which you think explains what the husband really meant when he answered "OK."

[1-I] My wife wants to go to this party, since she asked. I'll go to make her happy.

[1-D] My wife is asking if I want to go to a party. I feel like going, so I'll say yes.

What is it about the way the wife and the husband spoke, that gave you that impression?

What would the wife or husband have had to have said differently, in order for you to have checked the other statement?

(6) Later, the same couple had this conversation:

Wife: Are you sure you want to go to the party?

Husband: OK, let's not go. I'm tired anyway.

Based on *both* conversations which you read, put a check next to the statement that you think explains what the husband really meant when he spoke the second time:

[2-I] It sounds like my wife doesn't really want to go, since she's asking about it again. I'll say I'm tired, so we don't have to go, and she won't feel bad about preventing me from going.

[2-D] Now that I think about it again, I don't really feel like going to a party because I'm tired.

What is it about the way the husband or wife spoke that gave you that impression?

What would they have had to have said differently, in order for you to have checked the other statement?

Table 1. Respondents Choosing 1-I

Greeks (27)	Greek-Americans (30)	Americans (25)
48% (13)	43% (13)	32% (8)

Table 2. Male Respondents Choosing 1-I

Greeks (10)	Greek-Americans (9)	Americans (11)
50% (5)	44% (4)	27% (3)

Table 3. Female Respondents Choosing 1-I

Greeks (17)	Greek-Americans (21)	Americans (14)
47% (8)	43% (9)	36% (5)

Table 4. Respondents Choosing 1-I and 2-I

Greeks (27)	Greek-Americans (30)	Americans (25)
26% (7)	20% (6)	12% (3)

The choice of both 1-I and 2-I reveals the most indirect interpretive strategy, by which both the wife's questions are taken to indicate her hidden preferences—or at least that the husband's reply is taken to show that he interprets them that way. Again, results fall out on a continuum, with Greeks the most likely to take the indirect interpretation, Americans the least likely, and Greek-Americans in between, slightly closer to the Greeks (see table 4).

Source: Deborah Tannen "Gender and Discourse" (1996)

Japanese "Women's Language"

In Japanese there are distinct words for female and male speakers. Speech patterns associated with women are referred to as *onna no kotoba* (女の言葉, "women's words, or words of woman") or *joseigo* (女性語, "women's language").

Women's Word	Men's Word	
<i>onaka</i>	<i>hara</i>	"stomach"
<i>oishii</i>	<i>umai</i>	"delicious"
<i>watashi</i>	<i>boku</i>	"I/me"



There are also languages in which the language used by men and women differ in their grammar rules

- In Yana, men's words have a suffix not found on words that women use
- In Thai, men and women use different politeness particles
- In Koasati, men and women use different word endings

Japanese has honorifics and formal and informal verbal inflections

- Women use the formal verbal forms and the honorifics more frequently than men

Adapted from: Victoria Fromkin et al "An Introduction to Language" (10th ed., 2013)

Coding of Gender in Language

Categorical Codings of Gender Distinctions in Language

Gender forms in discourse	Gender forms in reference and predication	
	+	-
+	First and Second Person pronouns and/or verb forms, e.g., Thai, Hebrew, Russian	"Men's and Women's speech," e.g., Koasati, Yana, Chukchee
-	"Gender" classes of regular noun phrases, e.g., English, French, Chinook, Djirbal Gender reference of certain nouns/gender predication of certain verbs (most languages—all?)	All other features of languages

Source: Michael Silverstein "Language and the Culture of Gender" (1985)

Gender & Interactional Style

Table 25.1 Widely cited features of "feminine" and "masculine" interactional style

Feminine

indirect
 conciliatory
 facilitative
 collaborative
 minor contribution (in public)
 supportive feedback
 person/process-oriented
 affectively oriented

Masculine

direct
 confrontational
 competitive
 autonomous
 dominates (public) talking time
 aggressive interruptions
 task/outcome-oriented
 referentially oriented

Source: Janet Holmes and Maria Stubbe "Feminine' Workplaces: Stereotype and Reality" (2003)

Face (Saving) Continuum

most face-saving-«—————•- most face-threatening

	<i>mitigated</i>	<i>neutral</i>	<i>strengthened</i>
conventionally polite	minimized	imperative	impersonalized
joint activity	statement of need		aggravated

Face continuum

Source: Shari Kendall "Creating Gendered Demeanors of Authority" (2003)

Genderlects: *The L-Word*



Measure	Initial stage	Later stage
SEX	Females use more than males	Neutralization of sex difference
GRAMMATICAL PERSON	Favored for first person	Expansion into third person
CONTENT OF THE QUOTE	Used for internal Dialogue	Expansion into direct speech

Figure 2: Summary of predictions for increasing grammaticization of *be like*

Sources: ▲ *The Boston Globe*, Jan.15, 2015

▲ Sali Tagliamonte & Alex D'Arcy "When People Say 'I Was Like...':
▼ The Quotative System in Canadian Youth" (2005)

A conversation between two girls from Southern California:
 "So, **like** uhh, what do you want to **like**, do today?"
 "I don't know, **like**, its such a beautiful day out, we should, **like**, go to the beach."
 "That sounds **like** a good idea, but **like**, how are we going to get there?"
 "**Like**, uh, let's call Mike and see if he'll **like** give us a ride."
 Are you sure that's **like**, a good idea? **Like** didn't you two just **like** break up?"
 "Well, I mean, **like**, the last time we talked he was **like**, "I think we should see other people," and then I was **like**, "But Mike, I **like** really **like** you."
 "**Like** oh my god, and then **like** what did he say next?"
 "He was **like**, "I **like** you too, but I just can't be with someone who says '**like**' so much."

Source: <http://reallifeglobal.com/how-to-use-the-word-like-in-english/>

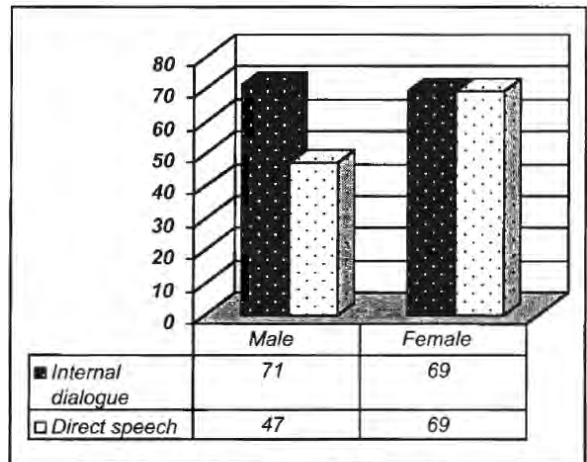


Figure 4: Distribution of *be like* in 17–19 year olds by content of the quote

Genderlects: *Valspeak*



Videos: "Clueless: Movie Clip" (1995)
 "Moon Zappa Valley Girl"

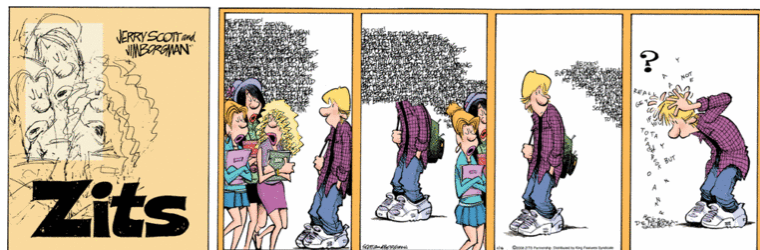
The British journalist Matt Seaton, writing in *The Guardian* (21 September 2001), described what happened when he took his children on holiday to the USA. Both had been raised in London, and both spoke only the vernacular London form called 'Estuary English', with no trace of uptalk. After only several days at an American summer camp, his daughter was responding to 'So what did you do today?' as follows. 'Well, we went canoeing on the lake? Which was, like, really really fun? And then we had storytelling in the barn? And we all had to tell a story about, like, where we're from or our family or something?' In short, his daughter had acquired and mastered uptalk almost instantly, along with several other features of American speech. In great contrast, Seaton's son never acquired uptalk at all.

Source: R. L. Trask "Why Do Languages Change?" (2010)

The Presumed Chattiness of Women



Source: Arnold Zwicky "Linguistics in the Comics" (2008)




¡Piropos! Street Flirting/Harassment

Catcalls and street compliments are referred to as *piropos* in Latin America

The Hispanic Culture has *piropos* – a form that mostly men use commenting on women's bodies, the way they dress as well as their looks. Men would say things like *que bonita*, 'how pretty'; *Mamacita, estas caliente*, 'You're hot, babe!' This form of language is usually used in the street, as woman walk in front of a man, or a group of men. They also contain their rules: never are said to either young girls or older women, never are said to one's own family member or friend, and they usually are not to sexually explicit (but that is not always guaranteed).

Victoria Galarza-Clifford

"*Piropos* have two functions: one is to send a very positive, flattering message and the second is to humiliate women publicly in order to demonstrate masculine superiority" (Escobar, 1992)

 <p>Elegant piropo</p>	<p>The passing woman is "put on a pedestal," and equated with a perfect sculpture. A Peruvian <i>piropo</i>, recorded in Lima, beautifully illustrates this fantasy:</p> <p><i>¡Lindura! Miguel Angel al lado de su Papa es un poroto, porque con seguridad no ha hecho en su vida una escultura tan perfecta como usted.</i></p> <p>Free translation: "Beauty! Michelangelo next to your father is nothing, because I am sure he never in his life made a sculpture as perfect as you."</p>
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<p>The following Argentine <i>piropo</i> was recorded in Buenos Aires. As a young, attractive female wearing a miniskirt was walking alone, she heard from a man in a passing car:</p> <p><i>Quien quisiera ser baldosa para mirarte esa cosa.</i></p> <p>Free translation: "I would really like to be the tile you step on so I could see your thing.")</p> <p>In this voyeuristic fantasy the man reduces women to "walking vaginas."</p>	<h3 style="text-align: center;">Vulgar piropos</h3> <p>The following Cuban <i>piropo</i> is rather direct:</p> <p><i>Vieja, móstrame la de Fidel.</i></p> <p>Free translation: "Why don't you show me Fidel's?"</p> <p>The reference is to Fidel Castro's famous beard, which in this case is a metaphor for the woman's pubic hair.</p>
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Defining different kinds of piropos...	
Women are like food	"Vete por la sombra porque lo dulce al sol se derrite" (Walk in the shade because sweets melt in the sun)
Women are like cars	"Tus curvas me marean" (Your curves make me dizzy)
Women are divine creatures	"Con usted voy a ser bueno para irme a la gloria" (With you I'll be good in order to go to glory/heaven)
Women are rewards for men's courage	"Por un beso tuyo meteria los dedos en el enchufe" (For a kiss from you I would put my fingers in the socket)

(Achugar 2011)

Sources: Alan Dundes "The *Piropo* and the Dual Image of Women in the Spanish-Speaking World" (1987)
 Ana Fochesatto "Latin American Perceptions of Catcalls and Street Compliments" (2014)

10 Hours of Walking in NYC as a Woman

▲ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b1XGPvbWn0A>

“Oh, Sir Jasper, Please Do Not Touch Me!”

Consider the following sentence (it comes from an old rugby song):

Oh, Sir Jasper, please do not touch me!

What happens if we repeat the sentence, cancelling each time the last word? What happens is the following series of sentences:

Oh, Sir Jasper, please do not touch me!

Oh, Sir Jasper, please do not touch!

Oh, Sir Jasper, please do not!

Oh, Sir Jasper, please do!

Oh Sir Jasper, please!

Oh, Sir Jasper!

Oh!

Where it appears that my sentence is far from innocent: it is in fact an old ‘joke’, of a blatant male-chauvinist nature, a weapon, using the indirect route of laughter, in the struggle between the sexes, and a token of the oppression of one sex by the other. The device, based on the contingent (and apparently irrational) possibility of what poeticsians know as ‘sentences within sentences’, has revealed aspects of the workings of language which rational calculus ignores. Let us name a few.

The most obvious is, of course, the masculinist violence of the so-called joke: this is a fine instance of the three-way game of sexual jokes, as analyzed by Freud – a game based on exclusion (of the woman who is the butt of the joke) and alliance (between the two men who ‘share’ the joke and laugh). **Language here is not a neutral instrument of communication and the exchange of information, it is a weapon** in a symbolic struggle, the object of which is the creation of a *rapport de forces*. There is violence in this sort of laughter: the violence of identification through exclusion.

But the device also discloses the importance of the first word of the initial sentence, of this ‘oh’ which traditional linguistics cannot account for. It suggests that utterances, even in their graphic form, are always also expressions of the affections of the body and the affects those affections provoke. For the initial ‘oh’ cannot be pronounced in the same way in the first and in the last stage of the game. In fact, its changing tones punctuate the story the series of sentences narrates: it inscribes the changing affects in the speaker, and is thus the most important element, not for the calculus of the meaning but for the interpretation of the sense of the sentence.

Lastly, because my sentence tells a story, it has a certain relationship with the world: its analysis cannot be content with the immanent account which rules of grammar provide. And the world in question is a social world: the sexual relationship is always a social relationship, a question of gender rather than sex. The story is not any story of seduction: it involves an aristocrat (‘Sir Jasper’), which is a quaintly archaic name that smacks of the eighteenth century, and the speaker is therefore a servant girl. An intertext, the banal story of the woman seduced and abandoned, is therefore convoked. The Victorians reveled in the tragic consequences of this story, prostitution or death. The eighteenth century likes the comic version, where the servant girl captured her seducer and was raised to the nobility through marriage. Intimations of *Pamela* and *Joseph Andrews*, but also of *Adam Bede*, are immediately perceived.

We need, therefore, an account of language that accepts the fact that **language tells us a story of bodies and affects, of oppression and liberation, of struggle and *rapports de force*.**

Source: Jean-Jacques Lecercle & Denise Riley “The Force of Language” (2005)

How to "Talk [More] Like a Man"

Use of *dude* in the "Zits" Comic Strip



Excerpt 1¹⁰

- 1 PETE: I was like fuck it just take this road we'll be there.
 2 end up,
 3 at one o'clock in the morning,
 4 in south Philly.
 5 I don't know if any y'all been at south Philly,
 6 but it ain't where you wanna be at one o'clock in the morning
 7 HOTDOG: it's it's the northeast of Washington D.C.
 8 PETE: it is it's the southeast of Philadelphia
 9 that's what it is.
 10 I mean it's southeast
 11 DUDE.
 12 we're driving a 94 Geo Prism (.) with no tags, (1.1)
 13 two White boys,
 14 and we're like stuck behind this bu-
 15 at one point,
 16 we were stuck in an alley,
 17 in an alley like cars parked on both sides, (.)
 18 behind a bus,
 19 and there's like two bars
 20 like on both sides.
 21 like (1.0) all these black people everywhere.
 22 WASTED.
 23 fucked up.
 24 lookin at us.
 25 *just like* (1.8)
 26 I was scared shitless,
 27 I 'as like Hotdog GO GO.
 28 he was like there's a bus.
 29 I don't care GO GO (0.7)
 30 most nerve-racking time of my life-

Source: Scott F. Kiesling "American Speech: Dude" (2004)

When Women Talk About Mainstream Media



In the recorded conversation between two nineteen-year-old women, X and Z, who are very close friends, an endless string of music videos provides a backdrop of entertainment as well as a topic for casual discussion. The ritual of watching mindless videos or listening to music while enjoying one another's company is common and normal among women of our age group. What we do not consciously realize is that the lyrics and images playing through our interactions are able to considerably color our conversations and perceptions. This conversation falls into the private speech genre of young women, and its focus is dictated by the singers and dancers on the computer screen, along with the speakers' socialized perceptions of sexuality in relation to popular culture and to themselves. [...] One thing that characterizes my friends' private interaction is an outright rejection of the gender-based rules; their language often takes on a more masculine gaze and they seem eager to address subject matter considered taboo for women to discuss in public.

I wanted to include an analysis of few seconds of speech [...] because of the fascinating speech choices made by Z. Overwhelmed by the content of the "Love, Sex, Magic" music video, in which Ciara and Justin Timberlake are basically simulating sex in their dancing, Z says, "Dude, I want them to have sex. On screen. Literally." The first part of this phrase that warrants in-depth analysis is the use of "dude." This word is so current and significant in sociolinguistics that Scott Kiesling wrote an entire paper in 2004 on its usage and connotations. Kiesling identifies "dude" as originally a male term of solidarity, which has come to "index a solidarity stance separate from its probable indexing of masculinity" (Kiesling 2004). Women who use the term "dude" are not only establishing solidarity with the addressee, but are making a marked change in their gendered identity. Z desires to depart from the feminine behavior and language norms expected of her by society, so she makes the conscious effort to use language taken from the traditional male vocabulary. This blurring of gender lines is in keeping with the general tone of the conversation, in which X and Z consistently reject "ladylike" ways of speaking and regarding others. [...]

It has become apparent through this analysis that private speech offers an important opportunity for women to break through social restrictions and establish their own identity. Much can be said about the negative impact of the media on women's perceptions of themselves, but what matters more than the narratives surrounding us is the way we examine, internalize, or combat them.

Source: Eva Czapski "Music Videos, Private Speech, and Gender Roles" (2015)

Monoglot Standard and Language Discrimination



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Obama: 'Nah, We Straight'

Our last three presidents have all been able to shift their speaking styles. In 2008, Mr. Obama took the linguistic flexibility of his predecessors to new heights. Take, for example, his style-shifting during a visit to Ben's Chili Bowl, a well-known Washington eatery, days before his inauguration in 2009. In a scene captured on YouTube, Mr. Obama declined to accept the change from a black cashier with the statement "Nah, we straight." These three short, seemingly simple, words exhibited distinct linguistic features associated with African-American ways of speaking.



BARACK: [Handing over his money to the cashier] You just keep that. Where's my ticket. You got my ticket?
 CASHIER: [Offers Barack his change]
 BARACK: Nah, we straight. [Reaching over to take his soda]
 CUSTOMER: You got cheese fries, too?
 BARACK: Nah, nah, that's you, man...
 [Video cuts away and returns after Barack receives his chili dog]
 BARACK: Now, do y'all have some Pepto Bismol in this place?
 ALL PRESENT: [Laughter]
 BARACK: [Walking back up to the counter, addressing cashier again] Hey, how come he's got some cheddar cheese on his and I don't have any on mine?
 ALL PRESENT: [Laughter] Woahhhh!
 CASHIER: Whatever you like, sir.
 BARACK: We got some cheese, you can sprinkle on it? [Gesturing the sprinkling of cheese, then *signifyin*] Not, not, not, not the Velveeta but the...
 CUSTOMERS: [Laughter]
 CUSTOMER: The cheddar cheese!
 BARACK: The *cheddar* cheese.

First was the rendering of "no" as "nah." The vowel sound in "no" is like the one in "note," while the vowel sound in "nah" is like the one in "not" (not to be confused with the way some whites say "nah" as in "gnat," or the way some Southerners say "naw" like the vowel sound in "gnaw").

Second was Mr. Obama's use of "straight" in the sense of "O.K.," "fine," "all right." Observers have noted Mr. Obama's use of black slang in relation to hip-hop culture, his use of words like "flow" (the mapping of rhymes onto a beat) or "tight" (cool, hip). In his memoir "Dreams from My Father," Mr. Obama also used words and phrases that are not as widely known outside the black community, like "trifling" (lazy and inadequate) and "high-yella" (a reference to light-skinned blacks).

Third was Mr. Obama's omission of the word "are." The removal of forms of "to be" — what linguists call copula absence — is one of the most important and frequently studied features of Black English.

You go to the cafeteria...and the black kids are sitting here, white kids are sitting there, and you've got to make some choices. For me, basically I could run with anybody. Luckily for me, largely because of growing up in Hawai'i, there wasn't that sense of sharp divisions. Now, by the time I was negotiating environments where there were those kinds of sharp divisions, I was already confident enough to make my own decisions. It became a matter of being able to speak different dialects. That's not unique to me. Any black person in America who's successful has to be able to speak several different forms of the same language....It's not unlike a person shifting between Spanish and English.²

—Barack Obama

MR. OBAMA'S embrace of the black preacher tradition is also reflected in his use of call-and-response. A quintessential example was his speech to a predominantly black crowd in South Carolina in 2008. He fired up the audience by slowly walking around the stage and then called them with words associated with Malcolm X:

Obama: They're tryna bamboozle you.
 Audience response: Yes!
 Obama: It's the same old okey-doke.
 Audience: That's right!

Mr. Obama's ability to bring together "white syntax" with "black style" played a critical role in establishing his identity as both an American and a Christian.

The Deficit Hypothesis: "Verbal Deprivation"

This chapter deals with the theory of the British sociologist Basil Bernstein that the social success of members of a society, and their access to social privileges, is directly dependent on the degree of organization of their linguistic messages.

He starts from the principle that the speech habits of particular social groups in the low income bracket who have little social influence (in sociological terms the lower class) differ syntactically and semantically from those of other groups, who are assured powerful and influential positions because of their material and intellectual privileges (in sociological terms the middle class). Furthermore he assumes that the differences in expression of both classes are not neutral but are assessable in relation to the actual social position involved. In this sense the lower classes may be socially handicapped as a consequence of their inadequate command of language, which is limited in comparison with that of the middle and upper classes.

Successful organization of speech messages is thus defined by the social success of its users, i.e. of the middle class.

Instead of analysing the manifest differences between the two linguistic varieties according to their various functional capabilities, the linguistic characteristics which divide the speech behaviour of the lower class from that of the middle class are interpreted as a deficit phenomenon on the basis of an *a priori* normative scale of values. That is to say, they are interpreted as precisely those linguistic attributes which lower-class speakers lack, in order to achieve the same social success as the speakers of the middle class. This central assumption that the speech of the lower class is more limited in its competence than the speech of the middle class will be termed the *Deficit Hypothesis* throughout. Numerous sociologists and psychologists have, in the course of the last few years, attempted to verify this hypothesis empirically.

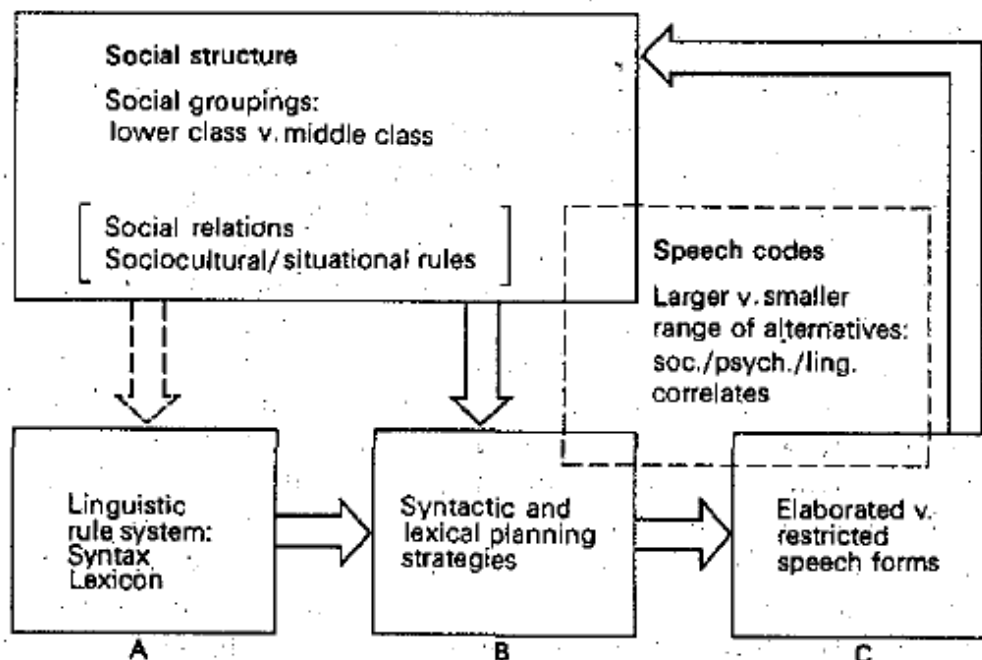


Fig. 1.1 Speech codes: diagram of the correlations between social structure, linguistic rule system, verbal planning and speech forms.

Source: Norbert Dittmar "Sociolinguistics" (1976)

Variability Concept vs. Deficit Hypothesis

<i>Variability Concept</i>	<i>Deficit Hypothesis</i>
Descriptive procedure. The discovery of socially-determined speech norms.	Normative procedure. Starting point is the speech norms.
Investigation of speech variation on the micro level (description of the features of verbal interaction between individuals in small groups), and the macro level (distribution and function of language varieties in a society).	One-sided concentration on the analysis of class-specific speech behaviour (lower class v. middle class).
In relation to the possibilities of expression and the logical capacity for analysis, language varieties are functionally equivalent.	Middle-class speech accomplishes more than lower-class speech from a rhetorical as well as a logical point of view.
Relative neglect of the cognitive aspects of speech behaviour.	Crucial inclusion of the cognitive aspects. Heavy dependence on Whorf's concept of linguistic relativity.
Investigation of the formal/informal continuum of natural speech behaviour in different social situations.	Description of speech behaviour in one-sided formal test situations (mostly in the context of schools).
Primary data are mainly those which are obtained through participant observations.	The data of the formal tests serve as primary data for judging linguistic ability.
The aim is theory construction, and explanation of all linguistic differentiations caused by the intervention of social parameters, and of their correlations with the social structure. Undirected hypotheses.	Theory and explanation of the role of speech in the social success potential of the speakers at school and in other institutions. Consideration of a limited number of social parameters. Directed hypotheses.

Source: Norbert Dittmar "Sociolinguistics" (1976)

cannot speak complete sentences, do not know the names of common objects, cannot form concepts or convey logical thoughts.

Unfortunately, these notions are based upon the work of educational psychologists who know very little about language and even less about black children. The concept of verbal deprivation has no basis in social reality; in fact, black children in the urban ghettos receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well-formed sentences than middle-class children, and participate fully in a highly verbal culture; they have the same basic vocabulary, possess the same capacity for conceptual learning, and use the same logic as anyone else who learns to speak and understand English. The myth of verbal deprivation is particularly dangerous because it diverts the attention from real defects of our educational system to imaginary defects of the child; and as we shall see, it leads its sponsors inevitably to the hypothesis of the genetic inferiority of black children, which the verbal-deprivation theory was designed to avoid.

The deficit theory attempts to account for a number of facts that are known to all of us: that black children in the central urban ghettos do badly on all school subjects, including arithmetic and reading. In reading, they average more than two years behind the national norm. [...] We are obviously dealing with the effects of the caste system of American society--essentially a "color-marking" system. The question is: By what mechanism does the color bar prevent children from learning to read? One answer is the notion of "cultural deprivation": the black children are said to lack the favorable factors in their home environment which enable middle-class children to do well in school. [...] The deficit theory does not focus upon the interaction of the black child with white society so much as on his failure to interact with his mother at home. [...]

The most extreme view which proceeds from this orientation--and one that is now being widely accepted--is that lower-class black children have no language at all. [...] Bereiter concludes that the [black] children's speech forms are nothing more than a series of emotional cries, and he decides to treat them "as if the children had no language at all." He identifies their speech with his interpretation of Bernstein's restricted code: "The language of culturally deprived children...is not merely an underdeveloped version of standard English, but is a basically non-logical mode of expressive behavior."

Source: William Labov "Academic Ignorance and Black Intelligence" (1972)

In the past decade, a great deal of federally sponsored research has been devoted to the educational problems of children in ghetto schools. To account for the poor performance of children in these schools, educational psychologists have tried to discover what kind of disadvantage or defect the children are suffering from. The viewpoint which has been widely accepted and used as the basis for large-scale intervention programs is that the children show a cultural deficit as a result of an impoverished environment in their early years. A great deal of attention has been given to language. In this area, the deficit theory appears as the notion of "verbal deprivation": black children from the ghetto area are said to receive little verbal stimulation, to hear very little well-formed language, and as a result are impoverished in their means of verbal expression. It is said that they

Reading Instructions (1970s)

A teacher read from a workbook:

T ' . . . how would you harm the colt?'

C₁ Toar it.

T Huh?

C₁ Toar it.

T Th--th--Oh! Do you, do you know what a colt is, now?

C₁ Oh, kill it, kill it!

T No, what's a colt?

C₁ Somethin' you wear. (Episode 18)

The child interpreted the word "colt" as "somethin' you wear," or "coat." One feature of Black dialect is deletion of the "l" sound, making "coat" and "colt" homonyms. There is a linguistic mismatch or interference between the child's system and that of the school. The conflict is not an insurmountable barrier, but a brief misunderstanding. The teacher's handling of the situation, then, is extremely important. The

Source: Ann McCormick Piestrup "Accommodation of Reading Instruction for First Grade Children Who Speak Black Dialect" (1973)

Reading and speaking instruction for speakers of AAE often includes pronunciation correction that discourages the students and inhibits them in the classroom. Smitherman (1977, pp. 217–218) recounts one case in which constant correction had a negative effect on the student's performance:

Student (excitedly): Miz Jones, you remember that show you tole us bout? Well, me and my momma 'nem –
 Teacher (interrupting with a "warm" smile): Bernadette, start again, I'm sorry, but I can't understand you.
 Student (confused): Well, it was that show, me and my momma –
 Teacher (interrupting again, still with that "warm" smile): Sorry, I still can't understand you.
 (Student, now silent, even more confused than ever, looks at floor, says nothing.)
 Teacher: Now, Bernadette, first of all, it's Mrs. Jones, not Miz Jones. And you know it was an exhibit, not a show. Now, haven't I explained to the class over and over again that you always put yourself last when you are talking about a group of people and yourself doing something? So, therefore, you should say what?
 Student: My momma and me – I
 Teacher (exasperated): No! My mother and I. Now start again, this time right.
 Student: Aw, that's okay, it wasn't nothin.

Source: Lisa J. Green "African American English: a Linguistic Introduction" (2002)

"This is not a spoon"

A film showing the corrective program developed by a team of educational psychologists for children alleged to have these language deficiencies was screened for linguists at the 1973 Linguistic Institute in Ann Arbor, Michigan. It contained the following sequence:

Earnest White teacher, leaning forward, holding a coffee cup: "This-is-not-a-spoon."

Little Black girl, softly: 'Dis not no 'poon.'

White teacher, leaning farther forward, raising her voice: 'No, This-is-not-a-spoon.'

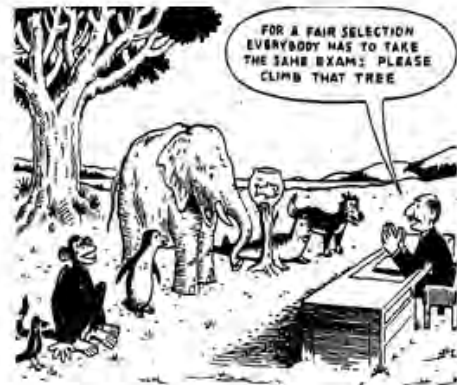
Black child, softly: 'Dis not a 'poon.'

White teacher, frustrated: 'This-is-not-a-spoon.'

Child, exasperated: 'Well, dass a cup!'

The reaction of the linguists, after they had finished applauding and cheering for the child, was a mixture of amusement, incredulity, and anger.

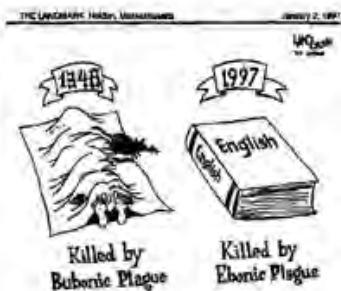
Source: Ralph W. Fasold "Review of J. L. Dillard's *Black English*" (1975)



"The Same Exam" ▲



Cartooning Times, cartoon by Bill Plazze, December 30, 1990



Labov "The Logic of Nonstandard English" (1969)

Conversation I (official setting)

CR: What if you saw somebody kickin' somebody else on the ground, or was using a stick, what would you do if you saw that?
 LEON: Mmmm.
 CR: If it was supposed to be a fair fight –
 LEON: I don' know.
 CR: You don' know? Would you do anything . . . huh? I can't hear you.
 LEON: No.
 CR: Did you ever see somebody got beat up real bad?
 LEON: . . . Nope? ? ?
 CR: Well – uh – did you ever get into a fight with a guy?
 LEON: Nope.
 CR: That was bigger than you?
 LEON: Nope.

CR: You never been in a fight?
 LEON: Nope.
 CR: Nobody ever pick on you?
 LEON: Nope.
 CR: Nobody ever hit you?
 LEON: Nope.
 CR: How come?
 LEON: Ah 'on' know.
 CR: Didn't you ever hit somebody?
 LEON: Nope.
 CR: [*incredulous*] You never hit nobody?
 LEON: Mhm.
 CR: Aww, ba -a-a-be, you ain't gonna tell me that.

Conversation II (less formal setting)

CR: Is there anybody who says *your momma drink pee*?
 (LEON: [*rapidly and breathlessly*] Yee-ah!)
 (GREG: Yup!)
 LEON: And your father eat doo-doo for breakfas'!
 CR: Ohhh!! [*laughs*]
 LEON: And they say *your father – your father eat doo-doo for dinner!*
 GREG: When they sound on me, I say *C. B. M.*
 CR: What that mean?
 (LEON: Congo booger-snatch! [*laughs*])
 (GREG: Congo booger-snatcher! [*laughs*])
 GREG: And sometimes I'll curse with *B. B.*
 CR: What that?
 GREG: Black boy! [*Leon – crunching on potato chips*] Oh that's a *M. B. B.*
 CR: M. B. B. What's that?
 GREG: 'Merican Black Boy!
 CR: Ohh . . .

GREG: Anyway, 'Mericans is same like white people, right?
 LEON: And they talk about Allah.
 CR: Oh yeah?
 GREG: Yeah.
 CR: What they say about Allah?
 (LEON: Allah – Allah is God.)
 (GREG: Allah –
 CR: And what else?
 LEON: I don' know the res'.
 GREG: Allah i – Allah is God, Allah is the only God, Allah –
 LEON: Allah is the *son* of God.
 GREG: But can he make magic?
 LEON: Nope.
 GREG: I know who can make magic.
 CR: Who can?
 LEON: The God, the *real* one.
 CR: Who can make magic?
 GREG: The son of po' – [CR: Hm?] I'm sayin' the po'k chop God!
 He only a po'k chop God! [*Leon chuckles*]

Conversation with Larry H., 15 year-old speaker of Black English

JL: What happens to you after you die? Do you know?
 LARRY: Yeah, I know.
 JL: What?
 LARRY: After they put you in the ground, your body turns into – ah – bones, an' shit.
 JL: What happens to your spirit?
 LARRY: Your spirit – soon as you die, your spirit leaves you.
 JL: And where does the spirit go?
 LARRY: Well, it all depends . . .
 JL: On what?

It is the logical form of this passage which is of particular interest here. Larry presents a complex set of interdependent propositions which can be explicated by setting out the SE equivalents in linear order. The basic argument is to deny the twin propositions

- (A) If you are good, (B) then your spirit will go to heaven.
 (–A) If you are bad, (C) then your spirit will go to hell.

Larry denies (B), and asserts that *if (A) or (–A), then (C)*. His

JL: Well, if there's no heaven, how could there be a hell?

LARRY: I mean – ye – eah. Well, let me tell you, it ain't no hell, 'cause this is hell right here, y'know!
 JL: This is hell?
 LARRY: Yeah, this is hell right here!

LARRY: You know, like some people say if you're good an' shit, your spirit goin' t'heaven . . . 'n' if you bad, your spirit goin' to hell. Well, bullshit! Your spirit goin' to hell anyway, good or bad.
 JL: Why?
 LARRY: Why? I'll tell you why. 'Cause, you see, doesn' nobody really know that it's a God, y'know; 'cause I mean I have seen black gods, pink gods, white gods, all color gods, and don't nobody know it's really a God. An' when they be sayin' if you good, you goin' t'heaven, tha's bullshit, 'cause you ain't goin' to no heaven, 'cause it ain't no heaven for you to go to.

JL: . . . But, just say that there is a God, what color is he? White or black?

LARRY: Well, if it is a God . . . I wouldn' know what color, I couldn' say, – couldn' nobody say what color he is or really *would* be.

JL: But now, jus' suppose there was a God –

LARRY: Unless'n they say . . .

JL: No, I was jus' sayin' jus' suppose there is a God, would he be white or black?

LARRY: . . . He'd be white, man.

JL: Why?

LARRY: Why? I'll tell you why. 'Cause the average whitey out here got everything, you dig? And the nigger ain't got shit, y'know? Y'understan'? So – um – for – in order for *that* to happen, you know it ain't no black God that's doin' that bullshit.

Conversation with Charles M., college educated speaker of "standard" English

Charles M is obviously a 'good speaker' who strikes the listener as well-educated, intelligent and sincere. He is a likeable and attractive person – the kind of person that middle-class listeners rate very high on a scale of 'job suitability' and equally high as a potential friend. His language is more moderate and tempered than Larry's; he makes every effort to qualify his opinions, and seems anxious to avoid any misstatements or over-statements. From these qualities emerge the primary characteristic of this passage – its *verbosity*. Words multiply, some modifying and qualifying, others repeating or padding the main argument. The first half of this extract is a response to the initial question on dreams, basically: 1) Some people say that dreams sometimes come true. 2) I have never had a dream come true. 3) Therefore I don't believe (1).

CR: Do you know of anything that someone can do, to have someone who has passed on visit him in a dream?

CHARLES M: Well, I even heard my parents say that there is such a thing as something in dreams some things like that, and sometimes dreams do come true. I have personally never had a dream come true. I've never dreamt that somebody was dying and they actually died, (Mhm) or that I was going to have ten dollars the next day and somehow I got ten dollars in my pocket. (Mhm). I don't particularly believe in that, I don't think it's true. I do feel, though, that there is such a thing as – ah – witchcraft. I do feel that in certain cultures there is such a thing as witchcraft, or some sort of *science* of witchcraft; I don't think that it's just a matter of believing hard enough that there is such a thing as witchcraft. I do believe that there is such a thing that a person can put himself in a state of *mind* (Mhm), or that – er – something could be given them to intoxicate them in a certain – to a certain frame of mind – that – that could actually be considered witchcraft.

1. 'I [do] feel, though, that there is [such a thing as] witchcraft.' *Feel* seems to be a euphemism for 'believe'.

2. '[I do feel that] in certain cultures [there is such a thing as witchcraft.]' This repetition seems designed only to introduce the word *culture*, which lets us know that the speaker knows about anthropology. Does *certain cultures* mean 'not in ours' or 'not in all'?

3. '[or some sort of *science* of witchcraft.]' This addition seems to have no clear meaning at all. What is a 'science' of witchcraft as opposed to just plain witchcraft?¹³ The main function is to introduce the word 'science', though it seems to have no connection to what follows.

4. 'I don't think that it's just [a matter of] believing hard enough that [there is such a thing as] witchcraft.' The speaker argues that witchcraft is not merely a belief; there is more to it.

5. 'I [do] believe that [there is such a thing that] a person can put himself in a state of *mind* . . . that [could actually be considered] witchcraft.' Is witchcraft as a state of mind different from the state of belief denied in (4)?

6. 'or that something could be given them to intoxicate them [to a certain frame of mind] . . .' The third learned word, *intoxicate*, is introduced by this addition. The vacuity of this passage becomes more evident if we remove repetitions, fashionable words and stylistic decorations:

But I believe in witchcraft.

I don't think witchcraft is just a belief.

A person can put himself or be put in a state of mind that is witchcraft.

Some characteristic filler phrases appear here: *such a thing as*, *some things like that*, *particularly*. Two examples of dreams given after (2) are afterthoughts that might have been given after (1). Proposition (3) is stated twice for no obvious reason. Nevertheless, this much of Charles M.'s response is well-directed to the point of the question. He then volunteers a statement of his beliefs about witchcraft which shows the difficulty of middle-class speakers who (a) want to express a belief in something but (b) want to show themselves as judicious, rational and free from superstitions. The basic proposition can be stated simply in five words:

But I believe in witchcraft.

However, the idea is enlarged to exactly 100 words and it is difficult to see what else is being said. ◀ In the following quotations, padding which can be removed without change in meaning is shown in brackets.

Without the extra verbiage and the OK words like *science*, *culture* and *intoxicate*, Charles M. appears as something less than a first-rate thinker. The initial impression of him as a good speaker is simply our long-

conditioned reaction to middle-class verbosity: we know that people who use these stylistic devices are educated people, and we are inclined to credit them with saying something intelligent. Our reactions are accurate in one sense: Charles M. is more educated than Larry. But is he more rational, more logical, or more intelligent? Is he any better at thinking out a problem to its solution? Does he deal more easily, with abstractions? There is no reason to think so. Charles M. succeeds in letting us know that he is educated, but in the end we do not know what he is trying to say and neither does he.

African American English (AAE)

Many characteristic features of AAE are from that part of the linguistic system that puts words together to form sentences (technically called "syntax"). Speakers of AAE form sentences according to the rules of its syntax. The point can be illustrated with the negative sentence, *Didn't nobody ask me do I be late for class* ('Nobody asked me if I am usually late for class').

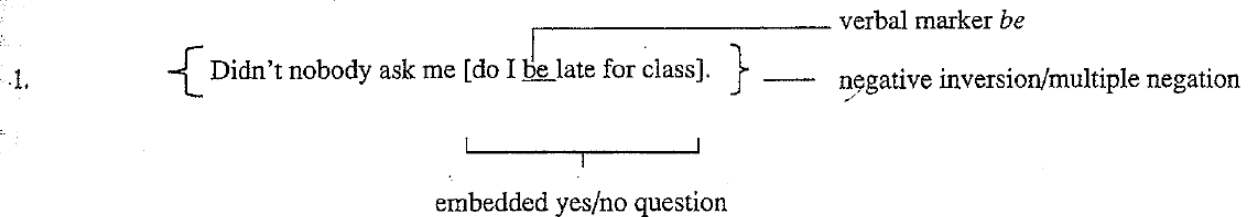


Table 5-1 *Examples of AAE linguistic patterns*

AAE sentence	General description	Mainstream English gloss
I never be looking for that.	grammatical verbal marker <i>be</i> construction	'I usually never look for that'
*I be never looking for that.	ungrammatical because verbal marker <i>be</i> precedes the adverb <i>never</i>	
When I change the oil, I like to see how much it be <i>dən</i> burned.	verbal marker consisting of habitual <i>be</i> and resultant state <i>dən</i> (habitual resultant state)	Literally: 'When I change the oil, I like to see how much oil the truck has burned'
They'a be <i>dən</i> got older.	verbal marker consisting of <i>be</i> and <i>dən</i> (future resultant state)	'They will have gotten older'
They BIN practicing for one hour.	Remote past <i>BIN</i> can occur with a time phrase if the phrase (e.g., <i>one hour</i>) indicates how long the practices usually last. This sentence cannot mean that they started practicing one hour ago. <i>BIN</i> refers to a long time, NOT to one hour, the length of time the practices usually last.	'They have been practicing for one hour stretches for a long time'
Dey got a fly messing with me.	<i>Dey got</i> can introduce a sentence meaning something exists.	'There is a fly bothering me/A fly is bothering me'
It's a fly messing with me.	<i>It's</i> can introduce a sentence saying something exists.	'There is a fly bothering me/A fly is bothering me'
I had got strep throat on the last day of school.	<i>Had</i> in some contexts (often when relaying an account of an event) can indicate past tense.	'I got strep throat on the last day of school'

AAE: Past Tense Marking**Summary of past marking**

Type of past	Marker and verb form	Meaning
Simple past (chapter 2)	<i>drunk</i>	time before the present (i.e., event culminates before now)
Preterite <i>had</i> (chapter 3)	<i>had drunk</i>	time before the present, often used in narrative contexts (i.e., event culminates before now)
Remote past (chapter 2)	<i>BIN drunk</i>	remote past
Pluperfect (past perfect) (chapter 3)	<i>had drunk</i>	past before the past
Remote past perfect (chapter 2)	<i>had BIN drunk</i>	past before the remote past
Resultant state (chapter 2)	<i>dən drunk</i>	state of having ended or having been finished, can occur with some states in special contexts

Source: Lisa J. Green "African American English: A Linguistic Introduction" (2002)

Six distinctions in the past in AAE

- (a) Simple past: event culminates before now
He drunk the milk.
- (b) Preterite *had*: event culminates before now, often used in narrative contexts.
He had drunk the milk.
- (c) Remote past: whole event or some part of the event is in the remote past
He BIN drunk the milk. "He drank the milk a long time ago"
He BIN drinking the milk. "He has been drinking the milk for a long time"
- (d) Past perfect: event is in the past before the past
He had drunk the milk.
- (e) Remote past perfect: event is in the past before the remote past
He had BIN drunk the milk. "He had drunk the milk a long time ago"
He had BIN drinking the milk. "He had been drinking the milk for a long time"
- (f) Resultant state: resultant state holds now, the event is over
He d^θn drunk the milk. "He has already drunk the milk"

Source: Lisa Green "A Descriptive Study of African American English" (2002)

AAE: Habitual BeTABLE 1.1. Contrasting Uses of *Be* in AAE

Feature	AAE	Standard English
Habitual <i>be</i> :	<i>He be busy.</i>	= <i>He is always busy.</i>
Future <i>be</i> :	<i>He be busy soon.</i>	= <i>He will be busy soon.</i>
Absent <i>be</i> :	<i>He busy.</i>	= <i>He is busy right now.</i>
Past <i>be</i> :	<i>He was busy.</i>	= <i>He was busy.</i>

Source: Teresa M. Redd & Karen Schuster Webb "A Teacher's Introduction to African American English" (2005)

In the following scenario, Smitherman illustrates how the AAE usage of *be* can confuse teachers who do not understand it:

SCENE: First-grade classroom, Detroit

TEACHER: Where is Mary?

STUDENT: She not here.

TEACHER (exasperatedly): She is *never* here!

STUDENT: Yeah, she *be* here.

TEACHER: Where? You just said she wasn't here.



Source: "The E-Word: Race, Language, and Beyond," dir. Jonathan Gayles (2015)

When the student said *she be here*, the intended meaning was "she is habitually here" (but just not today). But the teacher, who did not know this rule of AAE, interpreted it according to the rules of standard American English.

Source: Geneva Smitherman "Word from the Mother: Language and African Americans" (2006)

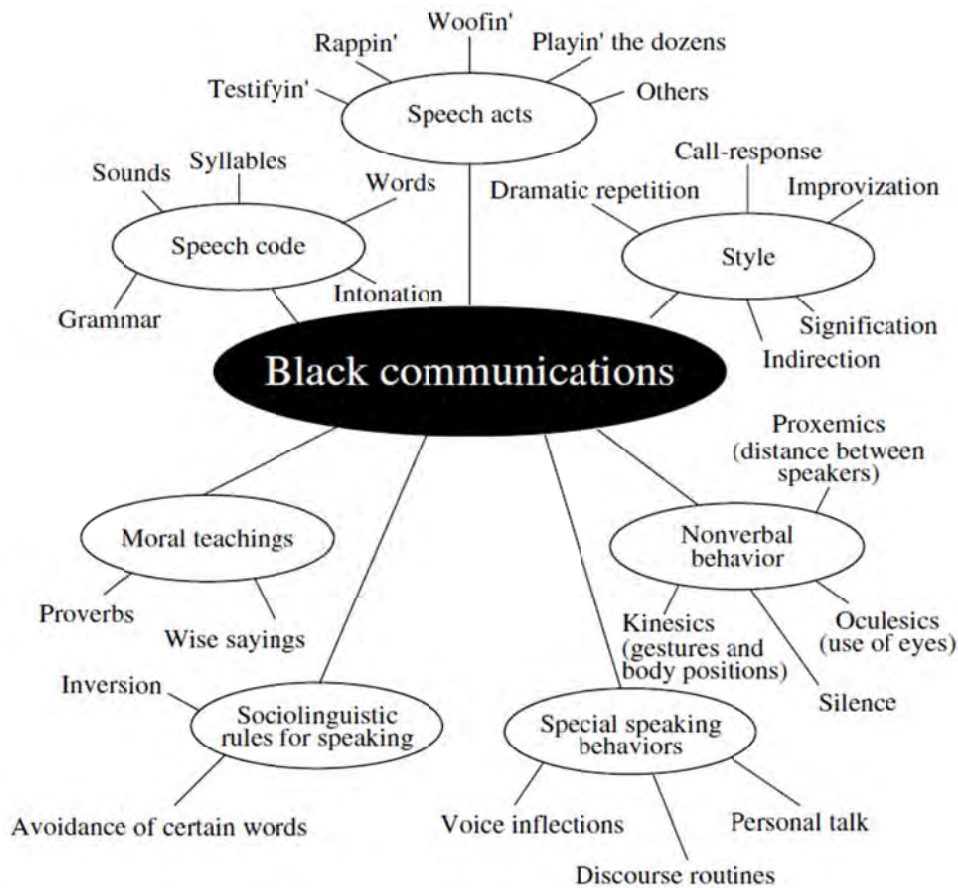
Linguistic Profiling

John Baugh is conducting research on linguistic profiling and has found that listeners respond unfavorably to him when he uses his "black voice" (see Baugh 1999). In a National Public Radio (NPR) interview (Smith 2001), Baugh explained that he had conducted a series of experiments that involved making telephone calls to inquire about the availability of apartments. As he produced the following introductory statement, he modified the sound of his voice and manner of speaking: "Hello, I'm calling about the apartment you have advertised in the paper." Tovia Smith, the NPR reporter, expanded on Baugh's comments about his experiment:

After more than a hundred calls, Baugh found that his black voice got less than half as many calls back as his white voice. His more recent study suggests that more than 80 percent of people correctly infer a person's race just from hearing them count to 20. In real conversation, it's even easier to tell. Shawna Smith, of the National Fair Housing Alliance, says she sees linguistic profiling all the time in housing, insurance, mortgages and employment.

Source: Lisa Green "African American English" (Chapter in *Language in the USA*, 2004)

Black Communications System



Source: Evelyn Baker Dandy "Black Communications: Breaking Down the Barriers" (1991)

African American Lexicon

GENERAL WORDS AND PHRASES	
<i>saditty</i> , [sədIDi], Adj __ (N). Conceited.	(1) cross generational boundaries (2) used in religious and secular environments (3) reflect relationship between AAE and West African languages (e.g., Turner 1949)
VERBAL MARKERS	
<i>BIN</i> [bɛn], AspM __ (V-ing, V-ed, Adj, Prep, N, Adv, AspM). Situates the eventuality or the initiation of the eventuality in the remote past.	indicate way eventuality is carried out
CURRENT SLANG	
<i>whoadie</i> [wodi], N __. Comrade (New Orleans usage).	associated with age group linked to popular culture; may be associated with a particular region

Sketch of the African American lexicon

Source: Lisa J. Green "African American English: A Linguistic Introduction" (2002)



Ebonics or Black American English started in the 1600s. The first recorded instance of it is in the **Salem Witch Trials in 1692** when Tituba says:

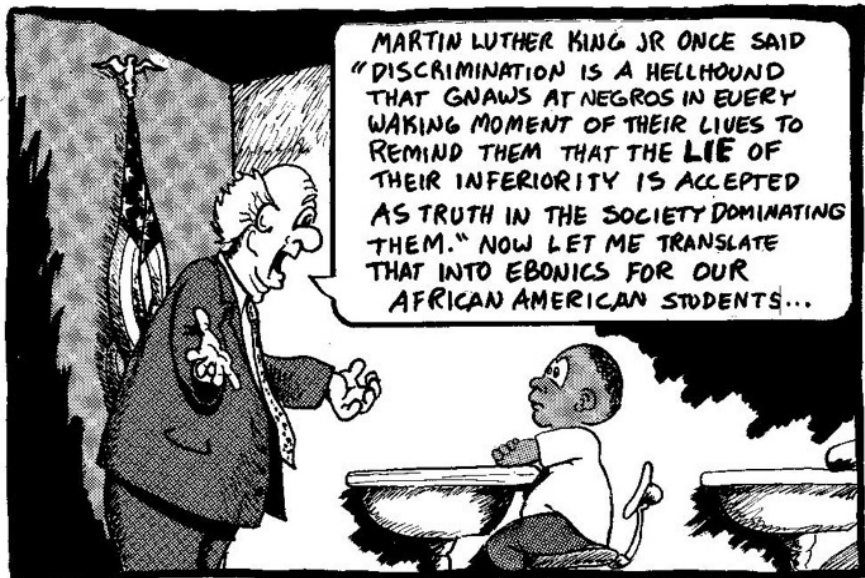
“ He tell me he God.

“A child cannot be taught by anyone who despises him, and a child cannot afford to be fooled. A child cannot be taught by anyone whose demand, essentially, is that the child repudiates his experience and all that gives him sustenance, and enter a limbo in which he will no longer be black, and in which he knows he can never be white.”

James Baldwin “If Black English Isn't a Language, Then Tell Me, What Is?” (1979)

Ebony + Phonics

Ebonics



Though African Americans are creators and descendants of a rich and complex culture, they continue to battle the stereotype of having cultural and language deficiencies.

Part of what makes the language experience unique for African Americans in the United States is that they know they must be bidialectal to survive.

African-American students are criticized, marginalized, and even despised for the language on which they were raised—the language that distinguishes them as a unique people with their own way of talking.

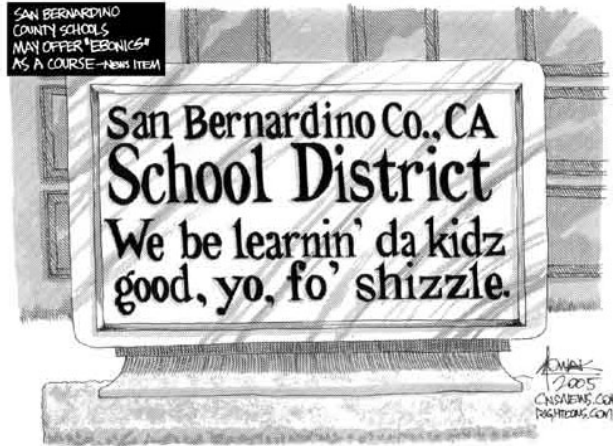
Oakland School Board Ebonics Resolution

[This is a copy of the resolution passed by the Oakland Unified School District Board of Education on December 18th, 1996, concerning the issue of Ebonics]

- 1) WHEREAS, numerous validated scholarly studies demonstrate that African-American students as a part of their culture and history as African people possess and utilize a language described in various scholarly approaches as "Ebonics" (literally "Black sounds") or "Pan-African Communication Behavior" or "African Language Systems"; and
- 2) WHEREAS, these studies have also demonstrated that **African Language Systems are genetically based and not a dialect of English**; and
- 3) WHEREAS, these studies demonstrate that such West and Niger-Congo African languages have been officially recognized and addressed in the mainstream public educational community as worth of study, understanding or application of its principles, laws and structures for the benefit of African-American students both in terms of positive appreciation of the language and these students' acquisition and mastery of English language skills; and
- 4) WHEREAS, such recognition by scholars has given rise over the past fifteen years to legislation passed by the State of California recognizing the unique language stature of descendants of slaves, with such legislation being prejudicially and unconstitutionally vetoed repeatedly by various California state governors; and
- 5) WHEREAS, judicial cases in states other than California have recognized the unique language stature of African-American pupils, and such recognition by courts has resulted in court-mandated educational programs which have substantially benefited African American children in the interest of vindicating their equal protection of the law rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution; and
- 6) WHEREAS, the Federal Bilingual Education Act (20 U.S.C. 1402 et seq) mandates that local educational agencies "build their capacities to establish, implement and sustain programs of instruction for children and youth of limited English proficiency; and
- 7) WHEREAS, the interests of the Oakland Unified School District in providing equal opportunities for all of its students dictate limited English proficient educational programs recognizing **the English language acquisition and improvement skills of African-American students are as fundamental as is application of bilingual education principles for others whose primary languages are other than English**; and
- 8) WHEREAS, the standardized tests and grade scores of African-American students in reading and language arts skills measuring their application of English skills are substantially below state and national norms and that such deficiencies will be remedied by application of a program featuring African Language Systems principles in **instructing African-American children both in their primary language and in English**; and
- 9) WHEREAS, standardized tests and grade scores will be remedied by application of a program with teachers and aides who are certified in the methodology of featuring African Language Systems principles in instructing African-American children both in their primary language and in English. The certified teachers of these students will be provided incentives including, but not limited to salary differentials.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT

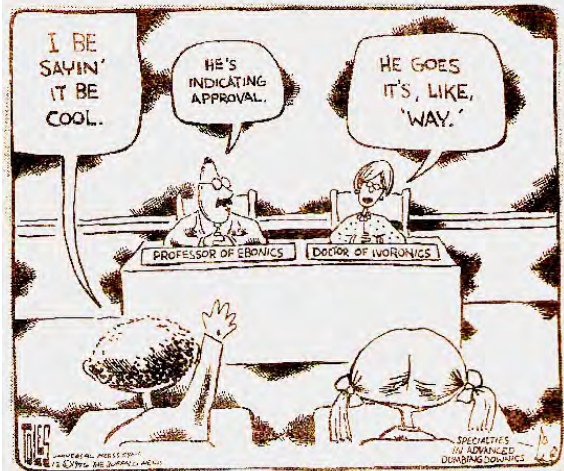
- 1) RESOLVED that the Board of Education officially recognizes the existence, and the cultural and historic bases of West and Niger-Congo African Language Systems, and each language as the predominantly primary language of African-American students; and
- 2) BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Board of Education hereby adopts the report recommendations and attached Policy Statement of the District's African-American Task Force on language stature of African-American speech; and
- 3) BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Superintendent in conjunction with her staff shall immediately devise and implement the best possible academic program for imparting **instruction to African-American students in their primary language** for the combined purposes of maintaining the legitimacy and richness of such language whether it is known as "Ebonics," "African Language Systems," "Pan-African Communication Behaviors" or other description, and to facilitate their acquisition and mastery of English language skills; and
- 4) BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Board of Education hereby commits to earmark District general and special funding as is reasonably necessary and appropriate to enable the Superintendent and her staff to accomplish the foregoing; and
- 5) BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Superintendent and her staff shall utilize the input of the entire Oakland educational community as well as state and federal scholarly and educational input in devising such a program; and
- 6) BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that periodic reports on the progress of the creation and implementation of such an educational program shall be made to the Board at least once per month commencing at the Board meeting of December 18, 1996.



Mock Ebonics



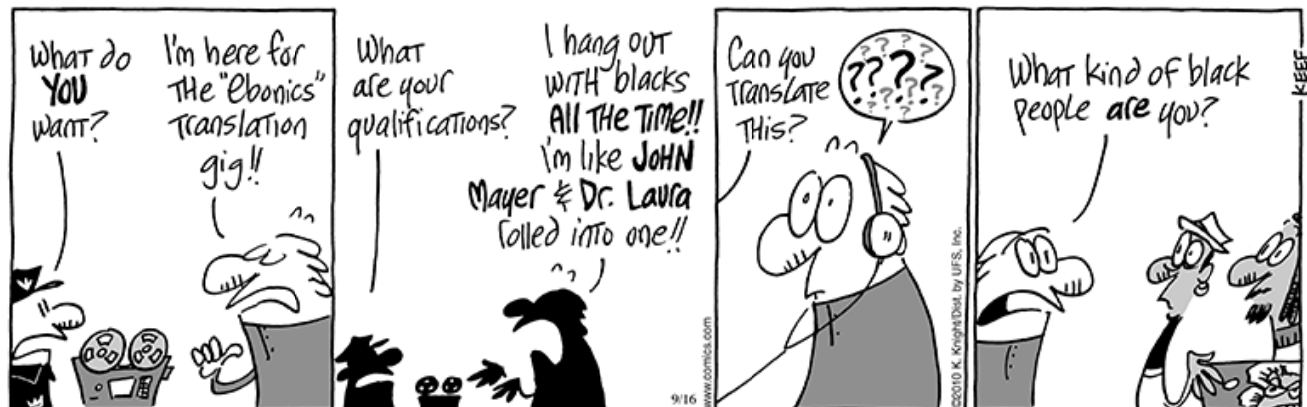
Mock Ebonics: "I'se" comes from the minstrel shows, not from Black English. Zora Neale Hurston called this "weird" – no black person talks like that.



Example of Mock Ebonics: incorrect use of the invariant habitual "be". Also note the use of eye dialect and lack of code-switching.

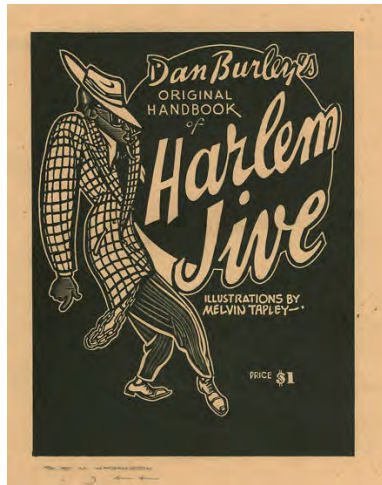


Delta Airlines Ebonics Commercial, 1970s



A documentary about Ebonics: "The E-Word: Race, Language, and Beyond," dir. Jonathan Gayles (2015)

What is Jive?



Jive is language in motion. It supplies the answer to the hunger for the unusual, the exotic and picturesque in speech. It is a medium of escape, a safety valve for people pressed against the wall for centuries, deprived of the advantages of complete social, economic, moral and intellectual freedom. It is an articulate protest of a people given half a loaf of bread and then dared to eat it; a people continually fooled and bewildered by the mirage of a better and fuller life... It is the same means of escape that brought into being the spirituals as sung by American slaves; the blues songs of protest that bubble in the breasts of black men and women believed by their fellow white countrymen to have been born to be menials, to be wards of a nation, even though they are tagged with a whimsical designation as belonging to the body politic. Jive provides a medium of expression universal in its appeal..."

This is how the late African American journalist and musician Dan Burley began his 1941 *Original Handbook of Harlem Jive*, which serves as a reference for the original hip lingo that became popular during the Harlem Renaissance.

Jive Talk from "Airplane!" (1980)

On the plane to Chicago, two black men are talking "jive talk" which is subtitled.

First Jive Dude: Shit, man. That honky mofo mess with my ol' lady, got to be runnin' cold upside down his head, you know? Shit.

Second Jive Dude: Hey, home, I can dig it. He ain't gonna lay no rap on you.

First Jive Dude: I say, hey, sky. This other say I once see, pray to J, I did the same ol' same ol'.

Second Jive Dude: Hey, knock yo'self a pro, slick. That grey matter back got perform' us down, I'll take TCBin', man.

First Jive Dude: Hey, you know what they say. See a broad that give that booty action...

Both: Lay her down or smack 'em yack 'em.

First Jive Dude: Cold, got to be! You know? Shit.

* * *

Second Jive Dude: Mnnnn, hmmm...

Flight Attendant: Can I get you something?

Second Jive Dude: S'mo fo butter layin' to the bone. Jackin' me up. Tightly.

Flight Attendant: I'm sorry I don't understand.

First Jive Dude: Cutty say he cant hang.

Jive Lady: Oh stewardess, I speak jive.

Flight Attendant: Ohhhh, good.

Jive Lady: He said that he's in great pain and he wants to know if you can help him.

Flight Attendant: Would you tell him to just relax and I'll be back as soon as I can with some medicine.

Jive Lady: Jus' hang loose bloood. She goonna catch up on the rebound a de medcide.

Second Jive Dude: What it is big mamma, my mamma didn't raise no dummy, I dug her rap.

Jive Lady: Cut me som' slac' jak! Chump don wan no help, chump don git no help. Jive ass dude don got no brains anyhow.



Source: Jim Abrahams, David Zucker, Jerry Zucker "Airplane!: Movie Script" (1980)

“You Can't Tell by Someone's Voice Whether They're Black”

From O.J. Simpson Trial transcripts, July 12, 1995

JULY 12 - A defense witness testified that he saw a white vehicle similar to O.J. Simpson's leaving the crime scene the night Nicole Simpson and Ronald Goldman were slain.

Robert Heidstra, Nicole Simpson's neighbor, made the disclosure as prosecutors aggressively questioned him and tried to attack his credibility.

Prosecutor Christopher Darden also pressed Heidstra on a statement he allegedly made to a friend that Simpson's voice may have been one of two he heard as he walked his dogs near the crime scene on June 12, 1994.

The question triggered an angry exchange between Darden and defense lawyer Johnnie Cochran. After Judge Lance Ito sent the jury out, Darden said he asked the question in good faith. He said Heidstra told a friend, Patricia Barrett, that he could identify one of the men as a young white man and the other as an older black man.

"You can't tell by someone's voice when they're black," Cochran said. "That's racist. This statement about whether somebody sounds black or white is racist, and I resent it. I think it's totally improper in America at this time in 1995 just to hear this and endure this."

Darden explained to Ito that the statement was allegedly made by the witness, not him.

"If the statement is racist, then he is the racist, not me, OK?," Darden said, looking at Cochran.

"I didn't say you," Cochran answered.

"That's what you're suggesting," Darden said. "That's created a lot of problems for my family and myself, statements with race..."

Ito, disgusted with the exchange, announced "I'm so mad at both of you guys, I'm about to hold you both in contempt."

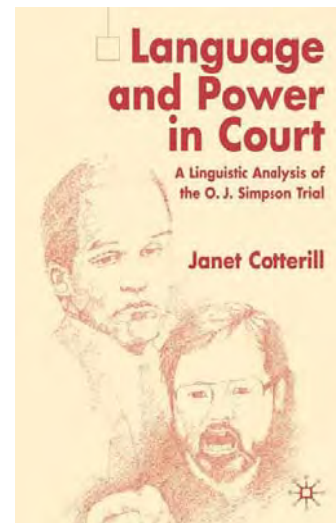
"I apologize, your honor," Darden said.

"It'll take more than that," Ito said, stepping off the bench and calling a recess.

When Heidstra returned to the witness stand, he denied telling anyone about the identity of the voices.

Heidstra's testimony Wednesday's appeared to help both sides.

Source: "O.J. Simpson Trial Transcripts" (Los Angeles, CA, 1995)



Witness can't recognize voice

Nicole Brown Simpson's neighbor has never talked to or heard O.J.

Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — A car similar to O.J. Simpson's Bronco sped away from the murder scene, a defense witness acknowledged Wednesday, but he fiercely denied recognizing one of two angry voices he heard that night as Simpson's.

"Didn't you (say) . . . 'I know it was O.J. It had to be him?'" Deputy District Attorney Christopher Darden asked during cross-examination.

"I never said that. Absurd!" exclaimed Robert Heidstra, who lives around the corner from the condominium where Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Goldman were slain and was walking his dogs the night of the murders.

Heidstra's testimony came during a court session marked by an outburst by Judge

Lance Ito against two attorneys for personal attacks on each other.

Heidstra reluctantly confirmed that he once described a white Jeep-like vehicle speeding away from the condo about a half-hour after the time Simpson allegedly had driven his white Ford Bronco there to commit murder. Heidstra acknowledged that the vehicle he saw "could have been a Bronco."

On redirect examination, defense attorney Johnnie Cochran Jr. elicited from Heidstra the observation that the vehicle turned a corner and headed south, away from Simpson's home.

Heidstra's testimony is key to the defense, which is challenging the prosecution's chronology for the night of June 12, 1994, to show that someone other than Simpson could be the murderer.

But the prosecution's concerted attack on Heidstra's credibility may have undermined the importance of his role.

"Frankly, he's not going to be playing a major role in the jury's decision," said Loyola University Law Professor Laurie Levenson. "He was a real mixed bag." Darden intimated that a woman who often conversed with Heidstra in his native French has told prosecutors he identified one voice he heard that night as Simpson's.

But Heidstra said he couldn't have recognized Simpson's voice because he has never spoken to the defendant or heard him on TV.

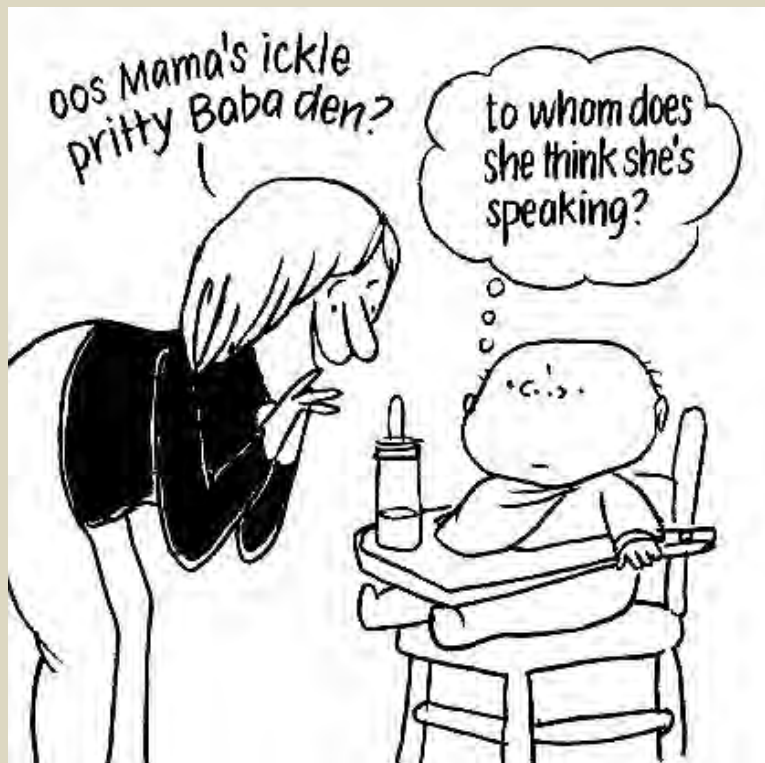
He also denied saying that one of the voices he heard was a black man's and told jurors he would be unable to identify someone's race from hearing a voice.

Darden's questioning upset Cochran. Ito, who shouted at the lawyers and sent jurors out of the room, threatened the two black lawyers.

"I'm so mad at both of you guys that I'm about to hold both of you in contempt." Ito warned after Cochran accused Darden of asking racist questions.

Source: The Spokesman Review, July 13, 1995

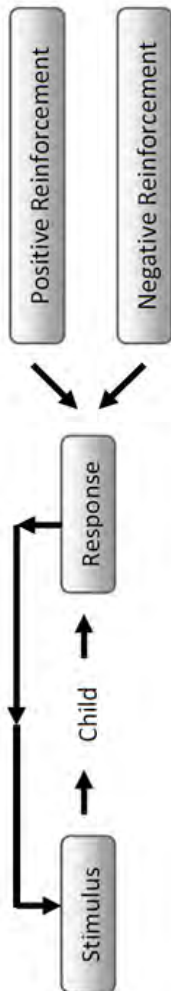
Language Acquisition and Socialization



Class Handout 2015 (P.I.)

Theories of Child Language Acquisition: The Behaviorist Perspective

B.F. Skinner's factors:
stimulus
response
reinforcement



Source: amartnotes.com



The behaviourists viewed *imitation* and *practice* as the primary processes in language development. To clarify what is meant by these two terms, consider the following definitions and examples.

Imitation: word-for-word repetition of all or part of someone else's utterance.

Mother Shall we play with the dolls?
Lucy Play with dolls.

Practice: repetitive manipulation of form.

Cindy He eat carrots. The other one eat carrots. They both eat carrots.

Now examine the transcripts from Peter, Cindy, and Kathryn. They were all about twenty-four months old when they were recorded as they played with a visiting adult. Using the definitions above, notice how Peter imitates the adult in the following dialogue.

Peter (24 months) is playing with a dump truck while two adults, Patsy and Lois, look on.

Peter Get more.
Lois You're gonna put more wheels in the dump truck?
Peter Dump truck. Wheels. Dump truck.
(later)
Patsy What happened to it (the truck)?
Peter (looking under chair for it) Lose it. Dump truck! Dump truck!
Fall! Fall!
Lois Yes, the dump truck fell down.
Peter Dump truck fell down. Dump truck.

David (5 years, 1 month) was at his older sister's birthday party, toasts were proposed with grape juice in stemmed glasses:

Father I'd like to propose a toast.

Several minutes later, David raised his glass:

David I'd like to propose a piece of bread.

Only when laughter sent David slinking from the table did the group realize that he wasn't intentionally making a play on words! He was concentrating so hard on performing the fascinating new gesture and the formulaic expression 'I'd like to propose ...' that he failed to realize that the word he thought he knew—'toast'—was not the same toast and could not be replaced with its apparent near-synonym—'a piece of bread'.

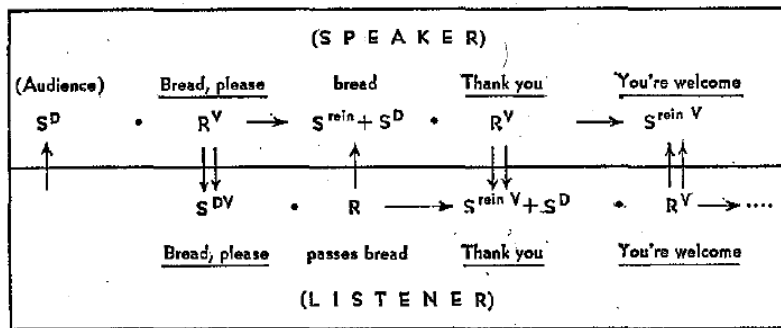
Source: Patsy Lightbown & Nina Spada "How Languages Are Learned" (2006)

B.F. Skinner: "The Mand"

In a given verbal community, certain responses are characteristically followed by certain consequences. *Wait!* is followed by someone's waiting and *Sh-h!* by silence. Much of the verbal behavior of young children is of this sort. *Candy!* is characteristically followed by the receipt of candy and *Out!* by the opening of a door. These effects are not inevitable, but we can usually find one consequence of each response which is commoner than any other.

There are nonverbal parallels. *Out!*, as we have seen, has the same ultimate effect as turning a knob and pushing against a door. Both forms of behavior become part of the repertoire of the organism through operant conditioning. When a response is characteristically reinforced in a given way, its likelihood of appearing in the behavior of the speaker is a function of the deprivation associated with that reinforcement. The response *Candy!* will be more likely to occur after a period of candy deprivation, and least likely after candy satiation. The response *Quiet!* is reinforced through the reduction of an aversive condition, and we can increase the probability of its occurrence by creating such a condition – that is, by making a noise.

It will be convenient to have a name for the type of verbal operant in which a response of given form is characteristically followed by a given consequence in a verbal community. The basic relationship has been recognized in syntactic and grammatical analyses (expressions such as the "imperative mood" and "commands and entreaties" suggest themselves), but no traditional term can safely be used here. The term "mand" has a certain mnemonic value derived from "command," "demand," "countermand," and so on, and is conveniently brief. A "mand," then, may be defined as a verbal operant in which the response is reinforced by a characteristic consequence and is therefore under the functional control of relevant conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation.



¹ S = stimulus, R = response. The superscript V identifies verbal terms. S^D is technically a *discriminative* stimulus, i.e., not an eliciting stimulus.

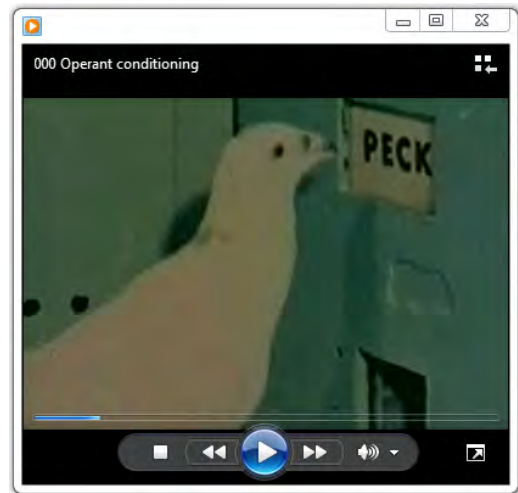
Figure ◀ represents an episode in which one person asks another for bread. The problem of motivation is disposed of by assuming a hungry speaker and a listener already predisposed to reinforce him with bread. The first physical interchange takes place when the mere presence of the listener provides the occasion (S^D) for the speaker's mand *Bread, please!* The speaker does not ordinarily emit the response when no

one is present, but when a listener appears, the probability of response is increased. The visual and other stimulation supplied by the listener is indicated by the first ↑ in the diagram. The speaker's response (*Bread, please*) produces a verbal stimulus for the listener. The interchange here (the first ↓↓) is in the form of auditory stimulation which supplies the occasion (S^{DV}) for the nonverbal response of passing the bread. Though we have assumed a listener predisposed to give bread to the speaker, the behavior does not appear indiscriminately. The speaker's mand (*Bread, please*) establishes an occasion upon which the listener can, so to speak, successfully give bread. The interchange of the bread is indicated by the second ↑. The effect upon the speaker is to reinforce the mand by the presentation of bread, and this completes the account so far as the speaker is concerned. It is characteristic of many cultures, however, that the successful reinforcement of a mand is followed by another verbal response, designed to assure similar behavior of the listener in the future. In the diagram, this is indicated by the verbal response *Thank you*. This response is under the control of the stimulation provided by the preceding parts of the episode indicated in the diagram as the second S^D. The auditory stimulation (the second ↓↓) supplies a reinforcing stimulus for the listener, which accounts to some extent for the behavior of passing the bread. This verbal stimulus may also contribute to the occasion for a verbal response on the part of the listener (*You're welcome*) which, when heard by the speaker, reinforces the response *Thank you*. These last two interchanges are not an integral part of the speech episode containing a mand; they supplement our assumptions respecting the motivation of the two individuals. The mand represented in Figure ▲, in which the listener is independently motivated to reinforce the speaker, is commonly called a *request*.

Source: B.F. Skinner "Verbal Behavior" (1957)

Opening Skinner's Box

Recent improvements in the conditions which control behavior in the field of learning. The Law of Effect has been taken seriously; we have made sure that effects *do* occur and that they occur under conditions which are optimal for producing the changes called learning. Once we have arranged the particular type of consequence called a reinforcement, our techniques permit us to shape up the behavior of an organism almost at will. It has become a routine exercise to demonstrate this in classes in elementary psychology by conditioning such an organism as a pigeon. Simply by presenting food to a hungry pigeon at the right time, it is possible to shape up three or four well-defined responses in a single demonstration period—such responses as turning around, pacing the floor in the pattern of a figure-8, standing still in a corner of the demonstration apparatus, stretching the neck, or stamping the foot. Extremely complex performances may be reached through successive stages in the shaping process, the contingencies of reinforcement being changed progressively in the direction of the required behavior. The results are often quite dramatic. In such a demonstration one can see learning take place. A significant change in behavior is often obvious as the result of a single reinforcement.



Videos: Operant conditioning;
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l_ctJqJrHA
 B. F. Skinner – Modelagem;
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mm5FGrQEyBY>

Source: B.F. Skinner "Science of Learning and Art of Teaching" (1954)

Operant Conditioning Chamber



While a researcher at Harvard, B. F. Skinner invented the operant conditioning chamber, popularly referred to as the Skinner box, to measure responses of organisms (most often, rats and pigeons) and their orderly interactions with the environment. The box had a lever and a food tray, and a hungry rat could get food delivered to the tray pressing the lever. Skinner observed that when a rat was put in the box, it would wander around, sniffing and exploring, and would usually press the bar by accident, at which point a food pellet would drop into the tray. After that happened, the rate of bar pressing would increase dramatically and remain high until the rat was no longer hungry. Skinner discovered that consequences for the organism played a large role in

how the organism responded in certain situations. For instance, when the rat would pull the lever it would receive food. Subsequently, the rat made frequent pulls on the lever. Negative reinforcement was also exemplified by Skinner placing rats into an electrified chamber that delivered unpleasant shocks. Levers to cut the power were placed inside these boxes. By running a current through the "operant conditioning chamber," Skinner noticed that the rats, after accidentally pressing the lever in a frantic bid to escape, quickly learned the effects of implementing the lever and consequently used this knowledge to stop the currents both during and prior to electrical shock.

Superstition in the Pigeon

One of Skinner's experiments examined the formation of superstition in one of his favorite experimental animals, the pigeon. Skinner placed a series of hungry pigeons in a cage attached to an automatic mechanism that delivered food to the pigeon "at regular intervals with no reference whatsoever to the bird's behavior." He discovered that the pigeons associated the delivery of the food with whatever chance actions they had been performing as it was delivered, and that they subsequently continued to perform these same actions. One bird was conditioned to turn counter-clockwise about the cage, making two or three turns between reinforcements. Another repeatedly thrust its head into one of the upper corners of the cage. Skinner suggested that the pigeons behaved as if they were influencing the automatic mechanism with their "rituals" and that this experiment shed light on human behavior.

Source: Wikipedia

Theories of Child Language Acquisition: The Innatist Perspective

"It is reasonable to regard the grammar of a language *L* ideally as a mechanism that provides an enumeration of the sentences of *L* in something like the way in which a deductive theory gives an enumeration of a set of theorems. (*Grammar*, in this sense of the word, includes phonology.) Furthermore, the theory of language can be regarded as a study of the formal properties of such grammars, and, with a precise enough formulation, this general theory can provide a uniform method for determining, from the process of generation of a given sentence, a structural description which can give a good deal of insight into how this sentence is used and understood. In short, it should be possible to derive from a properly formulated grammar a statement of the integrative processes and generalized patterns imposed on the specific acts that constitute an utterance. The rules of a grammar of the appropriate form can be subdivided into the two types, optional and obligatory; only the latter must be applied in generating an utterance. The optional rules of the grammar can be viewed, then, as the selective mechanisms involved in the production of a particular utterance. The problem of specifying these integrative processes and selective mechanisms is nontrivial and not beyond the range of possible investigation.

We are designed to walk. [...] That we are taught to walk is impossible. And pretty much the same is true of language. Nobody is taught language. In fact you can't prevent the child from learning it. [Chomsky 1994]

Language learning is not really something that the child does; it is something that happens to the child [...].
[Chomsky 1993]

Note: By 'language' Chomsky means syntax + morphology

constantly read and hear new sequences of words, recognize them as sentences, and understand them. It is easy to show that the new events that we accept and understand as sentences are not related to those with which we are familiar by any simple notion of formal (or semantic or statistical) similarity or identity of grammatical frame. [...] It appears that we recognize a new item as a sentence not because it matches some familiar item in any simple way, but because it is generated by the grammar that each individual has somehow and in some form internalized. And we understand a new sentence, in part, because we are somehow capable of determining the process by which this sentence is derived in this grammar. [...]

The child who learns a language has in some sense constructed the grammar for himself on the basis of his observation of sentences and nonsentences (i.e., corrections by the verbal community). Study of the actual observed ability of a speaker to distinguish sentences from nonsentences, detect ambiguities, etc., apparently forces us to the conclusion that this grammar is of an extremely complex and abstract character, and that the young child has succeeded in carrying out what from the formal point of view, at least, seems to be a remarkable type of theory construction. Furthermore, this task is accomplished in an astonishingly short time, to a large extent independently of intelligence, and in a comparable way by all children. [...]

2.3 Second, the notion "grammatical" cannot be identified with "meaningful" or "significant" in any semantic sense. Sentences (1) and (2) are equally nonsensical, but any speaker of English will recognize that only the former is grammatical.

- (1) Colorless green ideas sleep furiously.
- (2) Furiously sleep ideas green colorless.

Source: Noam Chomsky "Syntactic Structures" (1957)

It is not easy to accept the view that a child is capable of constructing an extremely complex mechanism for generating a set of sentences, some of which he has heard, or that an adult can instantaneously determine whether (and if so, how) a particular item is generated by this mechanism, which has many of the properties of an abstract deductive theory. Yet this appears to be a fair description of the performance of the speaker, listener, and learner. [...] The fact that all normal children acquire essentially comparable grammars of great complexity with remarkable rapidity suggests that human beings are somehow specially designed to do this [...]."

Source: Noam Chomsky "A Review of B. F. Skinner's *Verbal Behavior*" (1959)



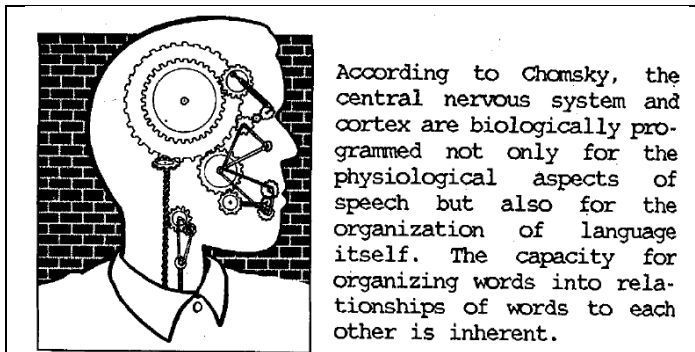
© ScienceCartoonsPlus.com

Four assumptions long associated with the innatist position:

- 1) Acquisition is rapid
- 2) Acquisition is instantaneous
- 3) Acquisition happens without direct instruction
- 4) Acquisition happens in spite of inadequate input

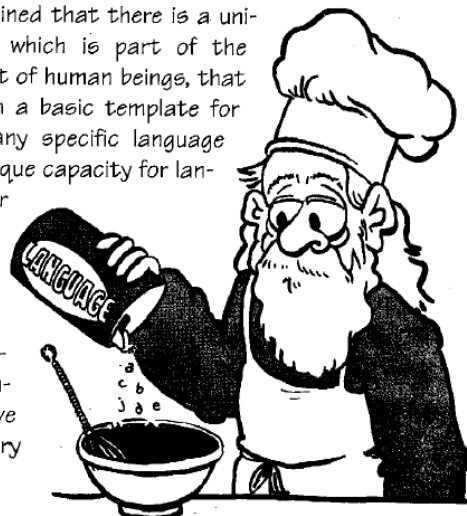
Chomsky:

The Infinity of Language & LAD



Universal Generative Grammar

Chomsky determined that there is a universal grammar which is part of the genetic birthright of human beings, that we are born with a basic template for language that any specific language fits into. This unique capacity for language is, as far as we know, unique to the human species and ordinary use of language is evidence of tremendous creative potential in every human being.



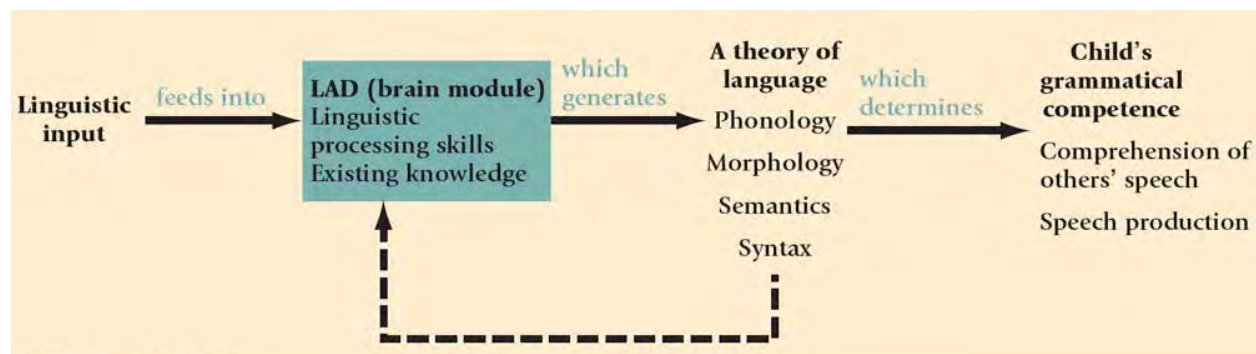
The grammars that we use are creative in that they generate, specify, or characterize, a virtually infinite number of sentences. A speaker is capable of using and understanding sentences that have no physical similarity – no point-by-point relationship – to any sentence he has ever heard.

An interesting experiment in this regard was conducted by Richard Ohmann, a professor at Wesleyan University. He showed 25 people a simple cartoon and asked them to describe in one sentence what was going on in the picture. All 25 responses were different. Next the professor put his results into a computer program designed to determine how many grammatically correct sentences could be generated from only the words used in those 25 sentences. The result was 19.8 billion different possibilities.

Other computer calculations have shown that it would take 10 trillion years - 2,000 times the estimated age of the earth - to say all of the possible sentences in English that use exactly 20 words. From this it would be highly unlikely that any 20-word sentence you hear has ever been spoken before, and similar calculations could be made for sentences of different lengths. The number of creative possibilities within the grammar, then, is virtually infinite. And yet, when a fundamental principle of grammar is violated, the speaker does not have to run through a complicated series of analyses to figure it out. He knows instantly.

Source: David Gogswell "Chomsky for Beginners" (2001)

LAD = Language Acquisition Devise



Vygotsky: Interactionism

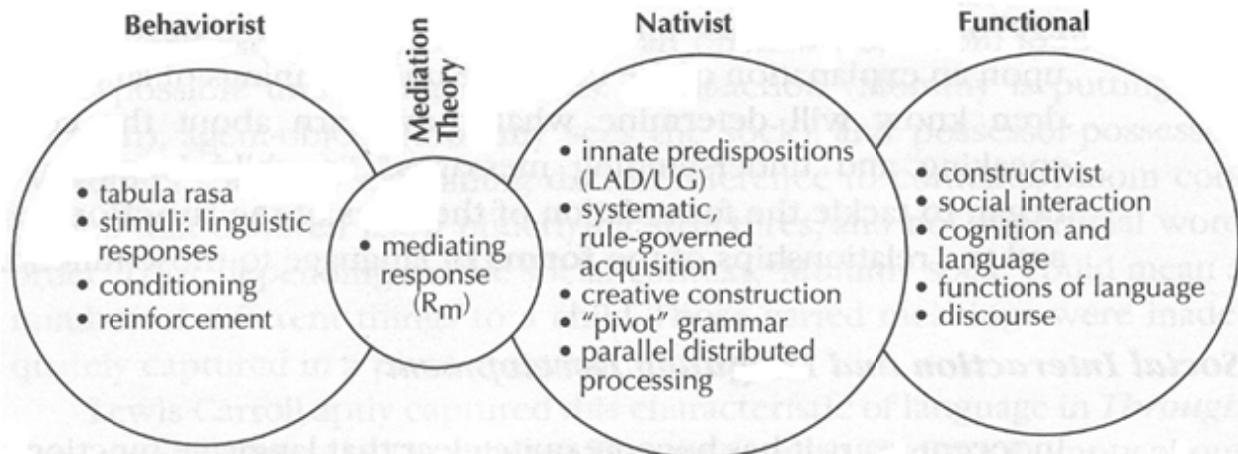
Vygotsky created a model of human development now called the sociocultural model. He believed that all cultural development in children is visible in two stages:

- First, the child observes the interaction between other people and then the behavior develops inside the child. This means that the child first observes the adults around him communicating amongst themselves and then later develops the ability himself to communicate.
- Vygotsky also theorized that a child learns best when interacting with those around him to solve a problem. At first, the adult interacting with the child is responsible for leading the child, and eventually, the child becomes more capable of problem solving on his own. This is true with language, as the adult first talks at the child and eventually the child learns to respond in turn. The child moves from gurgling to baby talk to more complete and correct sentences.

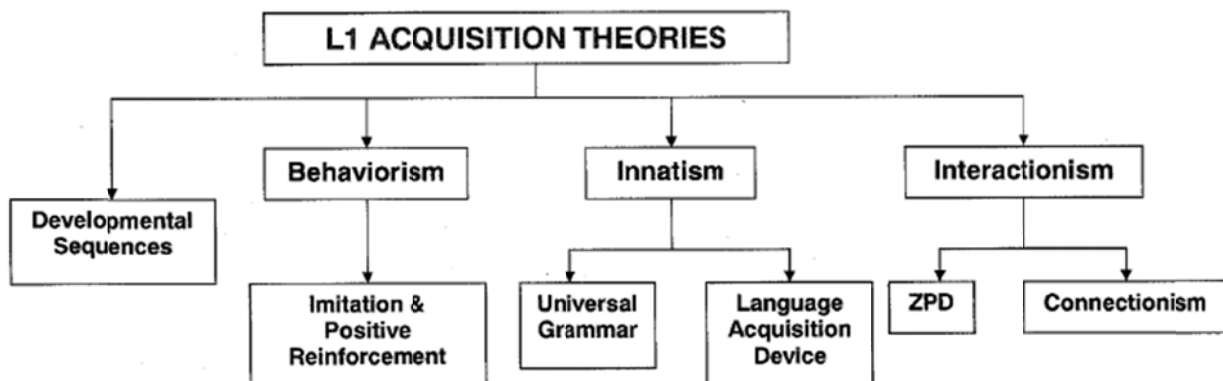


“Learning is cognitive development through social interaction.”
Lev Vygotsky

L1 Acquisition Theories (Summary)



Source: H. Douglas Brown “Principles of Language Learning and Teaching” (2000)



First Language Acquisition

Child: My teacher holded the baby rabbits and we petted them.
Parent: Did you say your teacher *held* the baby rabbits?
Child: Yes.
Parent: What did you say she did?
Child: She holded the baby rabbits and we petted them.
Parent: Did you say she held them tightly?
Child: No, she holded them loosely.

Brown, R. (1973). *A First Language: The Early Stages.*

Father: Where's Mommy?
Child: Mommy goed to the store. [Ziel: went]
Father: Mommy goed to the store?
Child: NO! (*genervt*) Daddy, I say it that way, not you.

Another example was overheard in a nursery class of three to four-year-olds. A little girl had been icing her birthday cake and announced to the teacher: ▼

Child: I wroted my name in icing.
Teacher: You mean you wrote your name in icing.
Child: Yes, I wroted my name in icing.
Teacher: Say 'I wrote my name in icing.'
Child: I ... wroted my name in icing.

Yet another example:

Child: Nobody don't like me.
Parent: No, say "nobody likes me."
Child: Nobody don't like me.
 (the above sequence is repeated eight times)
Parent: No, now listen carefully; say "nobody likes me."
Child: Oh! Nobody don't likes me.

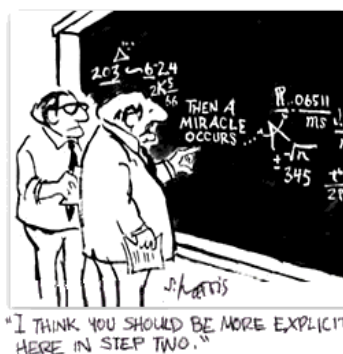
▲ *Source:* Trisha Maynard "An Introduction to Early Childhood Studies" (2012)

Child: Want other spoon, Daddy.
Father: You mean you want THE OTHER SPOON?
Child: Yes, I want other one spoon please Daddy.
Father: Can you say "the other spoon"?
Child: Other... one... spoon.
Father: Say... "other".
Child: Other.
Father: "Spoon."
Child: Spoon.
Father: "Other... spoon."
Child: Other... spoon. Now give me other one spoon?

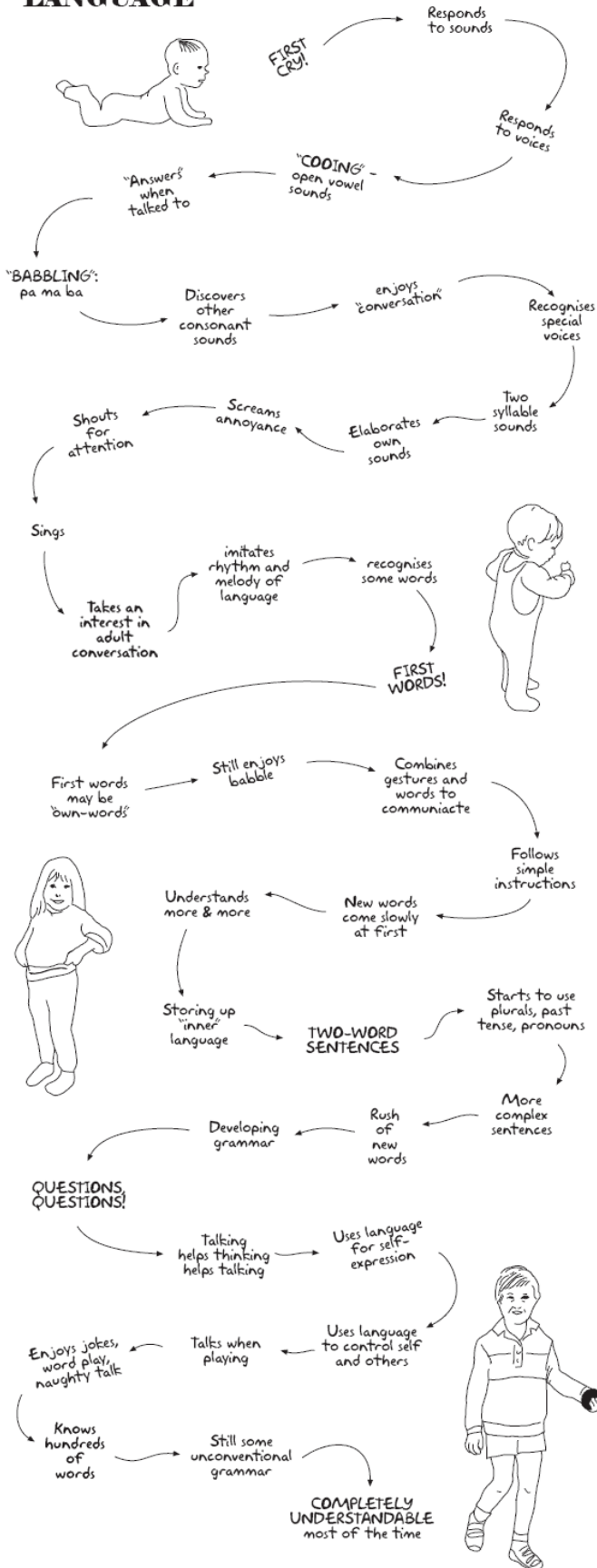
M. Braine, "On Two Types of Models of the Internalization of Grammars," In D. Slobin, editor, *The Ontogenesis of Grammar.* Academic Press, 1971.



▲ This cartoon depicts a typical experiment in which a researcher is trying to determine when a child acquires the ability to perceive incorrect speech. (© Orin Percus.)

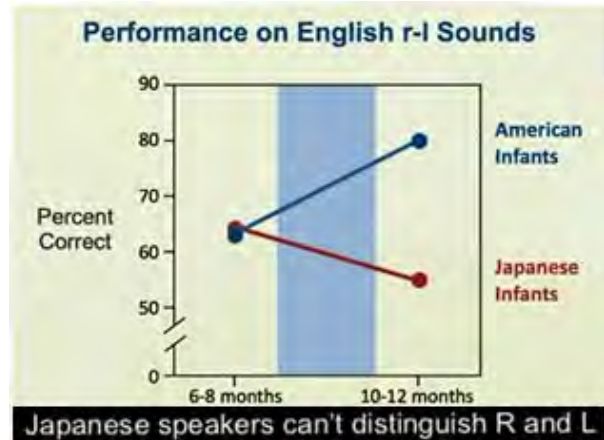


The GROWTH of LANGUAGE



Infants appear to be born with the ability to perceive and focus on the sounds that are important for language, so they can learn any human language.

But by 6 months babies begin to lose to ability to discriminate between sounds that are not phonemic in the language(s) they are acquiring.



"When babies listen, what they're doing is taking statistics on the language that they hear." Patricia Kuhl



<http://media.mit.edu/cogmac/publications/roy-frank-roy-cogsci2009.pdf>

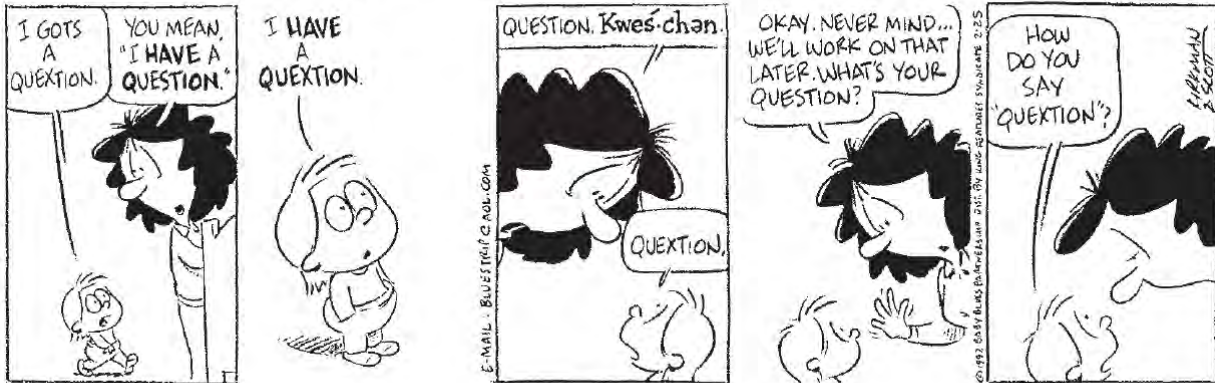
Vertical axis: Complexity of caregiver utterances. Horizontal axis: Time. At the minimum of the curve, the child made his first correct utterance of a specific word. **Attaboy, Roy Junior.**

Source: Deb Roy "The birth of a word" TED 2011

http://www.ted.com/talks/deb_roy_the_birth_of_a_word?language=en

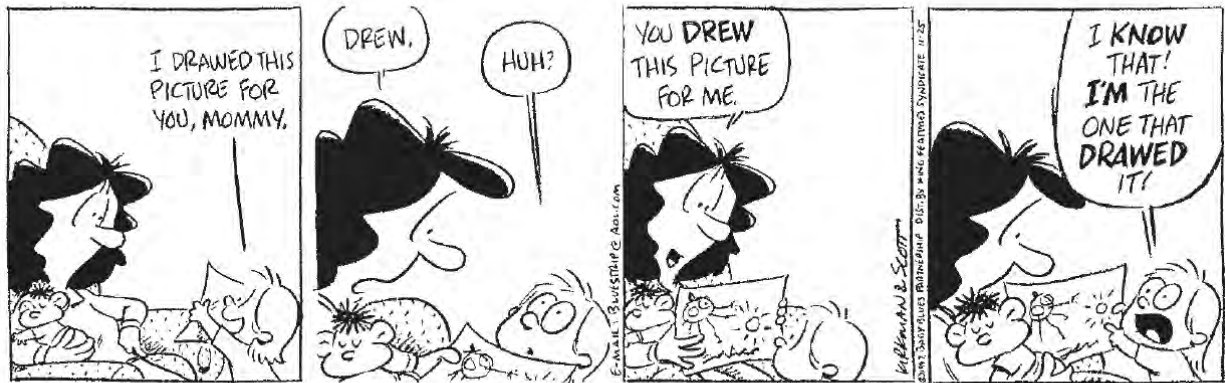
First Language Acquisition

The Acquisition of Phonology



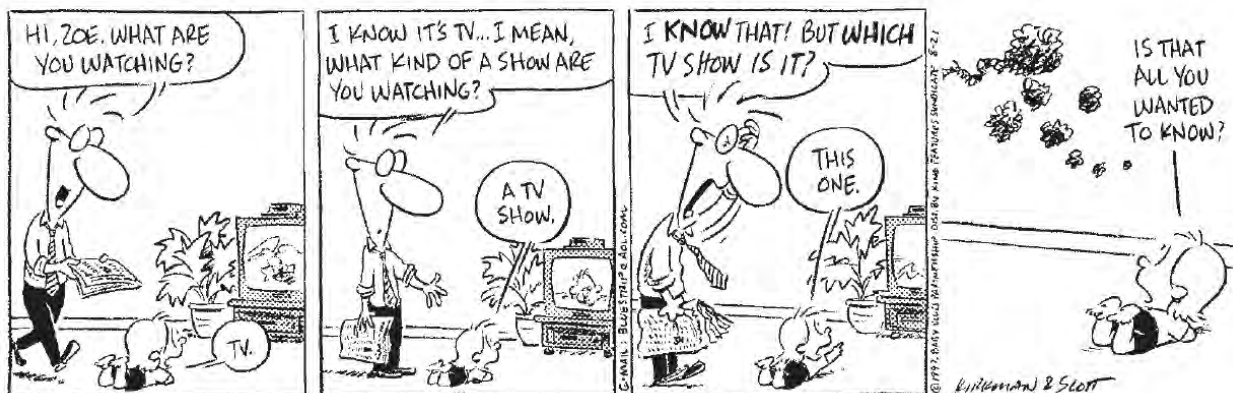
"Baby Blues" © Baby Blues Partnership. Reprinted with permission of King Features Syndicate.

The Acquisition of Morphology



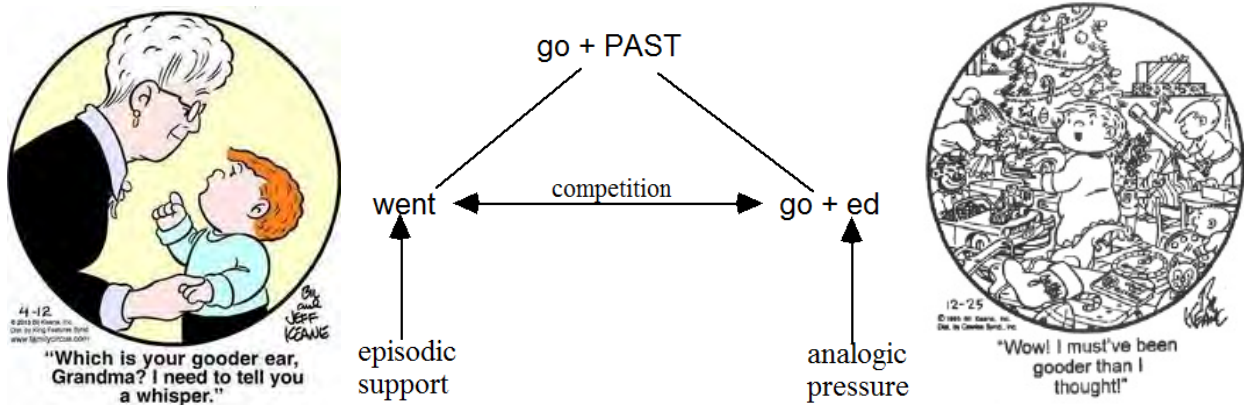
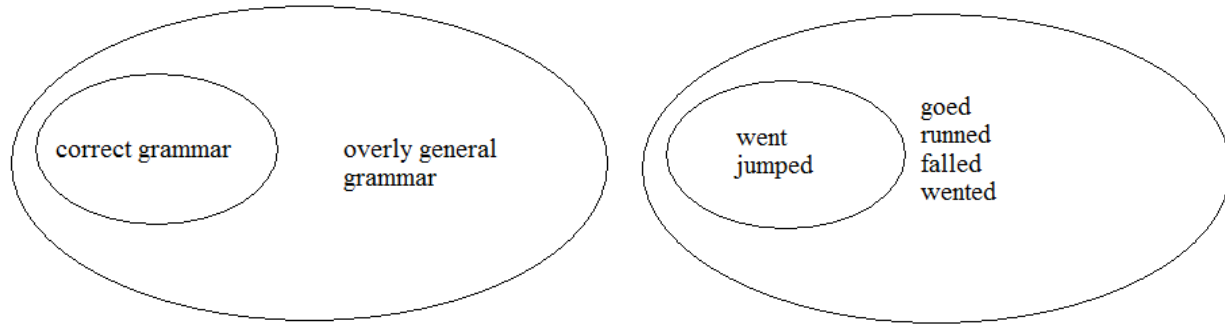
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The Acquisition of Pragmatics



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How to Learn Morphology: Overgeneralization



Jean Berko's (1958) Wug Test

- The "wug test" demonstrates that children apply the correct plural allomorph to nouns they have never heard before.
- Which shows they have an understanding of natural classes of phonemes and are not just imitating words they have heard before
- Children also demonstrate their knowledge of derivational rules and can create new words E.g. broomed ("swept")



Developmental Sequences in Learner Language

Data 3a: Developmental sequences of morphemes in L1 and L2 English (Krashen 1977)

1. present progressive verb (with or without auxiliary): *play-ing*
2. prepositions: *in, on*
3. regular noun plural: *shoe-s*
4. irregular past tense verbs: *came, fell, saw* etc.
5. possessive noun: *Daddy's shoe*
6. copula *is, am, are*
7. articles *a, the*
8. regular past tense verb: *play-ed*
9. regular third person singular: *play-s*
10. irregular third person singular: *has*



◀ The order of acquisition is a concept in language acquisition that all learners of a given language will learn the grammatical features of that language in roughly the same order.

This phenomenon has been confirmed for people learning their first language, and also, to some extent, for people learning a second language.

Golabupabikututibubabupugolabubabupu

- Babies may use statistical frequency of syllable sequences to determine word boundaries. Evidence for this comes from a study by J. R. Saffran, R. N. Aslin, and E. L Newport. They presented 8-month-olds with a continuous spoken sequence of multisyllabic words from a nonsense language, i.e.:
golabupabikututibubabupugolabubabupu
- The only cues that could be used to segment the words and detect word boundaries were the statistical properties of the syllables in the sequence. The 8-month-olds were found to be able to discriminate words such as *golabu* and *pabiku* from sequences that crossed word boundaries, such as *bupabi*. Thus, 8-month-olds were observed to detect boundaries of spoken words without obvious acoustic cues.

The Acquisition of Pragmatics: Deixis

Children often have problems with the shifting reference of pronouns

- Children may refer to themselves as 'you' or in 3rd Person, e.g., Jack
- Problems with the context-dependent nature of deictic words
 - A class of words which presents grave difficulty to children are those whose meaning differs according to the situation, so that the child hears them now applied to one thing and now to another. That was the case with words like 'father,' and 'mother.' Another such word is 'enemy.' When Frans (4.5) played a war-game with Eggert, he could not get it into his head that he was Eggert's enemy: no, it was only Eggert who was the enemy. A stronger case still is 'home.' When a child was asked if his grandmother had been at home, and answered: "No, grandmother was at grandfather's," it is clear that for him 'at home' meant merely 'at my home.' Such words may be called shifters.



"But on the box it says, 'Open here'."

Source: Otto Jespersen "Shifters" (1922)

IDEAS

Steven Pinker

Horton Heared a Who!

What the slips of children tell us about language, history and the human mind

KIDS SAY THE DARNEDEST THINGS. “WE HOLDED THE baby rabbits.” “The alligator goed kerplunk.” “Horton heared a Who!” These lapses, you might dimly recall, have something to do with irregular verbs. But please don’t stop reading just yet. Children’s errors are not just anecdotes for grandparents or reminders of long-forgotten grammar lessons. They’re windows into the workings of language, history and the human mind.

Verbs in English come in two flavors. Regular verbs like *walk* and *smell* form the past tense by adding -ed: Today I walk, yesterday I walked. English has thousands of them, and new ones arise every day, thanks to our ability to apply rules instinctively. When people first heard *to spam*, *to mosh* and *to diss*, they did not run to the dictionary to look up the past tenses; they knew they were spammed, moshed and dissed.

Even children do it. Told that a man likes to wug, they will say yesterday he wugged. Children are not sponges; they’re constantly creating sentences and words, never more clearly or charmingly than when they encounter the second flavor of verb, the quirky irregulars. The past tense of spring is sprang, but the past of cling is not clang but clung, and the past of bring is neither brang nor brung but brought. English has 180 irregulars, a ragtag list that kids simply must memorize.

But when an irregular word is still fresh in the mind, it is fragile. If a child’s memory cannot cough up held quickly enough, he or she adds -ed by default and says holdled instead.

Irregular and regular verbs embody the two underlying tricks behind the gift of articulate speech: words and rules. A word is a memorized link between a sound and a meaning. The word duck does not look, walk or quack like a duck. But we can use it to convey the idea of a duck because we all once learned to connect the sound with the idea.

We also combine words into bigger words and sentences, using the second trick of language, rules. Journalists say that when a dog bites a man, that isn’t news but when a man bites a dog, it is. Rules let us convey news by reshuffling words.

Regular and irregular verbs today have their roots in old border disputes between words and rules. Many irreg-

ulars can be traced back over 5,500 years to a mysterious tribe that came to dominate Europe, western Asia and northern India. Its language, Indo-European, is the ancestor of Hindi, Persian, Russian, Greek, Latin, Gaelic and English. It had rules that replaced vowels: the past of senkw- (sink) was sonkw-.

Language as it evolves is like the game of Broken Telephone, in which a whispered phrase gets increasingly distorted as it passes from lip to ear. Eventually speakers no longer discern the rule behind a motley set of mangled verbs. They just memorize them as a list, as do subsequent generations. These are the irregulars, the fossils of dead rules.

The irregulars are vulnerable too because they depend on fallible memory.

If a verb declines in popularity, speakers may not hear its irregular form often enough to fix it securely in memory. They fall back on -ed, changing the language for following generations. That is why forms from Chaucer’s time such as *chide-chid* and *writhe-wrothe* turned into *chided* and *writhed*.

You can feel that force of history acting today. *Smote*, *slew*, *throve* and *forsook* sound odd, and few people use them. In a century, they’ll probably go the way of *chid* and *wrothe*.

Do irregular and regular verbs really come out of a dictionary in one part of the brain and a grammar in another? Perhaps. Neuroimaging techniques suggest that regular and irregular forms may trigger signals in different parts of the brain. Some neurological

patients seem to have damaged dictionaries: they strain to retrieve words but speak in fluent sentences; like children, they say heared and holdled.

Why pay so much attention to the lowly irregular verb? I see these studies as part of a trend that biologist E.O. Wilson calls “consilience”: the bridging of science and humanities through an understanding of how the mind works. A slip of the child’s tongue may link the migrations of great prehistoric tribes to the brain-imaging technologies of the next millennium. ■

Steven Pinker is a professor at M.I.T. and author of *How the Mind Works* (Norton) and *Words and Rules: The Ingredients of Language* (Basic Books), from which this article is adapted



“Mommy, Dolly hitted me.”

“Dolly HIT me.”

“You too?! Boy, she’s in trouble!”

Language Socialization

Table 12.1 Two orientations toward children and their corresponding caregiver speech patterns

<i>Adapt situation to child</i>	<i>Adapt child to situation</i>
Simplified register features baby-talk lexicon	Modeling of (unsimplified) utterances for child to repeat to third party (wide range of speech act, not simplified)
Negotiation of meaning via expansion and paraphrase	
Cooperative proposition building between caregiver and child	Child directed to notice others
Utterances that respond to child-initiated verbal or nonverbal act	Topics arise from range of situational circumstances to which caregiver wishes child to respond
Typical communicative situation: two-party	Typical communicative situation: multiparty

The perspective we adopt is expressed in the following two claims: **1)** The process of acquiring language is deeply affected by the process of becoming a competent member of a society. **2)** The process of becoming a competent member of society is realized to a large extent through language, by acquiring knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations, i.e., through exchanges of language in particular social situations.

This is a chapter with a number of points but one message: That the process of acquiring language and the process of acquiring sociocultural knowledge are intimately tied. In pursuing this generalization, we have formulated the following proposals:

1) The specific features of caregiver speech behavior that have been described as simplified register are neither universal nor necessary for language to be acquired. White middle-class children, Kaluli children, and Samoan children all become speakers of their languages within the normal range of development and yet their caregivers use language quite differently in their presence.

2) Caregivers' speech behavior expresses and reflects values and beliefs held by members of a social group. In this sense, caregivers' speech is part of a larger set of behaviors that are culturally organized.

3) The use of simplified registers by caregivers in certain societies may be part of a more general orientation in which situations are adapted to young children's perceived needs. In other societies, the orientation may be the reverse, that is, children at a very early age are expected to adapt to requirements of situations. In such societies, caregivers direct children to notice and respond to other's actions. They tend not to simplify their speech and frequently model appropriate utterances for the child to repeat to a third party in a situation.



Source: Patsy Lightbown & Nina Spada "How Languages Are Learned" (2006)

4) Not only caregivers' but children's language as well is influenced by social expectations. Children's strategies for encoding and decoding information, for negotiating meaning, and for handling errors are socially organized in terms of who does the work, when, and how. Further, every society orchestrates the ways in which children participate in particular situations, and this, in turn, affects the form, the function, and the content of children's utterances. Certain features of the grammar may be acquired quite early, in part because their use is encouraged and given high priority. In this sense, the process of language acquisition is part of the larger process of socialization, that is, acquiring social competence.

Source: Elinor Ochs & Bambi B. Schieffelin "Language Acquisition and Socialization" (1984)

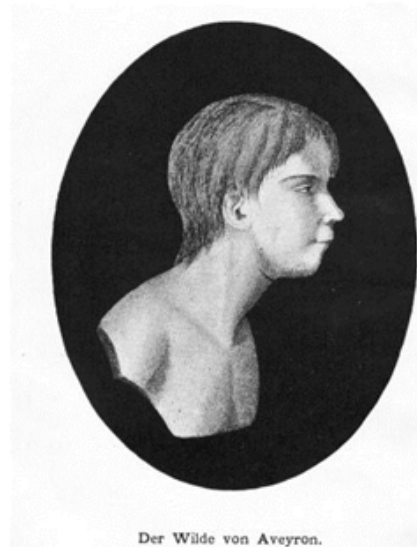
The Critical Period Hypothesis: The Case of Genie

Chomsky's ideas are often linked to the CRITICAL PERIOD HYPOTHESIS (CPH)—the hypothesis that animals, including humans, are genetically programmed to acquire certain kinds of knowledge and skill at specific times in life. Beyond those 'critical periods', it is either difficult or impossible to acquire those abilities. With regard to language, the CPH suggests that children who are not given access to language in infancy and early childhood (because of deafness or extreme isolation) will never acquire language if these deprivations go on for too long.

Source: Patsy Lightbown & Nina Spada "How Languages Are Learned" (2006)



Romulus and Remus ▲



Der Wilde von Aveyron.



Genie is the pseudonym of a feral child who was the victim of one of the most severe cases of abuse and neglect ever documented. She spent most of her first thirteen years of life locked inside a bedroom, strapped to a child's toilet or bound inside a crib with her arms and legs immobilized. Genie's abuse came to the attention of Los Angeles child welfare authorities on November 4, 1970.

Video: "Secret of the Wild Child" (NOVA/PBS, 1997)
Suggested Film: "The Wild Child," dir. François Truffaut (1969)

Poto and Cabengo



Poto and Cabengo (names given, respectively, by Grace and Virginia Kennedy to themselves) are American identical twins who used an invented language until the age of about eight. They developed their own communication as they had little exposure to spoken language in their early years. The language of the twins was spoken extremely quickly and had a staccato rhythm. Linguistic analysis of their language revealed that it was a mixture of English and German (their mother and grandmother were German-born), with some neologisms and several idiosyncratic grammatical features.

Source: Wikipedia

2-E--Sarasota Herald-Tribune

Sunday, July 22, 1979

Twins Lose Their 'Invented Language'

CYNTHIA GORNEY
L.A. Times/Washington Post

SAN DIEGO — The film is two years old now, and still riveting.

The 6-year-old girls, faces slight, are rearranging furniture in a large dollhouse. They have short brown hair, little print dresses and eyes that scrunch with concentration as they examine each new piece of furniture. Their conversation, to the untrained ear, sounds like this:

"Genebene manita."
"Nometmee."
"Eebedebede. Dis din qui naba."
"Neveda. Ca Baedabada."
"Ga."

The film was made in July 1977, at a San Diego hospital, and was the first recorded study of two animated twin sisters whose case has fascinated experts ever since the bewildered parents first brought the girls in for help. Grace and Virginia Kennedy, apparently healthy and energetic identical twins, spoke to each other in a rapid-fire language that nobody else understood.

It was not English.

It was not German, which was their mother's native language, and which their grandmother had spoken to them while caring for them during the day.

Somehow, in the extended privacy of a world without regular visitors, the sisters had made a language of their own — a "twin language," which occurs fairly often in very young twins, but rarely in children so old, and almost never to the exclusion of any other tongue. The Kennedy girls' only concession to English was an occasional request for certain items ("Want water," they would say, or "Want juice"), although it was obvious that they understood both English and German when someone spoke directly to them.

They called each other Poto, for Grace, and Camenga for Virginia. They had never been to school, or played much with other children. Until they arrived two years ago at the San Diego Children's Hospital Speech, Hearing and Neurosensory Center, the girls had never been examined by speech experts; their father, then an unemployed accountant, had been referred to specialists only after he told the state unemployment office, in response to a routine question, that his daughters were not in school because they could not talk to others.

And when strangers spoke to them in their own language, after careful transcription of what seemed to be the twins' words, the girls looked utterly blank — "like we are crazy," one of their therapists said.

"They call me Camenga," Virginia Kennedy says, bending over a sheet of paper in her sister's bedroom to print the word. Why do they call her that?

"Cause."

Because what?

"Poto," Ginny says, pointing at Grace. And that is all she will say about that. The twins know a photographer is coming to take their picture — "When is the camera man coming?" Grace keeps asking — but they do not seem to know why. Their language is leaving them, and if they understand their extraordinary history at all, they do not talk about it with strangers.

They are curious, charming and rearing with energy. They dive into their visitor's purse, pulling out pens and notebooks, asking what each thing is and whether they can keep it, fighting over the calculator which delights them.

"Where is your house," asks Grace. "I can see your house? I can see your house right now?"

She is told that the house is too far away to see right now, that it would be a very long drive. "I tell you when it's your house," Grace says firmly. "I sing all the way to your house."

At 8 1-2, the Kennedy twins are second graders in special San Diego public school speech handicap classes. They have been intentionally separated, attending different schools and the language they now speak, both in school and to each other, seems to be mostly a simplified and very fast English — a sort of speeded-up pidgin. Tenses, conjugations and subordinate clauses — all the stubborn agonies of high school Latin and French — still give them trouble, and there is no way of knowing how quickly, if ever, they will pick up the more complicated nuances

of standard English speech.

For the last two years, ever since the twins' much publicized arrival at the San Diego hospital, linguists and speech pathologists have been examining their private language in great detail, trying to understand where it came from and how it works. Three linguists at the University of California's San Diego campus have listened over and over to the videotapes of the twins, spending as much as an hour on each minute of tape, unscrambling vocabulary and charting syntax like the military analysts of some complex maritime code.

Was this an "invented language," in the most literal sense — the language whose resemblance to any known structure bore no resemblance to any known tongue — and if so, how had the words been formed? What were its vowels? Its consonants? Was it caused by some speech impediment, some inability to pronounce words in the people the twins heard talking?

The findings, so far, are tantalizing but inconclusive. To this day, nobody is certain about why, for example, a 6-year-old Grace Kennedy said, "Cabengo padem manibadi peetu," and her twin sister answered, "Doan ne bada tengmatt." The explanation may rest with neurology or environment, or some apparently unprecedented combination of the two.

Grace and Virginia Kennedy were born in Columbus, the first children of a Gorgia-born accountant named Thomas Kennedy and the German woman he had met while traveling in Munich. (Kennedy has three other children from a previous marriage). The day after the twins were born, as Kennedy remembers it, Grace suddenly raised her head and stared at him as she lay in her hospital crib. She was having a convulsive seizure. Ginny had a similar seizure the following day.

"The pediatrician went into the brain area to see what was causing the seizures," Kennedy says. He says the doctor's tests showed a slight accumulation of fluid on the brain of each baby. The fluid was released and although the twins were given anti-convulsion drugs, they continued to have seizures off and on for the first six months of their lives.

Then at about six months the convulsions stopped in both girls. Neither the Kennedys nor their doctor understood exactly why, (and there is still no certainty what effect the seizures may have had) but Christine Kennedy says the doctor, very tentatively, pronounced both girls healthy. "He said they were too small to actually say they would come out normal," she says. "He said it would take all the way up to their fifth or sixth year before they (the doctors) could see."

When the girls began to talk, they did what most children do. They rattled along, making noises that sounded like language, and they said "mommy" and "daddy" in distinct English. By the time they were six, when the family had moved to California, they were still doing precisely that. They stayed at home most days, cared for by a German-speaking grandmother who attended to their needs but apparently did not talk to them much. Kennedy says both he and his wife would spend their days out looking for work, and that when they came home and watched their daughters in animated but unintelligible conversation with each other, they simply did not know what to think.

"We had been cautioned that they might be mentally retarded, and we wouldn't know until they were six years old," he says. "We just thought it was a childhood thing between them."

It was not until the Children's Hospital therapists first talked about private languages, Kennedy says, that he began to think about what he had sometimes seen as the girls played together. Grace — the first born, by five minutes, and the more dominant of the two — would say a word to Ginny while holding up an object, as though naming it.

"Our best guess," says Chris Hagen, chairman of the speech pathology department that took on the Kennedy twins' therapy, "would be that it had something to do with the communicative environment."

"Or the lack thereof," adds Donald Kerbs, director of the speech, hearing and neurosensory center.

There is still considerable mystery about the origins of speech. Many linguists believe, for example, that children who are deprived of human contact before puberty (like the classic "wolf children") may never learn to speak normally, although there is no consensus about why this should be so. Still, it seems likely

that a child who learns to talk starts with a basic neutral framework — the brain has to be in working order — and then, from the first afternoon when "Mama" or "cooky" sends the parents into ecstasy, some give-and-take system shapes the developing language. "Urglap" says the child, holding up a toothbrush, and the mother says, "No. Toothbrush."

Twins, and sometimes siblings who are close in age, commonly slow up this process by reinforcing each other's invented or mispronounced words. ("Urglap, Urglap!") If you pat lively, identical twins in a household with limited outside conversation and correction, suggests Hagen, they might end up talking like Grace and Ginny Kennedy.

"Two human beings were there — Robinson Crusoe and Friday were there on that island — they did what was normal," Hagen says, stressing that this is only speculation. They rewarded each other. They were, in a sense, almost like the father and the mother and the child, all in one.

What the children apparently did, as far as speech pathologists and linguists can determine, was to latch onto the English and German sounds they heard spoken around them and reshape the familiar noises into words of their own. It took months of listening to the children's voices, sometimes replaying tapes again and again, before certain words began to make sense: "pint" meant "finished," "gimba" meant "camper," "buda" meant "butter." The girls could pronounce words quite differently from one moment to the next, which made understanding them even harder; Richard Meier, a University of California, San Diego, psycholinguistics graduate student who worked on the language, recorded 26 different pronunciations of the twins' word for "pancaydooz" — in one 15-minute videotape.

There were some words that took longer still. "Toolenis," for example, had them stumped for a long time. They had figured out by watching the children that the word meant "spaghetti," but they could not imagine why. Finally the pathologists asked Mrs. Kennedy where the word might have come from, and she brightened immediately. "While cooking spaghetti, now and then, she had sung 'O Sole Mio.'"

Their syntax, Meier says, was basically simple English — subject, verb, object — with a few striking exceptions. When the girls used the word "anmet," which seemed to be a distortion of the German word "enmechen," meaning to fasten or to fix, they stuck the verb at the end of the sentence, German-style.

Some words remain untranslated. Meier is still not sure what "nunakid" means, or "puiens." "Mis" and "nea" seem to be pronouns, but he is not certain about that, either.

Ginny and Grace still report regularly to the center for speech therapy, which is provided at no cost (although there was a recent lapse of several weeks because the Kennedys said they could not get the gas for the trip).

Is there some concern now that the twins will revert to their private language, despite the best efforts of pathologists and teachers? Alex Roman, one of their pathologists, says no. She says their world has expanded "so much that even if the girls wanted to use the old language, which seems unlikely, they would not be able to find the vocabulary or structure they need."

"We had always hoped, actually, that they would retain it, and be bilingual, or trilingual," Roman says (the girls understand German but do not speak it). But only a few of the original words remain, and when the pathologists recently sat the twins down to watch one of the early videotapes, the girls showed no interest at all — "as if it's completely foreign to them," says Roman.

The most maddening part of the Kennedy twins' story is that they may never be able to explain it either. There is no way to tell whether Ginny and Grace will ever remember the sound or the secrets of the private language — or whether they have any idea, right now, about why these large people fall over themselves just to hear twins converse.

When Ginny picks up the toy telephone with a stranger watching, all she says is "Poto and Catenga are twins."

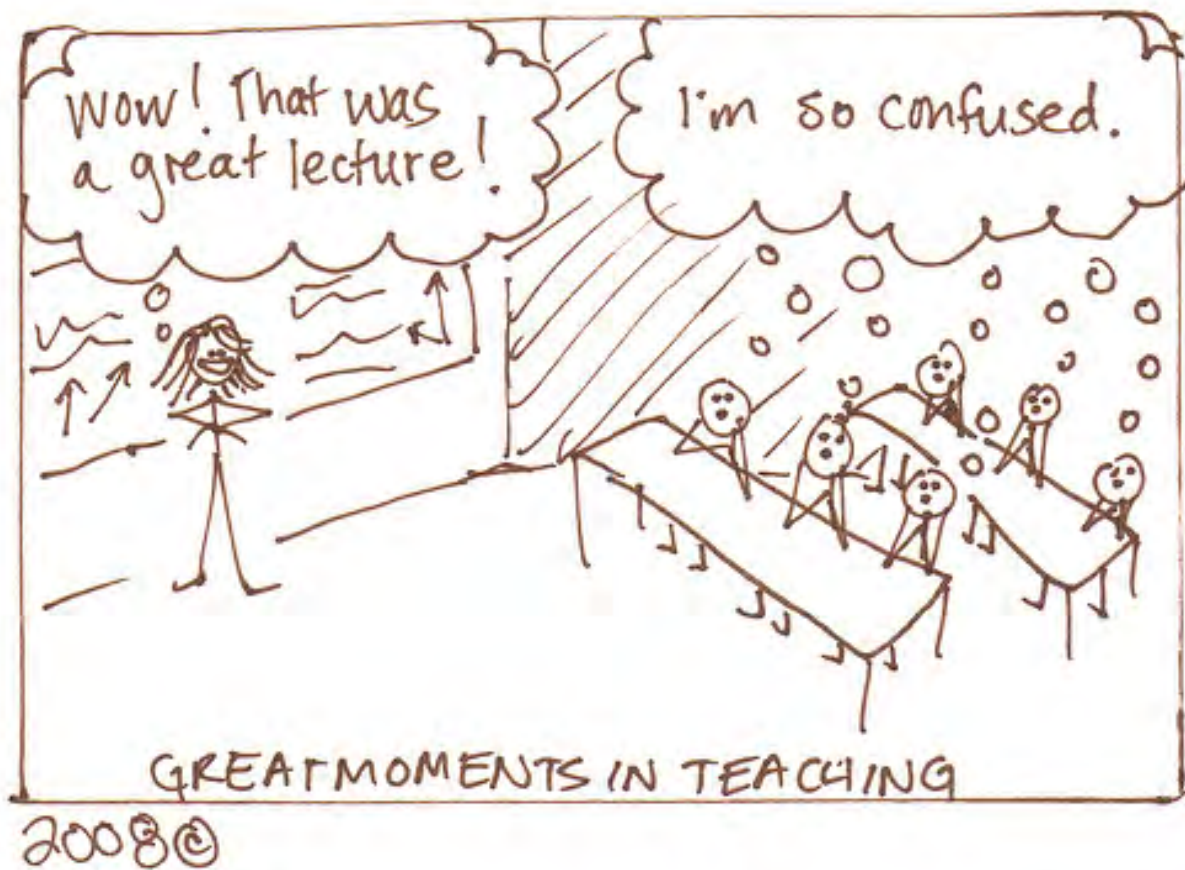
But her eyes are so alert, so full of mischief, that it seems for an instant as though she just know.

Source: Cynthia Gorney "Twins Lose Their 'Invented Language'" (LA Times, 1979)

Video: "Poto and Cabengo," dir. Jean-Pierre Gorin (1980)

Coda:

Great Moments in Teaching



The End



**CLOSEZ
LA
DOOR,
S.V.P.
IL FAIT TERRIBLEMENT COLD**

F.W. Olin Science Center, entrance door, April 2015

Norman Rockwell