Bilingualism: A Cognitive and Psycholinguistic Perspective
Dr. Bidisha Som
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati

Module - 01
Part - 01
Lecture - 01
Becoming and being bilingual

Hello and welcome. I welcome all you to my to this course called Bilingualism: A Cognitive and Psycholinguistic Perspective. Today we start with module 1, part 1. This part is titled Becoming and being bilingual.

Now, what is bilingual? Who is a bilingual? What is bilingualism? What are bilingual societies? and so, on, these are kind of almost understood to be common sense ideas. But as we will see this is not such a simple straightforward phenomena. This course will deal with various aspects of the same question, starting with the society, going to the individual bilingual. So, for that, this is the first module, which is a kind of a introductory chapter, that sets the stage for the later lectures.

So, the first module will have this kind of a road map, as you can see setting the stage and where we will talk about language contact. And basically, how bilingualism comes into place or what does it need, in terms of social, psychological and other aspects. So, we will talk about language contact, we will trace the continuum of language contact.

Because one thing we must keep in mind when we talk about language, language is a human phenomena and humans are social beings. So, everything that deals with humans and human behavioral outcome, be it language or any other outcome, has to take into account the social aspects of it.

Hence, we need to look at the entire background, the entire foundation of the phenomena. So, we will look at that and when we are talking about the language contacts, the society is not stagnant. Hence the language contact also gives rise to a number of outcomes. So, there is a continuum which we will look at and what are the possibilities and so on.

And then of course, there are many other aspects to it, every all of them will be discussed one by one. And then once the set is stage, we will go on to the individual, the human,

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within whom two languages exist side by side and then we will take up some of the fundamental notions within the individual. So, that is the road map for this module.

Now, to start with the moment I say bilingualism, everybody seems to know what it means, what it entails. It means a person who speaks two languages, the very fundamental aspect of bilingualism is precisely that. So, everybody basically knows who is a bilingual, right?

Now, many such common notions have this problem of oversimplification, when we talk about bilingualism, we kind of tend to think that we know. But this is like many other notions, it is pretty complex and quite interesting as well, I might I would like to add. For example, take these two sentences: 'Sadhana is bilingual' and 'Indian metro cities are largely bilingual and sometimes multilingual'.

Now, nobody will have any problem understanding the meaning of these two sentences. In the first sentence we are talking about an individual whose name is Sadhana. In a in the second scenario, we are talking about a social scenario where an entire city many many Indian cities are bilingual. What it means is that these two sentences do not mean the same thing.

How are they different? The first sentence talks about individual level bilingualism and the second sentence talks about the societal bilingualism. So, social bilingualism or societal bilingualism both are used. So, in these cases sometimes the individual is a bilingual, sometimes the entire society is bilingual.

Now, these two things need not coexist. In many societies, in many from time immemorial, there have been individuals, who are bilingual or even multilingual and so on. But the societies need not be always bilingual. So, as a result individual so, individual bilingualism and social bilingualism may or may not coexist. Now, the interesting part here is that if a society is bilingual, it automatically entails individual bilingualism, right?

So, when we say that Delhi is a bilingual city, typically which would mean that almost everybody in Delhi knows two languages, they use two languages for most of the purposes from informal to formal and academic, administrative and so on. These two languages most likely will be Hindi and English. So, that is what it means. In a scenario like this most people who live in Delhi will be proficient, to some degree or the other, bilingual.

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So, social bilingualism entails individual bilingualism. But the opposite is not always true. So, individuals may be bilingual, but there are possibilities of them functioning within a largely monolingual society. Imagine a person, imagine a bilingual person traveling to a remote village in any of the Indian states let us say to Kerala. So, we can go I as a bilingual can travel to Kerala, in a remote village where everybody knows only Malayalam, right? So, that is possible.

However, when individual and social bilingualism coexist, take the example of Delhi for example. So, in that case also it is quite possible that the linguistic landscape of the person and the society may not overlap. So, let us say Sadhana is a person from Kerala, ok. She has been living in Delhi for a long time, as a result of which she speaks Malayalam and Hindi. So, she is a Malayalam Hindi bilingual speaker.

Now, the landscape of Delhi as I just mentioned, most common linguistic landscape will be Hindi English bilingualism. So, there can be changes, there can be differences, there can be overlaps at some places no overlap at other places and so on. There are all kinds of possibilities. So, there are, as you can see it is a very nuanced thing, when you talk about bilingualism, either in social term or in individual term, it is quite nuanced and we are beginning to just peel the onion.

Another aspect of bilingualism is often we think that bilingual is a recent phenomena. It is a new thing, globalization, urbanization, you know global village and so on. Because of all these we have bilingualism. Because of all these a lot of people speak two languages now. It is true, of course, it is true, but it is not entirely true.

Just pause for a moment and think, people have there have been movement of people from one place to another for various purposes. Let us start with the kings. The ancient kings who ruled over a vast tract of land conquering even new territories for their own kingdom to get bigger and bigger.

How did they manage without bilinguals? You need people to govern the new newly acquired states, you need people do your tax collection, all the fundamental machinery of the kingdom has to run and that depends on people with language skills, right? So, bilingualism must have been prevalent at that time.

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Similarly, for war, for spying into your enemy zone and all other such things, that are part of expansion of kingdom, needs bilingual people. So, there must have been a class of people, a group of people who were bilinguals. Similarly, trades across countries, across territories have been, we all know about the Silk Route, there are many other such famous routes.

People traveling from one region to another for trade purposes, they must have been bilingual. At least a sizable population among them must have been bilingual in order to be successful in their trade, right? So, all of these things existed. But the problem is we do not really have an academic discourse on this from that time. What we have is some texts from the ancient times and that is what we have to go by for the time being.

So, bilingual speech communities through history. So, oldest records that we have of bilingualism existing in the ancient world comes from the Roman Empire. In the Roman Empire, it was quite common, the elites within the Roman Empire, knew Greek as a second language. Because Greek language, as you all know, was the epitome of knowledge, epitome of philosophy, science and so on.

So, knowing Greek was a hallmark of being among the learned class. So, as a result of which, many scholars refer to this Greek-Latin bilingualism as an 'elite bilingualism'. Because this was almost entirely restricted to the elite class. So, the upper class Romans who were fluent in English. Because Greek philosophy and Greek language and science and so on.

And then there are some examples that we have now the some examples like Ennius for example, he was a celebrated poet and author who was proficient in three languages Greek, Latin and Oscan. Similarly, a famous king is also known to have known 25 languages.

Cicero, as many of you would be aware of, prominent Greek philosopher, he was also a Greek-Latin bilingual. In fact, he took his bilingualism so seriously, he took his Greek language knowledge so seriously knowledge of Greek language and philosophy and other things, that there are texts where the he attacked philosopher Verres for his lack of knowledge in Greek. So, that was how important knowledge of Greek among the Roman elite was.

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Now, we are only beginning to know about the bilingual practices during the ancient time. Because we do not have any written text as a discourse, as an academic writing. What we have is this text. So, going by those texts we know what probably would have would be the nature of bilingualism in those times.

For example, in case of Cicero, some very interesting observations have been made by some scholars. This is primarily based on his letters and some of his writings. So, some of his letters contain code switching. Code switching when he was writing to either the Roman senator Atticus, Atticus was his friend and he was a Roman senator and when he was writing to his brother Quintus.

But the letters written to women did not have the code switching. Hence, some researchers have pointed out that bilingualism was probably practiced as a political, you know, having some political angle to it. In personal communications people probably did not use code switched language, probably to you know to be to appear different.

However, his all his communication with all politicians also did not have code switching. For example, his communication with Brutus, all of you know about Brutus. He was among the most well-known of the assassins of Julius Caesar. So, when his writings to a to Brutus also did not contain the technical terms in Greek. So, this is not only a political, sociological and this not only points to political and sociological aspect of bilingualism, but also perhaps to a psychological angle to it.

Because both Brutus and Atticus and others were all belonging to the same social class, that is the ruling class, they are all senators. So, while he was using code switched version with one, another with another person he did not. So, that talks about that really that tells us something.

In any case, similar bilingualism was also found in Egypt during the Roman rule, Latin-Gothic interaction also was there and so on. So, there are some such references that we have as of today. Now, most of these references are from classics as I mentioned that these are from the writings. So, the texts written and left by these great authors and that is what we have, letters and books and you know other texts, poems and so on that we have. The and that is all we have to go by.

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The reason why we do not have any written discourse on the nature of language use, what language was used by which group of people and so on probably is because there was no official language policy which we have now, every country has its own language official language policy.

So, in India for example, we follow a multilingual language policy. In the US there is a monolingual language policy. Probably in the ancient world there was no stated policy. And as a result, people could, you know, use languages as per their own choice and hence it did not make an important case to be studied. Probably, this is just what the researchers are thinking at this point.

So, anyway so, this short description of bilingualism in the ancient world tells us one thing, for sure. That bilingualism has been around for a very long time, for a much longer time than studies on bilingualism have existed, for example.

So, this is as old as that. And secondly, it is a complex phenomenon. Complex phenomenon because it has various levels of psychological, social, cognitive and neural aspects, which we will discuss in in the due course of this in the next modules. So, I can think of a ready metaphor like an anthill, many of you might have seen an anthill.

Anthills look very simplistic from outside, it is just a mound; it is just a small soil mound. But of course, sometimes they are very they are designer as well. So, but inside an anthill, there are multiple layers, all interconnected, quite a complex structure. So, we can think of bilingualism in terms of an anthill as well.

So, there are different levels of interaction and it is a very complex range of phenomenon it is not just one thing, it is not just as I just give you an example of Cicero for in the previous slide. That Cicero was using bilingual language switching with some senators and not with another other senators. But he was not using any code switching with in his personal communications, in his informal communications.

So, there are all these different ranges of phenomenon within the larger umbrella term called bilingualism. So, they have there are different levels of interactions and interpretations.

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So, this kind of sets the tone of the course. Basically, what we are trying to say here is that through time, the way bilingualism as a phenomena has been seen, has changed. So, in the initial stages there have been studies on bilingual language development, how we learn two languages, what are the mechanisms that children or adults put in place and so on.

And then there have been bilingual behavior, things change as academic atmosphere changes in the world. So, 1950s there was a 'cognitive revolution'. As a result of which bilingualism and bilingual studies also got into got some new perspective. So, cognitive science perspective was brought into the bilingualism research. Followed by the constructionist approaches to grammar by in the 1980s and then followed by a neuroscience of bilingualism, etcetera.

Neuroscience also took giant leaps in the 60s and 70s and now we know a lot about the interaction between the brain structure and bilingual language processing. So, these are some of the broad strokes of research agenda. So, basically it is been a short journey from structural analysis, short because bilingualism research as such is not very old.

But within this period, we have had a journey from structural analysis to understanding of the bilingual mind. This is where we are today, we are trying to understand the bilingual mind. Is it any different with from monolinguals or are bilinguals different, bilinguals themselves different different types of bilingualism exist, different types of social structure exists.

So, what are the interactions of the of these background mechanisms with the bilingual mind? These are some of the questions that are being addressed today. So, with all of these changes in the research of course, could not have happened without changes in the available tools and changing methodologies of research. And another important aspect of course, in this is the very increasingly interdisciplinary nature of research.

Today many fields are seeing this change, this is a research has become primarily interdisciplinary. Because you cannot and certainly for a case like languages whether it is bilingualism or any other aspect of language, one needs to look at the social background, social structure, similarly the social cognition aspect and of course, the psychological and other arenas of the individual person. So, this needs to bring together various domains of specialists and that is what we see in a bilingualism research as well.

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So, with this kind of a background, let us now move on to taking care of our fundamentals of this course.

So, fundamentals, let us start with the very word bilingualism itself. Bilingualism as in two languages and plus whatever that entails, that 'ism' is whatever that entails actually it entails a lot. So, two languages for this for bilingualism to exist in a person or in a society you need two languages, meaning two groups of people speaking two different languages to come together.

It is quite simplistic to talk about; however, there are this few questions that one can ask. When languages meet, when languages come in contact, when people come in contact, are those how do these meetings happen? What are the reasons? What are the motivations? That is one thing that one needs to look at.

Then, are these meetings simple or are they complex in nature? There is no such thing as you know languages meeting, there are layers of interaction, there are layers of complexities in each of these interactions. Hence it is very difficult to answer whether it is a simple, straightforward thing or a complex thing, we need to take case by case.

As a result of which, we have another question: do they bring same kind of results? Do we have similar results for different kinds of interactions? The answer to this, the short answer to this is, No.

And the long answer is what this entire module 1 is about. So, let us start 'jab languages met' as in 'when languages met'. Languages have met, ever since as we talked about in the very beginning. People have always moved. Why do people move? People moved for food, in the initial stages, people moved for in such a food, in such a better weather and so on.

Later on, when societies emerged, people moved for you know conquering territories, then as a result war conquest colonization and then we have migration of various types: whether it is forced or it is self-imposed migration and then we have intermarriage and trade of course, has been a prime motivator for movement of people, speaking different languages to different people.

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Now, these kinds of different kinds of motivation for movement have very different kinds of outcome in terms of language contact. So, what happens when two different groups meet in war for example so, one group loses out, another group becomes victorious. As a result, the result of in terms of language is also very different, which is may which may or may not be similar to the trade scenario.

So, different scenarios have different outcomes. We will look at each of them separately now. So, depending on what kind of contact we have we can actually have four different types of sub contact. The first is what let us call them socially separate. Socially separate as in the two groups coming together do not really mingle, they come together for certain purposes, but they do not really mingle.

So, society keeps them separate, the rules and regulations and so on are so strict that they cannot come together. Now, this contact is typically, very strictly, for the purpose for which they have come together. As a result of which there is no exchange of language and culture between the groups or among the groups let us say.

This is one, you might I think in today's time it sounds a little implausible, but there was a time when this was quite common. This was quite common in cases of slavery and plantation, the workers plantation workers and their masters and so on.

Secondly, you have a more commonly found scenario which is called social contact. Social contact is when communities have lived side by side for a very long time. Now, these leads to a very different dynamics. For example, in India for example, India the country, the political entity, but then, but the entire geographical stretch has been around and people have been here for as long as we know.

And there are people are different people, have been speaking different languages with different cultures and so on. So, this kind of however, people from different regions have always moved between different states and for trade and other purposes, as a result of which communities have come together. In fact, another reason which textbooks typically do not add, but I think in Indian scenario we might as well take it as another important motivation, which is pilgrimage. So, all of us know about Adi Shankaracharya, who travelled on foot from Kerala to Kashmir. So, it was not very uncommon, not unheard of

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at that time, people used to take long journeys from one part to a part of the country to another for pilgrimage. Today it happens as well, but things have changed to a large extent.

So, these are certain things. So, social contact can be like this, people coming together whether living side by side or moving one from one place to another as a within the society, where they can mingle normally and naturally. So, there is a lot of possibility of lot of exchanges that is what is important here. Now, this exchange creates very interesting outcomes as we will see.

Third which is called the marketplace contact, this is also called the trade related contact. Trade related contacts typically, as the name suggests, brings people together for trade purposes. So, traders going from one place to another or different types of different groups of people coming together at one place in the so-called 'market place'.

So, people speaking different languages coming at the at one place and carrying out their activities. These are all trade related purposes. Now, trade purposes also give rise to interesting results which we will also see here. In some cases, we have trade scenario sometimes gives rise to unusual outcomes, but sometimes also bilingualism.

Last, but not the least, is the family level. Family level contact this is more visible today compared to what it was just before in the yesteryears.

So, moving into a new family there was convention which was kind of prevalent in many communities across the world. Whether it is a you know the in the it is in the Asian continent or the other or the European and other continents. This has been quite common that women are married outside the community. So, smaller groups had this practice quite often. So, women are married into a different community, different tribal group or so on.

As a result of which the woman is coming into a family which speaks a different language. And now, she is expected to learn their language and pass it on to the next generation. Similarly, there are during the slavery and other during the those times, slaves were into the coming into the family, they also had different kind of contact scenario. So, this sometimes also creates very unusual outcomes.

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Now, let us look at them separately. So, most well-known cases of socially separate contact between communities is, that has been well documented and studied, is that of plantation communities and slave trade.

Plantation as you all might be aware of, during the colonial period plantations where the European powers were having plantations, where they had workers from typically from many African groups and from other places as well, even India for example. So, this plantations typically will have workers from diverse backgrounds. They will work there and the master will typically be a European, white man.

Now, this was a situation which is very strictly stratified, very, very strictly, there was social separation at under no circumstances were the slaves may be allowed to get too close to the master. This had very strange outcome, because there was no social give and take, there was no exchange, the slaves could not learn the master's language or the culture, anything for that matter, in a proper way.

However, they had to follow orders. So, they had to learn bits and pieces of the master's language. Often this gave rise to what we call pidgin, pidgin languages, that came out of this kind of a scenario. Pidgins also sometimes have been resulted out of normal trade scenario. But because primarily it has been associated with slave trade. Hence, we tend to consider pidgin as an outcome of slave trade, this is that was one.

Secondly, social contact as I was mentioning. So, social contacts of languages and communities is a lot more positive. It may positive in the sense it has a positive attitude. So, people can come together, they can exchange their ideas, there is a cultural and linguistic exchange. As a result of which bilingualism is a probable outcome, right?

So, there are many kinds of, there are many shades of changes that can happen. One is of course, bilingualism. So, a people learning another person's language and learning about their culture and so on, that is one.

Another is this kind of contact also brings in changes to your own language, the including the sound system. So, for example, in India we have 5 language families. So, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austroasiatic. So, this people have been in touch forever, as far back as we know of. As a result of which there is something called a 'linguistic area'

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that comes into place. So, India is also called a 'language area', linguistic area or sprachbund for example.

So, what happens in such a scenario is that when people speaking different languages often belonging to different language families, genetically different families, the languages' all of these languages start imbibing some properties from the other languages. As a result of which, there will always be a list of features that are part of all the language families.

For example, in Indian in case of Indian linguistic area, Indian sprachbund, what we have there is a list of things. One of them is of course, any linguistic students will know, the sound 't' the retroflex strong retroflex is found in almost all the languages except Tibeto-Burman. So, in the north east India you will not find in some cases you in some languages you will not find the 't' sound, but otherwise all other Indian languages do have.

Similarly, the explicator compound verb, this is also a structure that almost all Indian languages have. Now, it is been so long, in the in chronological terms, the we do not know for how long these languages have lived side by side. So, it is very difficult to trace back where these features came from, they probably may be feature one came from one language, feature two from another language.

But now it is such thatm the scenario is such that, all these languages share the same set of features. So, this is what is called a linguistic area. This is a very common outcome of a scenario where languages have lived side by side for a very long time and where common give and take, social fluidity is there and there is a lot of cultural exchange and that is when we see this kind of possibilities existing.

And of course, we have our marketplace contact like as I said pidgin is a very common outcome, very widely known outcome of trade scenario. Sometimes it is part of the plantation, or the slave trade, but sometimes normal trade situations also give rise to pidgin. So, there is this language called Sadri in the central part of India. Sadri is spoken widely in Jharkhand.

Now, this started as a lingua franca, many consider it as a pidgin, it started as a pidgin we do not know when, but pretty much pretty old this is Sadri language also is old. So, this is this resulted out of a trade situation between the speakers of different indigenous language speakers as well as the speakers of Hindi and other languages. So, you have Sadri has

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properties of many indigenous languages, local tribal languages as well as a Hindi strong Hindi presence.

So, that is how it this language came into being. Similarly, in the northeast India, we have Nagamese. So, it is Assamese language with some Naga in inputs. This came out in in the context of trade scenario between the Assamese and the Naga traders. So, this kind of scenario can happen, this is these are the most common outcomes of trade situation.

But however, there are some other possibilities as well. Sometimes we have mixed language, which is a different category of language altogether. Sometimes bilingualism is also one of the outcomes.

And family level, as we have seen that many kinds of inter marriage between different communities. So, marrying across communities have given rise to very interesting outcomes. Sometimes quite interesting outcomes, which is not always very well known. So, marriage of settlers with various native women is also very interesting case in this scenario.

So, basically the reason why all these different kinds of social contacts are discussed here is to show, just to show, that people coming in contact, languages coming in contact is not a simple phenomena. Languages come in contact for due to various different kinds of motivation. And depending on the motivation, depending on the nature of contact, the outcome changes.

So, first we will see some of the unusual let us say unusual or uncommon, less common outcomes and then we will go to our primary concern which is bilingualism. So, unusual outcomes are the creation of pidgins and creoles and also what we call mixed or dual source language.

So, that is something we will discuss first. And then we will go on to bilingualism which is, more often than not, a very typical outcome of languages coming into contact, given certain conditions are met, right?

So, we will go to pidgin creole and dual source language.

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So, a pidgin is a system of communication, it is a kind of a language, that is used by people who do not know each other's language. However, they need to communicate, the need to communicate arises out of a trade scenario. So, the purpose of creating a pidgin is that immediate purpose of the trade, immediate purpose of whatever they are here for, whatever has brought them together.

So, that is the primary thing, ok. This is primarily created as I said in plantations and other places.

How is this created? How does this language come into being? These languages are typically derived from different sources. The primary source being the master's language. Master's language as in the typically the this the plantation owner, the slave owner's language, because the orders are given in their language, not in the African slave's language.

So, the primary source for a pidgin is always the dominant community's language, which is also called the 'lexifier source language', that is the that is the technical term for this. ,Lexifier source language, basically means that the primary lexicon of a pidgin comes from the master's language. So, basically most of the words or let us say almost all the words, the when the pidgin starts, are derived from the master's language.

So, this is spoken non-natively, non-natively as in nobody is a native speaker of a pidgin. Everyone whoever is using a pidgin is using it for a particular, specific purpose, not for normal day to day communication. This is not a language that people use when they sit down for a cup of tea, for example.

It is only for a particular scenario to be used only with particular participants in a conversation, right? So, it is always there is always this in-group out-group kind of a scenario. So, this is used for the other group.

Another important aspect of pidgin is that it had to be very simple. Remember we said that in the in a plantation scenario, where there is a salve master and there are a group of slaves. So, the onus of understanding the master's order is on the slaves. The master has absolutely no obligation to learn anybody else's language, but the slaves, for their own survival and

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for their own benefit should, must learn the master's language and that is what basically motivates this kind of a scenario.

And because of this very specific nature of the use of this language, the vocabulary is also typically very very restricted. Restricted because that this language is to be used only for a that kind of a purpose. So, let us say a pidgin arising out of a sugar plantation or a cotton plantation typically we will have words that are necessary for carrying out the business of the work.

So, collecting the cotton and you know, packing them, cleaning them and so on and so forth. So, the language will have words the lexicon for this kind of purposes. It will most probably not have any word for things like creativity or art or you know history or music and so on. This is what we mean that a very specific sort of lexicon is typically created in a pidgin.

So, this is ah another important thing about pidgins in the African in the slave trade in the African plantations is that the typical scenario in a plantation was that groups of small very small groups of slaves were created. They were taken from different linguistic backgrounds.

So, let us say there will be Swahili speakers, there are be Zulu speakers, there will be other speakers and so on. They never had the masters took great care not to have a large group of people from any specific community. This was done to minimize the chances of a revolt. So, these people who were derived, who were drawn from different groups also had to communicate among themselves. So, that was another important aspect of pidgins.

So, the grammatical features of a pidgin are like this. Lexicon is always derived from the dominant language. So, there are English based pidgins, French based pidgin, Dutch based pidgin, basically the languages that the colonizers of the time. So, the and then phonology and syntax derived from the dominated language.

So, you take the words from English and use your own language's rules in terms of how to create the sentence, how they will be pronounced that will depend on the speaker's own language. So, this is the kind of a mix up that happens. And the typically grammar books will tell you that pidgins do not have any morphology. What it basically means is that there is no complex word formation process.

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So, there is no inflection, that is no derivation and stuff. It is just words put one after another and created and sentences are created like that. And also, severe structural simplification. When you do not have morphology, when you do not have complex grammar, it will be anyway simple.

So, this is an example that I have taken from a rather famous comic strip in Papua New Guinea. So, Papua New Guinea is a tiny country which has a large number of languages and this was asked while there were lots of colonies here, that is lots of plantation were there with different kinds of people.

So, this it was this is an this is called Tok Pisin, Tok comes from talk and Pisin from pidgin. So, this is the what the language is called, you know talking in pidgin, for example. And over a period of time the language has gone through changes, language as the language is an organic thing, it cannot stay stagnant. Whatever is the structure today, tomorrow there will be a different way of looking at it.

As we all know, if you have noticed youngsters talking how different words what which initially starts with as meaningless. Meaningless to our ears probably, but for young generation they are perfectly meaningful and over a period of time those words become accepted words in the mainstream language.

Similarly, so basically languages change over a period of time and that is true for pidgins as well. In any case so, this is how it reads 'Sapos yu kai planti pinat bai yu kamap strong olsem phantom'. So, basically meaning if you eat plenty of peanuts you will come up strong like the phantom. So, you see the simplicity of this sentence and the way they are written, this is how they are written also. So, this is a person who is talking about phantom.

So, how to be as strong as the phantom, the character phantom. Again, they are saying that 'fantom yu pren tru bilong mi'. Now, you see the sentence 'yu pren tru bilong mi' 'you are a true friend of mine'. 'Belong me' is a structure that the local languages allow. So, 'my friend' does not exist in those languages, it has to be 'friend belonging me to me' or 'the book belonging to me', 'the house belonging to me' that kind of a structure.

So, this is what we mean when we say that the sentence structure is derived from the dominated language, but as you can see the words are all from the dominant English language. So, this is an example of a pidgin.

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Now, pidgin might sound so, the when you see this sentence it sounds like a very strange, you sort of identify it as English because the words are English. So, you might think this is a bad English, this is an example of bad English. So, that so, as a result there are many many such misconceptions about pidgin.

So, you can just check here. So, pidgins are not a example of a bad X bad X bad language, bad English, bad Dutch, bad French or whatever. This is itself a language, this is created for a specific purpose which has a specific community of speakers. And it is never meant to master the L2, L2 as in second language. So, people who started to use a pidgin in the plantations, the final goal was never to be a proficient speaker of English. Final goal was only to be able to understand the master and to make themselves understandable to the master, that is it, there was no other goal.

Similarly, this is also not a case of borrowing. Why it is not a borrowing? Because borrowing in linguistics basically means borrowing into something. So, Hindi language has lots of English words borrowed into it. So, tea, table, chair all these are borrowed words, they are not English words. But today we do not say 'peyala' or you know 'kursi', we would rather say chair and table. So, these are borrowed words into English. But to be borrowed into something there should be an already existing structure.

Pidgins are do not have that kind of a luxury. This is just a case of, you know, taking the words and putting some simple rules and creating a new variety altogether and so on. And another important aspect of pidgin is that it has no native speakers; all the people using the pidgin have their own languages for all other purposes.

Pidgins are of course, a lingua franca. What is a lingua franca? Lingua franca is when a language is used for communication across groups. So, this is a more of a usage-based terminology. So, I say English is lingua franca in the academic, higher education systems in higher education in academia, in judiciary, in administration and so on. So, English is the language that is used by everybody for those purposes.

Pidgins are also lingua franca, because pidgins are also used for this particular purpose of you know talking across communities. As a result, pidgins are always lingua franca, but all lingua franca's are not pidgin, that difference is important.

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Now, when we are at the pidgin, we should also talk about Creole. Creole is the next stage of a pidgin; so, pidgins when they acquire native speakers. How pidgins acquire native speakers? Imagine a situation in a plantation, where the both the parents are workers in the plantation.

They speak a particular pidgin or during the work hours. Over a period of time when they come back home, they start using the that language at home as well. Children growing up in that kind of an atmosphere acquires the pidgin as their mother tongue. So, in linguistics, technically a language will be called a Creole if it has native speakers. However, pidgins also will have, after over a period of time it will acquire newer rules and more complexity.

So, sometimes structurally, pidgins and Creoles may not have many differences, but the only difference crucial difference being is the existence of native speaker.

So, Creoles are like more like natural languages, by the time you have a pidgin becomes a Creole it takes some time, right. So, in as a result of which it has already imbibed lot of complex grammatical aspects, like tense, article, other morphology, other different kinds of morphology, embedding and so on. This could also happen in an advanced stage of pidgin.

Basically, what this means is that the simplification of a pidgin is 'repaired' in a Creole. As I just said before as well that languages keep moving, languages keep changing. So, Creoles pidgins to Creoles and Creoles also has certain other possibilities. Depending on the social scenario where the Creole is spoken, a Creole can take different kinds of turns.

One scenario is, let us say when the Creole is spoken at a place where the master's language is also present and the social scenario has changed. Let us say slavery has been abolished, the masters have stayed back. So, English is spoken in the same geographical location where the Creole is spoken. Quite often as this kind of a scenario gives rise to what process called 'decreolization'.

So, gradually over a period of time, the Creole variety gets repaired further and further and it starts to approximate the lexifier source language. So, this takes some time, but this goes through various stages. As you can see, starting with 'basilect', that is the first part of the Creole, that is when the Creole was it was a Creole.

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And then through various stages of post Creole continuum which are called mesolects and finally, it becomes closer to the lexifier source language, that is called acrolect. That when that has been achieved, it is called an acrolect.

So, this is how pidgins can go on to become Creole and Creoles can ultimately become an approximation of the L2. However, if the master's language, if the lexifier source language, is not present there then this this possibility does not exist. What happens if the masters have left, that is what happened in Papua New Guinea.

So, the masters left, people were left speaking Tok Pisin as a language and they gradually, the language became slightly more complex with more grammatical rules, with more complex systems so on and so forth. And the language that is that remains a Creole it does not become English, it does not become a variety of English.

And Papua New Guinea's case is very interesting, because Tok Pisin is also their official language.

In any case, there is yet another interesting possibility called Creoloid. Creoloid the name sort of a slightly misleading. Creoloid has nothing to do with Creole. It is a language where they though there are some amount of mixture, but they are not basically Creoles, because this does not come from pidgins. Most well-known case of Creoloid is Afrikaans.

Afrikaans is basically a variety of Dutch that is spoken in South Africa because it is spoken in Africa probably that is how the name came into being. So, this language is kind of a variety of Dutch it is mutually understandable, mutually intelligible with Dutch, but it also has a lot of mixture from other languages like, Malay and Portuguese and so on. This is spoken by non-natively by speakers of these languages and this was also used in various kinds of social functions.

Yet another interesting outcome of languages and people coming into contact is 'mixed languages', which is probably one of the least visible ones, these are not very common situations. So, mixed languages are different from any other possible languages that you might have ever come across. Mixed languages are interesting because they are called dual source language, they are derived or sourced, from two different languages almost in equal measure.

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So, language 1 supplies the noun morphology, language 2 supplies the verb morphology and they are they come together and create one different language, one different language, a new language. And this new language is not identifiable, either with language 1 or language 2. That is what is a mixed language.

Typically, the mixture is almost equal. So, as a result of which, it because of the nature of the mixture, these languages are cannot also be put under any of the language families, because they no language is dominant.

When we say let us say a pidgin based a Creole becomes an acrolect it becomes a part of that language family. This does not happen with mixed languages. It is a very interesting kind of a language entity. These are also connected to formation of a new ethnic identity, typically these languages come out of coming together in inter marriage. Through inter marriage between different people belonging to different ethnic identities. As a result of which a new ethnic community also gets born.

Let us see some examples of these. One of the most well-known cases of mixed language is the case of Pitcairnese. Pitcairnese language has a very interesting history, one can read up on this about the mutiny on bounty. Bounty was a ship by the or the British Navy. So, they had. So, there was a mutiny and some of the soldiers escaped with certain some Tahitian men and women, they and they went and hide in a remote island and from where they were not found for very long time. So, these people were living in an island. This was a group of men and women from Tahitian and the men and some British sailors. So, English language and the Tahitian language and this gives gave rise to a new language which was called Pitcairnese, because they were living in Pitcairn Island.

This was one. Another is the mixed language created by a mixture of French and Cree. Cree is a is an indigenous language. So, Canadian fur traders and Amerindian women, the Cree women. So, fur traders went from one place to another in the Canadian French Canadian fur traders, went further north and the they met Cree women, married them, took them along and kept on moving away from the communities.

So, as a result of which, these people were not living either with the French or with the Cree communities. And over a period of time, children started growing, children grew up speaking a mixture of both of these languages. And, as a result of which, this new language

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this new generation of people speaking the new language were quite far from their native place as well as in time.

So, this is an interesting example of this particular language you can see. So, this is the middle part, the 'she is holding it' this is the Cree part. This is this has the information about the subject as well as the object. This is quite almost complete in itself.

However, this also has the first part 'La Fam' and then it has come from 'La Petite'. So, this is a modified version of the La Petite. So, 'the woman is holding the child'. And you see that kind of a structure has been created using this. So, this is an example. Similarly, we have other examples also of this kind of mixture.

So, this is the copper island in the North Pacific Ocean. Basically, Russian or a this is a come between Aleut and Russian come in, mixture of Russian and Aleut.

Similarly, you have Quechua and Spanish. But this particular case is also is not of you know marriage and then going out from the community, this is this was apparently this emerged when railroad construction was going on in the indigenous communities' area. So, some people who were working and who were with the railroad construction as well as other people involved.

They created this mixed language and they were using it among themselves. As a result of which they did not create a new ethnic group, unlike the Russian and Aleut or the French and the Cree communities.

Another interesting mixed language is that of Russenorsk. This is mixed between Russian and Norwegian. However, this also did not come out of that kind of a scenario where marriages, inter marriages happened. This was a typical trade scenario and the people also were there was no dominant dominated scenario.

Both the communities were equally powerful in terms of wealth and technology. This was used by as a lingua franca by many communities of people. For example, the Sami, the Finnish, Samis are a group of people in the northern Finland. So, the other Finnish speakers, Dutch and German many people were using this.

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And then we also have the coming together of Chinese traders and Indonesian women, giving rise to a separate ethnic group as well as a separate language which is called Chindo.

So, these are some of the scenarios which are less common today. Today it is they are less common and they are also slightly unusual outcomes of the different kinds of language and language speaking people coming together, language contact, different outcomes of language contact.

Now, we go on to the, our area of interest, which is bilingualism and which is also one of the most visible and most common outcome of people coming into contact. Now, various kinds of language contact scenarios have given rise to bilingualism. Some of these are here. So, war, conquest and colonialism have given rise to a large-scale bilingual scenario as we can see in India.

Our colonizers have left 75 years ago, but right now I am speaking in their language. So, colonization has been very important instrument in creating bilingualism across the world. So, typically what happens in case of a war, of any magnitude, the conqueror imposes their own language on the conquered people, on the weaker group. So, as a result of which, over a period of time the conqueror's language becomes dominant language and overnight, almost overnight the local language becomes the weaker language.

This then, creates a scenario where for some period of time, there will be always a time window, within which people are typically bilingual or sometimes multilingual, depending on the scenario. And over a period of time, depending on many other social forces, attitudes, and so on there is also a chance of total shift from their people's own mother tongue to the conqueror's language, that also happens. In any case, bilingualism is often one of the common outcomes of this kind of a scenario, war conquest colonialism and so on.

And then immigration; immigration can be forced or it can be you know voluntary. Today you see a lot of people from India they go they go for greener pastures to the western hemisphere. So, that is that is voluntary migration, sometimes there are forced migrations due to war and various other things.

So, what ultimately happens is one population moves into another; that has very interesting results as we will see when we discuss attitudes. So, it often means moving into an already

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existing political, linguistic, social, psychological scenario. So, once now the depending on the forces of acculturation, depending upon the forces of the attitudes, social attitude, whether it is a positive, whether it is a negative attitude it might give rise to bilingualism or it might want you to assimilate.

So, many, many western countries have a very strong language policy in that matter. So, the immigrants who are coming into the country must learn their the other country's, the host country's language. So, that will that is a process that is a that is a acculturation force as we can call it by law, which gives rise to interesting results. So, there also we see bilingualism, there might also be a total shift, there may not be shift, depending on many factors.

So, now we see that language contact, people coming into contact, bringing languages into contact have many kinds of possibilities. And so, there are pidgins and creoles and mixed languages and that is bilingualism. But as I said things do not stop there, things keep moving in a river water always moves, in life people move, languages move and change and so on.

So, even the bilingualism also may or may not be a stable scenario in all situations. Sometimes the stability lasts longer, sometimes the stability lasts much much shorter. So, what can happen? What the other possibilities? One possibility is shift. As I said, depending on the perceived social pressure perceived social status or the stigma, you know depending on the language.

So, what is the attitude of the larger community and also the speaker himself or herself, that will decide whether the speakers will continue to speak their language, creating a stable bilingualism or eventually they will make a shift.

Typically, what happens is, if the native language is weaker, weaker in terms of economics, weaker in terms of job opportunities, weaker in terms of social prestige, gradually people would rather shift to the more powerful language. So, when census data is taken, a lot of speakers of the local smaller languages do not identify themselves as speakers of those languages; rather, they would identify themselves as speakers of the locally dominant language.

So, let us say in many many Angika speakers may not say they are Angika speakers, they will simply say they are Hindi speakers or Bajjika speakers in Bihar for example, there are chances that some people will not. So, this is what is called language shift, that is a disparity of social prestige and possibilities and opportunities vis-a-vis Hindi.

Hence, people shift. Sometimes if you do not see any such threat, people will maintain their language. So, number plays a very important role here. The number of people who speak that language. So, even if you see a large number of, let us say, Tamil speakers also speak English, that does not mean Tamil speakers will stop speaking Tamil after a period of time.

Because the number of Tamil speakers is huge, its a very large community. And of course, there are many other factors, the perceived prestige, the heritage factor. Tamil language is considered one of the oldest and also it has a very long history of art, culture, literature and so on. So, those factors also are important. But in any case, when there is a contact scenario giving rise to bilingualism, language shift is among the possibilities.

So, multilingualism, given different kind of social prestige, is one of the fundamental reasons for language shift. How do you know that the community is shifting from language one language two, another, L1 to L2 completely? There are markers. One important marker is when the code switching.

Now, code switching typically happens, code switching means you are switching from one language to another. In a conversation scenario, if I am speaking to somebody who shares my mother tongue, I could probably be talking in my own mother tongue, let us say I am talking in language X.

And then the another, third person appears into the conversation, who does not speak my language and both of us would shift to language Y now, to include the other person. So, this is called a code switching dependent on the participant, dependent on the audience or participants in the conversation scenario.

This is quite common in any bilingual society. However, when you see code switching happens irrespective of the audience or the participant, but depending on context. So, we use some languages for certain purposes, another language for another purpose, when that

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starts happening, its not dependent on the people, but it is dependent on context; that means, you are now comfortable in language Y more, given certain context.

This is how gradually code switching becomes a marker of gradual shift. And of course, the most important thing for language maintenance or for shift or for bilingualism to exist, all of these are heavily dependent on the background. Background as in background attitude, attitude of both internal and external. Internal as in how the community looks at itself, how the community understands itself and it's position in the larger scheme of things that is internal attitude. External of course, between the communities.

So, sometimes this power, status and economic opportunity, all of these play a very important role, larger society plays an important role and the State also plays a very important role. In US the 'English only' movement is a very good indicator of that. So, the larger social views sometimes get reinforced through legal processes, legal ways. So, there are laws and by-laws and so on, to impose one particular language, that also happens. And cultural inferiority of course, that is one.

The extreme case of in this continuum, the final possible stage, which does not always happen, but it has happened in many cases, is that of language death. Typically, when you know there are this continuum and then shift, gradually when you have shifted enough the entire community has shifted from language 1 to language 2, then there is nobody left to speak language 1. So, that is a case of language death. This is one possibility and typically happens in over several generations.

Language death has happened as a result of colonialism as well. So, entire communities, entire groups of people, have been wiped off in the northern America by the early colonizers. So, that is at an abrupt change, abrupt you know annihilation of the entire community and its language. Sometimes the death comes slowly, like through shift and so on. But there are also other cases of you know catastrophic natural causes, but wiping out communities, this happens in case of smaller communities, genocide and so on.

So, language death is the ultimate final grim possibility for languages. But there is some ray of hope. Language can be revitalized as well. Language death happens as we see, we just saw through various processes. But if the atmosphere, if the political will is there, if

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the society is ready, if the scholars are working on them, people are interested, language can be revived as well.

So, language revitalization is also an interesting area of research. Typically, there are many many ways of doing it; in America what they do is now they have total immersion schools, they are trying to preserve some of the native American languages that are still around. So, preserving and through teaching and using the language in different kind of scenario. So, immersion programs are there, that is happening. And as a result of which the government should also have a language policy.

So, in Indian case, our language policy encourages use of all the smaller languages as well. So, apart from the scheduled languages, we have non-scheduled languages which are also encouraged. So, our language policy has a role there. Similarly, many other countries.

So, some of the languages that have been revived throughout the world, most important example is that of Hebrew. Um Hebrew is a classic language it has been revived; Maori in New Zealand has also again been revived. Maori's case is very interesting if any of you are interested you can always look at it.

Maori community suffered a lot due to colonization by the whites, Europeans, but over a period of time the community fought back, so much so that now there many of their cultural aspects have been adopted by the others, by the whites as well. So, Maori language is a very good example of cultural and linguistic revival. Similarly, many Mexican languages have also been revived through this kind of processes.

So, these are some of the basic ideas, that I wanted to talk about in the first part. In the second part, that is in the next part, we will talk about in detail, about the attitudes of the society, the forces of acculturation, government policies and how they shape and they shape and they also create or destroy bilingualism, whether you allow bilingualism to be to prosper whether you or you do not allow. So, depending on the situations the reality changes. So, that is what we will discuss in the second part of this module.

Thank you.