The Languages of New York State:

A CUNY-NYSIEB Guide for Educators

Luisangelyn Molina, Grade 9

Alexander Funk

CUNY-NYS INITIATIVE ON EMERGENT BILINGUALS

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Prior to his graduate studies, Mr. Funk worked for nearly a decade in education: as an ESL instructor and teacher trainer in New York City, and as a gym, math and English teacher in Barcelona. He makes his home in the language hotbed of Jackson Heights, Queens, a home he shares with his Italian-speaking, English-teaching wife, and their three emergent bilingual sons.

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About This Guide

This Guide to the Languages of New York State is designed as a resource for all education professionals, but with particular consideration to those who work with bilingual[1] students. Several ideas have underpinned its conception and execution:

a) the languages other than English (LOTEs) spoken by bilingual students are neither obstacles nor excess baggage, but **resources of great value** to our community;

b) the mission of supporting and encouraging students in home language development belongs to **all teachers**, not only those from similar linguistic backgrounds and/or certified in language education;

c) **language and culture** are sufficiently intertwined as to make the understanding of one without the other a distinctively hollow experience;

and...

d) the development of translingual and transcultural competence is not an on-off switch, but rather a **lifelong process** of engaging with different communities.

Educators constantly face the task of overcoming distances: between us and our students, between families and schools, between student performance and classroom objectives, and so on. In nearly all cases, these distances are best bridged when both sides extend toward each other, and it is no exception when it comes to language. The sense of linguistic distance between emergent bilinguals[2] and the English-speaking world can seem vast, and while great efforts should be and are made to help these students extend themselves toward ever-greater inclusion in the Anglosphere, one of the strongest positive messages we can send as educators is that we will work **to bridge linguistic distance** from our end, too. This Guide is a means to following through on that message.

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[1] We use the word *bilingual* throughout to mean 'speaking more than one language.' *Multilingual* has certain advantages over this term, but the disadvantage of denoting 'more than two languages.' *Plurilingual* signifies exactly what we have in mind, but in our view hampers the reading experience by dint of its unfamiliarity.

[2] Consistent with the CUNY-NYSIEB vision, we use the term *emergent bilingual* to denote students traditionally referred to as *English Language Learners*. "[O]ur use of the term... conceptualizes these students as much more than learners of English only, since they are developing proficiency and literacy in academic English from the base of home language practices. Furthermore, the term *emergent bilinguals* acknowledges that the education of these students must go beyond simply English language learning, to include a challenging curriculum in the content areas that also meets their social and emotional needs." For more: http://www.nysieb.ws.gc.cuny.edu/our-vision/

1. Languages Discussed

This Guide describes the 11 most commonly spoken languages among New York State's Emergent Bilingual Learner (EBL) population: **Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, English, French, Haitian Creole, Hindi-Urdu, Karen, Korean, Russian,** and **Spanish**. Each section offers an overview of the history, culture, sociolinguistic issues, and structural features associated with one particular language, with the aim of sufficient accessibility for teachers with no familiarity of the language, but sufficient richness for those already well acquainted. We encourage readers to explore both the languages they already know, as well as those languages they would like to get to know better.

2. Linguistics 101

The sheer complexity of the world's languages can make getting to know a new one an intimidating task. Some basic concepts from linguistics--a field that aims to break this complexity into understandable systems, patterns and structures--will be helpful to bear in mind:

2.1 Variation is a universal of human language

Distant Martians might suppose there to be one unique 'Humanese,' but closer inspection reveals a number of distinct sub-varieties (Korean, Haitian Creole, English, etc.) that humans call 'languages.' These, too, have varieties--Gyeongsang Korean, Southern Creole, British English--which commonly go by the label '**dialect**,' while each dialect can be split into ever smaller sub-dialects. Even an individual's language (known as an 'idiolect') exists only as a rough generalization, as Queen Elizabeth II surely uses different language with her 9 dogs than she does with her 134,000,000 subjects.

Far from being meaningless, these categories capture important commonalities and distinctions. Monolingual speakers of different 'languages,' for example, cannot typically comprehend each other's speech, whereas speakers of different 'dialects' of a language typically can. There are certainly complex issues of identity and mutual understanding that arise as a consequence of language variation, but since it pervades all human language, **variation is eminently natural**; to lament it is to lament human diversity itself.

2.2 Human languages are strongly--but mostly unconsciously--governed by rules

In American English, questions that ask 'yes or no'--e.g., *Did Charlie buy a car?*-- tend to rise in pitch at the end, while 'information' questions (asking *who*, *what*, *where*, etc.) tend to fall off, as in *How could he afford it?*. We do this not because our teachers told us to (they hardly ever do!), or because it's physiologically inevitable, but because languages operate under rules and patterns that are **largely outside our conscious awareness**. On one hand, this complexity might intimidate; on the other, it might speak to humans' extraordinary capacity to learn and create.

2.3 No human language or dialect has greater expressive power than another

Can ideas be translated from one language to another? Philosophers debate the point, but in the practical world--from politics to publishing, sports to science, law to love--the short answer is 'yes': what can be said in one language can be said in any other. Language communities tend to perceive one variety as exceptionally prestigious or important (e.g., English globally, Standard American English regionally), but there is a strong consensus among linguists that **no language or dialect is inherently better** than another. This means that none is more 'logical,' none 'purer,' none 'truer,' none 'defective,' none 'silly,' and none 'broken.' Verb endings are complex in Spanish and simple in Chinese; the opposite is the case for tone. Cockney and African-American Vernacular English feature double negatives (aka 'negative concord'), as do Ancient Greek and Modern Standard French; Standard English does not, nor Latin or German.

In his recent book Through the Language Mirror, linguist Guy Deutscher makes the important observation that this consensus of 'linguistic equality' itself remains unproven: no study has demonstrated the creative equality of all world languages and dialects, and such a study is all but impossible to design. Would we count words in dictionary? Ah, but some languages like Turkish have fewer words and more inflection, while others like Chinese have more words and next to no inflection. And what about the presumably non-worthless languages without dictionaries or alphabets? In short, any discussion of linguistic superiority, inferiority or equality is practically meaningless: the more our Martians examine the features and histories of the **roughly 6000 human languages** on Earth, the more they are likely to conclude that the rise of one language or another to 'national,' 'regional,' or 'global' importance is a consequence of politics, geography, and fortune, not of linguistic structure.

2.4 All human languages and dialects change

No living language is a perfectly preserved specimen of an ancient tongue: Appalachian English is not identical to Shakespeare's, despite persistent rumors to the contrary. Every language changes, and since languages have rules, this means that **rules get broken.** As teachers we can help students notice and practice the features of a standard, prestige, or 'correct' language variety, but we should keep in mind this question: "If everybody in the world broke language rule X except for me, who would be right and who would be wrong?" Some English rules taught as holy writ to past generations--*who* vs. *whom*, for example--may be fading so quickly from actual observance in standard contexts that their continued teaching may eventually no longer be justified, even within our lifetime. What will happen to English if *whom* drops out of use? Thankfully, history offers us no examples of languages that fell apart or became incomprehensible due to excessive violation of grammar rules. Most of all, awareness of the ever-shifting patterns of language use should help us acknowledge and build upon student language in ways that are free from judgment. After all, there is surely nothing more or less moral, sophisticated, or logical about *who* or *whom* themselves: they're only words!

2.5 Language contact often brings about dramatic change

The speakers of virtually all languages encounter other languages or dialects; the close interaction of these systems within a society is known as ***language contact***. In cases where two or more coexist for extended periods of time--bilingual societies--sociolinguists investigate the patterns of language behavior that arise. ***Diglossia*** is a term often used to describe the state of affairs in which one language is used in high-status situations and another in low-status contexts, but--as we will see in a number of instances in which diglossia is claimed to exist--the story is rarely if ever as simple and stable as this definition suggests. The phenomenon of ***codeswitching***, using recognizable chunks of more than one language in discourse, has been observed to be a nearly ubiquitous trait of multilingual envorionments, but we will prefer the term ***translanguaging*** for reasons made clear in the CUNY-NYSIEB Translanguaging Guide.[3] Migrant communities quite often undergo ***language shift*** towards a locally dominant dialect; researchers and community members alike are interested in the factors that speed or slow shift at the expense of continued use of the home language in second and third generation speakers. Two or more languages in close contact will sometimes combine to form a hybrid ***creole*** language.

3. Words, Phrases and Their Pronunciation

Just as it is important for English learners to feel comfortable using English words and expressions even when they are just beginning, we should not be shy about **trying new words and expressions** in our students' home languages. Again, languages are not light switches to be flipped on or completely off: no commitment to lifelong study is required for us to use elements of a certain language alongside another. If--as is widely seen to be the case--language is a critical marker of individual and community identity, then the respectful and sensitive use of a student's home language should be perceived as nothing more or less than outreach to that individual and/or her community, surely something on every educator's agenda. This process of engaging with a language begins--albeit humbly, like all such beginnings--with the first word.

To aid this **translanguaging**, each section in this guide incorporates dozens of key words and phrases in the language discussed. For the languages with non-Latin writing systems--Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Korean, Karen, Russian, and Urdu--these words are typically presented in the original writing system first, followed by the word in italics as conventionally transliterated into Latin/Roman letters, followed by the English gloss or definition in single quotes. For example, when discussing borscht (a beet soup popular in Russia), we might introduce the word as борщ *borshsch* 'beetroot soup.' Quite often, a pronunciation key, notated in IPA symbols (see below), will follow the italicized transcription. Discussing tea in the Chinese section, for instance, we might write 茶 *chá* [tʂʰǎ] 'tea.' Words from languages written with variants of the Latin

[3] "The notion of code- switching assumes that the two languages of bilinguals are two separate monolingual codes that could be used without reference to each other. Instead, *translanguaging* posits that bilinguals have one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively." For more, please see http://www.nysieb.ws.gc.cuny.edu/files/2012/06/FINAL-Translanguaging-Guide-With-Cover-1.pdf

alphabet--English, French, Haitian Creole, and Spanish--will be presented in much the same way, only minus the alternate original script, as in French ‘cat’ *chat* [ʃɑ].

3.1 The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)

Linguists, lexicographers and language learners around the world rely on pronunciation guides to help them write down and read language sounds, and the **International Phonetic Alphabet** (IPA) is the industry standard. Unlike many writing systems, the IPA provides a one-to-one sound-to-symbol correspondence: it eliminates worry, in other words, about whether a symbol is ‘soft c’ or ‘hard c,’ or whether a certain ‘e’ is silent, questions that plague the English text-to-speech relationship. The symbols used for the IPA are based on the Latin alphabet, which makes using it relatively easy for English speakers, though there are a number of unusual symbols, too. Readers may want to refer back to these links between IPA symbols and common English words:

3.2 English Consonants Sounds in IPA

IPA Symbol	**English reference word**
[b,d,f,h,k,l,m,n,p,r,s,t,v,w,z]	[standard pronunciations]
[tʃ]	*chip, nacho, watch*
[dʒ]	*joke, agile, carriage*
[g]	*goat, eager, bag*
[ŋ]	*singer, wrong*
[ʃ]	*shot, ashes, bush*
[θ]	*thought, ether, math*
[ð]	*then, either, soothe*
[j]	*yes, beyond, day*
[ʒ]	*measure, mirage*

3.3 English Vowel Sounds in IPA

IPA Symbol	**English reference word**
[ɑ,e,i,o,u]	*father, great, seat, boat, suit*
[æ,ɛ,ɪ,ɔ,ʊ]	*bat, get, bit, taught, book*
[ə]	*but*
[ɑɪ]	*bite*
[ɑʊ]	*shout*
[ɔɪ]	*oil*

Of course, different languages have different sounds, and for every language in this guide there will be some symbols that do not appear on the list above. The Chinese word for ‘tea,’ as we saw above, contains [tʂʰ], a consonant similar to [tʃ], but pronounced with the tongue further back in

the mouth (or 'retroflex').[4] While it is beyond the scope of this introduction to explore all the novel symbols and sounds that will crop up, you can find articulatory descriptions for **all of the IPA sounds** in the chart published by the International Phonetic Association in 4.5 below, and many websites exist with links to sound files and further description. The fourth sub-part of each language section contains a brief discussion of the language's sound system in comparison with that of English. Most importantly, your collision with these new sounds will probably be inspired by your contact with speakers who know them well: your students might be happy--inspired, even--to share their expertise!

4. Resources for Further Study

This Guide draws from a number of sources that would be natural entry points for those interested in digging further into a particular language, or developing similar guides for languages not discussed here. Naturally, the richest sources will be those unique to a language rather than one in a series; those are indicated at the conclusion of each section.

4.1 Global Cultures

The United States government constantly updates its online **CIA World Factbook**, which gives reliable figures on many aspects of a country's geography, economy, and population: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html

The **U.S. Department of State's Country Profiles** involve more humanistic research and description, but unlike the Factbook are not updated. Nonetheless, they offer particularly good overviews of a country's history and educational system: http://www.state.gov/countries/.

4.2 Migration, Multilingualism and Education

The **Migration Policy Institute** is a Washington, D.C.-based think tank that researches data and trends in human migration worldwide, with a slight emphasis on U.S.-oriented migration: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/.

Though books focused on the nexus of multilingualism, culture, and education come from many sources, **Multilingual Matters** is a publisher whose perspective and interests align significantly with those of this guide: http://www.multilingualmatters.com/.

4.3 Language Education and Diffusion

Among its many other roles, the **Modern Language Association** conducts and disseminates research into the languages spoken in the United States, down to the county level. The maps used

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[4] It also contains a vowel [a] that is pronounced with the tongue slightly further forward than for English [ɑ], and carries a rising tone. Quite a lot of difference for a single syllable!

in this guide represent only a slice of the data available in extremely user-friendly format at http://www.mla.org.

Missionaries have often conducted critical field research into languages of the world, and the language data compiled at **Ethnologue.com** by SIL International is the fruit of many such efforts. This is an excellent site for exploring the names, diffusion, and inter-connections of all the world's known languages.

4.4 Linguistic Histories and Structures

The 2009 second edition of **The World's Major Languages** edited by Bernard Comrie (Oxford) updates a 25-year-old classic that is the right speed for those who understand the structures discussed in this guide, but would like to know more about the history, writing and sound systems, and grammar of a given language, though less-spoken languages do not appear.

The **Omniglot.com** website offers an excellent introduction to many of the world's writings systems, including clear charts relating symbols, sounds and common transliterations. Online machine translation continues to improve dramatically, and its use as a tool for language learning is relatively untapped, though see the CUNY-NYSIEB Guide to Translanguaging for some interesting classroom applications. **GoogleTranslate** is an industry leader, with 64 languages available as of mid-2012, but other translation websites such as **Systranet** offer quality services as well.

For those oriented a bit more toward traditional language learning, the **Teach Yourself** and **Routledge Colloquial** series are currently among the most linguistically-oriented in this market sector. Many of the books use IPA to describe the sound system, though there is some variation between authors. Of course, books, websites and this Guide are only supplements to the invaluable experience of **using the language itself**!

4.5 IPA Chart (2005)

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised to 2005)

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k g	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

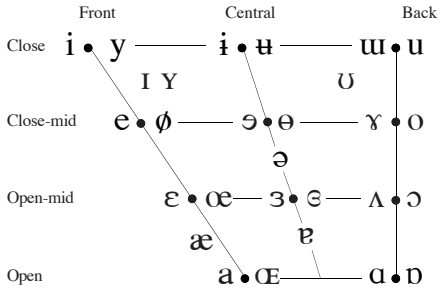
Clicks		Voiced implosives		Ejectives	
ʘ	Bilabial	ɓ	Bilabial	’	Examples:
|	Dental	ɗ	Dental/alveolar	pʼ	Bilabial
!	(Post)alveolar	ʄ	Palatal	tʼ	Dental/alveolar
ǂ	Palatoalveolar	ɠ	Velar	kʼ	Velar
‖	Alveolar lateral	ʛ	Uvular	sʼ	Alveolar fricative

OTHER SYMBOLS

ʍ	Voiceless labial-velar fricative	ɕ ʑ	Alveolo-palatal fricatives
w	Voiced labial-velar approximant	ɺ	Voiced alveolar lateral flap
ɥ	Voiced labial-palatal approximant	ʃʒ	Simultaneous ʃ and x
ʜ	Voiceless epiglottal fricative		
ʢ	Voiced epiglottal fricative		
ʡ	Epiglottal plosive		

Affricates and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary. k͡p t͡s

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

SUPRASEGMENTALS

ˈ	Primary stress	ˌfoʊnəˈtɪʃən	
ˌ	Secondary stress		
ː	Long	eː	
ˑ	Half-long	eˑ	
˘	Extra-short	ĕ	
|	Minor (foot) group		
‖	Major (intonation) group		
.	Syllable break	ɹi.ækt	
‿	Linking (absence of a break)		

DIACRITICS Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, e.g. ŋ̊

◌̥	Voiceless	n̥ d̥	◌̤	Breathy voiced	b̤ a̤	◌̪	Dental	t̪ d̪
◌̬	Voiced	s̬ t̬	◌̰	Creaky voiced	b̰ a̰	◌̺	Apical	t̺ d̺
◌ʰ	Aspirated	tʰ dʰ	◌̼	Linguolabial	t̼ d̼	◌̻	Laminal	t̻ d̻
◌̹	More rounded	ɔ̹	◌ʷ	Labialized	tʷ dʷ	◌̃	Nasalized	ẽ
◌̜	Less rounded	ɔ̜	◌ʲ	Palatalized	tʲ dʲ	◌ⁿ	Nasal release	dⁿ
◌̟	Advanced	u̟	◌ˠ	Velarized	tˠ dˠ	◌ˡ	Lateral release	dˡ
◌̠	Retracted	e̠	◌ˤ	Pharyngealized	tˤ dˤ	◌̚	No audible release	d̚
◌̈	Centralized	ë	◌̴	Velarized or pharyngealized	ɫ			
◌̽	Mid-centralized	e̽	◌̝	Raised	e̝	(ɹ̝ = voiced alveolar fricative)		
◌̩	Syllabic	n̩	◌̞	Lowered	e̞	(β̞ = voiced bilabial approximant)		
◌̯	Non-syllabic	e̯	◌˕	Advanced Tongue Root	e˕			
◌˞	Rhoticity	ɚ a˞	◌˔	Retracted Tongue Root	e˔			

TONES AND WORD ACCENTS

LEVEL			CONTOUR	
e̋ or ˥	Extra high		ě or ˩˥	Rising
é ˦	High		ê ˥˩	Falling
ē ˧	Mid		e᷄ ˦˥	High rising
è ˨	Low		e᷅ ˩˧	Low rising
ȅ ˩	Extra low		e᷄᷅ ˩˥˧	Rising-falling
↓	Downstep		↗	Global rise
↑	Upstep		↘	Global fall

5. Acknowledgments and Disclaimers

In addition to the expertise of the CUNY-NYSIEB directors and staff, this guide was deepened and clarified through conversations with New York State educators, administrators and language professionals Angele Renard Branca, Manjala El-Reda, Federica Emiliani, I-Ling Hsu, Doron Markus, Khinsoe Moe, Yana Pugach, and Ahmed Shahim.

A multilingual discourse involving a dozen different languages will inevitably have its fair share of rough edges, but as with translanguaging more generally, one hopes that the payoff in enrichment outweighs any frustration or misunderstanding along the way. Every effort has been made to avoid errors, omissions, and awkward translations, but there doubtlessly remain many more below, all the sole responsibility of the author.

Arabic

1. Arabic in Brief

Arabic for 'Arabic (language)':

العربية *al-arabīyah*

Arabic for 'English (language)':

الإنجليزية *al-injlīzīyah*

Official national language (*co-official language) in:

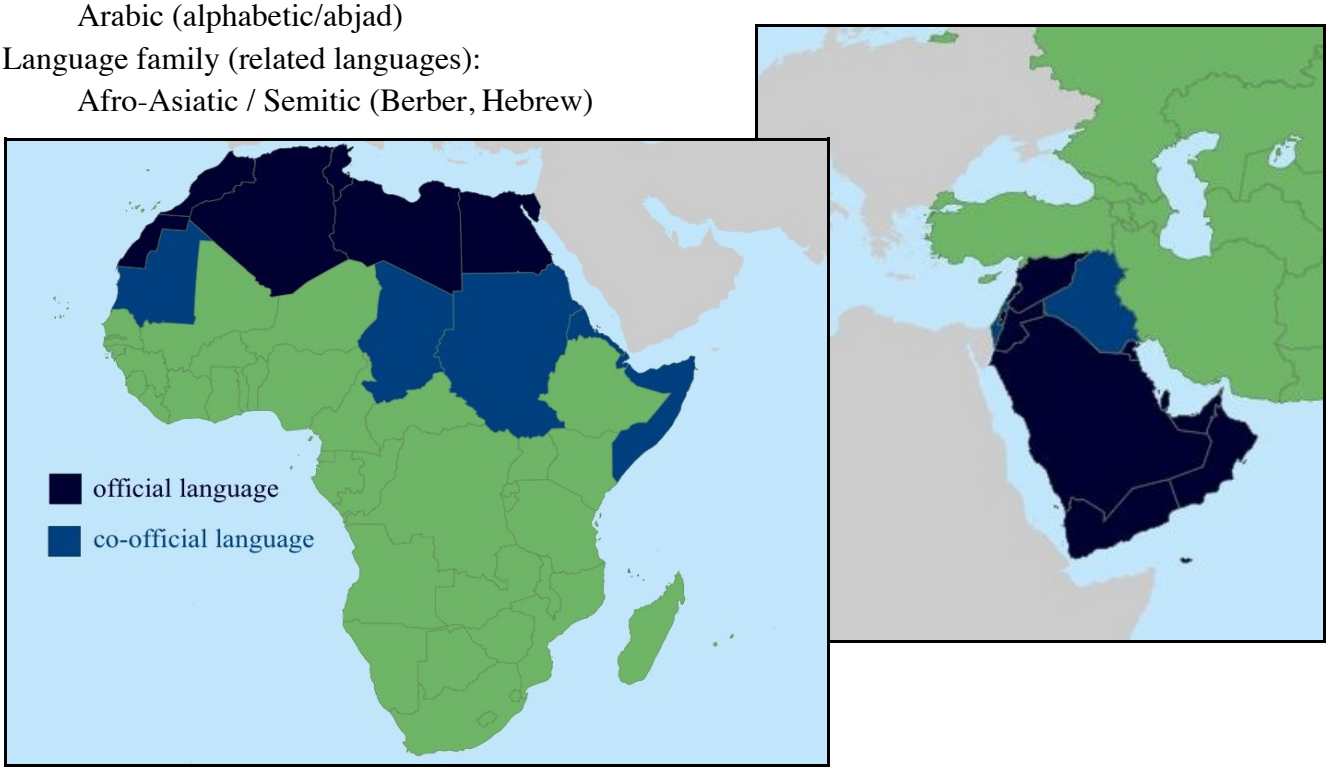
Algeria	Morocco
Bahrain	Oman
*Chad	Qatar
*Comoros	Saudi Arabia
*Djibouti	*Somalia
Egypt	*Sudan
*Eritrea	*South Sudan
*Iraq	Syria
Jordan	Tunisia
Kuwait	United Arab Emirates (UAE)
Lebanon	Yemen
Libya	(CIA, 2012)
Mauritania	

Writing system(s):

Arabic (alphabetic/abjad)

Language family (related languages):

Afro-Asiatic / Semitic (Berber, Hebrew)



US Speakers (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):

767,319

Top 3 US Metro areas where Arabic is spoken (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):

New York, Detroit, Los Angeles

Did you know that...

... بُرج خليفة *Burj Khalifa* 'Khalifa Tower' in Dubai, UAE, is the world's tallest building?

... about 90% of Arabs are Muslim, but only 20% of Muslims are Arabs?

... Dearborn, Michigan is home to 40,000 Arab-Americans and the US's largest mosque?

2 Arabic in Global Context

With more than 200 million speakers worldwide, Arabic is the fourth most spoken language on the planet, behind Chinese, Spanish and English (Lewis, 2009), and the international language of worship for Islam, the world's second biggest religion. It has official status in 24 countries, as well as in two disputed territories (Palestine and Western Sahara); **only English has official status in more nations** (CIA, 2012). The Arabic-speaking states stretch contiguously across north Africa, including the horn, and over the entire Arabian peninsula. Between the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq, the ongoing press for Palestinian statehood, and the 2011 'Arab Spring' movement that overthrew governments in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, the Arab states have played crucial roles in recent global issues, and are currently linked as much by socio-political flux as they are by language.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

853 BC	First use of 'Arab' to describe language, people
622	**Muhammed** begins his هجرة *hijra* 'migration' from Mecca to Medina
632	Muhammed dies; Abu Bakr, first of four Rashidun caliphs, begins expansion
661-750	Umayyad Caliphs rule from Damascus, **maximal expansion of Arabic empire**
800s	Golden age of Arab-Islamic culture in Baghdad
909-1171	Fatimid Caliphate rises in Mahdia (Tunisia) as Shia rival to Abbasid power
1174-1250	Ayyubid dynasty (incl. Saladin) displaces Fatimids, rules from Cairo
1258	**Mongols sack Baghdad**, kill خليفة *khalifa* 'caliph'
1261	Abbasids restored in Cairo, but as puppets of Mamluk (Arabized ex-slave) army
1516-17	Ottoman-Mamluk War: Syria, Egypt, Arabian peninsula fall to **Ottoman rule**
1916-18	Great Arab Revolt overthrows Ottoman rule in Arabian peninsula, aids Allies
1920-23	Allied treaties with Ottomans/Turkey renege on promise of Arab independence
1944	Arab League formed in Alexandria, Egypt; Arab states pursue independence
1948	State of Israel established; seven Arab nations invade (**Arab-Israeli war**)
1967	Israel takes Gaza, West Bank, Sinai and Golan Heights in Six-Day War
2001	Arab extremists execute September 11th attacks; Arab-West tensions jump
2003	U.S.-led coalition invades Iraq, topples Saddam Hussein, occupies through 2011
2010	Tunisian Mohamed Bouazizi self-immolates to protest government abuses
2011	**'Arab Spring'** movement overthrows regimes in Yemen, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia

2.1 History and Politics

Arabic, a member of the Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family, has its historical roots in **the Arabian peninsula**. The first texts in Ancient North Arabian date from the eighth century B.C. in what is now Saudi Arabia, while Old Arabic dates in written form from the first century B.C. (Woodard, 2008). From there, the language slowly expanded over the peninsula, its writing system starting to resemble its current form in the 5th century A.D.

Regional political organization during this **pre-Islamic period** was marked by kingdoms and tribes of relatively minor weight compared to the different incarnations of the Greco-Roman and Persian Empires that flourished to the northwest and northeast. This state of affairs changed quite rapidly with the 7th-century rise to power of **Muhammed**, who in the space of ten years managed to unite the Arabian peninsula both politically and religiously, paving the way for the subsequent Muslim conquests that would export the Arabic language and culture west to the Atlantic and east to the Indian sub-continent. Little more than a century after Muhammed's death, the Arabian empire (or 'caliphate') stretched from the Himalayas to the Pyrenees, with Arabic studied, in Gibbon's words, "with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville" (Gibbon, 1806: 502).

After 750, the Muhammedan empire began to fracture, starting with a rupture between the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates that split off the Iberian peninsula, where Arab rule would continue until 1492. The Abbasids succeeded in conquering Sicily and some of mainland Italy, and the capital of Baghdad anchored a cultural and scientific **golden age** in the 8th and 9th centuries that stood in stark contrast to the intellectual stagnation of medieval Europe, but the Sunni-Shia rift (see section 2.3 below) led to a rival Fatimid caliphate based in modern-day Tunisia that reflected and contributed to the decline of Abbasid power. Baghdad itself was sacked by the Mongols in 1258, and the transplanted Arab capital in Cairo never recaptured the cultural and political might it had known in the east.

The ensuing centuries witnessed the rise of **the Ottoman empire**, a political force historically based in Turkic rather than Arabic culture, but one also dedicated to Islam, and therefore in close communion with the Arab language. By the 16th century, nearly all of the territory once controlled by the Umayyad caliphate was under Ottoman control, though the firmness and extent of that control would wax and wane. As the Ottoman empire became the 'sick man of Europe' in the 19th century, the European powers--particularly England and France--picked off most of its imperial possessions, so that by the end of World War I, nearly all of the Arabian regions were under European control.

While Saudi Arabia and Yemen managed to avoid direct rule by European powers, most of the modern Arab nations achieved independence in the period following World War II. The post-independence governments varied from monarchies to republics to military dictatorships, but tended to settle into autocracies of one form or another. The 20th century oil boom dramatically boosted the economies of many otherwise resource-poor Arab states, but proved something of a double-edged sword in attracting intervention and exploitation by foreign powers. Recent years have seen unrelenting tension with Israel

over the question of Palestinian statehood, as well as fallout from two U.S.-led wars in Iraq, and excitement mixed with uncertainty over the democratically-oriented uprisings that ousted entrenched strongmen in the **2011 'Arab spring.'**

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

The Arab people are linked by language, politics, culture and genealogy, but none of these aspects alone serves as a defining characteristic. One need not speak the language, live in an Arab state, eat dates, follow Islam, or bear a J1 haplotype to be 'Arabic,' just as none of these traits conclusively categorize a person as such.

The Arabic language is closely connected to Islam الإسلام *al-islām*--a word historically meaning 'submission'--as it is the language in which the Quran is written, and the language in which Muslim prayers are spoken. Thus, a Muslim born in Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Peru or New York will be encouraged to pray in Arabic no matter what his or her home language, and will encounter Arabic when reading the Quran or attending mosque services. It is important to bear in mind, however, that roughly 10% of the world's Arabs are non-Muslims, a majority of them Christian.

Cuisine in the Arab world varies, but there are some commonalities. Much of the Arab diet can be reasonably categorized as 'Mediterranean': yogurt, olives, dates, figs, nuts and cucumbers figure prominently in many typical dishes, as does a ground sesame paste طحينة *ṭaḥīnīa* 'tahini' which has become popular around the world. Meat is important, though Arabs typically avoid pork for religious reasons. Coffee is more popular in the Gulf, with tea predominating in other regions.

Classical Arabic music is known for a musical scale with finer-grained distinctions than the western 12-tone system; this system was developed during Baghdad's golden age by the polymath Al-Farabi. Improvisations and compositions based on variations of the scale, called مقام *maqām*, feature in the classical and contemporary music of much of the Arab world, and have influenced a great deal of other world music, from jazz to flamenco to Bollywood.

Arab dress varies significantly depending on the country and its religious and political atmosphere. In recent years, Saudi Arabia has been among the most traditional, with men wearing robes and headdresses, and women wearing full-body عبائات *abāyāt* 'cloaks.' Egypt has been the most Westernized or liberal, but rapidly changing political currents in the latter country may soon lead to change in sartorial habits.

Arab nationalism, or **pan-Arabism**, emphasizes the unity among Arab peoples in different nations, with goals ranging from cultural collaboration and development to political union. Gamal Abder Nasser, Egypt's second President, intensely pursued these goals in the late 1950s and throughout the

1960s, achieving, albeit briefly, a political union with Syria as the 'United Arab Republic.' Though political unification is currently less of a priority in the Arab world, the promotion of Arab cultural identity continues, with the 21st century explosion of cable news channel الجزيرة *al-jazīrah* '**al-Jazeera'** (literally 'the island') illustrating and developing the cultural links between Arab nations, as well as the global significance of the Arabic language.

Primary among the centrifugal forces working against this movement is the **Sunni-Shia split** within Islam, a centuries-old division stemming from questions over the dynastic legitimacy of early caliphs, with Shiaism developing from the belief that Mohammed's cousin Ali, not Abu Bakr, was the rightful successor to the prophet. As with the Catholic-Protestant schism in Christianity, these early theological differences have grown into deeply entrenched political and cultural divides, with the most glaring recent conflicts erupting in the Iran (Shia)-Iraq (Sunni) War of the 1980s, and in sectarian violence that continues in Iraq today. Estimates put the Shiites at 10-13% of Muslims worldwide (Mapping the Global, 2009).

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

An educated Arabic speaker typically has command of two distinct varieties of the language. One is الفصحى *al-fuṣḥā* 'Modern Standard Arabic,' similar to and derived from classical or Quranic Arabic and typically used in the news media, as well as in other written, formal and/or international contexts; this is the variety used in this section for all Arab words and expressions. In less formal contexts, the speaker will use a **colloquial dialect**, typically his/her home language. The major regional varieties are:

Fig. 2: Major Arabic العامية *al-āmmiyyah* 'Colloquial Dialect' Groups

Mesopotamian (Iraq)
Levantine/Eastern (Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria)
Peninsular (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Yemen)
Egyptian (Chad, Egypt, Sudan)
Maghrebi (Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia)

Linguists describe these groups as constituting a 'dialect continuum,' as opposed to a single language. Broadly speaking, the varieties closest to each other geographically have good mutual intelligibility, while those further away have significantly less. While no comprehensive study on intelligibility between Arabic dialects has been conducted, **Maghrebi Arabic is widely considered the most divergent** of the five groups, with speakers of other varieties reporting that Maghrebi, particularly from Algeria and Morocco, sounds like "another language." Each country typically promotes, directly or indirectly, a standard variety of their particular *āmmiyyah*, but the linguistics literature contains descriptions of hundreds more (Kaye, 1987).

In addition to Modern Standard Arabic and colloquial varieties, **non-Arabic languages** contribute significantly to the linguistic make-up of north Africa and the Middle East. Colonial languages--French and English, mainly--continue to be spoken and studied in Arab countries, particularly in private schools, but do not have state recognition in any of the Arab states except the two Sudans, where English is co-official with Arabic. Millions of migrant workers from Asia have introduced languages like Tagalog, Urdu and Malayalam to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, but these have not been included in the educational system. Indo-European Kurdish is co-official with Arabic in Iraq, and spoken by about 20% of the population, while millions of people in the Maghreb speak **Berber**, a group of languages distantly related to Arabic (in the Afro-Asiatic family) but written with non-Arabic alphabets (CIA, 2012). Algeria recognizes Berber as a "national language," and it is taught in schools throughout Morocco.

2.4 Language and Education

At the turn of the millenium, literacy in the Arab world was estimated at 75% of the adult population, with figures varying from roughly 40% in Mauritania to 90% in Jordan, a statistic that UNESCO describes as "a catastrophe in the making" (Literacy and Adult Education, 2003). By way of comparison, East Asia and Latin America have regional literacy rates of greater than 90% (Road Not Traveled, 2008). Though many of the Arab states instituted free elementary-to-university educational systems in the post-independence period of the 1950s and 1960s, a number of them have recently encouraged the **growth of private schools** at all levels: in Lebanon, Qatar, and the UAE, more than half of elementary school children are enrolled in private institutions.

Increasing investment in education has raised the literacy rate and reduced the gap between male and female literacy to a point of near gender equality (Road Not Traveled, 2008). Nevertheless, education in Arab states still suffers from poorly trained teachers, overemphasis on rote learning, and skill development out of line with current and future job opportunities (Brookings). Due to a high fertility rate from the 1960s to the 1980s, the Arab world has recently experienced a **'youth bulge'** that is only perhaps now starting to subside, a demographic phenomenon that creates huge pressure on employment (Fargues, 2008). Frustration over the high youth unemployment rate--nearly 25% in North Africa and the Middle East (International Labor Organization)-- may have been a factor in the 'Arab Spring' revolutions of 2011 (Adams & Winthrop, 2011), and likely contributes to emigration.

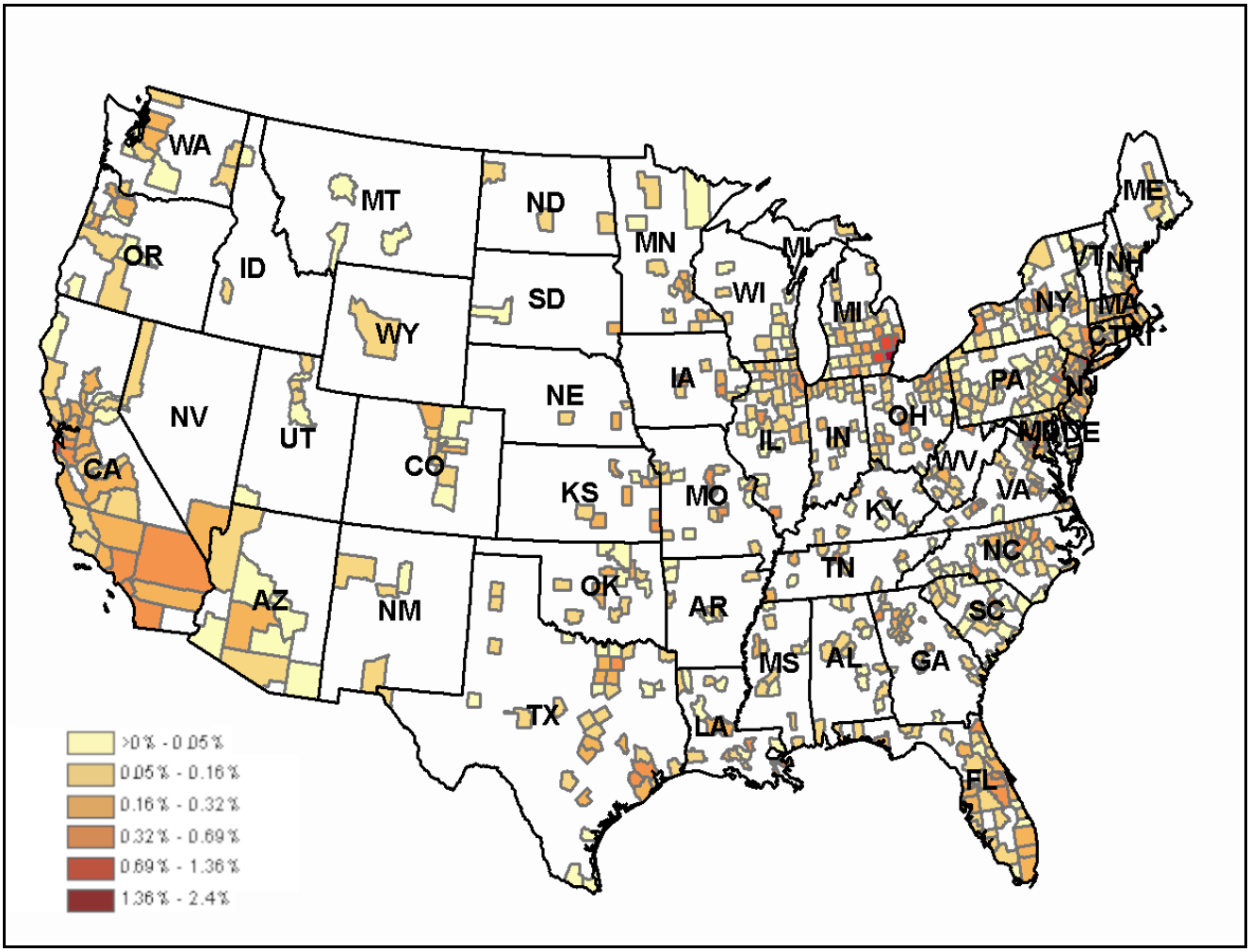
3. Arabic in the United States

Of the more than 20 million first-generation emigrants from the Middle East and North Africa (Fargues), roughly 1.5 million live in the United States, the second largest Arab diaspora after that of France, which counts about the same number from the Maghreb alone (Tribalat, 2009). Arab-speaking immigrants to the United States have been **arriving for over five generations**: a first wave came in the trans-Atlantic slave trade; a second, voluntary wave coming in the 1880s from Greater Syria; a third wave in the period immediately following World War II; a fourth wave of students and professionals

from the eastern Arabic regions in the 1950s and 1960s; a fifth wave fleeing the Lebanese civil war in the 1980s; and a recent sixth wave made up of speakers from around the Arab world. As of the 2000 Census, **Lebanon was the most common country** of origin for Arab-Americans, followed by Syria and Egypt, while Iraq and Morocco were the leading sources of foreign-born immigrants (Shiri, 2010).

Americans of Arab descent are concentrated in five states: California, New York, Michigan, Florida and New Jersey, with Michigan having an especially high concentration of Arab-American residents (Shiri, 2010). The linguistic story echoes the cultural demographics:

Fig. 3: % of US population that speaks Arabic, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



3.1 National Trends

Though 89% of Arab-Americans report speaking English "very well," Arabic ranks seventh among the languages other than English spoken by American children (Shisi), and eighth among home languages of US emergent bilinguals (MPI). Arab-Americans are on the whole better educated and wealthier than not just other immigrant groups, but the American population in general. While this unquestionably

counts as a positive for the community's well-being, **this success probably works against the use of Arabic** in newer generations, as the multilingualism and academic achievement of the elder members of the community allow youngsters to expect non-Arabic responses from them. Nonetheless, increasing pride in Arab identity, the growth of centripetal institutions like al-Jazeera alongside the omnipresent and unifying linguistic force of Islam, and a widening societal regard for bilingualism contribute to signs of stronger support for Arabic (Shisi).

For reasons perhaps similar to those fueling interest in Russian during the Cold War, the study of Arabic as a foreign language has boomed in the last decade. In the five years following September 11th, 2001, the number of college students taking Arabic and the number of institutions offering it both doubled. Those pursuing Arabic to advanced proficiency, however, are strikingly rare in comparison students of other languages at the tertiary level. Efforts are being made to include 'heritage speakers' in higher-level study as well, but thus far with mixed results, as quite often the 'heritage' language is a colloquial variety, but MSA is nearly always what is taught in the classroom (Shisi).

Fig. 4: Arab-American Boldface Names

Ameen Rihani	writer (*Book of Khalid*) 'father' of Arab-Am. lit
Spencer Abraham	U.S. Senator, Secretary of Energy; Lebanese descent
Ralph Nader	U.S. Presidential candidate; Lebanese parents
Kahlil Gibran	best-selling poet (*The Prophet* (1923); born Lebanon
George Mitchell	U.S. Senate majority leader, Lebanese mother
Steve Jobs	founder of Apple; Syrian biological father
Ahmed Zewail	1999 Nobel Prize winner (chemistry); born in Egypt
Edward Said	literary theorist, activist; born in Palestine
F. Murray Abraham	Oscar-winning actor (*Amadeus*); Syrian father

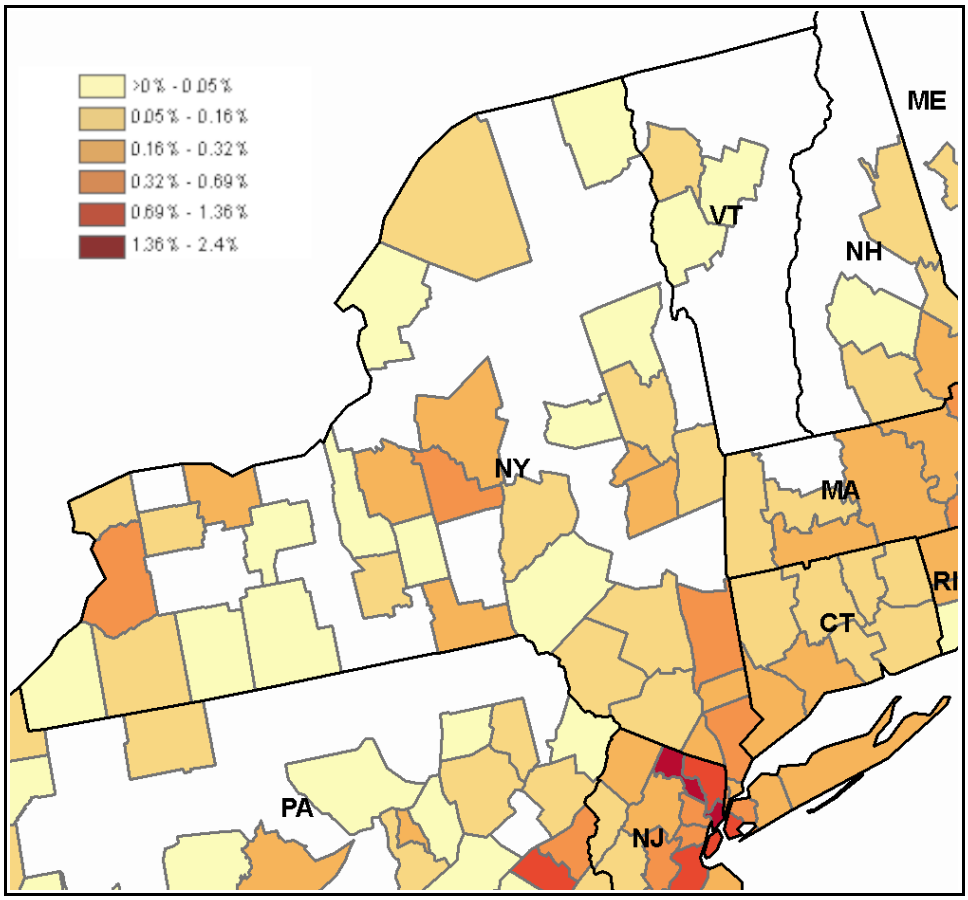
3.2 Arabic in New York State

New York State is home to the third most Arabic speakers in the country, after California and Michigan. The population is quite evenly concentrated around the state, but **Manhattan and Brooklyn** boast the highest numbers of Arabic speakers, both by percentage and by raw numbers. Neither borough features any neighborhood that is predominantly Arabic in character, but Bay Ridge, Brooklyn Heights and a stretch of Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn have been identified as Arab-American enclaves.

In 2012, the AP news service won a Pulitzer Prize for their investigative reporting on the NYPD's spying on and **infiltration of various Muslim populations** around the New York City area, including specific Arabic communities such as Egyptians in Brooklyn Heights and Syrians in Bay Ridge. The outrage and debate fueled by the AP's reporting is only the latest manifestation of a tension that has pervaded the relationship between Arab-Americans and the larger community since September 11th. 'Flying while Arab' remains officially-condoned grounds for intensive scrutiny at airports around the country (Cainker, 2009), and the Kahlil Gibran International Academy, opened in 2007 as Brooklyn

and New York City's first Arabic-English dual language program, became an instant lightning rod for highly-charged media sloganeering and sound bites ("Stop the Madrassa!", "Intifada Principal," etc.) and was shut down in 2011 after four years of operation. Undoubtedly, a key issue in New York and American society today is the need for better understanding of the relationship between the Arabic language and culture, Islam, and American society at large.

Fig. 5: % of NYS population that speaks Arabic, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



4 Structures of Note in Arabic

As mentioned in section 2.3 above, Arabic is a **dialect continuum**, with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) widely read and spoken across the Arab world. Since none of the world's Arab regions disproportionately contributes to New York State immigration, this discussion has opted for MSA as the representative variety. It is important to bear in mind that, while many of the structures below will match or resemble those of a particular speaker's colloquial variety, many others will not.

4.1 Sound System

Compared to English, Arabic has a striking number of sounds made in the back of the mouth and

throat, the **uvular and pharyngeal sounds** [q], [x], [ɣ], [ħ], [ʕ], [h] and [ʔ]. It also differentiates 'emphatic' or 'pharyngealized' consonants [sˤ], [dˤ], [tˤ], and [ðˤ]. The romanization system for the Arabic alphabet used here (see section 4.2 below) transcribes these as:

IPA	[q]	[x]	[ɣ]	[ħ]	[ʕ]	[h]	[ʔ]	[sˤ]	[dˤ]	[tˤ]	[ðˤ]
Roman letter	*q*	*kh*	*gh*	*ḥ*	‘	*h*	’	*ṣ*	*ḍ*	*ṭ*	*ẓ*

The MSA vowel system is relatively simple: there are three vowels /a/, /i/, and /u/, each of which can be short or long, as well as two diphthongs /au/ and /ai/. The long vowels are typically romanized with macrons: *ā*, *ī*, and *ū*. Colloquial varieties often have wider vowel inventories.

Based on comparison of the phoneme inventories of MSA and English, the following sounds may present challenges to learners of English:

(Consonants)	(Vowels)
[v] at the beginning of ‘very’	[æ] at the beginning of ‘ash’
[ŋ] at the end of ‘ring’	[ɛ] at the beginning of ‘egg’
[ʒ] at the end of ‘massage’	[ɪ] at the beginning of ‘igloo’
[ʧ] at the beginning of ‘change’	[ɔ] at the beginning of ‘awful’
	[ʊ] in the middle of ‘put’
	[ə] in the middle of ‘putt’
	[ɔɪ] at the end of ‘toy’

Again, some of these vowels occur commonly in colloquial Arabic.

4.2 Writing Systems

The Arabic alphabet is used throughout the Arab-speaking world, and as the primary writing system for other languages such as Persian/Farsi, Hausa and Urdu. It is written right-to-left, though multi-digit numerals run left to right. Like Hebrew's writing system, it is an '**abjad**,' which means that it typically only represents consonants, not vowels, although vowels can be indicated by diacritics. For instance, the word for 'hello' مرحبا roughly transliterates to *mrḥbā*, but can be expanded to مَرْحَبًا *marḥaban* to indicate vowels and other information, such as the final nasal consonant. Obviously, abjads can be difficult for students at first, but they present little problem to speakers familiar with a language--notice that even English cn b dcntly ndrstd whn wrttn wtht vwls.

The representation of Arabic with the Latin alphabet, or r**omanization**, is very inconsistent from country to country, publisher to publisher, writer to writer, and even word to word. Aside from the

standard problem of mapping sounds and letters to Latin sound-letter correspondences, there are the additional difficulties of abjad-to-alphabet mapping, the range of pronunciation across the Arab-speaking continuum, the question of transcription vs. transliteration, and the lack of any one dominant system that has yet attained historical momentum. Unlike 'Pinyin' for Chinese, or 'Hunterian' for Hindi, even the names for Arabic's romanizations are uninspiring: DIN 31635, ISO, UNGEGN, and ALA-LC are four of the most widely used. This discussion has aimed to consistently employ the **ALA-LC romanization** established by the US Library of Congress.

4.3 Grammar

Although the classical/Quranic Arabic upon which MSA is based is a 'verb first' language, the colloquial varieties and MSA itself are basically SVO in their syntax, like English. The conjugation of verbs follows a patterning based on tri-consonantal roots that some linguists have described as "algebraic" and "too perfect": a root--*KTB*, for instance, which has to do with 'writing'--is transformed through the addition of various vowels and prefixes to take 10 different forms, e.g. 'he wrote' *kataba*, 'he writes' *yaktubu*, 'to keep up a correspondence' *yatakāba*, and so on (Kaye, 1987).

In general, Arabic is less 'analytic' than English; what takes several words to say in English can often be expressed by a single word in Arabic: *qataltuhu* 'I killed him' (Kaye, 1987). As in Russian and African-American English, some present-time sentences can omit the verb 'to be': 'Muhammed is an engineer' can be grammatically expressed as محمد مهندس *Muḥammad muhandis*, with no verb present.

4.4 How Names Work

Traditionally, Arabic names had long, chain-like structures with multiple patronymics, i.e. personal names passed down from male antecedents, with the actual number and ordering of elements rather flexible. In recent years, however, Arabic names have been gravitating toward shorter, western-style structures. Egypt's first president had five names-- Mohamed Naguib Yousef Qotp Elkashlan (he was given the personal name *Mohamed* by his father Youssef Naguib)--but was followed by one with four (Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussain), who was in turn succeeded by the three-named Mohamed Anwar el-Sadat. The most commonly used surname is typically the father's (e.g. *Naguib*, *Nasser*, and *el-Sadat*).

4.4 Classroom ‘Friends’ and Phrases

Fig. 6: Arabic-English Classroom ‘Friends’

Elementary

قطن	*quṭn*	‘cotton’
دلفين	*dulfīn*	‘dolphin’
جرة	*jarah*	‘jar’
ليمون	*laymūwn*	‘lemon’
سفاري	*safarī*	‘safari’
سبانخ	*sabānikh*	‘spinach’
سكر	*sukkar*	‘sugar’
شراب	*sharāb*	‘syrup’
صفر	*sifr*	‘zero’

Intermediate

اميرال	*amirāl*	‘admiral’
كحول	*kuḥūl*	‘alcohol’
جبر	*jabr*	‘algebra’
ترسانة	*tarsana*	‘arsenal’
خرشوف	*kharshūf*	‘artichoke’
بربري	*barbarī*	‘barbarian’
كمياء	*kimya’a*	‘chemistry’
إلكتروني	*iliktrūnī*	‘electronic’
حناء	*hinā’*	‘henna’
صقيل	*satīl*	‘satin’

Secondary

بكتيريا	*baktīryā*	‘bacteria’
بورق	*būraq*	‘borax’
شيفرة	*shīfra’*	‘cipher’
إكسير	*iksīr*	‘elixir’
فاشية	*fāshīya*	‘fascism’
ياسمين	*yāsamīn*	‘jasmine’
لوغاريتم	*lughārītm*	‘logarithm’
زعفران	*za’afaran*	‘saffron’
تعريفة	*ta’rīfah*	‘tariff’

Fig. 7: Classroom Phrases in Arabic and English

'Hello.'	*marḥaban*	مرحبا
'Welcome to our classroom.'	*marḥaban bikm fī ṣaff lidīnā*	مرحبا بكم في صف لدين
'How are you?'	*kayfa ḥālak/ḥālik (f)?*	كيف حالك؟
'What do you need?'	*malzā taḥtāj?*	ماذا تحتاج؟
'The bathroom?'	*al-ḥammām?*	الحمام؟
'Good work!'	*amal jayyid!*	عمل جيد!
	aḥsant!	احسنت!
'Thanks!'	*shukran*	شكرا!
'Please.'	*minfaḍlak /-lik* (f)	من فضلك
'Excuse me' / 'you're welcome'	*afwan*	عفوا
'Did you mean...?'	*ataqṣid...*	اتقصد...
'How do you say... in Arabic?'	*kayfa taqr kāma... bā arabiyah?*	كيف تقول كلمة ... بالعربية؟
'What are your thoughts?'	*mā ray'aka?*	ما رأيك؟
'How can I help you?'	*kayfa yumkinunī musā'adatuka?*	كيف يمكنني مساعدتك؟
'Stand up'	*qif*	قف
'Sit down'	*ijlis*	اجلس
'Read'	*iqra'a*	اقرا
'Write'	*uktub*	اكتب
'Listen'	*isma'a*	اسمع
'Answer'	*ajib*	اجب
'Talk to your partner'	*tahadath ma'a sharīkak*	تحدث مع شريك حياتك
'Open your book'	*iftah kitabuka*	افتح كتابك
'Take out your pencil'	*akhrij qalamar-raṣāṣ*	أخرج قلم الر صاص
'Copy your homework'	*insakḥ wājibuk*	انسخ واجبك

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Bengali

1. Bengali in Brief

Bengali for 'Bengali (language)':
বাংলা *bāṇlā* [ˈbaŋ.la]
Bengali word for 'English (language)':
ইংরেজি *iṇrēji* [ˈiŋ.re.ʤi]
Writing system(s):
Bengali (alphasyllabic/abugida)
Official national language in:
Bangladesh
Minority language (> 5% speakers):
India (Lewis, 2009)
Language family (related languages):
Indo-European / Eastern Indo-Aryan (Assamese, Oriya, Hindi-Urdu)
US Speakers (Shin & Kominsky 2010):
190,090
Did you know that...

... the name বাংলাদেশ *bāṇlādēśa* 'Bangladesh' means 'country of Bengali language'?

... the Bengali film industry in Kolkata was called 'Tollywood' well before the Indian industry became known as 'Bollywood'?

... UNESCO's choice of February 21st as 'International Mother Tongue Day' pays tribute to the deaths of several Bangladeshi 'Language Movement' protesters in 1952?

2 Bengali in Global Context

With over 200 million speakers, Bengali--increasingly known in English as '**Bangla**,' a term closer to the form used by its speakers when speaking it--is the sixth or seventh most widely spoken language in the world (Lewis, 2009), ranking very close to Portuguese, and well ahead of Russian and Japanese. It is the **national language of Bangladesh**, a nation founded with linguistic independence as its organizing principle, and an official regional language in the Indian states of West Bengal and Tripura. Bengali has a long literary tradition stretching back about a thousand years, including the early 20th-century poet Rabindranath Tagore, Asia's first Nobel Prize laureate. It is also the language of the fastest-growing major ethnic community in the USA, as the number of Bangladeshi-Americans saw more than a 200% increase between 2000 and 2010 (Hoeffel et al 2012).

2.1 History and Politics

Indo-European languages entered South Asia around the 16th century B.C., and were dominant in the region of Bengal by the 4th century B.C. The classical language Sanskrit established a strong presence throughout the peninsula during these centuries, but by the time Bengal came under unified political control, the Sanskrit language had already taken on a formal, institutional character, much akin to Church Latin in Europe's Dark Ages. Like European 'vulgates' French and Spanish, vernacular Prakrits like **Maghadi** developed alongside Sanskrit, and it is Maghadi that is seen as the direct linguistic 'ancestor' of modern Bengali, with writing in Old Bengali dating from the 11th century A.D.

The **Hindu, Buddhist, and Muslim faiths** have all excercised considerable religious and political influence over Bengal throughout the centuries: Hindu with the Gupta Empire, Buddhism with the Pali Empire, and most recently Islam with the Mughal Empire. Britain also played a big role in Bengal's history: its subcontinental colonial regime operated out of the West Bengal city of Calcutta (now Kolkata), originally a factory-town fortification against local administrators and competing traders. 18th to 19th century 'Company Raj' and the subsequent, direct 'British Raj' left a significant linguistic legacy, as English remains an important language in present-day Bengal.

The triumph of India's **1947 independence from Britain** was tempered by the chaos of the sub-continent's Partition into primarily Hindu India and officially Islamic Pakistan, which itself was divided into West and East wings, the latter corresponding to present-day Bangladesh. In addition to the human suffering engendered by family uprootings and border skirmishes, the Partition sliced the historical region of Bengal into West Bengal, which remained in India, and East Bengal, which became part of Pakistan: they remain under different governments to this day.

The 24-year Pakistani rule of Bengal from 1947 to 1971 was marked by immediate and intense **linguistic politics** and eventually serious bloodshed. From its first days, the government insisted on Urdu--widely spoken in present-day Pakistan, but far less to Bangladesh--as the official language in both wings of the country, and fired on and killed several 'Language Movement' protesters who gathered to demonstrate against the policy in 1952. Things came to a head in late 1970, when the Bhola Cyclone struck East Pakistan, killing roughly 300,000, and the West Pakistani-dominated government was widely perceived as failing to provide a credible relief effort. As protests for independence grew, the Pakistani government unleashed a military crackdown that American diplomats confidentially described as 'genocide,' but which received little world media coverage. Analyses have since put the number of killings in the 1971 **Bangladesh Atrocities** above one million, and no Pakistani general has ever stood trial for ordering them (Lamb, 2005). When India's role grew from support for Bangladesh to overt military engagement, the conflict ended quickly, with Pakistani forces surrendering in December of 1971, and Bangladesh gaining independence. Though West Bengal has seen somewhat more

political stability than Bangladesh has over the past 40 years, both halves of Bengal are today under democratic rule.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

16th c. B.C.	Indo-Aryan speakers migrate to Indian subcontinent from Central Asia
6th c. B.C.	Classical Sanskrit described in **Pāṇini's grammar**, widespread in subcontinent
4th c. B.C.	Gangaridai empire first to unite region of Bengal under Indo-Aryan rule
1st c. A.D.	Vernacular Maghadi Prakrit develops written tradition alongside Sanskrit
4th-5th c.	Gupta empire rules India (including Bengal); 'Golden Age' of Indian culture
590-625	শশাঙ্ক *Śaśāṅka* 'Shashanka' forges independent kingdom in Bengal
9th c.	Height of **Pala Empire**: territory stretches from Malaysia to modern Afghanistan
11th c.	Bengali emerges as written language; early texts include চর্যাপদ *Caryāpada*
12th c.	Hindu Sena empire overthrows Buddhist Pali rule; caste system introduced
1203	Muhammad Khilji conquers Bengal for Sultanate of Delhi; Islam grows
15th c.	Chandidas writes *Śrīkrṣṇakīrtana kābya*, exemplifying 'Middle Bengali'
1494-1519	Alauddin Husain Shah oversees period of Bengali peace, prosperity
16th-18th c.	Mughal Empire; Europeans develop, compete for trade outposts
1757	British troops win Battle of Plassey: **'Company Raj'** begins under E. India Co.
1859	Attempt to overthrow British rule leads to direct control by Britain ('British Raj')
19th-20th c.	Bengal Renaissance: Rabindranath Tagore wins Nobel Prize for Lit. (1913)
1947	Indian independence: Bengal split into Hindu-dominant West Bengal state within India, Muslim-dominant East Pakistan within geographically split Pakistan
1952	Four killed in ভাষা আন্দোলন *bhāṣā āndōlana* 'Language Movement' protests
1970-1971	Bhola Cyclone; Liberation War; **Bangladesh wins independence** from Pakistan
2006	Muhammed Yunus wins Nobel Peace Prize for work with microloans

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

Bangladesh is one of the top ten densest and most populous countries on earth, and occupies a low-lying, riparian geographical space that has left its people vulnerable to cataclysmic flooding and famine. Despite steady economic growth in recent years, Bangladesh remains a poor country, with a per capita GDP on par with that of Kenya and North Korea. Remittances sent home from workers abroad account for a significant share of the Bangladeshi economy, and 45% of the labor force works in the **agricultural sector**. In 2000, only 15% of the population had access to electricitly (Imam, 2005). Economic comparisons between the Indian states West Bengal and Tripura and Bangladesh are difficult to draw, but basic conditions are relatively similar: large service and agricultural sectors and similar standards of living. Kolkata is the major city of West Bengal, and Dhaka the capital and primary city of Bangladesh; the state of Tripura has a population smaller than each of the two cities.

The concentration of Muslims in East Bengal and Hindus in West Bengal was intensified by the 1947 Partition: today, nearly 90% of Bangladesh is Muslim, and 72% of West Bengal Hindu. Both India and Bangladesh have striven to maintain **secular governments**, in contrast with Pakistan, an explicitly Islamic Republic. Nonetheless, Islamic fundamentalists have pushed for Sharia rule in Bangladesh, though these efforts have fallen short to date and several extremist Muslim groups have been outlawed (Bangladesh, 2012).

A number of 20th century Bengali writers have come to be recognized around the world: Tagore, Nazrul Islam, and the 1960s 'Hungryalists' are among the most prominent. **Bengali cinema** thrives in the two big cities of Bengal: Kolkata, home of 'Tollywood,' and Dhaka, home of 'Dhaliwood.' Though neither matches up to Bombay's 'Bollywood' film industry in quantity or quality of cinematic output, Bengal movies and their creators--most notably Satyajit Ray--have won prizes and enthusiasts around the world. Cricket is closely followed in Bengal as in most of India, but the region is also **the most soccer-hungry** of any in the Indian sub-continent, with India's newest Premier soccer league starting up in West Bengal in 2012.

Bengali food prominently features rice, ডাল *ḍāla* 'split lentils', and fish, the latter element something that particularly distinguishes it from other cuisines of the Indian sub-continent: it is said that '**fish and rice make a Bengali**' (de Graaf & Latif, 2002). মিষ্টি দই *miṣṭi da'i* 'sweet yogurt' is a popular Bengali dessert, usually sweetened with sugar.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

Linguists typically identify six regional dialects of Bengali, all mutually intelligible:

Fig. 2: Regional Bangla উপভাষা *upabhāṣā* 'Dialects'

North
Rajbanshi
East
South
Rarhi and Jharkhandi
Varendri and Kamrupi

Perhaps more notable than this regional variation is the presence of three distinctive Bangla registers: সাধু *sādha* 'chaste' Bengali, a formal, literary, highly Sanskrit-derived variety that has greatly waned in influence; চলিত *calita* 'current' Bengali, the most common written variety, sometimes known as Standard Colloquial Bengali; and আঞ্চলিক *āñcalika* 'regional' varieties like those outlined above, typically spoken, not written.

Both Bangladesh and West Bengal have governmental language academies (based in Dhaka and Kolkata, respectively) dedicated to research and, to some extent, standardization of the language. **English is the most widely spoken language after Bengali** (Bangladesh, 2012), while other significant minority languages--Chittagonian, Rangpuri, and Sylheti--are East Indo-Aryan tongues that have developed low mutual intelligibility with Bengali and are therefore classified by linguists as distinct languages. Centuries of co-existence with Sanskrit led to a huge number of Sanskrit 're-borrowings,' so labeled because Bengali had in many cases already 'inherited' the word from its Indo-Aryan common ancestor. By some estimates, these Sanskrit borrowings constitute the majority of modern Bengali words, but they tend to be relatively abstract and literary terms, and occur less frequently than those derived from Prakrit or foreign sources (Anderson, 1962). Arabic has contributed a significant number of Bengali words, as have Persian, Turkish, Portuguese, and English.

2.4 Language and Education

Less than half of Bangladeshis are literate, with a gap of over 10% between male and female rates (Bangladesh, 2012). Most Bangladeshi students attend schools in which Bengali is the medium of instruction, though there are also Muslim schools (madrasahs) with classes run in Arabic, and private schools that utilize English as instructional medium, typically following a British curriculum. Generally, the English-language schools are perceived as 'higher-status,' with the public Bangla schools occupying a middle tier, and the Arabic-language madrasahs perceived as inferior, in terms of both resources and teacher training. Efforts to boost education in other minority languages are essentially non-existent; many of these would need significant development of written materials beforehand. **The average class size in 1997 was 56 students** (Imam, 2005).

India's school system is similarly structured to that of Bangladesh, with the regional language in states like West Bengal the standard language of instruction, but English taught early on as a second language and a popular medium of instruction in private schools. The literacy rate in West Bengal is 77.1%, significantly higher than that in Bangladesh, with only a 5% gender gap, but as with Bangladesh, **India's student-teacher ratio is among the highest in the world** (Zhang et al, 2008).

3. Bengali in the United States

The fact that today's living Bengali speakers may have been born in the British Raj, India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh makes the study of Bengali-specific immigration far more difficult than that of broader sub-continental immigration. A further complicating factor is that the US Census did not collect any data about Bengali as a home language until 2000, and released its first Bengali data in 2010. Nonetheless, what we do know paints the picture of a language community undergoing a tremendous growth spurt: the US Bengali-speaking population rose from 128,820 in 2000 to 190,090 for the period 2006-08, an **increase of nearly 50% in well under a decade** (US Census, 2010a).

3.1 National Trends

In 2006-08, New York State was home to 73,166 Bengali speakers; by comparison, no other state had as many as 20,000 (US Census, 2010a). Though few studies have been done to track language shift in the US Bengali-speaking community, the explosive recent growth in Bengali speakers indicates a primarily first-generation population, one for which these issues are only beginning to unfold. Nonetheless, the community has had a significant presence in US society for many years:

Fig. 3: Bengali-American boldface names

Amar Bose	Sound engineer, founder of Bose Corporation; father born Bengal
Hansen Clarke	U.S. Representative (MI); father immigrated from Bengal
Rajat Gupta	Former CEO of McKinsey and Co.; born in Kolkata
Norah Jones	Grammy-winning singer; daughter of sitarist Ravi Shankar
Jawed Karim	Co-founder of YouTube; Bengali father, German mother
Fazlur Khan	Engineer/co-designer of Chicago's Sears Tower; born in Dhaka
Salman Khan	Educator, founder of Khan Academy; Bengali mother and father
Jhumpa Lahiri	Pulitzer-winning author (*The Namesake*); parents from W. Bengal

3.2 Bengali in New York State

As of 2006-08, New York's Bengali-speaking population was overwhelmingly concentrated in the five boroughs of New York City: 29,540 in Queens, 10,050 in Brooklyn, 4,795 in the Bronx, 2,705 in Manhattan, and 400 in Staten Island--**15% of the US Bengali-speaking population lives in Queens** (US Census, 2010a). Though the study of Bengali has yet to take firm root in American universities--only two doctoral programs in Bengali currently exist--the growing number of Bengali speaking children has led New York State to offer Bilingual Education certification in Bengali, which has in turn motivated Queens's Laguardia Community College to develop a program in Bengali bilingual education, with heritage language and Bengali literature courses.

4 Structures of Note in Bengali

Bengali shares many words, sounds, and grammatical features with other Indo-Aryan languages, but also appears to exhibit influences from surrounding languages with which it is not directly related, particularly the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the East (Klaiman, 1987).

4.1 Sound System

Word stress in Bengali is very straightforward: the **first syllable of every word receives stress** (Klaiman, 1987). It should be remembered, however, that stress contrasts are weaker in Bengali than in English (Hayes & Lahiri, 1991); English-speaking learners of Bengali may 'over-stress' syllables, while Bengali-speaking learners of English may not differentiate stress sufficiently.

Bengali has 14 vowel phonemes: the five Latin vowels [a,e,i,o,u], plus two others familiar to English speakers [æ,ɔ]. All seven of these have nasal versions; these **nasal vowels** may present more of a challenge. The consonant system involves contrasts for aspiration--a short following puff of air--and retroflex articulation, involving the tongue curled back to touch the hard palate. These result in subtle minimal pairs such as পুল *pula* [pul] 'bridge,' and ফুল *phula* [pʰul] 'flower,' which differ only in the aspirated puff after the first consonant; or সাত *sāta* [ʃat] 'seven' and ষাট *śāṭa* [ʃaʈ] 'sixty,' which differ only in the retroflex pronunciation of the final consonant.

Bengali's lack of interdental and labiodental fricatives makes the English 'f,' 'v,' and 'th' sounds particularly difficult for Bengali-speaking students, particularly at the beginner level (Roy, 1969). A number of other English phonemes are also foreign to the Bangla sound system:

(Consonants)
[θ] at the beginning of 'thin'
[ð] at the beginning of 'this'
[f] at the beginnig of 'fan'
[v] at the beginning of 'van'
[z] at the beginning of 'zoo'

(Vowels)
[ɛ] in the middle of 'pet'
[ɪ] at the beginning of 'igloo'
[ə] in the middle of 'putt'
[ʊ] in the middle of 'put'

4.2 Writing Systems

Bengali is written left-to-right with the বাংলা লিপি *bāṇlā lipi* 'Bengali script,' which differs from the Devangari script used to write Hindi, but derives from the same ancestral system, called Brahmi. Bengali's is not considered a pure alphabet, but **an 'abugida' system**, in which consonants and vowels have unique symbolic forms, but are written combined into syllables. Vowels only appear in their indepedent forms when they begin syllables; otherwise they are incorporated into the preceding consonant in 'combining forms.' Thus, the vowel [a] is written with the symbol 'আ,' but in the word চা *cā* [ʧa] 'tea,' the symbol is reduced to its combining form in order to adjoin to the consonant 'চ' [ʧ]. Punctuation was borrowed from English in the colonial period, and includes its familiar periods, exclamation marks, and question marks; there are, however, no capital letters of any kind in Bengali script.

The romanization of Bengali is done through transliteration, which is to say that every symbol gets faithfully converted to a Latin symbol or series thereof, regardless of pronunciation. This makes conversion easy, but has the drawback that reading **the romanized version may mislead pronunciation somewhat**, as the sounds of Bangla--like those of English--have changed signficantly since its spelling became standardized, leaving multiple symbols that make one sound, and occasionally symbols that stand for no sound at all. This is usually the case with **silent final '*a*' in transliteration**: e.g., সাত *sāta* [ʃat] 'seven' and ষাট *śāṭa* [ʃaʈ] 'sixty.' Note that both the *s* and *ś* symbols yield the same pronunciation [ʃ]. The 'underdots' for consonants indicate retroflex pronunciation, while the letter '*h*' following a consonant indicates aspiration, as in *phula* [pʰul] 'flower' above.

Transliterated 'long' and 'short' vowels, e.g. *ā* and *a*, **are pronounced the same**, as vowel length is not contrastive in modern Bangla, and the transliterated difference mostly reflects Bengali script conventions. Multiple transliteration systems for the language exist, including those that omit vowel length macrons; this discussion has for the most part followed the relatively standard National Library of Kolkata (NLK) scheme, but has taken a common liberty in substituting the symbol *ṇ* for *ṃ* in representing Bengali 'ং' which stands for [ŋ], as in বাংলা *bāṇlā* [ˈbaŋ.la].

4.3 Grammar

Bengali sentences typically come with their verbs last: it is characterized as an SOV language. Unlike English, as well as most of the languages with which English has significant contact, **Bengali does not mark any gender**, even in its pronoun system. Both 'he' and 'she' translate to the same word, which varies depending on the proximity of the speaker to the person in question. Adjectives precede the nouns they modify, as in English, but prepositions (more properly 'postpositions') go after their accompanying nouns, e.g. টেবিলের উপর *ṭēbilēra upara* 'on the table.'

4.4 How Names Work

Bengali names generally follow the pattern **PERSONAL MIDDLE FAMILY** familiar to New Yorkers; thus, Rajat Kumar Gupta was given the first two names by his parents Pran Kumari Gupta and Ashwini Kumar Gupta. Historically, the family name may bear associations with the caste system.

4.5 'Friends' and Classroom Phrases

The silent final '*a*'s in the following words and phrases have been set off in parentheses to remind readers that, although represented in Bengali writing, they are not to be pronounced:

Fig. 4: Bengali-English Academic 'Friends'

Elementary

চিতা	*citā*	'cheetah'
কম্পিউটার	*kampi'uṭār(a)*	'computer'
খাট	*khāṭ(a)*	'cot'
ডাক্তার	*ḍāktār(a)*	'doctor'
হেলিকোপটার	*hēlikōpṭār(a)*	'helicopter'
জঙ্গল	*jaṅgal(a)*	'jungle'
নোটবই	*nōṭba'i*	'notebook'
পিরামিড	*pirāmiḍ(a)*	'pyramid'
শ্যাম্পু	*śyāmpu*	'shampoo'
স্কুল	*skul(a)*	'school'
টেবিল	*ṭēbil(a)*	'table'
টেলিফোন	*ṭēliphōn(a)*	'telephone'

Intermediate

কার্বোহাইড্রেট	*kārbōhā'iḍrēṭ(a)*	'carbohydrates'
ডায়নামিক	*ḍāẏnāmik(a)*	'dynamic'
জিন	*jin(a)*	'gene'
গ্রাফ	*grāph(a)*	'graph'
ল্যাপটপ	*lyāpṭap(a)*	'laptop'
প্রোটিন	*prōṭin(a)*	'proteins'
প্রবাদ	*prabād(a)*	'proverb'
শাল	*śāl(a)*	'shawl'
সস্বস্তিকা চিহ্ন	*sbastika cihna*	'swastika'
সিস্টেম	*sisṭēm(a)*	'system'
ভোট	*bhōṭ(a)*	'vote'
যোগ ব্যায়াম	*yōg byāẏām(a)*	'yoga'

Secondary

কমিউনিজম	*kami'unijam(a)*	'communism'
এনজাইম	*ēnajā'im(a)*	'enzyme'
কর্মফল	*karmaphal(a)*	'karma'
জগন্নাথ দেব	*jagannāth(a) dēb(a)*	'juggernaut'
লিপিড	*lipiḍ(a)*	'lipids'
ম্যান্ডারিন	*myānḍārin(a)*	'mandarin'
নির্বাণ	*nirbāṇ(a)*	'nirvana'
পরাশ্রয়িতা	*parāśraẏitā*	'parasitism'
পার্টিশন	*pārṭiśan(a)*	'partition'

Fig. 5: Classroom Phrases in Bengali and English

Greetings & Questions

হ্যালো *Hyālō* 'Hello'

স্বাগতম আমাদের ক্লাসরুমে.

Sbāgatam(a) āmādēr(a) klāsrumē.
'Welcome to our classroom.'

কেমন আছো তুমি?

Kēman(a) ācho tumi? 'How are you?'
[often romanized *Kemon ācho tumi?*]

আপনার কি প্রয়োজন?

Āpnar(a) ki praẏōjana?
'What do you need?'

আপনার বাথরুমে যেতে হবে?

Āpnar(a) bāthrumē ẏētē habē?
'Do you need to go to the bathroom?'

Compliments & Niceties

ভালো কাজ!

Bhālō kāj(a)! 'Good work!'

আপনাকে ধন্যবাদ!

Āpnākē dhan'nabād(a)! 'Thank you!

দয়া করে. *Daẏā karē.* 'Please.'

মাফ করবেন.

Māph(a) karbēn(a). 'Excuse me.'

Communication

আপনার কথার অর্থ কি...?

Āpnār(a) ēra artha ki ...?
'Do you mean ... ?'

আপনার চিন্তা কি?

Āpnār(a) cintā ki?
'What are your thoughts?'

আমি কিভাবে আপনাকে সাহায্য করতে পারি?

Āmi kibhābē āpnākē sāhāẏya kartē pāri?
'How can I help you?'

Directions

দাঁড়ান	*Dāṛān(a)*	'Stand up'
বসেন	*Basēn(a)*	'Sit down'
পড়ুন	*Paṛun(a)*	'Read'
লিখুন	*Likhun(a)*	'Write'
শুনুন	*Śunun(a)*	'Listen'
উত্তর দিন	*Uttar(a) din(a)*	'Answer'

আপনার সঙ্গীর সঙ্গে কথা বলুন

Āpnār(a) saṅgīr(a) saṅgē kathā balun(a)
'Talk to your partner'

আপনার দলের কাজ করুন

Āpnār(a) dalēr(a) kāj(a) karun(a)
'Work in your group'

আপনার বইটি খুলুন

Āpnār(a) ba'iṭi khulun(a)
'Open your book'

আপনার পকলম / পেন্সিল বের করুন

Āpnār(a) kalam(a)/pēnsil(a) bēr(a) korun(a)
'Take out your pen/pencil'

আপনার বাড়ির কাজ কপি করুন

Āpnār(a) bāṛir(a) kāj(a) kapi karun(a)
'Copy your homework'

5 Further Reading and References

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Chinese

1. Chinese in Brief

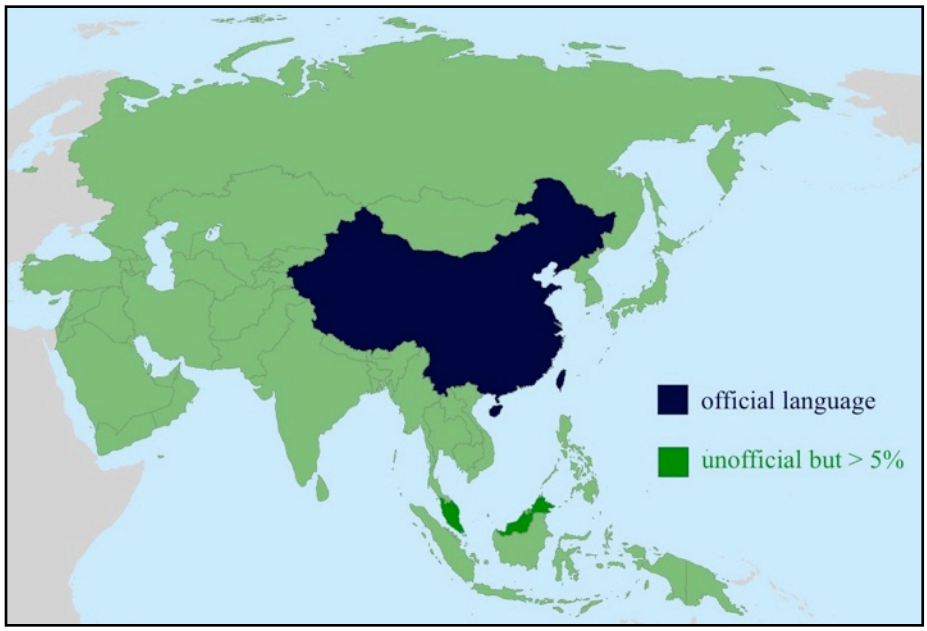
Chinese for 'Chinese (language)':
中文 *zhōngwén* [tʂʊŋ.ɥən]
Chinese word for 'English (language)':
英语 *yīngyǔ* [iŋ.y]
Writing system(s):
汉字 *hànzì* [xan.tsi] 'Chinese characters'--simplified or traditional
拼音 *pīnyīn* [pʰin.in] 'Pinyin' (official romanization)
Official national language (*co-official) in:
China (pop. 1,343,239,923)
Taiwan (pop. 23,113,901)
*Singapore (pop. 5,353,494) (China, 2012)
Minority language (> 5% speakers):
Malaysia (Lewis)
Language family (related languages):
Sino-Tibetan (Burmese, Karen)
US Speakers (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):
2,464,572
Ethnic Chinese in US (US Census, 2010b):
4,110,787
Top 3 US Metro areas where Chinese is spoken (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):
New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco
Did you know that...
... Taiwan, though primarily Chinese-speaking today, is the ancestral home of the Austronesian language family, which includes Malagasy, Tagalog, and Hawaiian?
... 冥婚 *mínghún* 'ghost marriages'--in which one or more party is deceased--have recently been on the upswing in rural China? (N.D., 2012)

2 Chinese in Global Context

'Chinese' is the name given to a number of **closely related but not mutually-intelligible languages**, most prominently Mandarin, Wu, Cantonese/Yue, Gan, Hakka, Xiang, and Min, each spoken by over 20 million people (Lewis, 2009). The significant differences between the spoken forms of these languages lead linguists to view Chinese as a 'macrolanguage' or language group, but there are nevertheless good reasons to consider them together, at least for the purposes of overview. First, they are all historically rooted in the same political entity, namely China. They share a common writing system--i.e., a Wu speaker can read a letter written by a Hakka speaker with no difficulty, though conversation in Hakka might be unintelligible to her--and the speakers of all six share well-established lingua francas, typically Mandarin but also Cantonese. Finally,

they are conceived of as a single language both worldwide and in China, e.g. the United States Census does not distinguish between speakers of Wu and Mandarin, but files all such speakers under 'Chinese.' This discussion will use Mandarin for the romanization and pronunciation guides for all Chinese language examples, but will take the macrolanguage 'Chinese' and its speakers as its broad subject.

Even considered apart from its sister languages, Mandarin is **the most widely spoken language in the world**, with over 800 million people counting it as a home language (Lewis, 2009). It is the official language of the People's Republic of China, the world's most populous country, and also of the Republic of China, more commonly known as Taiwan. Both nations have seen tremendous economic growth over the past two generations, Taiwan under a democratic government, and China under a communist system, albeit one increasingly comfortable with the notions of private property and free trade. Chinese is spoken by a large and growing Chinese diaspora, with nearly 2.5 million speakers in the United States alone.



2.1 History and Politics

The history of Chinese has taken place in a relatively stable political and geographical space, at least compared to the histories of other languages. The Chinese languages are thought to have developed from a common Proto **Sino-Tibetan** tongue that was spoken somewhere on the Himalayan plateau or in the Yellow River valley more than 6,000 years ago before splitting into the Tibetan and Burmese languages to the west, and the Sinitic/Chinese languages to the east (LaPolla, 2008). Centralized political control of large portions of modern China (and beyond) developed as early as the Shang Dynasty in the 16th century BC, and the earliest Chinese writing--arguably the world's first writing--followed shortly thereafter. Pre-20th century Chinese history is typically organized by **dynasties**, ruling clans with strong and wide influence that would claim the 天命 *tiānmìng* 'mandate of heaven,' a concept quite similar to the European notion of 'divine right of kings.' It should be remembered that the full story is more complex than a single dynasty's story: at any given moment in time, competing clans and/or those remote

from the dynastic center of power had significant impact on the culture and language, and do not merely appear out of nowhere to take their turn at the helm.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

16-11th c. B.C.	Shang Dynasty: oldest extant Chinese writing carved into 'oracle bones,' bronzes
1122-256	Zhou Dynasty: 'Old Chinese'
	Spring & Autumn Per. (771-476); 孔子 ***Kongzi*** '**Confucius**' (*Analects*)
	Warring States Period (476-223): early 易经 *yì jīng* 'I Ching'
221-206	Qin Dynasty: major building of Great Wall; burning of books, scholars
206 B.C.-220 A.D.	Han Dynasty; 'Silk Road' to Europe blossoms as catalyst for cultural exchange; **Han ethnicity emerges** as dominant force in Chinese history
589-618 A.D.	Sui Dynasty: first Buddhist dynasty; Grand Canal begun; 'Early Middle Chinese'
618-907	Tang Dynasty; art (Han Gan, Zhang Xuan) and literature (Li Bai, Du Fu) flourish
	An Lushan Rebellion (755-763) major humanitarian atrocity
10th c.	Five Dynasties and 10 Kingdoms Period: 'Late Middle Chinese'
960-1279	Song Dynasty; civil service exams grow in importance; movable type invented
1271-1368	Yuan Dynasty: Kublai Khan (grandson of Genghis) brings Mongols to power
1368-1644	Ming Dynasty; return of Han power; Shaanxi Earthquake (1556) kills 800,000
	Spanish and Dutch occupy Formosa (modern Taiwan) 1626-1662
1644-1912	Qing Dynasty; northeastern Manchus rule, integrate with Han culture
	China loses Sino-Japanese War (1895); Taiwan to Japanese until WWII
	Wuchang Uprising sparks **Xinhai Revolution** (1911), Republic of China
1937-1945	2nd Sino-Japanese War; Japanesse kill 250,000 in Nanking Massacre (1937-38)
1949	Civil War: Communist victory over Nationalists ushers in Chinese Revolution
1966-1970s	Cultural Revolution; Mao dies (1976); Deng Xiaoping begins market reforms
1989	**Tiananmen Square** protests trigger martial law
2001	China joins World Trade Organization

Though contact between China and 'the West'--India, Europe, the Middle East, and later North and South America--dates back more than 2,000 years, the 17th century marked the beginning of a strong presence of European traders, navies and colonists, a presence which China worked to both resist and exploit for its own development. Nonetheless, by the late 19th century, it had been eclipsed by Japan as the region's principal power, and under the Qing dynasty experienced both military defeat and widespread hardship that paved the way for the **Xinhai Revolution of 1911**, which established China's first republican government. The end of World War II brought the restoration of Chinese lands that had been annexed by the Japanese, but was quickly followed by the **Maoist Revolution of 1948**, in which the Republican government under Chiang Kai-Shek was exiled to the island of Taiwan, where the Republic of China remains today. The 'Great Leap Forward' of the 1950s and 'Cultural Revolution' of the 1960s and 1970s radically upended Chinese society, with catastrophic results for millions of Chinese people. Market-oriented

reforms followed quickly on the heels of Mao's death in 1976, but China still remains a country with limited freedom of speech.

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

Life in China has continued to undergo **rapid, dramatic change over the past few decades**, as the country has developed from a land of subsistence farmers into one of the world's fastest-growing and most powerful economies. Despite the inevitable changes accompanying such a shift--rising standards of living, urbanization, increased access to technology, pollution--Chinese culture remains deeply rooted in traditions stretching back thousands of years.

Modern Chinese society might be seen as balancing three strong currents of social and political thought. **Maoist Communism**, though reformed under Deng Xiopeng, claims pride of place in the People's Republic of China, though not in Taiwan. **Confucian and Taoist thought** underpinned Chinese society, government, and education for millenia during the dynastic period preceding the Revolution, and though the Maoists did away with many elements of dynastic society, they did not succeed in eradicating traditional Chinese philosophy, which today continues to profoundly inform both individuals and institutions. Both of these currents have served as counterweights to the ever-**encroaching pressures of Western capitalism**, the influence of which can be nonetheless clearly seen in modern Chinese dress, habits and language.

China officially permits five religions: **Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism,** and **Protestantism**, in approximately descending order of popularity; religious institutions must be 'patriotic' affiliates of the state, i.e. without direct allegiance to foreign entities like the Vatican. Unofficial religious groups such as Falun Gong have been designated 'evil cults,' and are severely restricted. A 2002 law permits **one child per family**, with a second permissible in certain circumstances (Worden et al, 1987). This policy, in conjunction with a traditional preference for male offspring, has appeared to foster a type of 'gendercide,' in which females are quietly aborted, leading to gender ratios as high as 130:100 male-to-female in some Chinese provinces (Worldwide War, 2012).

For many centuries, Chinese literature was written in **classical or literary Chinese**, a form of the language taught to upper-class children, but quite distinct from the languages spoken and written in everyday environments--a situation comparable to the use of Latin in educated European society of the 16th and 17th centuries. Though these classical works continue to be studied and treasured in China, the 20th century saw a marked shift to the use of vernacular Chinese in nearly all forms of literature. Similarly, classical forms of music, dance, and theater have been supplemented by more modern and popular forms, many with strong Western influences but uniquely Chinese character: e.g., cinema and 'Cantopop' music.

Cuisine ranks with silk as one of China's longest-standing exports to the world, and has historically been subdivided into the **Eight Culinary Traditions**: spicy Szechuan, simple and

herb-centered Anhui, seafood-heavy Shandong, soup-centric Fujian, color-focused Jiangsu, Cantonese (famous for Dim Sum), dry hot Hunan, and soft, mellow Zhejiang. 麻将 *má jiàng* '**Mah Jong'** is a very popular game in China, with a strong following as well in Japan, Korea and elsewhere.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

Each of the Chinese languages has a number of dialectal varieties; Mandarin, by far the largest Chinese language, can be broken into three regional dialect groups, all mutually intelligible:

Fig. 2: Regional 方言 *fāngyán* 'Dialects' of Mandarin (following Thurgood, 2003)

Northern	home of standard/Beijing, Taiwanese variety; contrast between [l] and [n]
Jianghuai	no phonemic contrast between [l] and [n]
Southwest	no retroflex initial consonants (see 4.1 below); no [l] and [n] contrast

The Beijing dialect forms the basis for the standardized, official language, known as *Putonghua*, which is understood in written form by over 95% of the Chinese population, but only able to be used in spoken form by just over half (Xiao). The governments of China, Taiwan, and Singapore all have regulating bodies to promote and standardize the Chinese language.

A number of non-Sino-Tibetan languages are spoken in China: Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur and other Turkic languages; Korean in the northeast. Some regions have their own official languages, e.g., Mongolian in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of China (Worden et al, 1987). The **indigenous languages of Taiwan** are particularly interesting, as they represent the Austronesian language family that fanned out as far as Madagascar and Hawaii in centuries past, but many of these languages are extinct and most of the others endangered (Lewis, 2009). Generally speaking, Chinese has absorbed very few loanwords from contact with these languages.

2.4 Language and Education

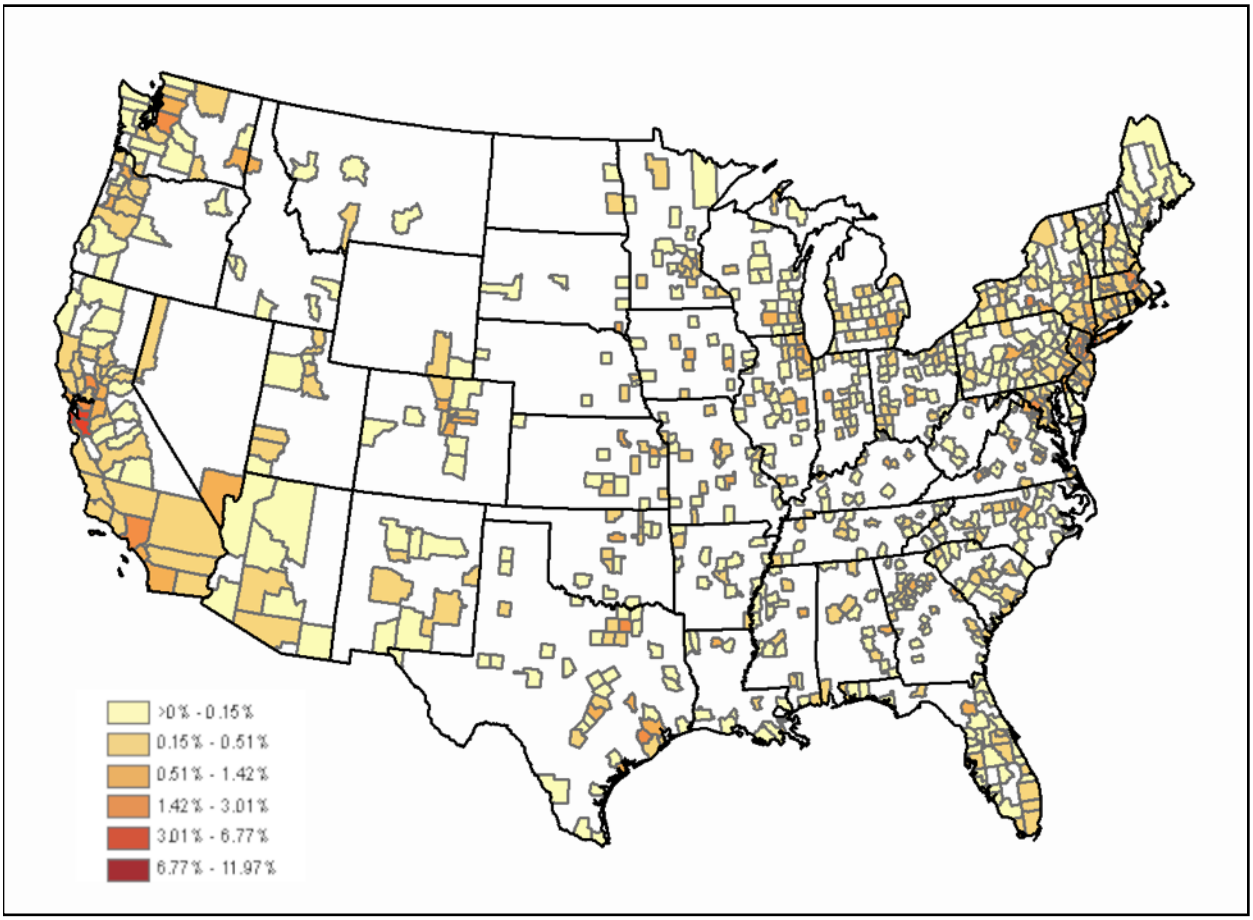
Education has long been of central importance in Chinese society. In the traditional Confucian social hierarchy, scholars ranked highest, followed by farmers, then artisans, then merchants and soldiers. High-stakes testing also has deep roots: **the examination system** served to staff the imperial bureaucracy from before the Song Dynasty through the end of the Qing, and the current university system relies heavily on the 高考 *gāokǎo*, a national standardized test which includes English as a mandatory subject. The Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s effectively decimated the higher education system: Deng Xiopeng is reported to have told Mao Zedong in 1975 that China's baccalaureate graduates were incapable of even reading a book in their own fields (Worden et al, 1987). However, the system has rebounded in recent years.

At lower levels, Mandarin is taught in all schools, but there is **bilingual education in eleven minority languages**, and some effort to expand this into other languages as well (Huang, 2003). China's literacy rate is 92.2%; Taiwan's is 96.1% (China, 2012).

3. Chinese in the United States

The first wave of Chinese immigration to the USA came during the 1840s Gold Rush in California, and continued off and on until the **Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882**, which cut off immigration from China for 10 years. This first wave consisted primarily of Cantonese-speaking peasants who settled in America's west: the 1870 Census indicates that nearly 80% of Chinese Americans lived in California. A second wave came on the heels of the 1949 Communist revolution, and a third from the 1980s onward, spurred by the increasing openness and normalization between the two countries. These latter two waves have been made up of wealthier and better-educated people--the second wave coming principally from Hong Kong and Taiwan (as the People's Republic did not allow normal emigration), and the third wave from a wider geographical base in China--that have settled in different parts of the United States, though **California and New York City remain clear hubs** for Chinese immigrants (Xiao, 2010).

Fig 2: % of US population that speaks Chinese, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



3.1 National Trends

In the two biggest states for Chinese immigration, traditional 'Chinatowns'of the big cities (San Francisco and Manhattan) have spawned newer ones in smaller urbs: Monterey Park and Cupertino, California; and Flushing, and Sunset Park, New York. Despite a longstanding view of Chinese immigrant communities as less likely to learn English, research suggests that **language shift** is quite pronounced among younger generations of Chinese immigrants (Xiao, 2010).

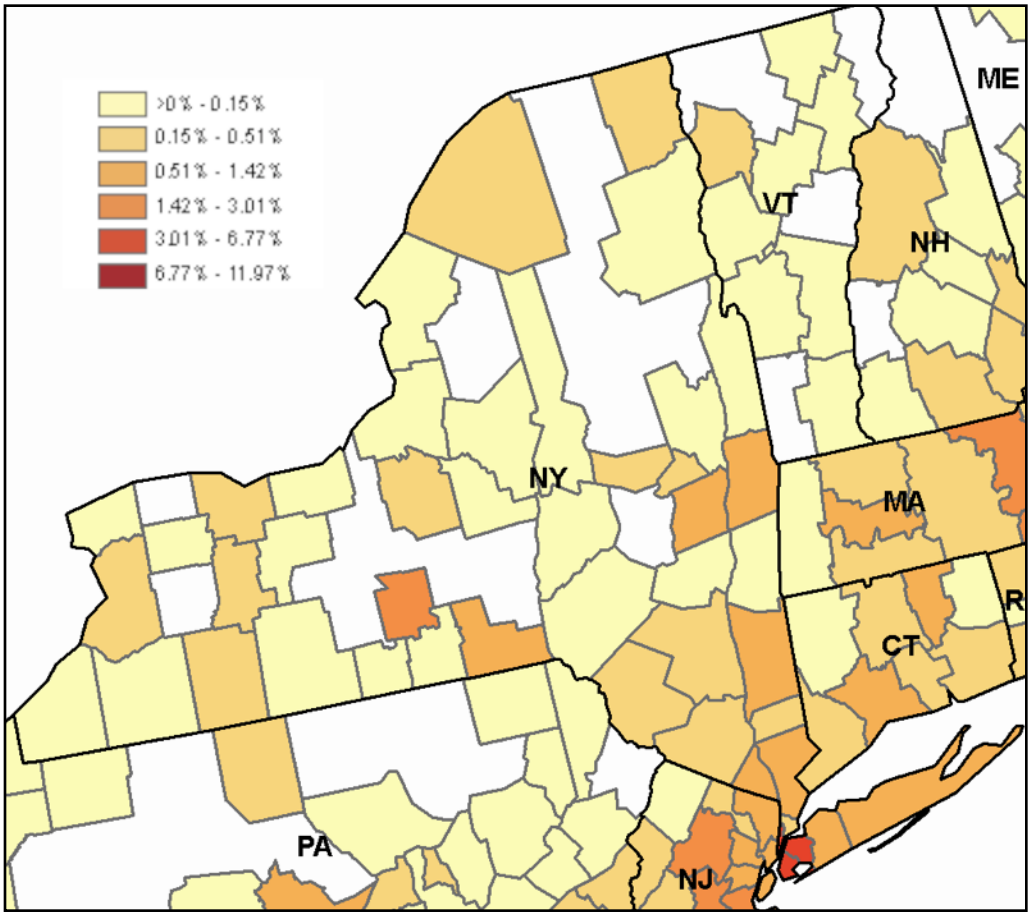
Fig. 3: Chinese-American boldface names

Michelle Kwan	Olympic medalist in figure skating; parents both from Hong Kong
Jeremy Lin	NY Knicks point guard; born in LA to Taiwanese parents
Lucy Liu	Actress (*Charlie's Angels*); born in Queens to Taiwanese parents
Yo-Yo Ma	Grammy-winning cellist; born in Paris, Chinese parents
I.M. Pei	architect; renovated Louvre Museum; born in Guangzhou, China
Roger Tsien	Nobel- and Wolf-winning biochemist; parents born in China
Vera Wang	fashion designer; born in NYC to parents from Shanghai
Jerry Yang	co-founder of Yahoo!; born in Taiwan

3.2 Chinese in New York State

Though Queens, Brooklyn, and Manhattan counties have the largest number of Chinese speakers in New York State, there are sizable Sinophone populations in most counties. **The Chinese of New York is far from monolithic**: in a small survey of Manhattan and Flushing Chinatown residents, Pan (1997) found that 36.6% spoke Min as a first dialect, followed by 31.7% Cantonese, 20.3% Wu, and only 10.4% Mandarin. The different language backgrounds of different waves of Chinese immigrants has manifested itself in the shifting lingua francas of New York City's two Chinatowns: Cantonese predominated among the (older wave) residents of Manhattan, while Mandarin is more heavily spoken in Flushing, Queens, and beginning to push out Cantonese in downtown Manhattan as well (Pan, 1997).

Fig. 4: % of NYS population that speaks Chinese, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



4 Structures of Note in Chinese

A number of factors contribute to the perception of Chinese as a difficult language to learn. Arguably the most prominent is the fact that all of its varieties are **'tone languages,'** which is to say that the kind of rising and falling melodies that make the English utterance *John speaks Chinese(?)* a statement or question can, in Chinese, change the meaning of a word. For instance, the four Mandarin words 疑 *yí* 'to suspect,' 椅 *yǐ* 'chair,' 意 *yì* 'meaning,' and 衣 *yī* 'clothes' differ from each other only by the tonal contour of the vowel [i]; the IPA represents these words as [i]^{35}, [i]^{214}, [i]^{51}, and [i]^{55}, respectively, while the *pīnyīn* writing system indicates the contours with the diacritic accents over each vowel (more in 4.2 below).

4.1 Sound System

Mandarin is similar to Japanese in allowing **only nasal consonants at the end of syllables**. Cantonese, by way of contrast, may also be described as having relatively simple syllable structure, but allows final /m/, /p/, /t/ and /k/ in addition to Mandarin's two nasals [n] and [ŋ] (Li & Thompson, 1987): by this we might (accurately) deduce that the food-related borrowings *dim sum*, *kumquat*, and *chop suey* have all come to English from Cantonese, not Mandarin.

The Mandarin consonant system differentiates between aspirated and non-aspirated stops and affricates--put less technically, the 'hard' consonants like [p], [t], and [ts] occur either with or without a **following puff of air**, the puff versions written in IPA as [pʰ], [tʰ], and [tsʰ]. Another subtle distinction is between alveolar and retroflex consonants such as [ts] and [tʂ], with the latter pronounced with the tongue curled back toward the hard palate. Thus, a Mandarin speaker must distinguish between the sounds [ts], [tsʰ], [tʂ] and [tʂʰ], a serious challenge to learners from many backgrounds. Vowels present a far less serious obstacle: two traits of note are that the vowel written in pinyin as '*i*' forms something of a buzzing continuation of many preceding consonants, and that written as '*u*' has a front, rounded sound like that written as 'u' in French, and as 'ü' in German.

For Chinese-speaking learners of English, **voiced consonants** can be difficult, as the voiced/ voiceless contrast does not exist in Mandarin. Other difficult sounds include:

(Consonants)
[θ] at the beginning of 'thin'
[ð] at the beginning of 'this'
[ʤ] at the beginning of 'jump'
[n] at the end of 'phone'
vs. [l] in 'foal'
[z] at the end of 'buzz'
vs. [s] in 'bus'

(Vowels)
[eɪ] in the middle of 'sale'
vs. [ɛ] in 'sell'
vs. [i] in 'seal'

Consonant clusters, multi-syllable words, and linking phenomena (as in 'gone out' [gɔ.n̲aʊt]) are all typically challenging for Chinese-speaking learners of English to pronounce (Mojsin, 2009).

4.2 Writing Systems

Another aspect of Chinese that distances it from most non-Asian languages is that its writing system is not alphabetic; the individual characters do not represent sounds, but rather ideas. This mostly **ideographic system** is what allows two mutually unintelligible Chinese tongues to be written the same way: the character '尾' represents the pronounciation [uei] in Mandarin, but [mei] in Cantonese, and [bue] in Min: all three roughly mean 'tail' (Li & Thompson, 1987). The system is nevertheless somewhat phonetic, at least for Mandarin, as many characters consist of both a semantic-oriented 'radical,' and a phonetic component that indicates pronunciation. For instance, the character 枉 *wang* 'in vain' is a compound of the radical 木 *mù* 'wood' and the phonetic component 王 *wáng* 'Wang (proper name).'

Today, Chinese characters are **mostly written left-to-right**, but traditionally they were written in vertical columns, which were read top-down by character, right-to-left by column. There are well

over 50,000 traditional Chinese characters, which makes learning the written language a serious task. To encourage literacy, Mao's government issued a list of **6500 simplified characters** in 1956, whittling down both the number of characters as well as the strokes needed to write them individually, and the reforms seem to have had the intended effect on literacy. Taiwan and Hong Kong continue to use the traditional characters; the simplified system has been employed in this discussion.

A number of romanization schemes have been developed over the years, but **pinyin**--used throughout this discussion--has come to predominate since the Chinese government declared it the official romanization in 1958 (Taiwan officially adopted it in 2009). Pinyin indicates tone through the four diacritics marked for *yi* above; any vowel not marked with one is either part of a diphthong, or a fifth 'neutral' tone. **Pinyin is used in Chinese schools** to help dialectal speakers learn Mandarin pronunciation, as it is particularly helpful for learners with home languages other than Mandarin. The system is fairly 'shallow' or 'transparent' phonetically--i.e., symbols are consistently pronounced the same way--but particular care should be taken to distinguish between '*z*,' '*c*,' '*zh*,' and '*ch*,' which represent the subtle sound distinctions mentioned in 4.1 above.

4.3 Grammar

One aspect of Mandarin that coddles the beginning English-speaking learner is its grammar. There are no articles in Mandarin, no verb conjugations, and **no inflections of any kind**--plural, gender, case--on the nouns or adjectives. The word order is largely SVO, like English, and adjectives precede the nouns they modify. On the other hand, there are a number of small particles that convey some of the meanings indicated through inflection in other languages, e.g. 了 *le*, which indicates that an event has been completed, and prepositions--more properly 'postpositions'--go <u>after</u> their nouns, as in 桌子上 *zhuōzi shàng* 'on the table,' literally 'table on.'

Putting the shoe on the other foot, Chinese learners of English may struggle with past tense and third-person inflections on verbs, as well as with plural markings on nouns, and articles.

4.4 How Names Work

Chinese names are typically organized as **FAMILY GENERATIONAL PERSONAL**, with the generational name shared by siblings, and occasionally omitted. Children take their family name from their fathers, but women keep their names when they marry. Thus, Mao Ze-Dong was given the personal name *Dong* by his parents Mao Yi-Chang and Wen Qi-mei, but shared both *Mao* and *Ze* with his siblings Mao Ze-Min, Mao Ze-Tan, and Mao Ze-Hong. Basketball star Yao Ming was given no generational name by his parents Yao Zhiyuan and Fang Fengdi.

4.5 'Friends' and Classroom Phrases

As a non-Indo-European language, Chinese has few cognates with English, Latin or Greek. It also has **remarkably few borrowings** from other languages, a situation that leads to very few academic 'friends,' and yet another contributing factor to its reputation as a 'difficult' language to learn. Nonetheless, there are a number of words which are similar in English and Mandarin:

Fig. 5: Mandarin-English Academic 'Friends'

Elementary			盎司	*àngsī*	'ounce'
巧克力	*qiǎokèlì*	'chocolate'	雷达	*léidá*	'radar'
旦	*dàn*	'dawn'	豆腐	*dòufu*	'tofu'
耳	*ěr*	'ear'			
费	*fèi*	'fee'	**Secondary**		
比萨	*bǐsà*	'pizza'	风水	*fēngshuǐ*	'feng shui'
鲨鱼	*shāyú*	'shark'	焦耳	*jiāo'ěr*	'joule'
丝绸	*sīchóu*	'silk'	逻辑	*luójí*	'logic'
学	*xué*	'school'	吗啡	*mǎfēi*	'morphine'
			马赛克	*mǎsàikè*	'mosaic'
Intermediate					
阿司匹林	*ā sī pī lín*	'aspirin'	鸦片	*yāpiàn*	'opium'
酷	*kù*	'cool (good)'	威士忌	*wēishìjì*	'whiskey'
加仑	*jiālún*	'gallon'	瑜珈	*yújiā*	'yoga'
基因	*jīyīn*	'gene'			
黑客	*hàikè*	'hacker'			
雷射	*léi shè*	'laser'			

Fig. 6: Classroom Phrases in Mandarin and English

Greetings & Questions

你好。 *Nǐ hǎo.* 'Hello.'

欢迎来到我们的教室。

Huānyíng lái dào wǒmen de jiàoshì.
'Welcome to our classroom.'

你怎么样？

Nǐ zěnme yàng? 'How are you?'

你需要什么？

Nǐ xūyào shénme?
'What do you need?'

你需要去洗手间吗？

Nǐ xūyào qù xǐshǒujiān ma?
'Do you need to go to the bathroom?'

Compliments & Niceties

做得好

Zuò de hǎo!
'Good work!'

谢谢	*Xièxiè!*	'Thank you!'
请	*Qǐng.*	'Please.'
对不起	*Duìbùqǐ.*	'Excuse me.'

Communication

你的意思是.....？

Nǐ de yìsi shì.....?
'Do you mean... ?'

你有什么想法吗？

Nǐ yǒu shé me xiǎngfǎ ma?
'What are your thoughts?

我怎么帮你？

Wǒ zěnme bāng nǐ?
'How can I help you?'

Directions

起立	*Qǐlì*	'Stand up'
坐下	*Zuò xià*	'Sit down'
看	*Kàn*	'Read'
写	*Xiě*	'Write'
听	*Tīng*	'Listen'
回答	*Huídá*	'Answer'

跟你的同学说一下

Gēn nǐ de tóng xué shuō yí xià
'Talk to your partner'

跟你的小组合作

Gēn nǐ de xiǎozǔ hézuò
'Collaborate with your group'

把你的书/笔记本打开

Bǎ nǐ de shū/bǐjìběn dǎkāi
'Open your book/notebook'

把你的钢笔/铅笔拿出来

Bǎ nǐ de gāngbǐ/qiānbǐ ná chū lái
'Take out your pen/pencil'

抄写你的功课

Chāo xiě nǐ de gōngkè
'Copy your homework'

5 Further Reading and References

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English

1. English in Brief

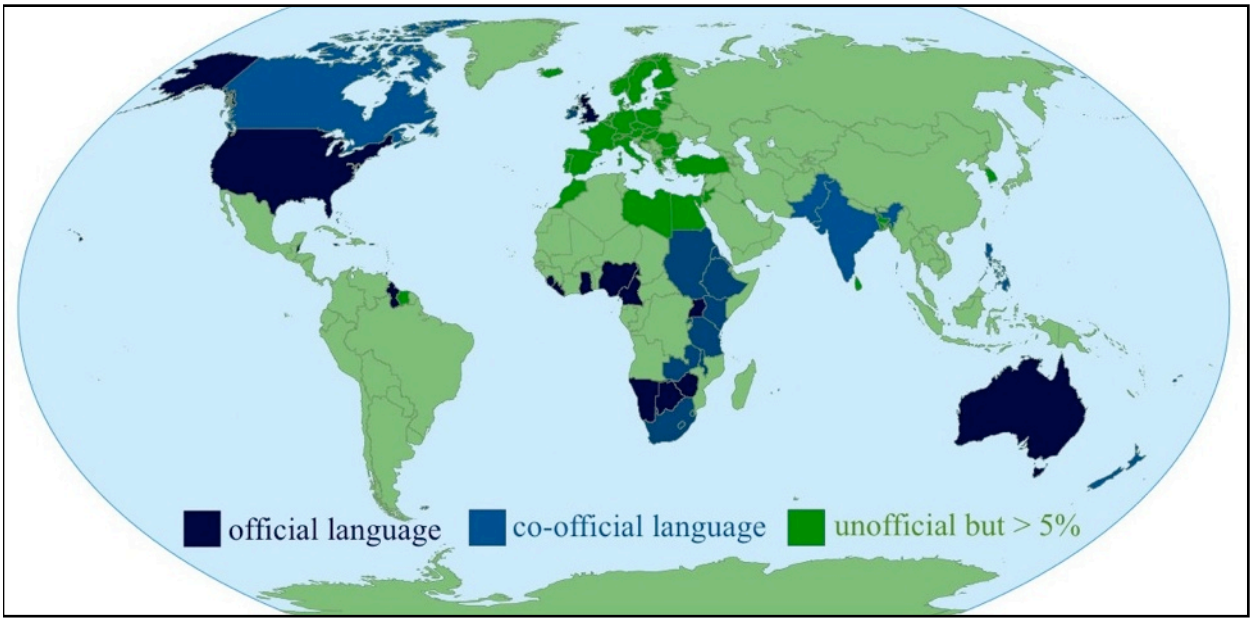
Official national language (*co-official) in:

Antigua and Barbuda	Kiribati	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
The Bahamas	*Lesotho	*Samoa
Barbados	Liberia	*Seychelles
Belize	*Malawi	Sierra Leone
Botswana	*Malta	*Singapore
*Cameroon	*Marshall Islands	Solomon Islands
*Canada	Mauritius	*South Africa
Dominica	Micronesia	*South Sudan
*Eritrea	Namibia	*Sudan
*Ethiopia	*Nauru	*Swaziland
*Fiji	*New Zealand	*Tanzania
The Gambia	Nigeria	*Tonga
Ghana	*Pakistan	Trinidad and Tobago
Grenada	*Palau	*Tuvalu
Guyana	*Papua New Guinea	Uganda
*India	*Philippines	*Vanuatu
*Ireland	*Rwanda	*Zambia
Jamaica	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Zimbabwe
*Kenya	Saint Lucia	(CIA, 2012)

De facto national language in:
Australia, United Kingdom, United States
Writing system(s):
Latin (alphabetic)
Language family (related languages):
Indo-European / Germanic (Frisian, Dutch, German)
# of monolingual USA speakers (Shin & Kolinsky, 2010):
225,505,953 (80.3%)
# of monolingual NYS speakers (Shin & Kolinsky, 2010)
12,868,476 (71.1%)
Did you know that...
... the USA has no official language, but more than half of its states do?
... India and Nigeria are the nations with the second most total English speakers after the United States?
... an American President (Martin Van Buren) and a British Prime Minister (David Lloyd George) each learned English after starting school?

2 English in Global Context

English, a West Germanic member of the Indo-European langauge family, has grown from a handful of immigrant dialects on a mid-sized North Atlantic island to become the world's most recognized and widely-spoken language. In addition to its official or de facto official status in nearly 60 countries, English is the international language of business, of academic research, of aeronautics, and, increasingly, of diplomacy, a **lingua franca** for world communities big and small, described by some as "the first world language," or "Globish." While this terminology underestimates the past and present reach of other lingua francas such as Latin, Greek, Swahili, Chinese, Spanish, French and Arabic, it is difficult to deny the current primacy of English on the world stage. Its phenomenal expansion has brought with it constant evolution and diversification, and it is quite clear that today, rather than one monolithic 'English,' the world knows a patchword quilt of related but diverse '**Englishes**.'



2.1 History and Politics

The word 'English'--*Ænglisc* in Old English--derives from the name for a Germanic tribe, the Angles, who along with the Saxons and Jutes invaded Britian from the European mainland in the 5th century. The languages of these tribes quickly supplanted the Celtic languages spoken in most of the island, though regions to the west and north maintained use of Welsh, Scots Gaelic, and Irish into modern times. The following centuries saw a struggle for power involving warring Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, continuing waves of invaders from regions in present-day Denmark and Norway, and un-Anglicized regions of Britian, notably Scotland. While no kingdom achieved any full measure of political stability or national unification, the reign of Wessex king **Alfred the Great** from 871 to 899 stands out as a minor golden age for its encouragement of literacy,

literature and scholarship in English. The oral epic poem Beowulf dates from this period, and typifies the stage of the language known as 'Old English.'

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

410 AD	Roman legions withdraw from Britain, where Celtic languages predominate
c.450	Angles, Saxons and Jutes invade/migrate to Britain from mainland Europe
700s	Anglo-Saxon 'Heptarchy' takes form: seven kingdoms vie for power
800s	Danes raid, conquer wide portions of north England; Old Norse language contact
871-899	Alfred the Great rules Wessex, sparks flowering of English literacy, literature
1066	French-speaking **Wiliam of Normandy** invades, subdues most of England
11th-15th c.	'Middle English' period of Norman French and English bilingualism
1362	Chancellor opens Parliament in English for 1st time; lawsuits must be in English
1480s	Legal French fades out in England, some phrases persist into modern 'legalese'
1558-1603	Elizabeth I oversees England's golden age; **Shakespeare writes, Drake explores**
1609-1615	English charter companies colonize Virginia, Bermuda, Newfoundland
1629-1662	New England colonized by charter; Bahamas and Jamaica settled, conquered
1757	British East India Co. commences 'company raj' in India (independence 1947)
late 18th c.	Britain begins colonization of Australia via penal deportation; **US independence**
1814-1819	East India Co. founds Singapore; British take Guyana from Dutch
1837-1901	Victoria I reigns; UK colonizes south, east, west Africa, Hong Kong, N. Zealand
late 20th c.	Sun sets/indepedence dawns on Britain's world empire: cultural ties remain firm
c. 2000	U.S.-led 'information revolution' fuels growth of English as world **lingua franca**

William of Normandy's 1066 invasion of Britain triggered a dramatic shift in the history of English, for William and his continental entourage spoke **Norman French**, itself a variety of Old French influenced by Old Norse. William successfully subjugated most of the Anglo-Saxons, and for the next two hundred years or so, the language of government, scholarship, and religion in England would be a type of French, with English the largely unwritten language of peasants. A number of factors, including the weakening of ties to the French-speaking continental territories over the 13th and 14th centuries, led English to re-emerge as the dominant tongue in the 15th century. During this 'Middle English' period, lack of institutional use of English led to great dialectal variety and very low esteem for the language, but the work of 14th century poet Geoffrey Chaucer--most famously *The Canterbury Tales*--marked an early benchmark in English literature, and promulgated a dialect around which a more uniform English would soon coalesce.

William Caxton's introduction of the printing press to London in 1476 set the stage for a 16th century **English renaissance** that accompanied England's rise as a major world power under Elizabeth I. The poetry and plays of Spenser, Marlowe, Jonson and Shakespeare and their newly facilitated dissemination contributed to a rapid **standardization** that was also fueled by increased English-language schooling and literacy, the King James Bible of 1611, and explicit government policies aiming at a national language. In the political sphere, Sir Francis Drake

became the first captain to circumnavigate the globe in 1580, and defeated the heavily favored Spanish Armada in 1588, cementing England's status as a global player (Millward, 1999).

England's colonization of the New World began in 1609 with the Jamestown colony of Virginia. From the beginning, England's was a far more **diverse and capitalistic colonization effort** than that of Spain, France, or Portugal: early expeditions were funded and organized by chartered companies--essentially independent franchises--like the Virginia Company, which subsequently imported colonists from other nations such as Poland and Holland to help build the colonies. This diversity was deepened by the establishment of various 'religious haven' colonies in close proximity: Massachusetts Bay for Puritans, Pennsylvania for Quakers, and Maryland for Catholics. A more monstrous source of socio-linguistic diversification in the English Americas was common to the colonies of all four nations: the **trans-Atlantic slave trade**, which brought speakers of West African languages to the hemisphere by the millions. The centuries of subsequent social isolation between slaves and white colonists led to the development of numerous creoles, such as Gullah, Jamaican Patois, and Bahamanian Creole (see 2.3 below).

England made further colonial pushes into India and Australia in the 18th century, and joined the 'scramble for Africa' in the 19th century by colonizing wide swathes of the south and east, as well as parts of the west. By 1922, England's second world empire had reached its zenith, and even **the United States had begun forcibly exporting the English language** to places like the Philippines, Haiti, Hawaii, and Liberia. After World War II, however, most of the European colonies threw off their political yokes, and by 2000 little was left of the United Kingdom's former political empire. In most cases, the English language has remained, boosted in part by the relatively tolerant nature of Britain's withdrawal from its colonial empire, at least when compared to the typically bitter and bloody disentanglements of France and Portugal from their own territories. The 54-member **Commonwealth of Nations** counts Elizabeth II as its nominal head, and the Commonwealth Realms of Australia and Canada call her their sovereign.

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

So widespread is the English language today that very little can be said of its speakers culturally, even by way of reasonable generalization. It is the language of Christians, Muslims, Hindus, and Jews; the language of several of the world's 20 richest nations by per capita GDP (Australia, Canada, USA, Ireland), as well as of many of the 20 poorest (Liberia, Ethiopia, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Eritrea: CIA). English lyrics feature in the standard repertoires of bossa nova, jazz, opera, hip hop, bhangra, bluegrass, Afrobeat, and contemporary pop music from Paris to Seoul. English speakers play games and sports of dizzying variety, wear sarees, sweatpants, kaftans, Crocs and cummerbunds (though rarely all at once), and eat just about everything under the sun. In fact, it seems fair to say--given both English's present diffusion and history of contact and expansion--that English-speaking culture is defined by nothing if not **variety**.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

Unlike Spanish, French, Arabic and other languages, English is not explicitly regulated by any government agency or national academy (with a notable exception in South Africa); all the same, **standard varieties of English** exist around the world. At the formal, written level, we can easily discern two broad groups, based around British English and American English, each respectively influenced by the dictionaries of Samuel Johnson (1755) and Noah Webster (1828); the differences between the groups are minor, typically involving spelling distinctions like *color* and *colour*, or *advertise* and *advertize*.

When it comes to the spoken language, English exhibits great diversity. Nevertheless, its **many regional accents and dialects** often involve certain quintessential traits:

a) the inclusion/omission of [r] sounds at or towards the ends of syllables, e.g. *board* [bɔrd] vs. [bɔ:d], technically known as '**rhoticity/non-rhoticity**';
b) the **(non-)differentiation of interdental 'th'** sounds [ð] and [θ] from similar consonants such as [t], [s], [f], [d], [z], and [v], e.g. *the thing* [ðə θɪŋ] vs. [də fɪŋ];
c) **consonant cluster reduction**, which all dialects (including standard varieties) exhibit, but to varying degrees, e.g. *that relaxed crowd* [ðæ.rə.læks.krɔd]
d) 'g-dropping,' more technically **subsitution of [n] for [ŋ]**, e.g *nothing* [nə.θɪŋ] vs. *nothin'* [nə.θɪn];
e) **multiple negation** as cancellation vs. emphasis, e.g. *I haven't got nothing* as 'I actually have something' vs. 'I really don't have anything';
f) morphological formations ***ain't, y'all, youse***;
g) **non-inflection** of 3rd person singular present verbs, e.g. *he smokes* vs. *he smoke*;
h) ***be*-deletion** in present-time contexts, e.g. *she is beautiful* vs. *she beautiful*

Variations such as these mark English in complex ways, hinting at or directly announcing one's **region, class, gender, age, race, religion** and more. It should be remembered that although variations may reasonably be considered 'non-standard,' there is nothing defective, illogical, non-sensical, or 'broken' about them. Some--like the pronounciation of '*ng*' as [n] in (d)--may seem to 'break' a pattern, while others--like the non-inflection in (g) above--render an existing pattern more consistent. Novel words like *y'all* may appear to add complexity in the interest of clarity, while 'deletion' phenomena like that in (h) may appear to to simplify at the expense of clarity. No such phenomenon has ever, as far as can be told, rendered a speech community's members mutually incoherent or nonsensical. All language varieties follow consistent rules of grammar and pronunciation; the standard dialects' prominence is a consequence of history, politics, and fortune, not of any inherent structural superiority. This is not to say that the use of all dialects and languages is equally appropriate in all situations: just as speaking Chinese to an audience of French speakers might be socially inappropriate, the use of non-standard dialects is often perceived as incongruous in situations where a standard is expected, e.g., in job interviews and academic writing. This here discussion ain't no exception, huh?

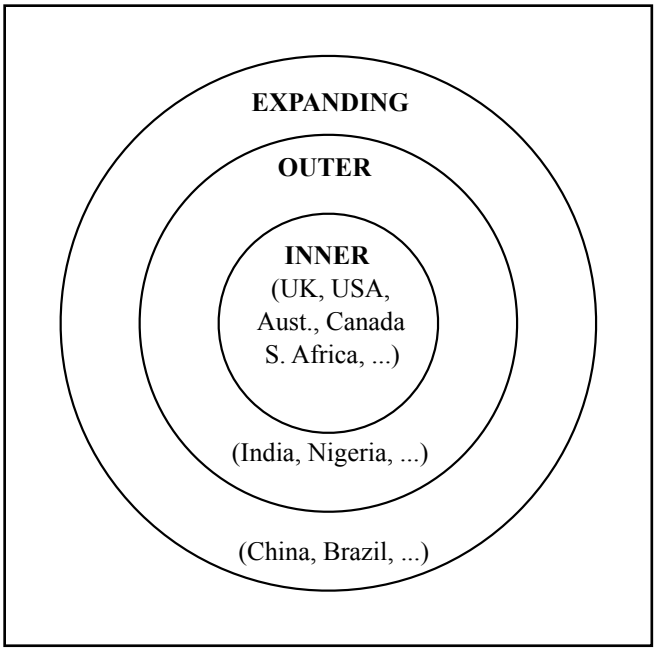
The distinction between **appropriate contexts** and **coherent systems** is critical for language educators in multicultural settings: exploring perceptions of the former engages students of diverse backgrounds in critical thinking, while denying the coherence of non-standard varieties delegitimizes students' cultural backgrounds and precludes deeper discussion.

Fig. 2: Some Well-Known World Accents and Dialects of English

British (Received Pronunciation)
Scots/Lowland Scots
Irish English
Standard Canadian
Newfoundland
Caribbean
South African
Australian

The last 20 years have seen growing awareness of the rich variety of **World Englishes**, particularly those in the outer two circles of Khachru's (1992) 'Three Circle' model:

Fig. 3: Kachru's Three Circles of World Englishes



The three circles are distinguished by the historical and institutional importance of English in each geopolitical setting. The **inner circle** consists of places where English is a primary home language, and where it is the de facto or official language of government and education; **outer circle** societies use English as a lingua franca in certain settings, e.g. trade and higher education; and **expanding circle** nations are those without historical traditions of either type, but where

English is growing in popularity and use. A number of outer circle Englishes, typically those which have official status, have established fairly generalizable dialects:

Fig. 4: Some 'Outer Circle' Dialects of English (per Millward, 1999)

India
Singapore
West Africa

Though informal articulations of 'Franglais,' 'Chinglish,' and other expanding circle Englishes abound, there is yet little consensus as to reasonably generalizable dialects.

Exploration and colonization brought English into **contact with other languages**, many of which have contributed subtly to the varieties desribed above. In other cases, language mixing led to **creolization**--the formation of entirely different languages with features common to their 'parent' tongues but no longer mutually intelligible with them. These languages are not usually considered Englishes per se, and will therefore not be described in any detail, but they bear mention by dint of their historical relationship to and continued contact with English:

Fig. 5: Some English Creoles and Where They are Spoken

Sranan	Suriname
Krio	W. Africa
Cameroon Creole/Bush English	Cameroon
Jamaican Patois	Jamaica
Hawaiian Creole	Hawaii
Gullah	S. Carolina, Georgia
Australian Kriol	Australia
Samaná English	Dominican Republic
Tok Pisin	Papua New Guinea

2.4 Language and Education

The teaching and learning of English takes dramatically different forms around the Anglosphere. Inner circle societies typically use **English as the language of instruction** in their school systems, either exclusively (e.g. in much of the United States) or alongside other home languages (e.g. in South Africa). Many outer circle countries have long-standing and intensive English instruction as part of the national or regional curricula, while expanding circle Englishes are typically taught less consistently, and as foreign languages.

Historically, students and teachers in outer and expanding circle regions have used inner circle Englishes such as the British or American standard varieties as their models or 'targets' for acquisition. Recent research (e.g. Jenkins 2003, 2006) has discouraged this approach, pointing out that many of these students learn **English as a lingua franca (ELF) or an international language (EIL)**, and not to communicate with inner circle speakers far away. Numerically

speaking, it can be said--and has been, e.g. in McCrum (2011)--that 'Globish,' ELF or EIL, not British or American English, is the most widely spoken English in the world. Of course, the validity of this statement depends hugely on how coherent these Englishes are, i.e. if we can really say that Korean English and Egyptian English constitute the same 'Globish' dialect. Nevertheless, the commonalities illustrated in section 2.3 above lend some credence to the notion that teaching the Queen's (or President's) English in all its nuanced glory may not always be realistic or desirable.

3. English in the United States

When English arrived to stay in the USA with the 1609 Jamestown colonization, it entered **a continent with great indigenous linguistic diversity**. Though classification remains an unsettled issue, there were likely more than 300 Native American languages from two dozen language families in the area north of modern-day Mexico. By way of contrast, present-day Europe has languages from at best half a dozen language families.

English was not the first European language to take root in North America, an honor that belongs to **Spanish**, spoken in the settlement at St. Augustine, Florida from 1565. French and Dutch flourished in the 17th century alongside English, but over the next two centuries, England and its breakaway descendant, the USA, pushed out the other European potentates, and greatly diminished (though did not extinguish!) their linguistic influence.

The **slave trade brought millions of West Africans to the United States**, where they were shackled into a system that for centuries allowed almost no education, literacy, or cultural mixing with the dominant white society. The historical distances between African- and European-Americans, as well as the related rifts between the Northern and Southern regions, are reflected in the Englishes of the USA, which exhibit their clearest distinctions along just those lines:

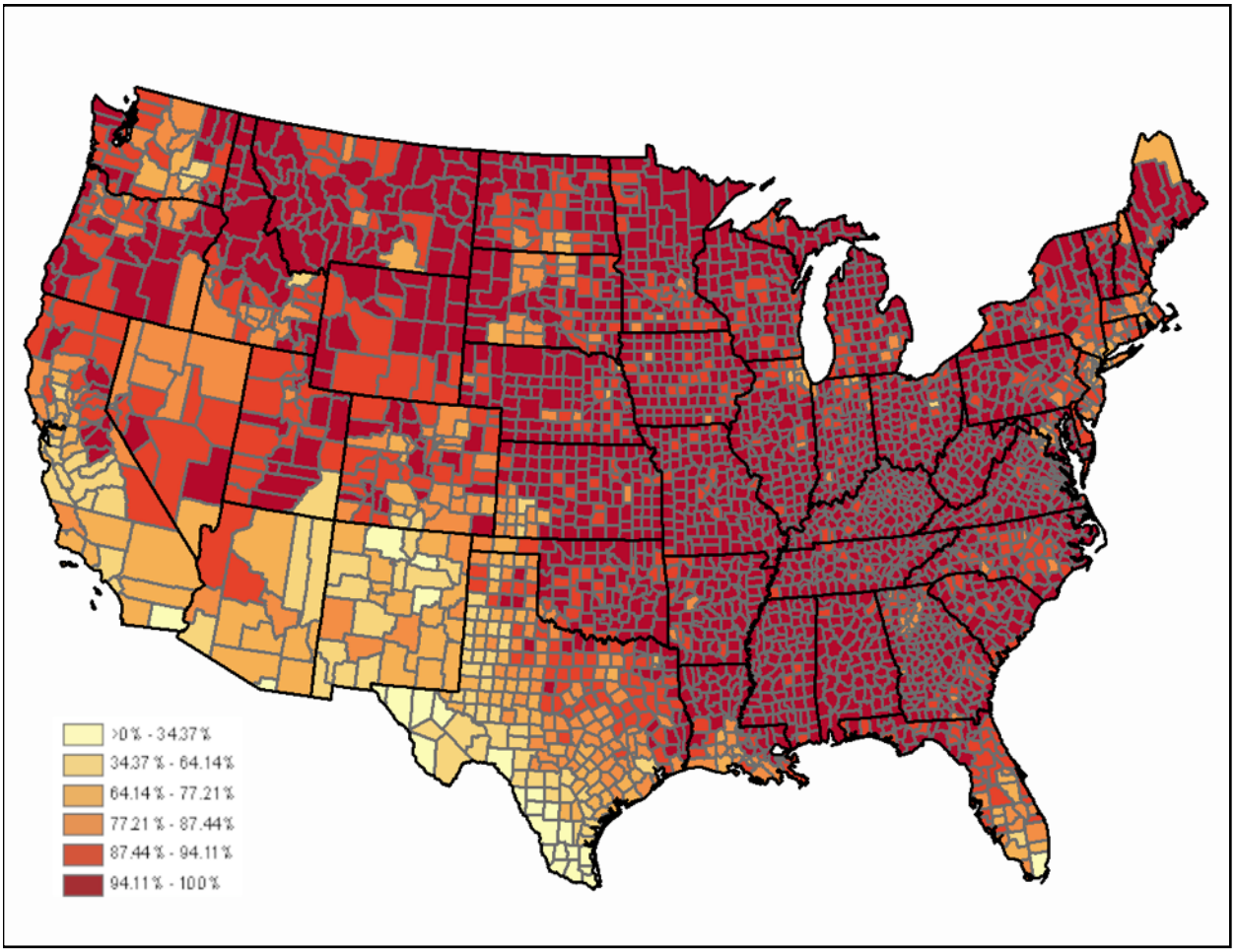
Fig. 6: Some Regional and Social Varieties of US English (following Millward, 1999)

Variety	Sounds	Grammar & Words
General American	rhotic; final unstressed [i]; [t] between vowels→[ɾ] 'flap' *writerly man* [rɑɪ.ɾər.li.mæn]	sing., pl. *you*; mult. neg. as cancellation *surely you don't have nothing!* 'surely you have something'
New York City	non-rhotic, linking [r]; *Anna and I* [æ.nə.ræn.dɑɪ]	some *youse* for pl.; *on line* 'in line'
Southern	non-rhotic; unstressed final [ɪ]; [ɑɪ]→[ɑ]; lax V→ +[ə] *writerly man* [rɑ:.ɾə.lɪ.mæən]	*y'all*; compound modal verbs (*oughta should* 'should')

Variety	Sounds	Grammar & Words
African-American Vernacular	non-rhotic; 'th' stops; cluster reduction: *missed the goal* [mɪs.də.go:]	*be*-deletion; mult. neg. as emphasis; *ain't*, *y'all*: *y'all ain't got nothin'?*

Immigration of a more voluntary nature has been a defining influence on American culture and language in the post-bellum period. **Waves of newcomers from shifting parts of the world** have left clear marks on American English: Germans and Irish in the late 19th century; Italians and southern Europeans in the first half of the 20th century; Latin Americans and Asians in the period from World War II to the present. A cursory glance at the map in Figure 8 illustrates the enormous **impact of immigration from Latin America** on US language patterns:

Fig. 7: % of US population that speaks English, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



Closer study, however, reveals a more complicated story. Note, for instance, the orange shading in New Hampshire and Maine's northernmost counties, Coos and Aroostook, where a significant percentage of the population speaks French at home. The continued linguistic diversity of the

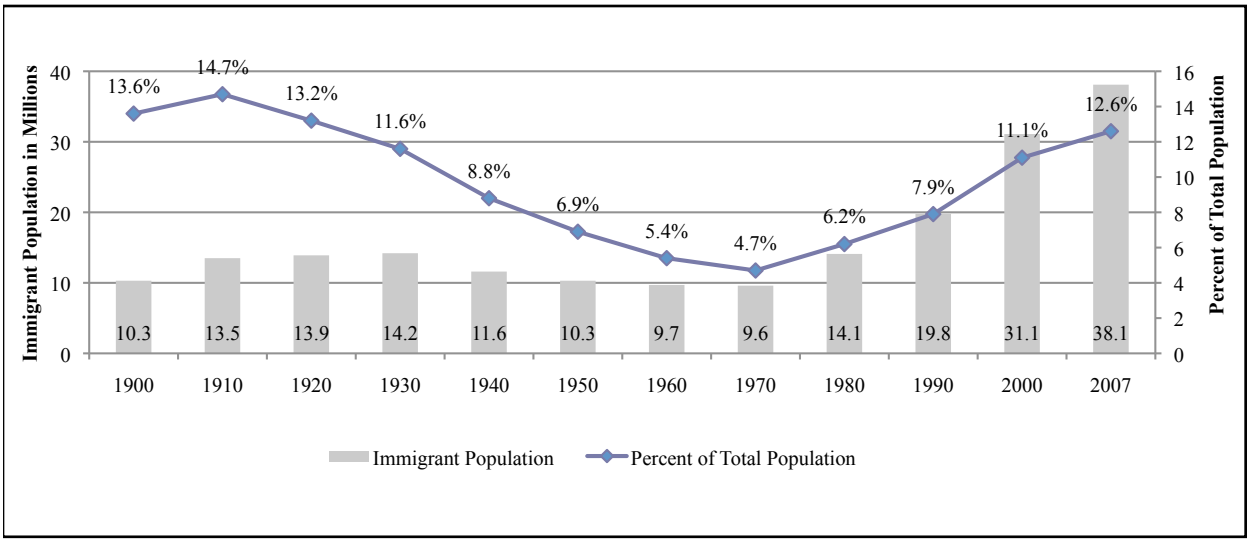
United States is typically overlooked in political and media debates over language policy, but is clear from the data on Emergent Bilinguals: **in 10 of America's 50 states (20%), Spanish is the home language of less than half of the emergent bilingual learner (EBL) population**, and not the most common one in six of those ten. In Vermont it is Bosnian, in Hawaii Ilocano, in South Dakota the Dakota language, in North Dakota Ojibwa, in Maine Somali, and in Alaska Yupik (Migration Policy Institute, 2010). Rare indeed are the Americans who have even heard of all of these languages, let alone recognized their importance to communities within their society.

3.1 National Trends

The influx of non-Anglophone immigrants has been a constant in American society for nearly as long as English has been the de facto national tongue. Over the years, however, a number of landmark **laws and policy decisions** have dramatically shifted the relationship between these two aspects of US culture.

For much of the 20th century, US immigration quotas explicitly preferred Europeans--northern and western over southern and eastern--and excluded Africans and Asians. The **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** radically revised this quota system, shifting preference to those with professional skills and family connections to the USA. At the Statue of Liberty signing ceremony, Lyndon Johnson insisted that it was "not a revolutionary bill" (Ludden, 2006), but the impact of the legislation on immigration--and US sociolinguistics by extension--is hard to miss:

Fig. 8: Foreign Born (Immigrant) Population in the USA, 1900-2007 (from US Census Bureau via Portland State University, 2012)



Shortly on the heels of the shift in immigration policy came the **1968 Bilingual Education Act (BEA)**, which pushed the U.S. government to fund educational programming for students from non-English backgrounds. In many ways, the BEA represented a sea change in the way America's government viewed EBLs, shifting from a policy of 'you have the right to assimilate

here' to one of 'we have an obligation to help you succeed.' The legislation, which has evolved over time through amendment and implementation, remains in many ways the guiding law for English and bilingual education policy.

A more subtle shift came through the significant **reduction in US grammar teaching** at the end of the twentieth century, inspired to a great extent by a 1985 National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) position paper that called for "the discontinuance of testing practices that encourage the teaching of grammar rather than English language arts instruction." Ironically enough, though teachers were quick (delighted, even?) to de-emphasize explicit grammar instruction, the College Board took a step in the opposite direction by introducing an explicit multiple-choice grammar section as **the primary component of the new SAT Writing section** in 2005, bringing about a state of affairs in which American students can graduate high school without ever explicitly learning about adjectives, prepositions, subjects, objects or agreement, but must successfully answer questions targeting these areas in order to earn college admission.

High-stakes testing has itself undergone a boom in the wake of the **2002 No Child Left Behind Act**, and the lack of explicit preparation for the linguistic aspect of high-stakes testing disproportionately disadvantages EBLs. Many supposed 'deficiencies' identified by tests in science, social studies, and even math are strongly rooted in English literacy requirements tangential to the tests' purported subjects (Menken, 2008).

Though learning the English language can be a great challenge to students with other home languages, examples of **successful bilinguals** are to be found all around the world. British Prime Minister David Lloyd George spoke Welsh at home; novelist Joseph Conrad grew up speaking Polish but wrote *Lord Jim* and *Heart of Darkness* in English, and acclaimed African novelist Chinua Achebe spoke Igbo. Unsurprisingly, the USA has a great number of prominent bilinguals from a variety of backgrounds:

Fig. 9: American bilingual boldface names (home language in parentheses)

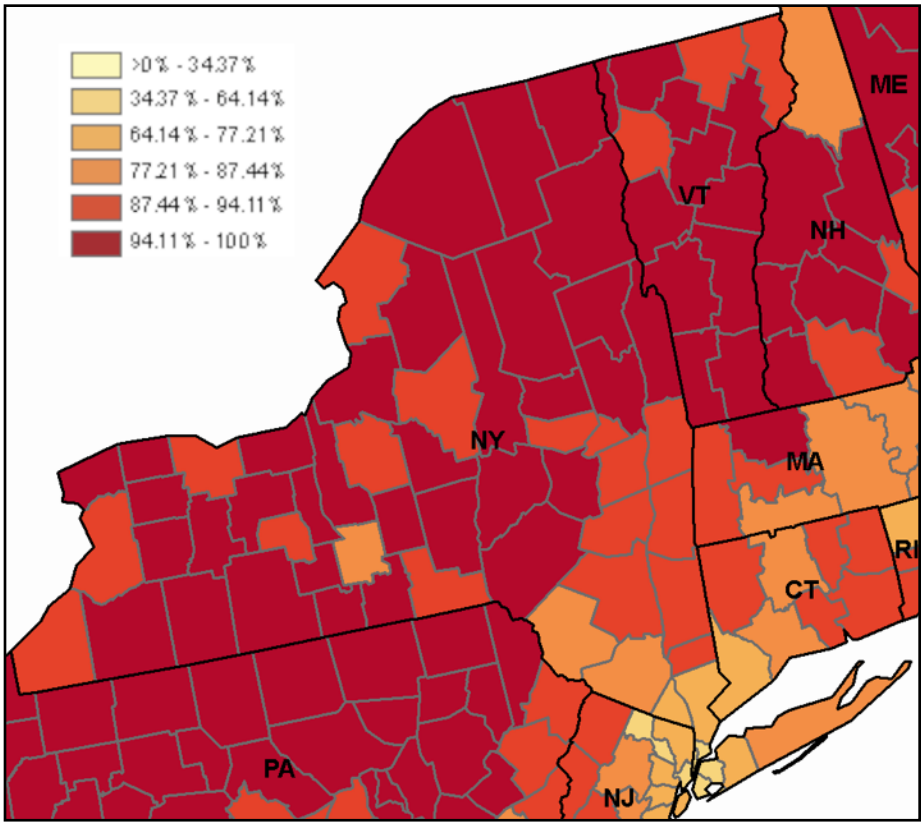
Isabel Allende (Spanish)	Author (*House of the Spirits*), learned English as an adult
Antonio Banderas (Spanish)	Actor, learned English as an adult
Albert Einstein (German)	Physicist, learned English as an adult
Ang Lee (Mandarin Chinese)	Oscar-winning director (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*)
Jack Kerouac (Joual French)	Author (*On the Road*), started English at age six
Mila Kunis (Russian)	Ukrainian-American actress, started English at age seven
Mel Martinez (Spanish)	U.S. Senator, cabinet member, started English at age 16
Arnold Schwarzenegger (German)	Bodybuilder, actor, California Governor, came to US at 21
Charlize Theron (Afrikaans)	Oscar-winning actress (*Monster*), learned English at 13
Martin van Buren (Dutch)	U.S. President from NY State, learned English at school

3.2 English in New York State

The Native American languages historically spoken in New York State fall into two broad groups: Iroquois--including Seneca, Oneida, and Mohawk--and Algonquian, including Wappinger, Mahican, and Montauk. These languages have left their mark on many New York place names, including Oneida and Montauk themselves, as has **Dutch, the first European language to find footing in the state**, known for half a century as *Nieuw-Nederland* 'New Netherland.' British victory in the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74) transferred possession of the colony and its growing capital of *Nieuw-Amsterdam* 'New Amsterdam,' and marked the institutional establishment of English in New York City and State.

The presence and influence of Native American languages, Dutch, and French (in the north) notwithstanding, the overwhelming source of linguistic variety in New York State has come through immigrants to the five boroughs of New York City, a trend that can still be seen in Figure 10:

Fig. 10: % of NYS population that speaks English, by county (2005 Census via MLA)



New York City's linguistic diversity is mirrored by the **diversity of attitudes** towards it. A New York City school superintendent quoted in Graham (2005) claims that the goal of school "is to teach an appreciation of the institutions of this country and an absolute forgetfulness of all obligations or connections with other countries because of descent or birth." Though this has

historically been a commonly-held view amongst both US-born and immigrant New Yorkers alike, more recent approaches in line with the principles of the 1968 BEA, such as the present project, have striven to achieve greater academic and cultural achievement through support for both English and students' home languages, with no forgetfulness required.

4 Structures of Note in English

What is structurally notable about English depends greatly on one's language background. All the same, a number of generalizations can be made about some of its linguistic hallmarks. English has a relatively **high number of vowels**--14 in General American, by most accounts--and a frustratingly inconsistent writing system. It is largely 'analytic,' meaning that it communicates many concepts with individual words or morphemes, not inflections, and maintains a somewhat **rigid SVO word order**. It is famously 'impure' (see McWhorter's *Our Magnificent Bastard Tongue*), having engaged in wholesale borrowing from other languages, and continues to 'lend' so many words and phrases to other languages that policy planners in non-Anglophone nations often see the need to defend other languages from English's 'generosity,' seen by some as imperialism.

4.1 Sound System

English has 24 consonants that contrast with each other for meaning, i.e. 24 consonant 'phonemes.' American English has 14 unique vowel phonemes--British English has one or two more, while some varieties like Midwestern English have fewer.

Stress in English words is very difficult to predict, but can impact meaning and grammatical category, as in *reJECT* and *REject*. In general, words that have been in the language longer, e.g. those that were 'inherited' from Common Germanic, tend to have **stress on the first syllable that is not a prefix**, while those borrowed recently from French or Latin tend to have stress on later syllables. To illustrate, consider the words *carriage, marriage, garage* and *mirage*. All four were borrowed from French, but the first two came in the 14th century and are stressed on the first syllable, while the last two came in the 19th and 20th centuries and are stressed on the last. In English sentences, **the last content word** (i.e., not a 'grammatical' word like *the* or *it*) tends to be stressed unless another word is being emphasized or contrasted: compare *Jimmy ate a COOkie* with *Jimmy ATE a cookie* and *JIMmy ate a cookie*.

4.2 Writing Systems

The Latin alphabet has been used to write English from very early in its history. One other major alphabet, known as the *futhorc*, was used for ritual engravings in the first millenium AD, but died out after the Norman Conquest. The word *futhorc* written in the futhorc looks like this:

Spelling was fluid and flexible for most of the first thousand years in which English was written. Even Robert Cawdrey's 1604 *Table Alphabeticall*, the first monolingual English dictionary, used two different spellings of the same word (*words* and *wordes*) on its front cover (Crystal, 1985), though by the 1613 third edition, the offending cover variation had been homogenized.

The push for English standardization appears to have occured before or during the **Great Vowel Shift**, a monumental change in the sound system of nearly all English dialects that 'raised' the long vowels to 'higher' positions (e.g. [e]→[i], [o]→[u]), with the 'highest' vowels becoming dipthongs (e.g. [i]→[ɑɪ]). Before the shift, the English words *bit(e)*, *meet*, *root*, and *h(o)us* were pronounced [bit], [met], [rot], and [hus]--in other words, the spelling straightforwardly followed traditional patterns of Latin alphabetization. After the Great Vowel Shift, these words were pronounced [bɑɪt], [mit], [rut], and [hɑʊs], as they are today: cases like these (and there are many!) are a big reason why text-to-speech decoding is very difficult in English, and also why the language is so vexing to spell.

4.3 Grammar

English identifies the subject and object of a sentence through **word order**: it is a relatively strict SVO language, though inversions are allowed for stylistic purposes, e.g. *Tender is the Night*, *Jacob Have I Known*. Compared to languages like Spanish and Russian, English does not have much in the way of noun marking and verb conjugation, though it does have more than Chinese and Karen. Subject-object distinctions and gender are marked only on the pronouns (*I/me/he/him/she/her*), while subjects and the verb *to be* must be present--i.e., not implied, as in Spanish and Russian, respectively--in the standard varieties. Adjectives nearly always precede the nouns they modify, again with stylistic exceptions like *a woman scorned*, *a love supreme*, and English's numerous prepositions always precede their noun phrases (*over the river*, *through the woods*, *to Grandmother's house*). English has an unusually long list of **phrasal verbs**, usually verb +preposition combinations that bear meanings that aren't clear from the component words, e.g. *give up* 'quit/abandon,' and *make up* 'invent/recoup/reconcile.'

4.4 How Names Work

The American pattern of **PERSONAL PERSONAL FAMILY** is relatively common around the word, but the convention of using 'middle initials,' i.e. the first letter of the second given name, is significantly less so: British and Korean people, for instance, often have three names like Americans, but rarely intialize the second. *Harry S. Truman* and *John F. Kennedy* reflect a distinctly American name style; consider the oddness of *John W. Lennon*, *James P. McCartney* or (U.N. Secretary-General) *Ban K. Moon* in comparison.

5 Further Reading

5.1 Imaginative Literature

Bryson, Bill. *Made in America: An Informal History of the English Language in the United States*.

Miller, Tom (ed.) *How I Learned English: 55 Accomplished Latinos Recall Lessons in Language and Life*.

Tan, Shaun. *The Arrival*.

5.2 English language periodicals

Each of the other sections in this guide includes a few English language periodicals connected to the language/culture in question. Spending some time with the culture of other Englishes besides our own can be quite an eye-opening experience, and the internet allows us to do so with just a few clicks. Here are a handful of publications not mentioned in other sections:

Jamaica Gleaner -- http://jamaica-gleaner.com/
Mail & Guardian (South Africa) -- http://www.mg.co.za/
The Straits Times (Singapore) -- http://www.straitstimes.com/

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U.S. Census Bureau (2010a). Detailed Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Older by States: 2006-2008 [data file]. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/about/faqs.html

U.S. Census Bureau (2010b). Selected population profile in the United States: 2010 American Community Survey 1-year estimates [data file]. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

French

1. French in Brief

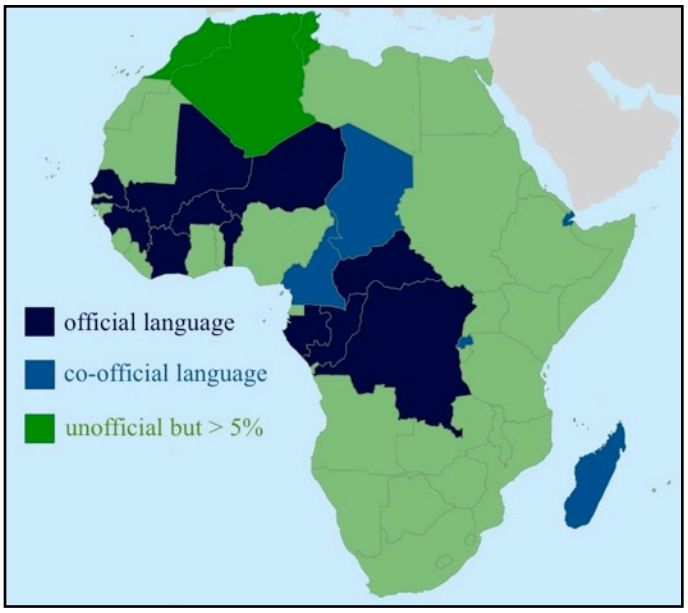
French for ‘French (language)’:
français [fʁã.sɛ]
French word for ‘English (language)’:
anglais [ã.glɛ]
Writing system(s):
Latin (alphabetic)
US Speakers (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):
1,355,805
Language family (related languages):
Indo-European / Romance
(Catalan, Haitian Creole)
Official national language (*co-official) in:

*Belgium	Guinea
Benin	*Haiti
Burkina Faso	*Luxembourg
*Cameroon	*Madagascar
*Canada	Mali
Central African Rep.	Monaco
*Chad	Niger
*Comoros	Rep. of the Congo
Côte d’Ivoire	*Rwanda
Dem. Rep. of the Congo	Senegal
*Djibouti	*Switzerland
France	*Vanuatu
Gabon	(CIA, 2012)

Minority language (> 5% speakers):
Algeria; Lebanon; Morocco; Tunisia
Ethnic French in US (US Census, 2010b):
8,761,496 (French)
2,042,808 (French Canadian)
Top 3 US Metro areas where French is spoken (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):
New York, Washington DC, Boston
Did you know that...
... the most populous nation with French as its official language is the Democratic Republic of the Congo?

2 French in Global Context

Measured only in "native speakers[1]," French is the 16th most widely spoken language in the world, behind Telugu, Vietnamese, and Marathi (Lewis, 2009), but this metric fails to do justice to the continued global significance of the language. The more than 60 million speakers of French as a home language are complemented by an even greater number of speakers who learn it outside the home, bringing the worldwide total of French speakers to roughly 200 million. French remains an official language in many **West African ex-colonies**, and has similar status in other pockets throughout the world, including Quebec (Canada), Haiti, French Guiana (a territory of France in South America), and Vanuatu in the Pacific. It retains a significant if fading presence in other former colonies, most notably Lebanon, North Africa and Southeast Asia. Most US speakers of French have roots in communities in **Canada and Louisiana** that formed part of a global French empire centuries ago.



2.1 History and Politics

As a Romance language, French--like Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and others--is a form of Latin passed down through one of the various European speech communities into which the Roman Empire splintered. One of the first post-Roman influences on the language was **Old Frankish**, the Germanic language of the Franks, a tribe that occupied the power vaccuum in Gaul left by the fall of the Romans. Old Frankish existed alongside both Latin and the gradually distinctive vernacular French for several centuries, was likely the home language of Charlemagne, Europe's first great medieval emperor, and is the source of a number of structures in modern French, e.g., *avec* 'with,' which differs etymologically from the equivalent word in most other Romance languages (compare Spanish and Italian *con*, Portuguese *com*).

Like Spanish and English, French achieved the great bulk of its global diffusion through colonial expansion. For simplicity's sake, we can divide France's global empire into two chronologically

[1] In keeping with the CUNY-NYSIEB view that "a speaker never has a language, but simply uses or performs" one (http://www.nysieb.ws.gc.cuny.edu/our-vision/), this guide has avoided the terms *native language*, *first language/L1*, and *mother tongue*, as these typically reflect a rigidity at odds with our vision. In the case of French, the gap between the two views is particularly stark: by focusing on the 'tree' of 'first language' speakers, 'L1'-keyed data miss the 'forest' of French's enormous global importance. Lewis's (2009) data and rankings based on them serve as a useful estimate of a language's diffusion, but must be taken with a grain of *sel* 'salt,' an especially large one here.

distinct iterations. France's **pre-Revolutionary empire was centered in North America and the Caribbean**, and passed out of direct French control by the dawn of the 19th century, with the Louisiana Purchase and Haitian Revolution following earlier Canadian losses in the French and Indian Wars (known in French as *les Guerres Intercoloniales* 'the Intercolonial Wars'). France's **post-Napoleonic Empire extended throughout Southeast Asia, North Africa, and West Africa**, was primarily acquired in the late 19th century, and dissolved through the 20th-century indigenous independence movements. Napoleon's early-19th-century wars of conquest on the European continent had striking cultural and political effects, but left relatively little in the way of linguistic legacy.

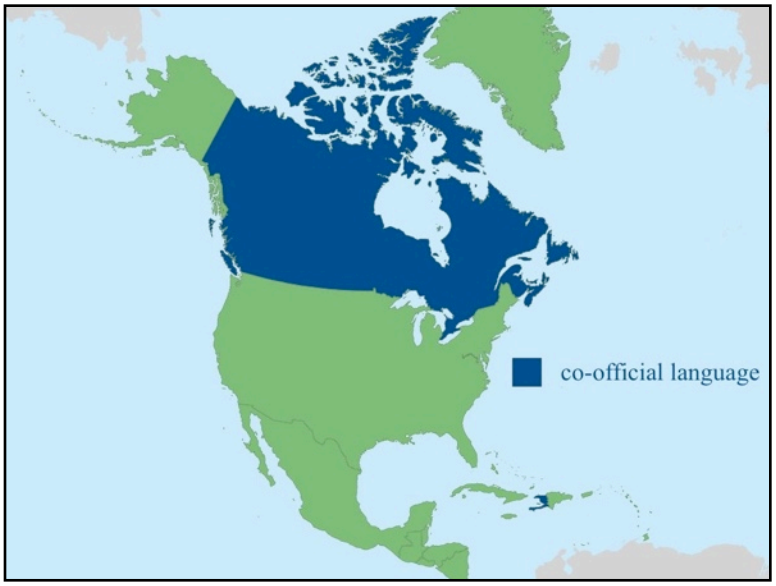
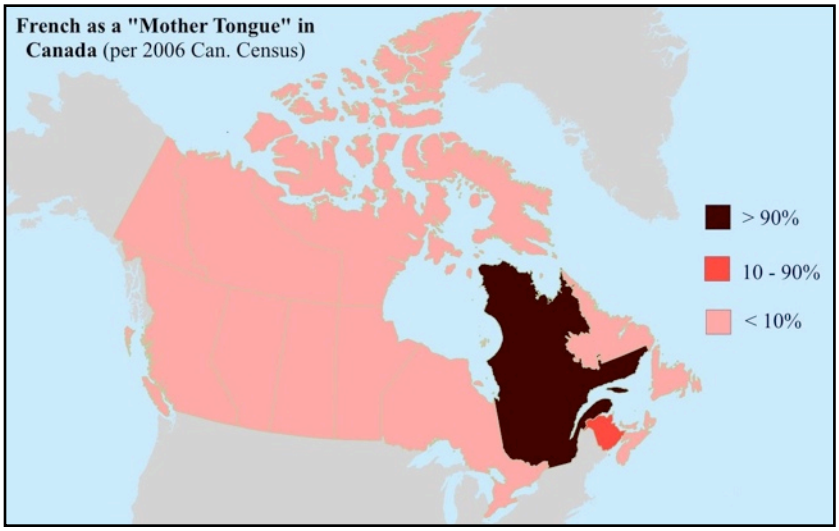


Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

58-52 BC	Julius Caesar wages successful Roman campaign in Celtic-speaking Gaul
1st c. BC	Romans rule modern-day France: **Latin subsumes local tongues** (except Breton)
3rd-4th c. AD	Germanic tribes (Alemanni, Burgundians, Visigoths, Franks) invade (3rd-4th c.)
481-511	Clovis I unites Germanic-speaking Frankish tribes, conquers Roman rump state
800	Charlemagne expands Frankish kingdom to include much of modern W. Europe
9th c.	Emergence of Old French alongside Old High German (Frankish), formal Latin
9th-10th c.	Scandinavian invaders conquer present-day Normandy, quickly adopt French
1066	William of Normandy conquers England; French language governs for 200 years
1539	Francis I makes (Middle) French the official language of court, ousting Latin
1605-11	French establish **colonies in Acadia (now Nova Scotia), Quebec, Montreal**
1630s	Richelieu creates *Académie française*; Descartes writes *Discours de la Méthode*
1699	Foundation of Louisiana colony links North American and Caribbean territories
1754-63	French & Indian War; British expel Acadians--some go to Louisiana ('cajuns')
1789-94	**French revolution**: Louis XVI executed (1793); Reign of Terror (1793-94)
1791	Slave uprising in Saint-Domingue (Haiti); France frees slaves in colonies (1794)
1799-1804	General Napoleon Bonaparte stages coup d'etat, establishes 1st Empire
1803	**Louisiana Purchase**: 828,000 sq. miles (~15 states) sold to U.S. for $15 million
1803-1815	Napoleonic Wars: European empire briefly expands as far as Moscow
19th c.	'Scramble for Africa': France colonizes N. and W. Africa, also S.E. Asia
mid 20th c.	World War II: Nazis occupy France; French colonies achieve independence

Toward the end of *les Guerres Intercoloniales*, the British forcibly deported thousands of French-speaking Acadians, an event that has come to be known as *le Grand Dérangement* 'the Great Upheaval.' At first, the Acadians were sent to the nearby American colonies, but as reports came that some were attempting to return to Acadia, a second wave was shipped all the way to France and England. From this second wave formed a group of settlers that re-emigrated to America, settling in the French Louisiana colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River: their descendants call themselves 'Cajuns.'

Despite the explusion, and although the country itself now no longer has political ties to France, Canada's French-speaking community remains large (at roughly seven million, over 20% of the Canadian population), vibrant, and influential in North American politics and culture. Most French Canadians live in New York State's neighbor to the north, **the province of Quebec**--Canada's largest province by area, and second largest by population. French is Quebec's only official language at the provincial level, and 80% of the population is monolingual (Statistics Canada, 2007)[2].



After early immigration by French Huguenots, in 1627 Cardinal Richelieu banned non-Catholics from settling in *Nouvelle-France* 'New France,' as French Canada was then known. Consequently, the Catholic Church has played a central role in Quebecois society throughout its history. The **seigneurial system** of land distribution and occupation--essentially, a New World variety of feudalism concocted by Richelieu--was also a key organizing institution until its abolishment in 1854, and is often blamed for the population pressures that led nearly a million French Canadians to emigrate to New England between the 1840s and the Great Depression. The fifty years following the *Révolution Tranquille* 'Quiet Revolution' of the 1960s have seen a modern, secular, progressive province develop around the bustling, international city of Montreal, home of the 1976 Summer Olympics, and the smaller capital city of Quebec. The possibility of political separation from Canada is a perennial hot-button issue, with secession failing by a mere 1% of the vote in Quebec's most recent plebiscite, held in 1995.

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[2] The data represented in the accompanying map are also from the 2006 Census, which used the term *mother tongue*. This guide has preferred to focus on *home language* as a more useful concept, but does not substitute one term for the other when reporting data, as they presumably bear distinct empirical footprints. A Nigerian couple that grew up speaking Zarma and Hausa in different homes might choose to use French--their common language of schooling--as a home language; neither of them would likely list it in a census that asked for *mother tongue*, but would list French as a *home language*. Home languages can emerge throughout life, while L1s and mother tongues cannot.

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

The cultural backgrounds of New York State French speakers vary widely, with no individual background predominating. Many come from Haiti, though only a minority of Haitians speak French; this culture is discussed in detail in the "Haitian Creole" section of this guide. Others come from Africa, but not in particularly concentrated numbers from any one country. Recent immigrants from France, and upstate New Yorkers with longstanding roots in French North America round out the picture.

Strong ties to **the Catholic Church** have historically set Quebec apart from not only surrounding regions of North America, but also from France itself, where the Dechristianization of the French Revolution severed such links with lasting force, and *laïcité* 'secularism' is enshrined in the preamble of the Constitution as a defining ideal. In the 2001 Census, 83% of Quebecers identified themselves as Roman Catholic, the highest percentage of any province; by contrast, roughly 64% of French citizens describe themselves as Catholic (Analyse, 2010).

Many French Canadian traditions date back to New France's roots as a fur trapping colony. Its traditional cuisine, for instance, features greasy dishes like *oreilles de crisse* (fried pork jowls, literally 'Christ's ears') and ***tourtière*, a meat pie** often made with wild game mixed with more traditional meats, and originally made from flesh of the *tourte* 'passenger pigeon,' a bird native to North America but hunted to extinction by the 20th century. From October to April, one might breakfast on *orielles de crisse* smothered with locally-extracted maple syrup at a farm's *cabane à sucre* 'sugar shack.'

France's contributions to world culture have been no less than seminal: 2nd-millenium France not only produced great art, philosophy, architecture, literature and cuisine, but rather framed how much of the world views these domains. To merely mention the names Monet, Rembrandt, and Gauguin is to miss the influence that the French art world had on (the non-French) Picasso and Van Gogh; French political philosophy is not merely the sum of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and other French writers, but also a legacy of inquiry that inspired Jefferson and Marx. The word 'culture' itself--like 'art,' 'philosophy,' 'architecture,' and 'cuisine'--come to us from French, and illustrate the extent to which enlightenment and aesthetic refinement continue to be associated with the French language.

Perhaps few 21st century time-spaces can fully live up to such a tradition, but contemporary Quebec boasts world-class artistic activity, from jazz to graphic novels, comedy festivals to cinema; its current best-known exports are the singer Céline Dion and the performance troupe *Cirque du Soleil* ('Circus of the Sun'). Although nobody knows the precise origins of ice hockey, it is generally agreed that the first organized indoor game was played in Montreal in 1875, and it is no exaggeration to say that **hockey is a national obsession** for both Quebec and Canada. The Montreal Canadiens are the world's arguably best-known and indisputably winningest

professional hockey team, and--after the recent departures of the Expos baseball team and Nordiques hockey squad--Quebec's lone remaining major North American sports franchise.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

One of the earliest variations among the Latin vulgates of Medieval Gaul was that between the ***Langue d'Oïl*** 'language of *oil*' spoken in the north, and the ***Langue d'Oc*** 'language of *oc*' spoken in the south, the terms referring to the different words for 'yes' in the two regions. The Italian poet Dante counted these varieties alongside '*si* languages' as the major varieties of Europe's vulgates in the 14th century. In truth, the difference between the two groups in France is far larger than a single term, and today linguists consider Occitan--the *Langue d'Oc*--a separate language, with Provençal among its various dialects, all endangered. Standard French, also known as Metropolitan French, is the predominant contemporary form of *Langue d'Oïl*; the combination of strong institutional support for (ever insistence upon) the standard and a historically mobile population within France has led to regional accents such as Lyonnais, Meridional, Alsatian and Corsican having marginal status.

The global diffusion of French has had something of a **centrifugal effect**. Canada's standard *français québecois* is quite similar to Standard French when written, but distinctive in spoken form (Papen, 1998), and a number of distinctive regional dialects have formed in North America over the centuries following colonization. This has also occured in Africa:

Fig. 2: Some *variétés régionales* 'regional dialects' of French

Europe	**N. America**	**Africa**
Standard/Metropolitan	Standard/Quebecois	Maghreb
Meridional/Francitan	Joual	Sub-Saharan
	Acadian	
	New England	
	Cajun/Louisiana	

Standard French, as particularly specified by the Paris-based *Académie francaise* (established by Cardinal Richelieu in the 17th century), has exerted a strong influence on the other world varieties, and is usually the default standard in educational and governmental institutions throughout *la francophonie* 'the French-speaking world.' This history of centralized linguistic authority has strongly **discouraged the influence of non-standard dialects** and outside languages, effectively limiting the number of borrowings from contact languages. Nonetheless, it is often these lexical connections to neighbor languages that mark each world variety as unique: Amerindian words in Quebecois, Arabic words in Maghreb, and African words in Sub-Saharan.

2.4 Language and Education

Quebec's 1977 Charter of the French Language specifies **French as the language of instruction** from kindergarten through secondary school, with English a mandatory subject for all students. An exception is made in school districts with high numbers of *Premieres Nations* 'First Nations' languages, such as Cree, Inuit, or Inuktitut, districts mostly in the northern reaches of the province.

In contrast, **France has a much more centralized language policy**, with no power granted to regions to establish languages of instruction other than French. Discussion of minority language rights--and government obligations to minority language support--came to a head in 1999 when France signed the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, but did not ratify it, ostensibly under the view that doing so would be unconstitutional. It remains unsigned today.

Literacy rates in Canada and France are at 99%, those in Francophone Africa significantly lower, e.g. 67% in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 48.7% in Côte d'Ivoire (CIA, 2012). In many countries with small French-speaking populations, however, French is spoken by the educated classes; the literacy rate among Francophones, therefore, is in all likelihood higher than the broader national rate.

3. French in the United States

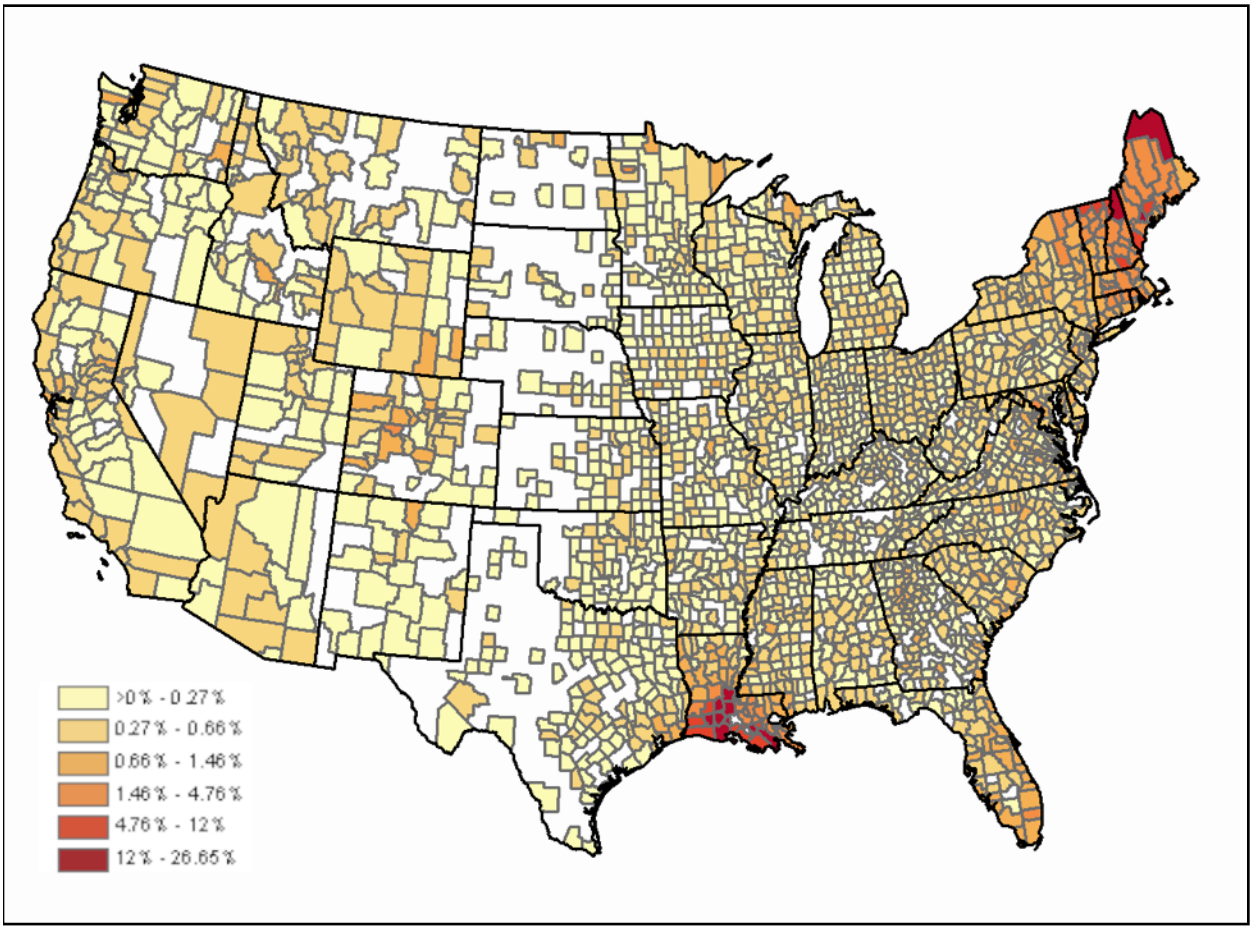
The extensive reach of French exploration and settlement in the USA can be seen in place names across the country, from Detroit to Des Moines, Baton Rouge to Mt. Rainier. Today, however, the country's longstanding French-speaking communities have their roots in just two 16th-century settlements: Acadia, which started as a group of 79 settlers on an island in present-day Maine, and New France, the forerunner of modern Quebec. As mentioned above, the French-speaking Cajuns of Louisiana trace their roots to Acadians dislocated by *le grand dérangement* (Valdman, 2010). Francophone remnants of *le Pays des Illinois* 'Illinois Country' long dotted **the Great Plains and upper Midwest**--the region of the USA with the most French toponyms (Terre Haute, Joliet, Eau Claire, etc.)--but these have all but flickered out, and the language variety known as Missouri French is now essentially extinct. A community north of Miami, Florida known as 'Floribec' consists of around 60,000 retirees mixed with Haitian immigrants (Valdman, 2010), but for obvious reasons is not likely to form a lasting multi-generational speech community.

3.1 National Trends

The Louisiana and New England *franco-américanie* communities are relatively unique among non-English speech communities in having a) **very few 'fresh arrivals,'** as the limited number of French-speaking immigrants who do come to America every year usually gravitate towards distant cities; and b) the homogenizing presence of Standard French in the school system, discouraging the already marginal use of regional and vernacular varieties. There have not been

any enormous waves of French immigration to New France/Quebec after the English took over the territory, but the community has instead grown historically through higher birth rates, sometimes called *la revanche des berceaux* 'the revenge of the cradles' (Valdman, 2010).

Fig. 3: % of US population that speaks French, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



Great effort has gone into the *la survivance*, the preservation of Cajun and Franco-American culture over the centuries, though the institutional supports for French are a far cry from those across the national border in Quebec. Parochial schools with instruction in French formed one of the few historical sources of institutional support in the USA, but many closed after the 1960s, sending francophone students to **public school systems that often actively discouraged the use of French**, and certainly did not develop it. Lifelong French-speaking students in the 1970s reported being punished for 'incorrect' French by their public school teachers, and being banned from using the language on the playground (Jacobson, 1984).

As the effects of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act took hold, more of a focus was trained on support for French or, at the very least, transitional programming. A government-sponsored effort to support the French language in Louisiana called **CODOFIL** was launched in 1968 under the slogan *l'école a detruit le français, l'école doit reconstruire le français* 'schools destroyed

French, schools must rebuild French,' but quickly met with resistance from the local community for its insistence on Standard French--to the extent of importing 'qualified' teachers from Belgium and France--and perceived air of snobbery toward the Cajun culture and language (Valdman, 2010). Though CODOFIL gradually came to embrace the Louisiana varieties of French, and though institutions such as the University of Maine, the University of Southern Maine, and the government of France all have programs to study and support *franco-américanie*, the community remains relatively 'invisible' to the wider US population. Indeed, its many contributors to American society are rarely associated with their cultural heritage:

Fig. 4: French-American boldface names

Louis Chevrolet	Swiss-born co-founder of Chevrolet car company
Kate Chopin	New Orleans writer (*The Awakening*); French Canadian mother
Céline Dion	Grammy-winning singer from Quebec; splits time in USA
John Frémont	US Senator (CA); first Republican Presidential candidate
Robert Goulet	Broadway star (*Camelot*); French Canadian parents
Jack Kerouac	Writer (*On the Road*); French Canadian parents
Pierre Charles L'Enfant	Architect/civil engineer; designed Washington, DC
Tony Parker	NBA Champion (x3); born in Belgium, raised in France
Oliver Stone	Oscar-winning writer/director (*Platoon*); French mother

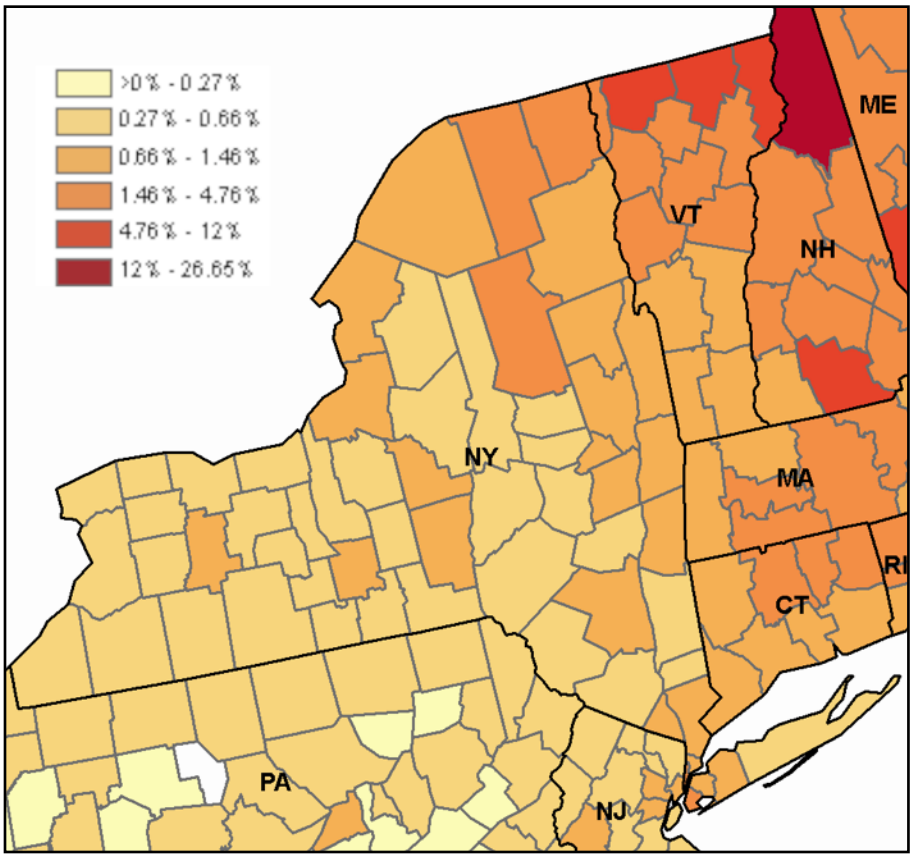
A recent study of eight New England communities by Fox & Smith (2006, cited in Valdman, 2010) shows a wide range of home use of French: in Van Buren, ME, 75% of the ethnically French community reported using French at home, while in Southbridge, CT and Bristol, MA, the number was under 10%. In all of the towns surveyed, use of French dropped between 1990 and 2000.

3.2 French in New York State

A glance at Figure 3 above shows that the greatest concentration of US French speakers can be found in the states of Louisiana and Maine; however, the greatest number of French speakers belongs to New York State, with 141,017 as of 2007 (Valdman, 2010). Similarly, though the greatest concentration of French speakers in New York State can be seen in Figure 4 in St. Lawrence, Hamilton, Franklin and Clinton counties near Quebec, the largest numbers are found in three boroughs of New York City: Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens, in descending order. The 2000 Census counted 4,095 French speakers in the four upstate counties, 90,365 in the three boroughs mentioned.

While most of the upstate population can be reasonably inferred to have longstanding Franco-American roots, the New York City francophones appear to be a mixed group. Precise statistical data on country of origin for New York City French speakers is hard to come by, but informal journalistic descriptions suggest that Haitian, European French, and West African immigrants are the most populous groups in the city.

Fig. 4: % of NYS population that speaks French, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



4 Structures of Note in French

Like English, French is a language whose written form gives only **inconsistent clues to pronunciation**. In particular, letters written at the end of words have a strong tendency not to be pronounced: *haut* 'high,' *eau* 'water,' *au* 'to the/of the' and the interjection *oh!* are all pronounced the same way in isolation--[o]--while *mai*, *maie*, *mais*, *mes*, *m'es*, *m'est*, *met*, and *mets* are all pronounced [mɛ]. The difficulties of French orthography, nasal vowels, and phenomena like elision and liaison are balanced by a high number of cognates between French and English, which eases the acquisition of vocabulary. French-speaking learners of English, on the other hand, often struggle with English spelling, stress patterns, and consonants due to structual differences between the languages.

4.1 Sound System

Typically only one or two French consonant sounds present difficulty to the English speaker: the 'r' sound [ʁ], pronounced by many French speakers with a raspy, uvular 'clearing of the throat,' and the [ɲ] sound at the end of words, as in *montagne* [mɔ̃.taɲ] 'mountain,' which typically occurs only in the middle of English words, such as 'lasagna' and 'canyon.' French vowels are trickier: the letter 'u' usually represents an 'ee-through-pursed-lips' sound (IPA [y]) that does not

occur regularly in English, while the vowels [a], [ɛ], and [ɔ] all come in **nasalized versions** that are meaningfully distinct, and marked with '~' in IPA. Thus, pairs like *ça* [sa] 'that' and *sang* [sã] 'blood,' *cet* [sɛ] 'this' and *sain* [sɛ̃] 'healthy,' and *seau* [so] 'bucket' and *son* [sɔ̃] 'sound' must be differentiated in speech and perception.

The French letter 'h' is generally silent, so pronunciation of the English version can be problematic for French-speaking emergent bilingual learners (EBLs); similarly, final 's' can be a problem for students decoding written English. The different pronunciation of 'r' challenges French-speaking learners of English, as do a number of phonemes that don't exist in French (Harris, 1987):

(Consonants)	(Vowels)
[θ] at the beginning of 'thin'	[æ] at the beginning of 'ash'
[ð] at the beginning of 'this'	[ɪ] at the beginning of 'igloo'
[ʤ] at the beginning of 'jump'	[ʊ] in the middle of 'could'
vs. [ʒ] at the end of 'mirage'	vs. [u] in 'cooed'
[ʧ] at the beginning of 'change'	
vs. [ʃ] at the beginning of 'shy'	

Stress differences between the two languages can lead to a number of pronunciation difficulties for EBLs. French generally puts a light stress on the end of words, while English words feature heavier stresses, usually on early syllables; the contrast is particularly challenging with cognates like 'realize,' 'specific,' and 'normal,' which francophone learners are likely to pronounce with stress on the last syllable, or merely not enough stress on the appropriate one. At the phrase level, French tends to stress the adjective in noun-adjective pairs, whereas English does the opposite; the French-style stress can confuse listeners into thinking a contrast is being drawn when none is--compare 'John is an <u>intelligent</u> man' with 'John is an intelligent <u>man</u>.' French tends to stress the first content word in phrases/sentences, while English stresses the last: 'I <u>went</u> to the bank' vs. 'I went to the <u>bank</u>' (Mojsin, 2009).

4.2 Writing Systems

French and English share the Latin alphabet, as well as the historical misfortune of having standardized their spelling systems before major sound changes affected how the language is pronounced. French uses several accents on vowels, the *accent aigu* 'accute accent' as on the last letter of *café*, the *accent grave* 'grave accent' as on the last letter in *où* 'where,' and the *accent circonflexe* 'circumflex accent,' used in *forêt* 'forest.' Unlike the similar accents in Spanish and Italian, **these do not indicate stressed syllables**, but rather serve subtler objectives, e.g. to distinguish homographs like *ou* 'or' and *où* 'where,' or to indicate historically present 's,' as the circumflex does in *forêt*. Learners of both languages must learn a host of irregularities between spelling and pronunciation.

4.3 Grammar

French grammar presents less of a challenge to English speakers than its sound and spelling systems. It is an SVO language in which the main subject of a sentence must always be present, and which inverts verbs and subjects in questions, much like English in all three cases. **Adjectives tend to follow nouns**, a slight difference, but not without exception--e.g. *la grande grange rouge* 'the big, red barn' (literally, 'the big barn red')--French adjectives of size tend to precede their nouns. Object pronouns such as *la* and *le* 'him/her/it' occur before rather than after verbs: *je le vois maintenant* 'I see it now' (literally, 'I it see now').

4.4 How Names Work

French names typically follow a pattern of **PERSONAL PERSONAL FAMILY**, with the second given name rarely used. In France, women do not legally take their husband's last name, and children may be given the family name of either parent, or both hyphenated. Thus, Brigitte Anne-Marie Bardot was born to Anne-Marie Mucel and Louis Bardot, and did not take the last name of any of her four husbands.

4.5 'Friends' and Classroom Phrases

English borrowed many French words relating to education and high culture during the centuries in which the two co-existed in English society (roughly 1100-1300), and the two languages looked to the same Greek and Latin sources for the wave of vocabulary that later came in with the Renaissance and Enlightenment. As a result, 'academic friends' between the two languages abound; the following list is merely a representative sample.

Fig. 5: French-English Academic 'Friends'

Elementary		*proverbe*	'proverb'
abréviation	'abbreviation'	*réciproque*	'reciprocal'
apostrophe	'apostrophe'	*révolution*	'revolution'
hémisphère	'hemisphere'	*système*	'system'
mesurer	'to measure'		
octogone	'octagon'	Secondary	
planète	'planet'	*amplitude*	'amplitude'
population	'population'	*bactéries*	'bacteria'
reproduction	'reproduction'	*colonialisme*	'colonialism'
synonyme	'synonym'	*hypothèse*	'hypothesis'
volume	'volume'	*parabole*	'parabola'
		paradoxe	'paradox'
Intermediate		*précision*	'precision'
cycle	'cycle'	*quadratique*	'quadratic'
diversité	'diversity'	*symbole*	'symbol'
fonction	'function'	*théorème*	'theorem'
photosynthèse	'photosynthesis'	*virus*	'virus'

Fig. 6: Classroom Phrases in French and English

Greetings & Questions	
Bonjour.	'Hello.'
Bienvenu(e) dans notre classe.	'Welcome to our classroom.'
Comment allez-vous?	'How are you?'
Vous avez besoin de quelque chose?	'What do you need?'
Vous voulez aller aux toilettes?	'Do you need to go to the bathroom?'
Compliments & Niceties	
Bon travail!	'Good work!'
Merci!	'Thank you!'
Si'l vous plaît.	'Please.'
Excusez-moi.	'Excuse me.'
Communication	
Voulez-vois dire...?	'Do you mean...?'
Que pensez-vous?	'What are your thoughts?'
Comment puis-je vous aider?	'How can I help you?'
Directions	
Levez-vous	'Stand up'
Asseyez-vous	'Sit down'
Lisez	'Read'
Ecrivez	'Write'
Écoutez	'Listen'
Répondez	'Answer'
Parlez avec votre partenaire	'Talk with your partner'
Travaillez en groupe	'Work in your group'
Ouvrez votre livre/cahier	'Open your book/notebook'
Sortez votre stylo/crayon	'Take out your pen/pencil'
Ecrivez les devoirs (dans votre agenda)	'Write down your homework'

5 Further Reading and References

5.1 Imaginative Literature

Ages 4-8

de Brunhoff, Jean. *Babar the King*. (English or French)
Hebert-Collins, Sheila. *Jean-Paul Hebert Was There.* (Bilingual)
Saint-Exupery, Antoine. *The Little Prince*. (English or French)

Ages 8-12

Goscinny, Rene. *Le Petit Nicolas*. (English or French)
Carrier, Roch. *The Hockey Sweater*.
Freedman, Russell. *Lafayette and the American Revolution*.

Ages 12-16

Brown, Chester. *Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography*
Martel, Suzanne. *The King's Daughter*.
Yates, Elizabeth. *With Pipe, Paddle and Song: A Story of the French-Canadian Voyageurs*.

Ages 16-adult

Carey, Peter. *Parrot and Olivier in America*.
Chopin, Kate. *The Awakening*.
Kerouac, Jack. *Visions of Gerard*.

5.2 English Language Periodicals

France24 News--http://www.france24.com/en/france/
The Gazette (Quebec)--http://www.montrealgazette.com/
The Haitian Times--http://www.haitiantimes.com/
West Africa News--http://westafricanews.com/

5.3 French Language Periodicals

Le Journal de Montréal (Canada)--http://www.journaldemontreal.com/
Le Matin (Haiti)--http://www.lematinhaiti.com/
Le Monde (France)--http://www.lemonde.fr/
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U.S. Census Bureau (2010b). Selected population profile in the United States: 2010 American Community Survey 1-year estimates [data file]. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

Valdman, A. (2010). French in the USA. In Potowski, K., ed., *Language Diversity in the USA*. Cambridge: CUP.

Haitian Creole

1. Haitian Creole in Brief

Haitian Creole for 'Haitian Creole language':
kreyòl ayisyen [kɣe.jɔl a.ji.sjɛ̃]
Haitian Creole word for 'English language':
angle [ã.gle]
Writing system(s):
Latin (alphabetic)
Official national language in:
Haiti (pop. 9,801,664) (Haiti, 2012)
Language family (related languages):
Creole (French, possibly Fon, Ewe)
US Speakers (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):
629,019 ('French creole')
Ethnic Haitians in US (US Census 2010b):
881,488
Top 3 US Metro areas where Haitian Creole is spoken (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):
Miami, New York, Boston
Did you know that...
... Frederick Douglass was the US Consul-General to Haiti from 1889-91?
... Franklin D. Roosevelt claimed to have written the 1918 Haitian Constitution himself?
... the Port-au-Prince neighborhood of *Bwouklin* is named after Brooklyn, NY?

2. Haitian Creole in Global Context

Haitian Creole, spoken by virtually all Haitians, has been recognized as one of the country's two official languages since 1987. French, the other, is spoken by far fewer Haitians, possibly under 10 percent (Dejean, 2010). Like many creoles (e.g. Jamaican patois, Cape Verde Creole), **Haitian Creole has long been stigmatized and marginalized**: it is not a broken or corrupt variety of French, but a distinct language with its own rules, "just as French is separate from Latin and other Romance languages" (Spears, 2010). It has its own standardized writing system, is the primary language of instruction in Haiti, and boasts a significant and growing body of literature. The number of estimated Haitian Creole speakers worldwide is over seven million (Lewis, 2009), with large communities in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Canada, and the USA.

2.1 History and Politics

Haiti shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic, a larger nation to its east. The island was the first significant New World landfall for Columbus on his first trans-Atlantic voyage, an event that initiated three centuries of brutal colonial exploitation of the native Tainos and imported African slaves. After years of somewhat anarchic settlement by French colonists and pirates, the western third of Hispaniola officially became a French colony, known as 'Saint-

Domingue,' in 1697, with **French** the language of colonization. A constant influx of new slaves from West Africa--driven by the very high death rate of local slaves--and the isolation prescribed by France's colonial 'Codes Noirs' contributed to the **development of Haitian Creole** among the oppressed during the colonial period.

In 1791, fresh on the heels of the French revolution, the slaves of Saint-Domingue revolted, chasing off or killing nearly all of the white colonists, and formally declaring independence from France in 1804. In the decades that followed, **the world's first black republic** was shunned by the international community, a fact that contributed to its economic isolation and deterioration.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

pre-1492	Taino culture and language predominate
1492	Columbus arrives in 'Ayiti' (Taino term), renames the island 'Hispaniola'
1500s	Tainos subjugated by Spaniards, decimated by hard labor and European diseases
1517	Spanish emperor Charles V authorizes procurement of slaves from Africa
1600s	Western Hispaniola becomes haven for French pirates, buccaneers
1685	France's 'Code Noir' provide legal framework for slavery in colonies
1697	Spain cedes western third of Hispaniola--**modern Haiti--to France**
1700s	Sugar, coffee, and indigo make 'Saint-Domingue' the 'Pearl of the Caribbean'
1789	French revolution; Saint-Domingue is richest French colony in New World
1791	**Haitian revolution begins** with slave revolt led by Dutty Boukman
1794	France frees slaves in all French territories; Toussaint L'Ouverture leads 'noirs'
1804	Haiti declares **independence** from France (USA officially recognizes it in 1862)
1915-34	USA occupies Haiti, executes peasants, rebels (e.g., Péralte 1919)
1957	'Papa Doc' Duvalier elected; begins violent dictatorship with US support
1971	19-year-old 'Baby Doc' Duvalier succeeds father, continues brutality
1990-2004	Jean-Bertrande Aristide elected president, rules intermittently (exiled 1991-94)
2003-04	Chaos escalates: corruption scandals, strikes, protests, assassinations
2004-06	Aristide quits, flees to Africa; U.N. forces enter to stabilize
2010	7.0 magnitude **earthquake** leaves hundreds of thousands dead or homeless
2011	Former *kompa* musician Michel 'Sweet Micky' Martelly elected president

Today, Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, with a history of unstable government that has led to large-scale emigration of a Creole-speaking diaspora. **The earthquake of 2010** in capital city Port-au-Prince shook the entire nation, and despite continued aid efforts from the international community, Haiti remains critically hampered by poverty, corruption, and inconsistent access to education (Haiti, 2012).

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

Haiti is an impoverished nation still struggling to recover from one of the most disastrous earthquakes in human history. Before the earthquake, 55% of its household subsisted on less than $1 per day, and 45% had no access to potable water (World Health Organization, 2010). Trees are burned as a primary energy source, which has wiped out nearly all of the country's forest land, leaving settlements vulnerable to mudslides and flooding. Haiti's per capita GDP is roughly an eighth of its island-mate the Dominican Republic's, and forty times smaller than America's (Haiti, 2012). Most Haitians live at the subsistence level, affected by issues--intestinal parasites, iodine deficiency, acute malnutrition, a cholera epidemic--that rarely cross the minds of Floridians less than 600 miles away.

Bearing that in mind, there is plenty of sunshine, both literal and figurative, in Haiti. The late 20th-century rise in status of Haitian Creole had strong ties to the ***kompa direk*** music and dance movement, a style known for uptempo beats, electric guitars, horns, and Creole lyrics, and one of whose foremost practitioners, Michel Martelly, is currently Haiti's president. It also had a religious connection: nominally, the country is predominantly Catholic (80%) and Protestant (16%), but roughly half the population also practices 'voodoo' ***vodou*** [vo.du], a religion deriving from West Africa (Haiti, 2012). American views on *vodou* have been molded by misrepresentations in pop culture: rather than the simplistic 'sorcery' depicted in B-films and pulp fiction, *vodou* is a complex, widely practiced religion with longstanding historical traditions and a specialized language--known as *langaj*--spoken by 'male priests' *houngans* and 'female priests' *mambos* that draws even more on African languages than does Haitian Creole.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

Haiti's two official languages French and Haitian Creole (henceforth referred to as 'Creole' for brevity's sake) coexist in a situation sometimes described as 'diglossia,' with one variety, French, associated with 'high' or formal social contexts--e.g., government documents, street signs, daily newspapers--and the other, Creole, used "when speakers are less guarded, less formal, and more intimate" (Zéphir, 2010). Given, however, that less than half of Haitians actually speak French, either a majority of the population is essentially excluded from 'high' level discourse, or the situation is **not actually one of stable diglossia**.

Most trends point to growth in the use and status of Creole. Roughly 25% of TV programming is in French, 25% in Creole, and the remainder a bilingual mix, or alternating according to the day (Etienne 2000 in Zéphir, 2010). Although French continues to be perceived as the more

prestigous of the two languages, the momentum of language shift appears, for the time being, to be on the side of Creole: school reform in the 1980s made Creole the language of instruction (see 2.4 below), and varieties spoken by younger Haitians feature distinctive elements that situate them further from rather than closer to French (Valdman, 2010).

Scholars have traditionally assumed **three regional dialects of Creole**--Northern, Southern, and Central--with the Central dialect surrounding the capital Port-au-Prince considered the standard. It is not clear, however, that geography is a stronger axis of variation than age, class, or urbanization (Valdman, 2010). Standardization of Creole via the development of dictionaries, grammars, literature and the educational system has been much more recent than, say, the analogous processes for English or French, which date back over 500 years, and though Haiti's is likely the most studied of all the world's creoles, there has been less time for a consensus to develop about its varieties. Whatever their classification, the dialects of Creole are mutually intelligible, while intelligibility between French and Creole is low.

2.4 Language and Education

A sweeping reform of the Haitian education system in 1982, known as the Bernard Reform, established **Creole as the "language of instruction** as well as subject of instruction all through fundmental education," with French a required "subject of instruction" throughout schooling but only a "language of instruction" starting in sixth grade (Locher, 2010). Despite this relatively progressive step, and despite significant lip service and money being dedicated to education in Haiti over the ensuing years, the state of **schooling in the country remains inconsistent, chaotic**, a "massive failure" to some (Dejean, 2010). Literacy is estimated at between 20 (Joseph, 2010) and 40 percent (Madhere, 2010), and only 10% of students who begin primary school will complete it (Locher, 2010).

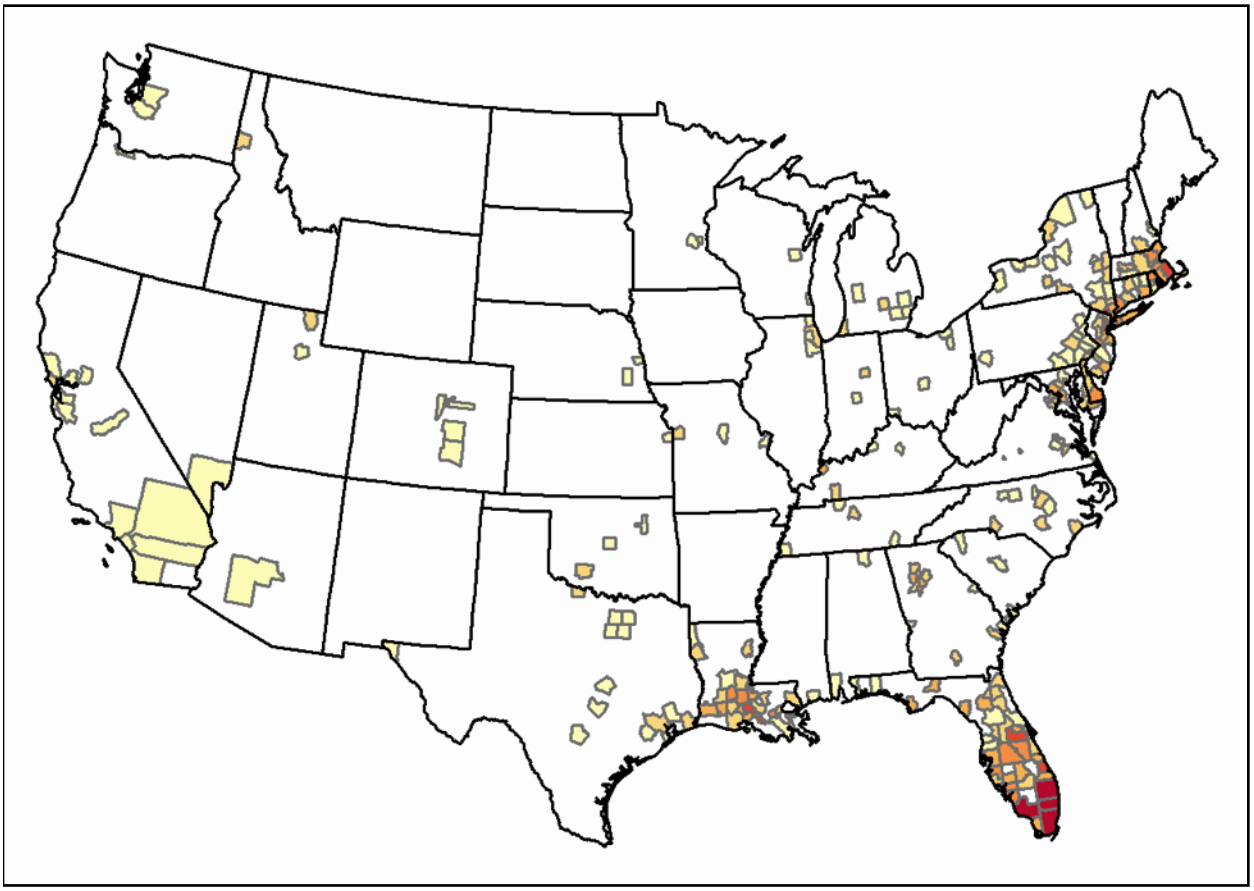
Roughly half of Haitian schoolchildren attend private schools, many of which have maintained an emphasis on French over Creole in the face of the Bernard reform. The fact that students from richer backgrounds have different language experiences in school from their poorer counterparts both reflects and perpetuates the link between language and status mentioned above: "the have-mores have French and their French language schools and textbooks... **the have-nots and the have-less... have Creole language materials and curricula**" (Trouillot-Lévy, 2010: 227, emphasis added). Even in public schools, Creole instruction and the 1982 reforms have been hampered by insufficient materials, corruption, and ambivalent attitudes toward the changes (Locher, 2010).

On the positive side, studies suggest that Creole print materials now meet acceptable standards (Trouillot-Lévy, 2010), **girls have gained equal access to education** and slightly outperform boys at the primary level, and the study of Creole has not negatively affected the acquisition of French (Locher, 2010). Nevertheless, there is near universal consensus that more quality, consistency and clarity are badly needed.

3. Haitian Creole in the United States

There have been several waves of Haitian immigration to the United States. The first came on the crest of the 1791 revolution, consisting mainly of colonists, their slaves, and freemen. A second wave arrived during the 19-year American occupation of Haiti, during which a large number of educated professionals were allowed to emigrate, many of whom settled in Harlem and the Upper West Side of Manhattan. Two subsequent waves fled the chaos and bloodshed of the two Duvalier regimes in the late '50s and '70s: many of the poor, unskilled members of the last group immigrated on perilously small boats, and were referred to as "Boat People" (Joseph, 2010). The Haitian-born population residing stateside **quadrupled between 1980 and 2000**, but has grown at a slower rate since 2000 (Terrazas, 2009). Though the US government currently estimates the number of Haitians in the United States to be at or under one million, it is widely thought that undocumented immigrants would push the accurate number substantially higher. Of American cities, Miami has the largest percentage of Haitian residents, while New York City has the greatest number.

Fig. 2: % of Population that speaks Haitian Creole, by US county (2005 Census via MLA)



3.1 National Trends

In contrast to the indigence of Haiti's home population, Haitian immigrants in the USA are **less likely to live in poverty** than are other immigrant groups. This has much to do with the higher socio-economic status of early waves of Haitian immigration. More recent waves have gravitated toward typical fields of immigrant labor: in 2008, almost half of employed Haitian-born men in the USA worked in services, construction, extraction, or transportation; more than a quarter of employed Haitian-born women worked in health care support (Terrazas, 2009).

As non-English-speaking black immigrants, Haitian Americans have endured and continue to endure multiple types of discrimination. Nowhere was this starker than in the 2002 case of Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant viciously assaulted by NYPD police officers in Brooklyn after a minor altercation at a nightclub. Though the conviction of the principal offender and success of Louima's subsequent civil suit brought a modicum of justice to the case, for many Haitian Americans, Louima's ordeal illustrates the **serious obstacles standing between them and acceptance into American society**. Some members of the community also harbor bitter memories of the FDA's 1990 decision to ban all Haitian-Americans from donating blood, for reasons of medical safety that proved relatively flimsy and which led--along with protests like the "Great March" on the Brooklyn Bridge--to the ban's subsequent overturning.

Research indicates that new and recent Haitian immigrants are more likely to be monolingual in Creole, and that attitudes of Haitian Americans towards Creole are positive, but that language shift to English is taking place all the same. **Bilingual education in Creole and English has declined** over the past decade, though the New York City Board of Education publishes documents and exams in Creole, and the language is taught in a number of American Universities (Joseph, 2010).

Fig. 3 Haitian American boldface names

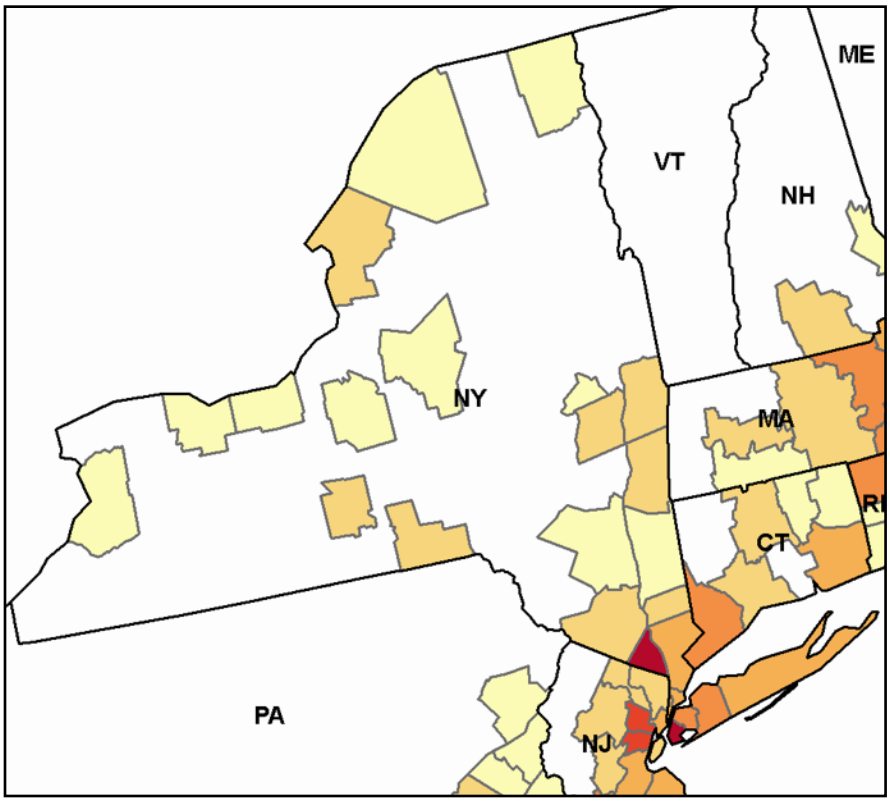
Wyclef Jean	hip-hop artist (Fugees), record producer; born in Haiti
John James Audubon	19th-century naturalist, bird-sketcher; born in Haiti
Pierre Garçon	NFL offensive star
Jason Pierre-Paul	NFL (New York Giants) football star; parents from Haiti
W.E.B. Dubois	promient African-American writer, activist; Haitian father
Jean-Michel Basquiat	avant-garde 1980s-era NYC artist; Haitian-born father
Reggie Fils-Aime	President, COO Nintendo of America; Haitian parents
Jean Baptiste Pointe du Sable	freed Haitian slave, trader; founder of Chicago (1779)

3.2 Creole in New York State

Brooklyn is home to the highest concentration of Creole speakers in New York State and the most Creole-speaking EBs in the school system. Rockland County also has a high concentration of Creole speakers--particularly in Spring Valley--while several school districts in Nassau

County rank right behind Brooklyn's in numbers of Creole speaking Emergent Bilingual Learners (EBLs).

Fig, 4: % of population that speaks Haitian Creole, by NY county (2005 Census via MLA)



According to Census figures, New York City is the third-largest Creole-speaking city in the world; after Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, and Miami. Manhattan was historically the first nexus of Haitian immigration to the city, but most of its Haitian population has since departed, likely pushed out by Manhattan's "relentless gentrification" (St. Fort, 2010). Brooklyn is now the epicenter of New York's Haitian community, with such **strong ties to Haiti** that a slum district in Port-au-Prince was renamed *Bwouklin* in its honor (Joseph, 2010). The Brooklyn neighborhoods of Flatlands, Midwood, Canarsie and East New York have distinctly Haitian flavors: churches, record stores, restaurants and food carts often bear Haitian flags, Creole words and phrases, and naturally Haitian culture within. Queens also has a significant Haitian community, concentrated for the most part in Ozone Park, Jamaica, Springfield Gardens, and Cambria Heights (St. Fort, 2010).

4. Structures of Note in the Haitian Creole Language

Creole languages form through the contact of two or more other languages. In Haitian Creole's case, the languages were French and one or more African languages from the Fon family, currently spoken in and around Benin, in West Africa. Creole languages tend to take their lexicon, or basic word forms, from one language (called the 'lexifier'), and certain grammatical

and phonological structures from another (often called the 'substrate(s)'). Viewed in this framework, French was the lexifier for Haitian Creole, and Fon the substrate, perhaps among others. **Different theories exist for where and when Creole arose**: some propose that it formed in West Africa as a lingua franca before the Atlantic crossing; others target Haiti's 'Turtle Island' and its buccaneers as the nucleus; still others claim it formed in the 17th and 18th century on the French-run plantations of Saint-Domingue.

A significant number of Creole speakers and scholars advocate for the use of 'Haitian' as the language name, both to emphasize its national character, and to break free of the stigmas typically attached to creoles (Joseph, 2010); sound counterarguments also exist (Dejean, 2010; St. Fort, 2012). Perhaps a helpful thought to keep in mind when/if using the word 'Creole' is that few modern languages have airtight claims to being non-creoles: British English itself was forged through several known instances of disruptive language contact--Celtic and West Germanic, West Germanic and Old Norse, Old English and Norman French--and other instances further back have been hypothesized by scholars. The languages known as creoles, in short, tend to be labelled as such only because their contact events took place relatively recently, and perhaps in a particularly disruptive manner, as with the slave trade. To the extent that it helps us remember that creoles are just one type of human language, it is not fatuous to think that **all human languages were probably creoles** at one point or another.

4.1 Sound System

Creole has 20 consonants and 12 vowels. All of the consonant sounds exist in English, though the sound written '*r*' is pronounced with the tongue looser against the roof of the mouth (almost a 'w' sound): [ɣ]. Like French, Creole distinguishes between **nasal and non-nasal vowels**: the words 'you' *ou* [u] and 'one' *oun* [ũ] differ only in the nasality of the vowel (no consonant is pronounced in either word).

English has a number of sounds that are not distinctive in Creole, and which therefore may prove challenging to learners, particularly when contrasted with similar sounds:

(Consonants)	(Vowels)
[θ] at the beginning of 'thin'	[æ] at the beginning of 'ash'
[ð] at the beginning of 'this'	[ɪ] at the beginning of 'igloo'
[ʤ] at the beginning of 'jump'	[ə] in the middle of 'putt'
[ʧ] at the beginning of 'change'	[ʊ] in the middle of 'put'

Stress tends to fall toward the end of words, as in French (Rigdon, 2005).

4.2 Writing Systems

Although Creole first appeared in written form at the end of the 18th century (St. Fort, 2012), very little effort was made to standardize the writing system until the 20th century. The Haitian

government instituted the current system in the late 1970s, when Creole's imminent status as the official language of instruction motivated an explosion of 'official' print material in Creole.

The Haitian alphabet uses Latin characters, and is designed as a consistently **phonetic** system: i.e., any particular symbol is always pronounced the same way. Most of the consonant letters represent pronunciations as they do in IPA (see Introduction), with a few exceptions:

ch is pronounced [ʃ] as in English 'sheep'	ex: 'grapefruit' *chadèk* [ʃadɛk]
j is pronounced [ʒ] as in English 'mirage'	ex: 'today' *jodi a* [ʒo.di.a]
y is pronounced [j] as in English 'yes'	ex: 'to dance' *yaya kò* [ja.ja.kɔ]
n indicates preceding vowel nasal	ex. 'English' *angle* [ã.gle]

Vowels adhere quite closely to IPA values, except for the digraph *ou* which is pronounced [u], as it is in French. There is one symbol unfamiliar to English: the 'grave accent' *aksan non tonm*, which gives '*e*' [e] or '*o*' a more 'open' or 'lax' quality: *ò* [ɔ] or *è* [ɛ], as in *chadèk* and *yaya kò* above.

4.3 Grammar

Creole grammar is very different from that of both French and English, though it is an SVO language. **Verbs are not conjugated** for person, number, or tense; tense is indicated with other words, not verb endings, somewhat as English marks future time with the word 'will.' Nouns are marked for plural with the word *yo*--e.g., 'books' *liv yo*--but the *yo* marker attaches to any possessive adjectives accomanying nouns, rather than the nouns themselves: 'my books' *liv mwen-yo*.

The indefinite article 'a/an' yon goes before nouns--'a knife' *yon kouto*--but the definite article 'the' has three forms (*la*, *lan*, and *a*), all of which follow the verb: 'the vaccine' *vaksen la*.

4.4 How Names Work

As in the United States, Haitian names generally follow the pattern **PERSONAL PERSONAL FAMILY**, though many people do not have middle names. Women usually take their husband's last name, and children get their family names from their fathers. Thus, Jean-Claude Duvalier was born to Simone Duvalier (born Simone Ovide), and François Duvalier.

4.5 'Friends' and Classroom Phrases

Many English words for academic ideas, whether it be in math, the arts, science, or social studies, either come from or share a Latin root with French words, and Creole also gets many of these words from French. The list of helpful academic cognates below, then, is merely the tip of a large iceberg:

Fig. 5: Creole-English Academic 'Friends'

Elementary			
abrevyasyon	'abbreviation	*pwovèb*	'proverb'
apostwòf	'apostrophe'	*resipwòk*	'reciprocal'
gravite	'gravity'	*revolisyon*	'revolution'
emisfè	'hemisphere'	*sistèm*	'system'
mezire	'measure'		
oktagòn	'octagon'	Secondary	
planèt	'planet'	*anplitid*	'amplitude'
popilasyon	'population'	*bakteri*	'bacteria'
repwodiksyon	'reproduction'	*kolonyalis*	'colonialism'
sinonim	'synonym'	*ipotèz*	'hypothesis'
volim	'volume'	*paraból*	'parabola'
		paradoks	'paradox'
Intermediate		*presizyon*	'precision'
sik	'cycle'	*kwadratik*	'quadratic'
divèsite	'diversity'	*senbòl*	'symbol'
fonksyon	'function'	*teyorèm*	'theorem'
fotosentèz	'photosynthesis'	*viris*	'virus'

Fig. 6: Classroom Phrases in Creole and English

Greetings & Questions

Alo. 'Hello.'

Byenveni nan sal klas nou.
'Welcome to our classroom.'

Kouman ou ye? 'How are you?'

Sa ou bezwen? 'What do you need?'

Ou bezwen ale nan twalèt la?
'Do you need to go to the bathroom?'

Compliments & Niceties

Bon travay! 'Good work!'

Mèsi! 'Thank you!'

Tanpri. 'Please.'

Eskize mwen. 'Excuse me.'

Communication

Ou vle di...? 'Do you mean... ?'

Ki sa yo panse ou a?
'What are your thoughts?'

Kijan mwen kapab ede ou?
'How can I help you?'

Sa ou bezwen? 'What do you need?'

Directions

Leve non 'Stand up'

Chita 'Sit down'

Li 'Read'

Ekri 'Write'

Koute 'Listen'

Reponn 'Answer'

Pale ak patnè ou a 'Talk to your partner'

Nan travay nan gwoup ou a.
'Work in your group'

Ouvri liv/kaye ou a.
'Open your book/notebook'

Pran plim/kreyon ou.
'Take out your pen/pencil'

Kopye devwa ou.
'Copy your homework'

5. Further Reading and References

5.1 Imaginative Literature

Ages 4-8

Jean-Gilles, Marie Monique. *Ti Belo Ak Ti Pye Zoranj*. (Creole)
Landowne, Youme. *Selavi, That is Life*.
Paquet, J.N. *These Animals... Don't Want to Wash* (bilingual English-Creole)
Williams, Karen and Catherine Stock. *Tap-Tap*, also *Circles of Hope* (Williams only)

Ages 8-12

Danticat, Edwige. *Behind the Mountains*, also *Anacaona, Golden Flower*.
Myers, Walter Dean and Jacob Lawrence. *Toussaint L'ouverture: The Fight for Haiti's Freedom*.
Wolkstein, Diane. *The Magic Orange Tree and Other Haitian Folktales*.

Ages 12-16

Dauphin, Lili. *Crying Mountain*, also *I Will Fly Again*.
Temple, Frances. *Taste of Salt*, also *Tonight, By Sea*.

Ages 16-adult

Danticat, Edwige. *Kric? Krak!*, also *Breath, Eyes, Memory*
Endore, Guy. *Babouk*.
Lauture, Denize. *The Black Warrior and Other Poems*.

5.2 English language periodicals

Haitian Times--http://www.haitiantimes.com/
Boston Haitian Reporter--http://www.bostonhaitian.com/

5.3 Haitian Creole language periodicals

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Trouillot-Lèvy, J. (2010). Creole in Education in Haiti: A Case Study. In Spears, A. and C. Joseph, eds. *The Haitian Creole Language*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

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U.S. Census Bureau (2010b). Selected population profile in the United States: 2010 American Community Survey 1-year estimates [data file]. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

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Hindi-Urdu

1. Hindi-Urdu in Brief

Hindi for 'Hindi (language)':
हिंदी *Hindī* [ˈhɪn.ɖi]

Urdu for 'Urdu (language)':
اردو *Urdū* [ˈʊr.ɖu]

Hindi-Urdu for 'English (language)':
अंग्रेज़ी *Aṅgrēzī* انگریزی [əɴ.gre.zi]

Official national language (*co-official language; †-de facto) in (CIA, 2012):
*Fiji (Hindustani); †India (Hindi); *Pakistan (Urdu)
Minority language (> 5% speakers) in:
Suriname
Writing system(s):
Devanagari (alpha-syllabic/abugida) for Hindi
Perso-Arabic (alphabetic/abjad) for Urdu
Roman/Latin (alphabetic) for Fiji, Caribbean Hindustani
Language family (related languages):
Indo-European / Indo-Aryan (Punjabi, Bengali)
US Speakers (Shin & Kominski, 2010):
531,911 (Hindi)
344,942 (Urdu)
Top 3 US Metro areas where Urdu is spoken (Shin & Kominski, 2010):
New York, San Francisco, Chicago (Hindi)
New York, Chicago, Houston (Urdu)
Did you know that...
... the official national sport of India and Pakistan is फील्ड हॉकी *phīlḍa hŏkī* فیلڈ ہاکی 'field hockey'?
... the name پاکستان *pākistān* 'Pakistan' was coined in 1933, partly motivated by the first letters/sounds of پنجاب '*P*unjab,' افغانستان '*A*fghanistan,' and کشمیر '*K*ashmir'?

2 Hindi-Urdu in Global Context

The names 'Hindi' and 'Urdu' refer to two highly similar, mutually intelligible 'national' varieties of a language with a common spoken form called 'Hindustani.' The biggest difference between them is orthographic: Hindi is written with the देवनागरी *Devanāgarī* [ɖeːʊ.ˈnaː.gri] system also used for Sanskrit, Marathi, Nepali, and many other South Asian languages; Urdu is written with the اردو حروف

تہجی *Urdū haruf-e-tahaji* [ˈʊr.ɖu.ha.ˈru.fe.ta.ˈxa.ʤi] 'Urdu alphabet,' a version of the Arabic script similar to that used for Persian. **Politics, religion and history** have much to do with distinguishing the two: Hindi is India's national language, closely associated with Hinduism, and favorably disposed to words derived from classical Sanskrit, while Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, strongly associated with Islam, and more heavily stocked with words of Persian origin.

Individually--as they are often perceived--Hindi and Urdu are respectively the 5th and 20th most widely spoken world languages; together, they constitute the **world's fourth-largest language**, after Chinese, Spanish and English, with roughly 250 million speakers (Lewis, 2009). Despite their diffusion and status, Hindi and Urdu are home languages **for only a minority of the population** in India and Pakistan, where people often shift between home languages like Gujarati or Pashto; the national language Hindi-Urdu; and the 'global' language of English, which has co-official status in Pakistan, and similar de facto clout in India. This is not to mention languages such as Sanskrit, Pali and Arabic, which are commonly encountered in religious study.

The decision to treat Hindi and Urdu together as one language warrants some elucidation. Michael Shapiro's overview of the dichotomy between the two reflects the motivation (emphasis added):

> There is substantial controversy... as to how this dichotomy is to be analyzed. For some, Hindi and Urdu are two stylistic poles of a single language, Hindi-Urdu. Urdu is held to be that style of the language written in Perso-Arabic script, showing a high degree of learned vocabulary, a lesser degree of morphological and syntactic features, and a limited number of phonemes borrowed from Persian and Arabic. Hindi is taken to be that style of the language, written in Devanagari, deriving its learned vocabulary primarily from Sanskrit... To advocates of a view that sees Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani as stylistic variants of a common language, **matters of script and literary history are of less importance** than the shared grammatical, lexical features of the vernacular languages of the upper Gangetic valley, not to mention the unifying aspects of shared cultural traditions. (Shapiro, 2003)

Cognizant that many speakers of Hindi-Urdu identify as speaking one but not the other, this discussion aims to respect to the identity of each while focusing on their common ground. For clarity's sake, language examples will be given with the Hindi form first, followed by a standard transliteration, followed by the Urdu, followed by an English gloss, e.g. कुत्ता *kuttā* کتے 'dog,' with forms occasionally omitted for concision. Throughout, vocabulary common to the two varieties has been selected; often, alternate words exist in one language or the other. Finally, **Hindi and India are consistently mentioned before Urdu and Pakistan** on the arbitary basis of alphabetization and in the interest of clarity, with no implication of priority, primacy or superiority intended.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

<1500	BC	Indo-Iranian speaking people migrate to South Asia from Caspian Sea area
1500-500		Vedic era; earliest texts, sacred Sanskrit Vedas (*Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*)
530-520		Cyrus and Darius of Persia conquer much of northern India
5th c.		Gautama Buddha teaches in modern-day India, Nepal; Pāṇini's अष्टाध्यायी *Aṣṭādhyāyī*--world's first grammar--describes **Sanskrit**
326		Alexander the Great conquers Persia; Greek control of Punjab (Pakistan)
3rd c.		**Ashoka the Great** expands Maurya Empire from modern Bengal to Afghanistan
320-550	AD	Gupta Empire: Golden Age of arts, math, science, literature
720		Islamic Umayyad Empire conquers parts of present-day Pakistan
12-13th c.		Delhi Sultanate; **Hindustani forms** thru Khariboli-Turkish-Persian contact
1398		Timur/Tamerlane sacks Delhi; executes 100,000
1526		Timur descendant Babur forges Mughal Empire from Bengal to Afghanistan
17th c.		Prestige dialect of Hindustani under Mughals becomes known as 'Urdu'
1764		**British E. India Co.** troops rout Mughals at Buxar, begin 'Company Rule'
1857		Indian Rebellion: local soldiers mutiny, British government starts 'Raj'
1876-78		Great Famine: six to ten million perish (millions more in 1899-1900)
1900		Brits rule 2/3 of sub-continent; remaining 1/3 fractured ('divide and rule')
1947		**Independence and Partition** into India (Hindi), Muslim Pakistan (Urdu)
1971		Pakistan's insistence on Urdu as national language leads East Pakistan to revolt, form Bengali-speaking Bangladesh

2.1 History and Politics

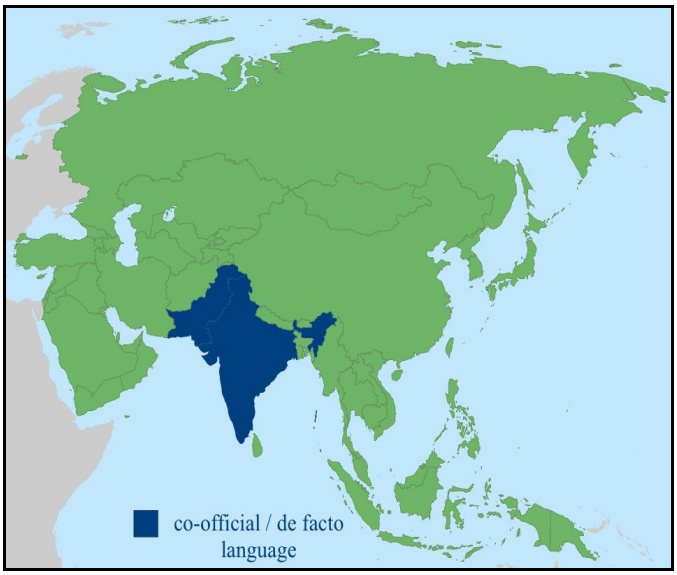
Like Spanish, Russian, Persian, and Bengali, Hindi and Urdu are **Indo-European languages**, descended from a language likely spoken in the Caspian Sea region of present-day Russia about 6000 years ago. This proto-language is thought to have evolved into an eastern variety called Indo-Iranian by 2000 BC, after which it was brought to the Indian sub-continent; this branch is called Indo-Aryan.

The earliest Indo-Aryan texts come in the form of the Vedas, Hinduism's scriptural canon, written in a language known as **Vedic Sanskrit**. Over the following centuries, this 'high,' classical variety of Sanskrit--described and analyzed for posterity by the seminal grammarian Pāṇini--came to co-exist with Prakrits, 'lower,' vernacular forms of the language that we might collectively label Middle Indo-Aryan.

Many Prakrits themselves grew to take on written, prestige registers. Like Sanskrit before it, the Shauraseni Prakrit, which developed in north central India and is the forefather of Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi, had, by the 10th century AD, fossilized into a literary, exclusive form, spurring the rise of regional vernaculars to fill more quotidian language needs. The खड़ी बोली *khaṛī bolī* کھڑی بولی **'Khariboli'** (literally, 'standing dialect') variety had the good fortune to develop in Delhi, a city of great importance from the medieval period to the present; under the Delhi Sultanate, it came into heavy

contact with Persian and Turkish, as well as with Islam and Arabic. This contact gave birth to **Hindustani**, a language favored throughout the Mughal Empire, and which soon sprouted the sub-varieties Urdu and Hindi.

British colonialism began in earnest with the Battle of Buxar in 1764 and had an outsized impact on the linguistic makeup of South Asia. The British rulers emphasized and exacerbated cultural, historical, linguistic and religous differences among the Indian peoples, with the aim of stoking internecine rivalries between the groups, and thus avoiding a mass uprising that could topple their minority leadership. This 'divide and rule' policy was very clearly pursued in the region of Bengal, which the British split into East and West, with Hindus in the West, and Muslims in the East; as well as in the constellation of 'princely states' allowed to operate outside of direct British rule, a group which numbered nearly 600 by the time **India finally gained independence in 1947**. Though the independence movement led by Gujarati-Hindi-English trilingual Mohandas Gandhi unified India in resisting the British, division continued to be the order of the day post-independence, as Muslim, Urdu-speaking Pakistan split off from India, only to see its eastern wing secede as Bengali-speaking Bangladesh 25 years later, sparking an Indo-Pakistani War. Tensions between the two countries remain high, largely related to difficulties brought about by the 1947 Partition.



Under British rule, thousands of indentured servants were shipped to the Caribbean and South Pacific, typically to work on sugar or fruit plantations. South Asian language and culture continue to flourish to various degrees among the descendants of these migrant workers, particularly in **Fiji and Suriname**. Fiji elected its first Indo-Fijian prime minister in 1999, though he was overthrown in a nationalist-tinged coup the following year, and Suriname's current vice-president is a Hindustani (*Hindoestane* in Dutch).

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

Today, India and Pakistan are the second and sixth most populous countries in the world, both modern democracies with nuclear weapons, and both relatively poor, ranking in the fourth quintile of world countries by GDP per capita (India, 2012; Pakistan, 2012). **Islam plays a central role in Pakistani society**--the country's full name is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and 97% of its citizens are Muslim--while India's constitution declares it a secular state, and the country does exhibit more religious diversity, with the 2001 Census counting 80% Hindus, 13% Muslims, and roughly 2%

Christians, 2% Sikhs among the 93% of Indians religiously affiliated.

For centuries, Indian society was stratified into four जातियों *jātiyōm* ذاتوں 'castes': the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras, with a fifth and lowest 'untouchable' group known by various Hindi-Urdu names, most commonly दलित *dalita* دلتوں. These categories had racial, linguistic, and professional correlates, with the higher castes linked to Indo-European language and culture, priests, scholars, and warriors, and the lower castes associated with Dravidian or non-Indo-European ethnicity, trade and menial labor. Efforts to eradicate the system date back over a century: Gandhi famously campaigned against untouchability, **the Indian constitution outlaws discrimination based on caste**, and instruments of affirmative action known as Reservation Benefits currently allot specific quotas of college entrance places and legislative seats to 'backward' castes, the official Indian government term. While progess has been made in rendering these categories irrelevant, caste remains a sensitive issue in India, much like race in the USA.

South Asia has made extraordinary contributions to the fields of philosophy, linguistics, mathematics, and physics. The Vedic **Upanishads,** considered by many the world's first philosophical writing, pre-date Plato and Confucius by over 500 years. The ancient grammatical analyses of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana represent a depth of linguistic inquiry only approached in Europe within the past 200 years; Srinvasa Ramanujan formulated conjectures that the theoretical math community still grapples with; and Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, and Abdus Salam all have won Nobel Prizes in Physics.

Field hockey is the official national sport of both India and Pakistan, but **cricket** best lays claim to the sporting heart of South Asia: India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan are three of only five teams to have won cricket's World Cup. Subcontinental food is famous the world over for elements like चटनी *caṭanī* چٹنی 'chutney,' करी *karī* کری 'curry,' and समोसे *samōsē* سموسے 'samosas.' Though each region has its specialties, there is a general divide between northern cuisine, featuring unleavened रोटी *rōṭī* روٹی 'flatbread,' and southern cooking, which relies more heavily on चावल *cāvala* چاول 'rice' as its starch.

The 1960s saw a spike in western interest in Hinduism and Indic culture generally, from sitar music and Ravi Shankar, to Transcendental Meditation and योग *yōga* یوگا, 'yoga.' The Mumbai-based **Bollywood film industry** has produced more films per year than Hollywood for decades, and is a principal source of diffusion for the colloquial Hindustani dialect that links Hindi and Urdu, while the Pakistani equivalent--'Lollywood,' based in Lahore--features both Urdu and other languages like Punjabi and Pashto. Pakistani singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan (1948-1997) was one of the best-selling and most influential singers in the world, and **bhangra music & dance**, created and popularized by Pakistani emigrants, has steadily expanded its reach in recent years.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

The Indian sub-continent is one of the most **linguistically diverse** regions on the planet. A spice merchant in Gujarati might speak Gujarati at home, Hindi to the milkman, Kacci and Konkani with traders, Marathi at a vegetable market, and English in certain formal environments (Pandit 1972 in Sridhar, 1997). Though the official national languages of India and Pakistan number only two (English and Hindi-Urdu), there are few states/provinces in which either one is the most commonly spoken tongue. India recognizes 22 "scheduled" languages (English not among them), all but one of which are spoken by over a million people (2001 Indian Census); Hindi is concentrated in a north-central region sometimes known as the 'Hindi Belt.' Pakistan's 1998 Census indicates that Urdu is the home language of only 7.57% of the population, behind Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, and Saraiki.

Just as South Asian food can be lumped into Northern and Southern varieties, the consensus on Hindi-Urdu groups its dialects into Western and Eastern branches:

Fig. 2: Major Hindi-Urdu बोलियों *bōliyōṁ* بولیاں 'dialects' (following Shapiro, 2003)

Western	**Eastern**
Braj	Awadhi
Bundeli/Bangaru	Chhattisgarhi
Harianvi	Bagheli
Kanauji	Dakhini
Vernacular Hindustani/Kauravi	

The standard is based upon the Vernacular/Kauravi dialect. Bihari, Pahari, and Rajasthani are sometimes mentioned as dialects of Hindi, somemtimes analyzed as separate languages.

2.4 Language and Education

India's literacy rate is 61%; Pakistan's is 50% (India, 2012; Pakistan, 2012). At the time of independence, the rate for the unified area was roughly 18% (Education for All, 2005). Despite steady movement in a positive direction, illiteracy remains a pressing concern, for--due to the enormous size of the countries' populations--**more than half of the world's illiterate people** currently live on the sub-continent. Among the challenges facing schools in India and Pakistan are child labor, low teacher pay, teacher absenteeism, and lingering effects of the caste system, which historically excluded many from education and literacy.

Multilingualism is encouraged by the school system in India. Starting in the 1960s, a 'three language' system has been followed, with primary schooling in the home language or official regional language,

Hindi or English being added in the higher primary years (5th to 7th grade), and the other subsequently added in early high school. Additionally, students are encouraged to study a fourth and possibly fifth language as they finish high school and enter college, preferably one of them a classical language (Pandharipande, 2002).

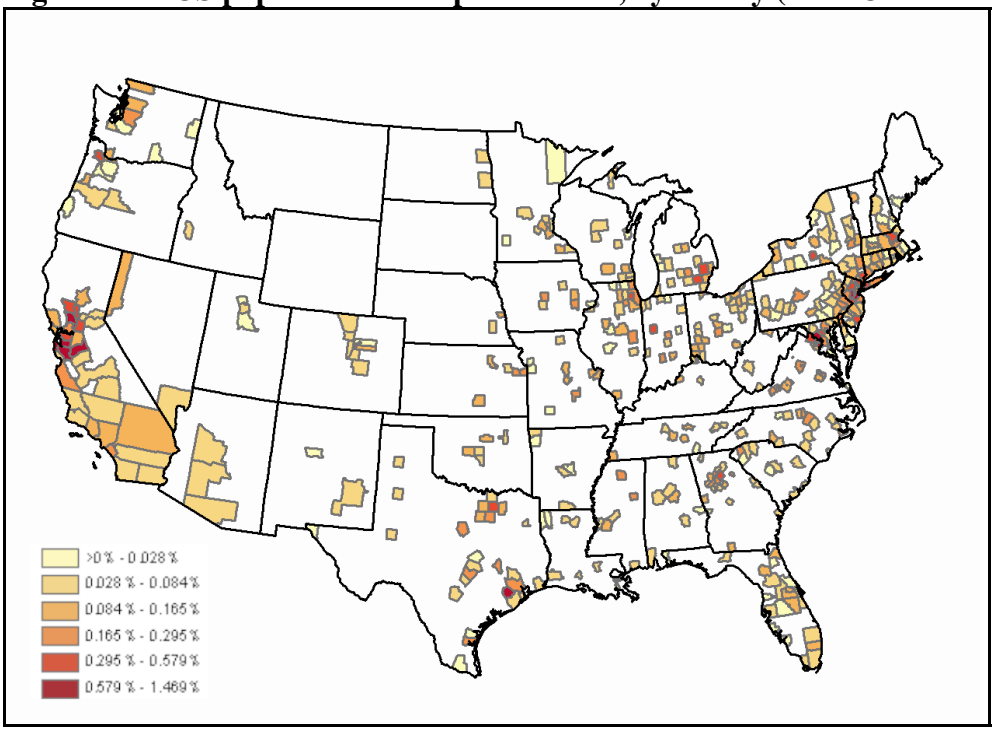
3. Hindi-Urdu in the United States

The lion's share of Asian Indian migration to the USA has taken place after 1965, primarily due to a 1790 US naturalization law that **limited citizenship to "free white" people**, and a 1923 Supreme Court ruling that defined East Asians as not white, and thus ineligible for citizenship. The government subsequently relented on the racial classification of East Indians, but only allowed 100 Indian immigrants per year until 1965, when immigration policy shifted from preferring Europeans to preferring professionals (Sridhar, 1997). The South Asian population has grown explosively ever since, with the Asian-Indian population overtaking the Filipinos as the nation's second-largest Asian population (after Chinese) in 2010 (New America Media).

3.1 National Trends

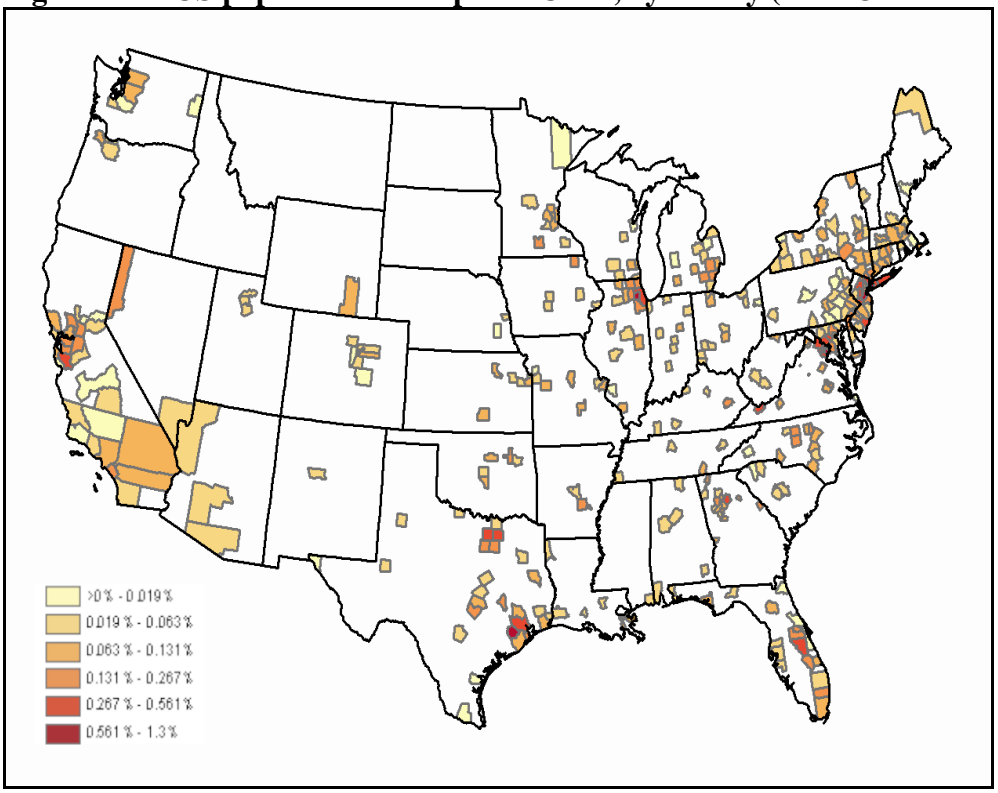
California is home to the largest number of Hindi-Urdu speakers in the USA, followed by New York and New Jersey (New American Media, 2011). 'Desis'--a Sanskrit-derived term for South Asians (Cooper, 2008)--tend to live in American metropolitan areas, an unsurprising fact given that most subcontinental immigrants come from cities (Sridhar, 1997), and they continue to be better-educated than the American population as a whole (New America Media, 2011).

Fig. 3: % of US population that speaks Hindi, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



At the national level, Hindi and Urdu population patterns are very similar:

Fig. 4: % of US population that speaks Urdu, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



Prominent and successful Americans of South Asian heritage abound, despite the recent nature of immigration to the USA from the region. The following have particularly strong links to the Hindi-Urdu language:

Fig. 5: Indo-American Boldface Names

Manoj Bhargava	billionaire, investor; creator of 5 Hour Energy
Deepak Chopra	doctor, new-age bestseller; speaks Hindi and Urdu
Jay Dabhi	NY-based DJ; host on 92.3 Now FM
Kiran Desai	author (*The Inheritance of Loss*); born New Delhi
Sanjay Gupta	surgeon, TV personality; US-born Hindi speaker
Shahid Khan	NFL owner (Jacksonville); moved to US from Pakistan at 16
Vinod Khosa	co-founder of Sun Microsystems
Freida Pinto	actress (*Slumdog Millionaire*, *Immortals*)
Vijay Singh	3-time PGA Golf Tour major winner; Indo-Fijian
Fareed Zakaria	journalist, TV host; speaks Hindi, Urdu, Marathi

3.2 Hindi-Urdu in New York State

With 54,940 speakers of Hindi, and 62,840 of Urdu, New York State is home to the second-most Hindi-Urdu speakers in the USA after California, which has 123,797 and 36,151, respectively (US Census 2010a). Roughly **a third of New York's community is located in Queens County**, home to the 'Little India' of Jackson Heights, where one can comparison shop for a साड़ी *sāṛī* ساڑی 'sari,' gold jewelry, or a subcontinental lunch buffet, and where South Asians of various backgrounds reportedly get along better than they do back in Asia (Cooper, 2008). New York State's Indian population is poorer than the population in the rest of the United States, with a household income below the national average (Mehra, 2012).

Fig. 6: % of NYS population that speaks Hindi, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)

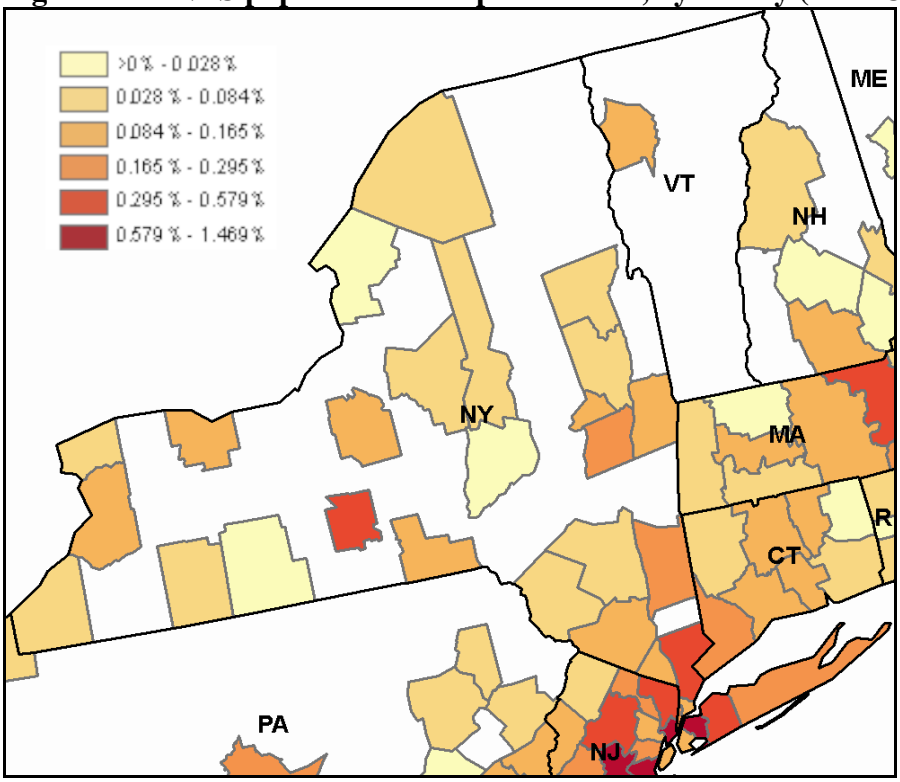
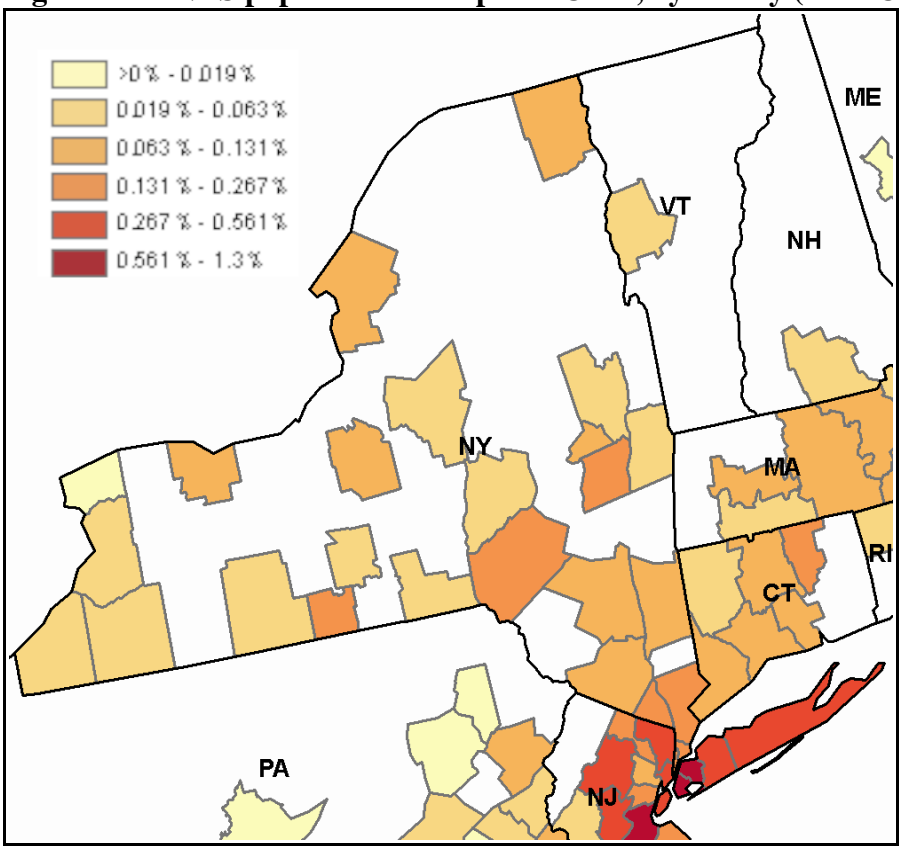


Fig. 7: % of NYS population that speaks Urdu, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



4 Structures of Note in Hindi-Urdu

Much of the perceived linguistic 'distance' between English and Hindi-Urdu stems from the different writing systems. The sound system, grammar, and lexicon of Hindi-Urdu have a number of similarities to English structures.

4.1 Sound System

One aspect of Hindi-Urdu that is striking to English ears and challenging for English-speaking students is that of **retroflex consonants**, i.e. consonants pronounced with the tongue curling back to touch the rear of the hard palate. The words तोता *tōtā* توتے [t̪oʈa] 'parrot' and टोटा *tōtā* [ʈoʈa] ٹوٹا 'deficit' differ only in how the 't' consonants are pronounced: in the first, they are pronounced with the tongue tip touching the teeth, while in the second, they are pronounced with the tongue curled back, retroflex. The 'd,' 't,' and 'r' sounds all vary between the two pronunciations; typically, the retroflex versions are transliterated with 'under-dots': '*ḍ*', '*ṭ*', '*ṛ*.' The other major difficulty is **aspiration**: 'hard' consonants can be pronounced with or without a puff of air following; the puff, usually transliterated with an 'h,' can be all that differentiates words such as कल *kala* کل [kəl] 'yesterday' and खल *khala* [kʰəl] کھل 'loon.' The vowel system of Hindi-Urdu, on the other hand, features **nine vowels that are all quite familiar** to English speakers, though there are contrasts between nasal and oral vowels, as in French (Kachru, 1987).

The following sounds may present challenges to emergent bilingual learners (EBLs) from Hindi-Urdu backgrounds:

(Consonants)	(Vowels)
[v] at the beginning of 'veal'	[æ] at the beginning of 'and'
vs. [w] in 'wheel'	vs. [ɛ] in 'end'
[θ] at the beginning of 'thin'	
vs. [t] in 'tin'	
[ð] at the beginning of 'they'	
vs. [d] in 'day'	

Difficulties can also arise over which words in a sentence receive stress. Hindi-Urdu speakers may tend to **stress earlier words** in sentences, while the conventional pattern in English is to stress the last content word in a thought group, unless a contrast is being drawn: consider the difference between 'Nice to meet you' and 'Nice to meet you,' or between 'Have a nice day' and 'Have a nice day' (Mojsin, 2009). Within words, stress in Hindi-Urdu tends to fall on the next-to-last syllable.

4.2 Writing Systems

The Devanagari system is read left-to-right, and is '**alpha-syllabic**,' meaning that each consonant sound is marked with a different symbol--e.g., 'त' stands for [t]--while the vowel in each syllable is marked as a diacritic or accent above or next to the consonant symbol. Adding the vowel diacritic 'ी'--which represents [i]--to 'त' yields the form ती *tī* 'three.' When no diacritic is present, the consonant is spoken with an [a] or [ə] sound following, except at the end of words, where no vowel is pronounced. Please note that in the transliteration scheme used here, an 'a' is written in these cases: unless it has a macron above it ('ā'), these final 'a's should <u>not</u> be pronounced, as with कल *kala* کل [kəl] above.

The Urdu alphabet is read and written right-to-left, though multi-digit numerals run left to right. It is an '**abjad**,' which means that it typically only represents consonants, not vowels, although vowels can be indicated by diacritics. Thus, the symbol 'م' represents the consonant [m], but might mean [mi] or [mu], depending on the word; diacritic markings can specify 'مَ' as [ma], but are rarely used. Obviously, abjads can be be difficult for learners, but they present little problem to adult speakers of a language--notice that even English wrds rd dcntly whn vwls r skppd.

Both systems can be transliterated into the Latin alphabet, i.e., **romanized**. This discussion has used a modified version of the Hunterian system typically used to transcribe Hindi. Macrons over vowels ('ā,' 'ō') indicate the tense forms, as they're prononuced in Latin or Spanish, while macron-less vowels are pronounced lax, like so-called 'short vowels' in English. The symbol 'ṃ' indicates that the preceding vowel should be nasalized, and the symbol 'ś' represents the hushing sound [ʃ].

4.3 Grammar

Hindi-Urdu is usually described as an **SOV language**, though the tendency for the verb to come last is stronger than that of the subject coming first. Instead, the first element of a sentence is usually the theme, i.e, the given information or topic. Adjectives can be intensified via re-duplication, somewhat as we do in English with 'bad, bad boy,' but with much greater applicability: ताजा ताजा दूध *tājā tājā dūdha* تازہ تازہ دودھ 'very fresh milk' (literally, 'fresh, fresh milk') (Kachru, 1987). Hindi-Urdu nouns are marked for number, case and gender, much like those in Latin: this presents a challenge to learners from English-speaking backgrounds, but no such obstacle for EBLs who speak Hindi-Urdu.

4.4 How Names Work

It is difficult to generalize about naming conventions in the Hindi-Urdu community, as much depends on the **religion, gender and geographical region** of the individual. Pakistani Muslim men often have a religious name first, e.g. *Bashir* or *Mohamed*, while this is less common with women; Hindu women

typically take their husband's name when they marry, while South Asian Muslim women more often do not. Sikhs do not use family names, as they carry with them associations with caste.

4.5 Classroom 'Friends' and Phrases

Hindi-Urdu and English share a common ancestral language, Proto-Indo-European, but their geneaological 'branches' parted ways thousands of years ago, which means that true etymological cognates between the languages rarely resemble each other much. For instance, each of the Hindi-Urdu words in the phrase एक हंस *ēka hansa* ایک ہنس 'one goose' derives from the same Indo-European root as its corresponding English form, but this fact is rather unhelpful to language learners. There are some exceptions that have remained largely untouched by sound change over time, such as नाम *nāma* نام 'name,' but for the most part words with 'friendly' similarities have arisen through recent borrowing.

In the following charts, the silent final '*a*'s have been set off in parentheses to remind readers that, although represented in Hindi writing, they are not to be pronounced:

Fig. 8: Hindi-Urdu-English Classroom Friends

Elementary			
चाक	*cāk(a)*	چاک	‘chalk’
डेस्क	*ḍēsk(a)*	ڈیسک	‘desk’
होमवर्क	*hōmavark(a)*	ہوم ورک	‘homework’
जंगल	*jangal(a)*	جنگل	‘jungle’
लाइन	*lā’in(a)*	لائن	‘line’
मां	*māṃ*	ماں	‘mother’
पेंसिल	*pēnsil(a)*	پنسل	‘pencil’
स्कूल	*skūl(a)*	سکول	‘school’
सितारा	*sitārā*	ستا	‘star’
Intermediate			
कैफीन	*kaiphīn(a)*	کیفین	‘caffeine’
कैमरा	*kaimarā*	کیمرے	‘camera’
कैंसर	*kainsar(a)*	کینسر	‘cancer’
ग्राफ	*grāph(a)*	گراف	‘graph’
इंटरनेट	*inṭaranēṭ(a)*	انٹرنیٹ	‘Internet’
किलोमीटर	*kilōmīṭar(a)*	کلومیٹر	‘kilometer’
पिरामिड	*pyrāmiḍ(a)*	پرامڈ	‘pyramid’
राडार	*rāḍār(a)*	ریڈار	‘radar’
संतरी	*santarī*	سنتری	‘sentry’
Secondary			
बैक्टीरिया	*baikṭīriyā*	بیکٹیریا	‘bacteria’
कैलोरी	*kailōrī*	کیلوری	‘calorie’
कार्बन डाइऑक्साइड	*kārban(a) ḍā'i'ŏksā'iḍ(a)*	کاربن ڈائی آکسائیڈ	‘carbon dioxide’
सेल	*sēla*	سیل	‘cell’
फासिस्टवाद	*phāsisṭavād(a)*	فاسیواد	‘fascism’
नाइट्रोजन	*nā'iṭrōjan(a)*	نائٹروجن	‘nitrogen’
त्रिकोणमिति	*trikōṇamiti*	ترکوندوستی	‘trigonometry’
सुनामी	*sunāmī*	سونامی	‘tsunami’
वाल्ट	*vālṭ(a)*	وولٹ	‘volt’

Generally speaking, the more basic the vocabulary, the more likely it is to be shared by Hindi and Urdu, while learned concepts tend to be expressed by different words in the two languages. As throughout the section, the academic ‘friends’ here are presented in the order **Hindi-Transliteration-Urdu-English Gloss**, though in one case below, the Hindi and Urdu are presented with separate transliterations, in {brackets}.

Fig. 9: Hindi-Urdu-English Classroom Phrases

हेलो	*Hēlō.*	ہیلو	'Hello'
हमारी क्लास में आपका स्वागत है.	*Hamārē klās(a) mēṁ āpkā svāgat(a) hai.*		
	ہماری کلاس میں آپ کا استقبال ہے		'Welcome to our class'
आप कैसे हैं?	*Āp(a) kaisē haiṁ?*	آپ کیسے ہیں؟	'How are you?'
आप क्या जरूरत है?	*Āp(a) kyā jarūrat(a) hai?*	آپ کیا ضرورت ہے؟	'What do you need?
बाथरूम?	*Bāthrūm(a)?*	باتھ؟	'Bathroom?
वाह बहुत अच्छा!	*Vāh(a) bahut(a) acchā!*	واہ بہت اچھا!	'Very nice!'
शुक्रिया	*Śukriyā*	شکریہ	'Thank you'
{ कृपया *Kṛpayā* 'Please.'}		{ براہ مہربانی *Bara e meherbani* 'Please.'}	
माफ करना.	*Māph(a) karanā*	معاف کرنا	'Excuse me.'
आप मतलब है... ?	*Āp(a) matlab(a) hai... ?*	آپ مطلب ہے...؟	'Do you mean...?'
आपको क्या लगता है?	*Āpkō kyā lagtā hai?*	آپ کو کیا لگتا ہے؟	'What do you think?'
मैं कैसे मदद कर सकते हैं?	*Maiṁ kaisē madd(a) kar(a) saktē haiṁ?*		
	میں کس مدد کر سکتے ہیں؟		'How can I help?'
टिकना	*Ṭiknā*	ٹکنا	'Stand up'
बैठजाना	*Baiṭhjānā*	بیٹھجانا	'Sit down'
पढ़ना	*Paṛhnā*	پڑھنا	'Read'
लिखना	*Likhnā*	لکھنا	'Write'
सुनना	*Sunnā*	سننا	'Listen'
जवाब देना	*Javāb(a) dēnā*	جواب دینا	'Answer'
अपने साथी से बात करना	*Apnē sāthī sē bāt(a) karnā.*	اپنے ساتھی سے بات کرنا	'Talk to your partner'
अपनी पुस्तक खोलना	*Apnī pustka khōlnā.*	اپنی کتاب کھولنا	'Open your book'

5 Further Reading

5.1 Imaginative Literature

Ages 4-8

Krishnaswami, Uma. *Monsoon*. Also, *Chachaji's Cup*.
Makihijani, Pooja. *Mama's Saris*. (w/Hindi glossary)

Ages 8-12

Schröder, Monika. *Saraswati's Way*.
Perkins, Mitali. *The Not-so-Star-Spangled Life of Sunita Sen.*

Ages 12-16

Hidier, Tanuhja Desai. *Born Confused.*
Staples, Suzanne Fisher. *Shabanu: Daughter of the Wind.* Also *Haveli*.

Ages 16-adult

Roy, Arundhati. *The God of Small Things.*
Rushdie, Salman. *Midnight's Children.*

5.2 English language periodicals

Indo-American News--http://www.indoamerican-news.com/
Little India--http://www.littleindia.com/
The Nation--http://www.nation.com.pk/
Times of India--http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/

5.3 Hindi and Urdu periodicals

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U.S. Census Bureau (2010b). Selected population profile in the United States: 2010 American Community Survey 1-year estimates [data file]. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

Karen

1. Karen in Brief

Karen for 'Karen language':
ကညီကျိာ် *ka nyaw klo* [ka.ɲɔ.klo]
Karen word for 'English language':
ဏကလဲးကျိာ် *è ka li klo* [ɛ.ka.li.klo]
Writing system(s):
Burmese (alpha-syllabic/abugida)
Official national language in:
no countries
Minority language (> 5% speakers):
Burma/Myanmar (CIA, 2012)
Language family (related languages):
Sino-Tibetan (Burmese, Chinese)
US Speakers (US Census 2010a):
3,924
Did you know that...
... George Orwell studied Karen when he lived in Burma (Larkin, 2005)?
... in Sgaw, Karen's most widely spoken dialect, there are no consonants at the ends of syllables?
... a common Karen version of 'How are you?' is နအီၣ်မ့ၤဝံၤလၢါ? *na aw me wi li ah?* [nə.ʔɔ.me.wi.li.a] 'Have you eaten rice?'

2 Karen in Global Context

Karen--stressed on the second syllable--is the name for a group of Sino-Tibetan languages spoken by the Karen people of south-eastern ကီၢ်ပယီၤ *baw pa yaw* 'Burma' and western ကီၢ်ကျိၣ်တဲၣ် *kaw byaw tè* 'Thailand,' with roughly 90% of the world's **5 million speakers** located in Burma (Austin, 2008). Karen insurgents have struggled against the autocratic, one-party, ethnocentric Burmese government for over 60 years, resulting in the displacement of over 100,000 Karen refugees to camps along the border with Thailand. This uprooting has led to a recent spike in Karen emigration to the USA, facilitated by the US government's 2007 decision to allow as many as 20,000 Burmese refugees per year from Thai resettlement camps, and possibly intensified by the devastating 2008 Cyclone Nargis. Note that the figure of 3,924 total US Karen speakers cited above--the most recent available--reflects numbers from the 2006-08 period; these numbers have almost certainly jumped upwards since.

The current regime changed Burma's name to 'Myanmar' in 1988, and also altered a number of other geographical and ethnic terms, including 'Kayin' for the Karen language, people and state.

Many have hesitated to adopt these changes, particularly pro-democracy groups and ethno-linguisitic minorities like the Karen; in light of their preference, the current discussion will adhere to the old names 'Burma' and 'Karen.'

2.1 History and Politics

The Karen people likely migrated south to their current homeland from somewhere near modern Tibet around 3000 years ago, making their first settlements in 793 BC (Centers for Disease Control (CDC), 2010), but are first mentioned by name--described as 'forest people'--in the 1700s, after Europeans had started to arrive. By many accounts, British rule benefitted Burma's ethnic minorities, offering protection and governmental representation for groups that had previously shut out of power. **The Karen became particularly pro-British**: a British official named D.M. Smeaton wrote a book in 1887 called *The Loyal Karens of Burma*, which prompted the British government to entrust the Karen with greater responsibility, including designation of Karen as an official language and encouragement of its use as medium of instruction in schools. By 1939, Karen soldiers in the British Army outnumbered Burmese by roughly 3:1 despite Karens representing only 9% of the native population (Selth, 1986).

As discussions of independence swelled in the years following World War II, the Karen hoped Britain would reward their historic loyalty by ensuring an autonomous Karen state, but the Panglong Conference of 1947 convinced Karen leaders that the Burmese majority would never make such concessions. Boycotting much of the Conference and subsequent parliamentary elections, the Karens formed the **Karen National Union** (KNU), an independence-minded political organization that quickly sprouted a military wing, the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA). In 1949, active military conflict erupted in the Battle of Insein, which ended in a defeat for the KNLA, but which ushered in six decades of off-and-on guerilla conflict in the mountains and jungles of the Karen state.

Over the last 30 years, the KNU's objectives have shifted from the creation of an independent Karen state to the establishment of Karen autonomy within a federal and democratic Burma. This has long appeared to be an uphill battle: as recently as 1997, a Burmese Army general vowed that "in 20 years you will only be able to find Karen people in a museum" (Karen People, 2010). However, 2011 and 2012 saw enormous gains in Burma's international standing, prospects for democracy, and relations with the Karen. Democratic activist (and ethnic Burman) **Aung San Suu Kyi was freed** in late 2010, and allowed to run for legislative office, which she won in 2012. The KNU signed a ceasefire agreement with the Burmese government in 2012 (BBC, 2012), and--though this is merely a first step toward genuinely healthy, peaceful, and stable coexistence--the new climate of openness has inspired a tentative air of optimism regarding the future of for Karen life in Burma.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

<1000	Austroasiatic-speaking Mon settle in south Burma, Tibeto-Burman Pyu in north
1044	**Anawrahta Minsaw** expands Tibeto-Burman power, founds Pagan Dynasty
11th c.	First inscriptions in Burmese and Mon in 'Burma Mon' script
1277-87	Mongols invade; Pagan Kingdom disintegrates; Warring States period begins
1580	Burmese **Toungoo Empire** rises to control parts of modern-day China, Thailand
1740s	French-supported Mon rebellions overthrow Toungoo dynasty
1750s	Burmese-speaking Alaungpaya unites Burma, drives out French, British
1813	First American Baptist missionaries; high rate of conversion with animist Karen
1824-86	**Anglo-Burmese Wars:** Britain conquers Burma, adding it to Indian empire
19th c.	British designate seats in Burmese parliament for Karen; warm Anglo-Karen ties
1942-45	Japan occupies Burma under false pretext of aiding in independence from Britain
1947	Karen leaders boycott Panglong Agreement, elections; form national union KNU
1948	Burma achieves **independence from Britain**
1949	Armed Karen resistance to Burmese rule commences with Battle of Insein
1962	General Ne Win seizes power in Burma; establishes one-party hermit state
1988	'8888 Uprising' on Aug. 8th forces Ne Win to resign, recognize other parties
1990	Junta ignores elections; activist Aung San Suu Kyi (ASSK) under house arrest
2008	Cyclone Nargis kills 138,000--major damage and suffering in Karen state
2010-11	PM Thein Sein initiates reforms, releases Nobel Peace Prize winner ASSK
2012	**ASSK's party wins majority** in free elections; KNU signs ceasefire with regime

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

The Karen are one of seven principal ethnic groups within Burma, alongside Burmans (roughly half the population), Shan, Rakhine, Chinese, Indian, and Mon; in other words, they are **culturally distinct from Burmans**. We might take the ethnic, linguistic, historical, and cultural differences between Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and English people within Great Britain as a valuable (if rough) analogy: members of the historically oppressed ethnic minorities do not much appreciate being lumped in with the majority, and even a basic understanding of these groups must start with that clear distinction.

The Karen are a **rural, farming people**: life in traditional Karen villages--where most Karen still live--revolves around agriculture, religion, food, and family. The capital and only city of Karen state, Hpa 'An, has a population of roughly 50,000: by way of comparison, many of the 'small' cities in New York State to which Karen refugees have recently immigrated dwarf this in size: Utica has 62,000, Albany nearly 100,000, Syracuse 145,000, and Buffalo over 250,000. The vast majority of Burmese Karen people work in agriculture, usually farming rice on hills or paddies (CDC, 2010).

According to recent estimates, about 70% of Karen people fall under the religious categories of Buddhist, Buddhist-animist, or animist, with nearly all of the remaining 30% Christian, mainly Baptist. Baptist missionaries in the 19th had the uncanny fortune to encounter an animist tradition among the Karen that involved a god called ယွၤ *ywa* and the legend of a lost book of knowledge that would someday be brought back by a white brother from across the sea (Barron et al, 2007). By 1834, though fewer than 125 Burmans had converted, over 500 Karen had (Buadaeng, 2007). Today, for the most part, the different **religions coexist with little to no friction**; nothing about animism or Buddhism prevents one from observing other religious practices, and though Christianity does not allow such mixing, it has gotten along fine with its longer-established neighbors.

Unfortunately, the history of ethnic conflict with the Burmans, who have historically disparaged the Karen as primitive and/or overly sympathetic to Christianity and the British, has resulted in **two generations' worth of armed conflict** and humanitarian disruption. Roughly half of the 300,000 Karen Thai live in refugee camps (Karen People, 2010), chased out of their villages by skirmishes, robberies, extortion, rape, or murder. Burmese government forces do not have a monopoly on viciousness and violence--the KNLA recruits young soldiers from villages without great concern for willingness to participate--but the Karen people have had a relatively one-sided view of the conflict, as they have seen their own lives and livelihoods abused by Burman soldiers for decades. While statistics are very hard to come by, there is good evidence that eastern Burma is currently one of the most **heavily land-mined areas** in the world, and documented stories of children killed or maimed by undetonated mines are excruciatingly numerous (Karen Human Rights Group, 2012).

The Karen calendar assigns year 0 to western 739 BC, the date of the first Karen settlement in Burma: the year 2000 was 2739 for the Karen. While Karen months line up fairly closely to western patterns, it has been observed that the different days of the week hold far less importance to the Karen than they do to Americans. One anthropologist from the 1920s noted that "**[f]ew of the Karen people can tell the days of the week,** except according to Burmese or Christian nomenclature. Several old men have given me names for the days which, they say, were in use a long time ago" (Marshall, 1922: 50). This state of affairs may certainly have changed in the past 90 years, but it illustrates the extent to which rural Karen life really marches to a drumbeat different than our own.

Drums themselves are central to Karen culture. **Frog drums**--large, cast bronze drums with various ornamentation, but especially frogs--serve as status symbols, musical instruments, storage units, religious charms, and links to the Karen's prehistoric past, as the first ones are thought to have traveled with the Karen from Yunnan in China (Cooler, 1994). Typically made by nearby Shan craftsmen, the frog drum has been described as the "most sacred object" to the Karen, and a drum owner stands "higher in the community than if he possessed seven elephants" (Marshall, 1922).

Rice is a staple of the Karen diet, and the chewing of သဘျုိလဲ့ ***tha blu la*** **'betel leaf,'** a habit-forming stimulant much like tobacco, is very widespread, with distances occasionally expressed in 'betel chews' (Marshall, 1922). Soccer and the traditional game of *jin law* are the most popular Karen sports (Karen People, 2010).

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

The Karen languages are **very different from Burmese**, a fact that has led some linguists to propose three main branches for the Sino-Tibetan language family: a Chinese branch, a Tibeto-Burman branch (including Burmese), and a Karen branch. In any case, there is no mutual intelligibility to speak of between Burmese and Karen, and many Karen speakers (possibly a majority) do not speak or understand Burmese at all.

Within the Karen group, there are anywhere between four and twenty dialects, roughly grouped into three regions, with limited mutual intelligibility between them:

Fig. 2: Some regional varieties of Karen (following Barron et al, 2007, i.a.)

Sgaw	(southern)	no syllable-final consonants; no nasal vowels; six tones
Pwo	(southern)	no syllable-final consonants; nasal vowels; six tones
Karenni	(central)	no syllable-final consonants; no nasal vowels; four tones
Pa-o	(northern)	syllable-final consonants; no nasal vowels; four tones

Sgaw and Pwo are the only two that may be considered 'literary' varieties; the others can be written but do not have strong traditions in that regard. **Sgaw is the most widely spoken** of the Karen languages, and the variety that is used for all the examples in this discussion. It has been observed that a high percentage of (13 out of every 14) Pwo and Sgaw words derive from the same roots (Wade, 1849), but also that speakers of the two varieties have such difficulty understanding each other that they speak Burmese to each other in Burma, and Thai in Thailand (Barron et al, 2007). In some cases, however, Sgaw functions as the lingua franca, and it is the variety taught in the schools of Thai refugee camps (Karen People, 2010).

2.4 Language and Education

The Buddhist and Christian traditions that inform Karen life strongly encourage education, and from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s, the Sgaw Karen developed a healthy system of village schools. However, the 1962 coup and ensuing "Burmese Way to Socialism" banned private schools, and the more recent armed conflicts between Karen nationalists and Burmese troops have made **consistent and high-quality schooling the exception** for Karen children. Nonetheless, organizations such as the Karen Teachers Working Group continue to work to provide education to communities on the run from Burmese troops (Barron et al, 2007).

Functioning Karen schools usually provide **education in three languages**--Karen, English and Burmese--and incorporate traditional domestic subjects such as needlework into the curriculum, alongside subjects like science and history (Barron et al, 2007).

3. Karen in the United States

As mentioned above, Karen immigration to the USA is a very **recent phenomenon**: the 2000 Census counted only 240 Karen speakers nationwide (US Census, 2000), while the 2006-2008 survey data brought the figure up above 3,000 (US Census, 2010a). There is good reason to suppose that another 10-fold increase has since occured.

3.1 National Trends

Though more recent data on Karen-speaking immigrants is not readily available, we can extrapolate from information on Burmese refugees generally, which illustrates the impact of the Bush administration's 2007 raising of the cap on such immigrants. Since 2005, the top three states for Burmese immigration to the USA have been **Texas, New York, and Indiana**: a look at the figures from 2005-09 indicates the magnitude of the boomlet:

Fig. 3: Fiscal Year Refugee Arrivals from Burma (US Office of Refugee Resettlement in CDC, 2010)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Indiana	185	193	1,066	1,150	1,147
New York	251	217	1,100	1,321	1,696
Texas	163	155	1,163	1,457	3,086

It is still early for many Karen-Americans to have made waves in US society. There are, however, a number of Burmese- and Thai-Americans whose prominence may be inspiring to new arrivals, bearing in mind, of course, that Karen do not identify strongly as Burmese or Thai:

Fig. 4: Burmese- and Thai-American boldface names

Rich Cho	general manager of NBA's Charlotte Bobcats; born in Burma
Louisa Benson Craig	Karen-American rebel leader, actress (1941-2010)
Johnny Damon	All-Star baseball player, World Series champ; Thai mother
Tin Moe	Burmese poet, exiled to USA for pro-democracy stance
Thant Myint-U	Author, historian; grandson of ex-UN Secretary-General U Thant
May Sweet	Burmese pop singer
Aung San Oo	brother of Burmese democratic activist Aung San Suu Kyi
Alex Wagner	MSNBC star (*Now with Alex Wagner*); Burmese mother
Tiger Woods	legendary golfer; mother born and raised in Thailand

3.2 Karen in New York State

By 2009, there were **1,080 children of Karen-speaking backgrounds** receiving ESL services in the New York State public schools, the majority of them in Utica and Buffalo:

Fig. 5: Distribution of Karen-speaking EBs by NYS School District, 2008-09 (NYS DOE)

Utica	Buffalo	Syracuse	Rochester	Albany	Ithaca	NYC*	Rome	Liverpool
390	298	185	137	26	21	15	6	2

*** NYC figure represents six districts combined (#11, #13, #17, #24, #19, and #20)**

Given the recent nature of Karen immigration, little in the way of targeted programming has been developed for these students, though some guides (like the present one) have been prepared for health care providers and educators (see CDC, 2010; and Barron et al, 2007 in References below).

4 Structures of Note in Karen

Though unrelated to the Hawaiian language, most Karen languages share with it a lack of syllable-final consonants: all syllables end in vowels. Like many Sino-Tibetan languages, including Chinese and Burmese, **Karen is tonal**, which is to say that a single word can change meaning depending on the pitch contour with which it is spoken. Intonation matters in English, too, of course--rising intonation on [kɔ.fi] will make the question *coffee?*, while falling pitch indicates a command or observation--but not to the extent that it alters a word's core meaning. In Sgaw Karen, the words မ် 'son-in-law,' မၤ 'to work,' and မး '[intensifying particle]' all share the basic consonant-vowel pattern transcribed as *ma*, but are spoken with 'falling circumflex,' 'prolonged even,' and 'abrupt ordinary' tone contours, respectively (Gilmore, 1898).

4.1 Sound System

Outside of tones, the most challenging sound pattern in Karen for learners from English backgrounds is that of **consonant aspiration**: Karen pronounces a number of consonants with or without a puff of air, which can be the only difference between a pair of words like တၢ *tö* 'one' and ထၢ *htö* 'to pick up or pick out one thing after another,' both of which are pronounced differently than ဒၢ *dö* 'to be pregnant.' The aspirated versions are different phonemes, and written with different letters in the Burmese script; in romanized transcription, the puff is usually indicated with an '*h*' either before or after the relevant consonant, but when pronouncing these sounds, the puff comes afterwards. Contrasts in aspiration also feature critically in languages like Bengali, Chinese and Korean.

The sound system of English has a number of hurdles for the Karen learner to overcome, most notably **syllable-final consonants and consonant clusters**. Sgaw speakers may pronounce English words like ‘house,’ ‘hat,’ and ‘hack’ without their final sounds, while Pwo speakers may nasalize the vowels in English *now* and *pie*, making them sound like *noun* and *pine*. Karen does have a limited number of word-initial consonant clusters, but unusual patterns may be broken up: e.g., *sky* pronounced /sə.kai/, *crystal* as /krɪ.sə.tə/ (Barron et al, 2007). Additionally, English uses some sounds that do not occur regularly in Karen:

(Consonants)	(Vowels)
[ð] at the beginning of ‘this’	[æ] in the middle of ‘pat’
vs. [θ] at the beginning of ‘thin’	vs. [ɛ] in the middle of ‘pet’
[ʤ] at the beginning of ‘jump‘	[ɪ] in the middle of ‘pit’
[ʧ] at the beginning of ‘change‘	vs. [i] in the middle of ‘Pete’

4.2 Writing Systems

The Karen languages have only been written down with any consistency for two hundred years or so (Wade, 1849), and to date only the Sgaw and Pwo varieties can be said to have a written or literary corpus. The most widespread writing system for the Sgaw is **Burmese script**, a left-to-right system derived from an earlier Mon script of Indic origins, whose distinctively curvy form is reputed to have evolved through the tradition of writing on palm leaves, which would rip if incribed with straighter letters (Burmese Script).

Karen writing is alpha-syllabic: each consonant sound has a distinct symbol (e.g., ဓ for [m]), while each vowel sound has a distinct diacritic (or accent) that is marked over, under, or next to the consonant symbol to form the sound of a complete syllable. For instance, the diacritic ‘ိ’ written over a consonant adds the vowel sound *o* [o]; thus, Karen ဓိ represents a syllable with the sound [mo], standardly transcribed as *mo*. Tones are indicated by symbols that follow each syllable: ့ indicates ‘heavy falling’ inflection (Gilmore, 1898), so the complete word ဓိ့ *mo* ‘mother’ is pronounced with heavy falling inflection. The absence of a tone symbol indicates neutral tone.

No standard romanization system exists for the Karen languages; this discussion has employed a relatively traditional system used in **Gilmore’s 1898 grammar** (available online, in the public domain), which has the benefit of following English pronunciation patterns fairly closely, but in which Karen’s **tones are not represented**. The only difficult symbols are ‘*ö*,’ which is pronounced with something of an ‘uh’ sound as it is in German; ‘*è*,’ pronounced like the vowel in English ‘get,’ as opposed to ‘*e*,’ pronounced like the vowel in English ‘gate’; and ‘*ü*,’ pronounced as it is in German, like the vowel in ‘beat’ but with lips more tightly rounded. The use of ‘*h*’ to indicate aspiration was discussed in 4.1 above.

4.3 Grammar

The Karen languages adhere fairly closely to **SVO word order**. They are mono-syllabic and isolating, which is to say that the minimal units of meaning are inevitably single syllables (as opposed to English 'cinnamon' and 'potato,' both tri-syllabic morphemes), and that grammatical markings such as plural and event time are indicated with distinct 'particle' words, rather than inflections on the nouns or verbs themselves.

Like Chinese, Karen does not have articles such as 'a' or 'the,' but does have a system of noun classifiers that affects the particle that precedes any noun being counted. Adjectives generally follow the nouns they modify, as in ပုၤဝဲ *pü ghe* 'good man,' literally 'man good.'

4.4 How Names Work

Karen people typically have one name only--**PERSONAL**--which is given to them by their parents, with nothing necessarily passed down between generations. That name can consist of multiple words, e.g. *Tee Ser Paw*, meaning 'Sweet Water Flower.' Some families may have begun to give family names to their children, but this is a relatively recent and uncommon phenomenon (Phan, 2010).

4.5 'Friends' and Classroom Phrases

Though they are unrelated in terms of 'linguistic genetics,' Karen and English do have similar-sounding words for many of the same concepts, particularly those related to **science and measurement**:

Fig. 6: Karen-English Academic 'Friends'

Elementary

ပါ	*pah*	'father/pa'
ဟဲလိခေါပတာ	*hè li khaw pa tö*	'helicopter'
မဲကစ	*mè ka si*	'magazine'
မိုင်လ်	*mi la*	'mile'
မိ	*mo*	'mother/ma'
နဲပတျု	*nè ptyu*	'Neptune'
နာစ	*nah se*	'nose'
နော်	*naw*	'noun'
ပလူတို	*pa lu to*	'Pluto'
စဲအုန်	*sè 'e*	'science'

Intermediate

ခဘိဒဲအီးစဲး	*kha bo dè 'aw sè*	'carbon dioxide'
ခေါ်ဖျုထာ	*khaw hpyu tö*	'computer'
ကလူခိုးစ်	*ka lu kho sa*	'glucose'
ခရာတ	*ka ra ta*	'karate'
ကိလိဂြေ(မ်)	*ki lo grè (ma)*	'kilogram'
လဲစာ	*le sö*	'laser'
မဲခြိုစကီး	*mè khro sa ko*	'microscope'
မိလိလိထာ	*mi li li tö*	'milliliter'
နဲလိုန်	*nè lo*	'nylon'
ပါပါ	*pa pa*	'pope'
ပဲရမိး	*pe ra mi*	'pyramid'
ရိဘီး	*ro baw*	'robot'

Secondary

ဘဲးထိရိယါ	*bè ti ri yah*	'bacteria'
ချိုန်ရိုန်ဖုလ်	*khlo ro hpe la*	'chlorophyll'
ဒိုန်မိုန်ခြုန်စိန်	*di mo kre si*	'democracy'
ခိရဲ(နှ်)	*kho rè (na)*	'Koran'
မဲကနိး	*mè ka ni*	'manganese'
မိ်လိန်ဘာ	*mi li ba*	'millibar'
နဲးထြုး	*nè htre*	'nitrates'
နဲးထြိုက္ခုန်	*nè htro kye*	'nitrogen'
ဖီစ်ဖုး	*hpaw sa hpe*	'phosphate'
ထဲစ်တဲ	*htè sa te*	'tungsten'
သမီမံထာ	*tha maw mi tö*	'thermometer'
ဘဲရားစ်	*bè rö sa*	'virus'

Fig. 7: Classroom Phrases in Karen and English

Greetings & Questions		
ဟဲလိဉ်	*hè lo*	'Hello'
တူၢ်လိာ်မှာ်	*tu lo mü*	'Welcome'
နအိဉ်ဆူဉ်ဓၢ်?	*na 'o hsu ah?*	'How are you?'
တၢ်ဟးလီၢ်ဓၢ်?	*ta ha law ah?*	'Toilet?'
လဲၤမှာ်မှာ်	*lè mü mü*	'Goodbye'
Compliments & Niceties		
တၢ်မၤဂ့ၤ!	*tah ma ghe!*	'Good work!'
တၢ်ဘျုး	*tah blu*	'Thanks'
ဃ့ဝံသးစူၤ	*che wi tha su*	'Please'
ပျၢ်သါ	*plü thah*	'Excuse me'
Communication		
ယနၢ်ပၢၢ်	*ya nah pö*	'I understand'

ယနၢ်တပၢၢ်ဘဉ်
ya nah ta pö ba 'I don't understand'

မ့ၢ် / တမ့ၢ်ဘဉ် *me / ta me ba* 'yes / no'

ယမၤစၢၤနၤသ့ဓၢ
ya ma sö na the ah?
'Can I help you?'

Directions		
ဆၢထၢဉ်	*hsö htö*	'Stand up'
ဆ့ဉ်နီၤ	*hse naw*	'Sit down'
ဖးလံာ်	*hpa li*	'Read'
ကွဲး	*kwè*	'Write'
ကနဉ်	*ka na*	'Listen'
စီးဆၢတၢ်	*si hsö tah*	'Answer'
မၤတၢ်မၤ	*ma tah ma*	'Work'

5 Further Reading and References

5.1 Imaginative Literature

Books in Karen, books about the Karen people, and books about the Karen diaspora are difficult to come by. Two signs that this might be changing are the 2010 publication of Zoya Phan's U*ndaunted: My Struggle for Freedom and Survival in Burma*, and the 2011 publication of **Richard Dove's *Us Karen***, a book in English for ages 4-8 about Karen immigrants in Australia. Reading and teaching materials are available, however: two good organizations with plentiful online materials are Drum Publications (drumpublications.org) and Cornell University's Southeast Asia Program (SEAP), which has an online resource for Karen books at http://seap.einaudi.cornell.edu/karen_books.

5.2 English Language Periodicals

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Korean

1. Korean in Brief

Korean for ‘Korean language’:

한국말 *Hangungmal* [han.guŋ.mal] in South Korea

조선말 *Joseonmal* [ʧʰo.sʌn.mal] in North Korea and China

Korean word for ‘English language’:

영어 *Yeong-eo* [jʌŋ.ʌ]

Writing system(s):

한글 *Hangeul* [han.gɨl] (alphabetic)

Official national language in:

North Korea (pop. 25,000,000), South Korea (pop. 48,754,657)

Language family (related languages):

Isolate or Altaic (remote similarity to Japanese, Mongolian)

US Speakers (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):

1,062,337

Ethnic Koreans in US (US Census, 2010b):

1,700,000

Top 3 US Metro areas where Korean is spoken (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):

Los Angeles, New York, Washington, DC

Did you know that...

... more than 50% of Korean words come from Chinese?

... Korean’s unique writing system is celebrated with holidays in South and North Korea?

... the name of the car company 현대 *hyeondae* ‘Hyundai’ means ‘modern’ in Korean?

... no Korean words end in the [s] sound?

2. Korean in Global Context

Korean is the official language of two countries--North and South Korea--that are in a state of suspended military hostilities with each other, as well as an official language of the Yanbian Prefecture in neighboring China. Its 70 million or so speakers put Korean in the world’s top 20 most widely spoken languages, with more home language speakers than Italian, Turkish, and Tagalog, and roughly the same number as French.

2.1 History and Politics

Though a 1953 Armistice Agreement ended active conflict in the Korean War, relations between the North and South have fluctuated between cool and openly hostile for sixty years. The 1990s and 2000s saw some small steps toward reunification, including increased trade and limited tourism between the Koreas, but the 2008 shooting of a South Korean tourist and 2010 sinking of a South Korean naval vessel have combined with ongoing fear of a North Korean nuclear threat to effectively shut down such overtures. There is currently **no travel or trade between the two nations**; the demarcation line at the 38th parallel separates them almost completely. The demilitarized zone (DMZ) around this line is so dangerous for humans, in fact, that it appears to have become a prime habitat for endangered species like the Korean tiger.

Though the populations of North and South Korea speak the same language and share a great deal of culture and history, the two nations are currently **political and economic opposites**, with the communist North among the poorest 40 countries in the world, and the democratic South among the 40 richest (North Korea, 2012; South Korea, 2012). Nearly all recent Korean immigration to the United States has come from the South; North Korea only allows its citizens to emigrate under exceptional circumstances. The remainder of this section will therefore focus on either the peninsula as a whole, or on the southern Republic of Korea, as it is officially known.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

2333 B.C.	According to legend, God-king Tangun founds 한국 *Hanguk* [han.gu:k] 'Korea'
100 B.C.	Korean peninsula controlled by China's Han dynasty
57 A.D.	'Three Kingdoms' of Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla emerge, consolidate
668	Kingdom of Silla defeats Goguryeo, begins 'North & South State Period'
918	Turmoil of 'Later Three Kingdoms'
936	Taejo unites Korea, establishes **Goryeo dynasty**, which lasts until 1392
1392	Yi Seonggye deposes Gongyang, begins **Joseon dynasty**, which lasts until 1910
1443	Sejong the Great creates alphabetic **Hangul** to replace Chinese writing system
1592-98	Japan invades (twice); catastrophic Imjin wars significantly weaken Korea
1636	Manchu invasion leads to Korea's submission to China's Qing dynasty
1894-95	Japan's triumph in Sino-Japanese War further erodes Joseon power
1897	Gojung declares Korean Empire; attempts modernization
1906	Japan begins confiscating Korean land for Japanese colonization
1910	Japan annexes Korea
1945	WWII ends; USSR and USA **partition Korean peninsula** at 38th parallel
1950	North invades South; USA and U.N. defend South; China backs North
1953	Armistice signed by North, China, USA, U.N.; South Korea does not sign
2000, 2004	North and South Korea march together at Olympic games; discontinued in 2008
2008-10	North-South relations deteriorate; trade and tourism cut off

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

South Korea has the 15th largest economy in the world, and its population is highly **urbanized**, with 83% living in cities like Seoul (pop. 9.8 million) and Busan (3.4 million). Only 2.6% of employed South Koreans work in agriculture, with 39.2% in industry, and 58.2% in service (South Korea, 2012).

Freedom of religion is guaranteed in South Korea's constitution. The nation has been heavily influenced by Confucian thought, but only 0.2% of today's South Koreans self-identify as Confucian, as opposed to 47% non-religious, 29% Christian, and 23% Buddhist (Pew Research Forum, 2007). The history of **Japan's colonial occupation** remains a very sensitive social issue for many Koreans, with a four-year Presidential commission deciding in 2010 to confiscate the land of 168 pro-Japanese descendants, and debate continuing about the nature and severity of Japanese atrocities during the period.

Korean food features a wide variety of vegetables, grains, meats and soups, but is particularly notable for its 반찬 *banchan* 'side dishes,' the most famous of which is 김치 ***kimchi*** [kim.ʧʰi], a fermented side dish of seasonings and vegetables, usually including cabbage. Karaoke is very popular in South Korea, though it goes by the name 노래방 *noraebang* [no.ræ.baŋ], or 'song room.' Soccer is the biggest sport, though baseball and basketball are also

well-followed, and traditional sports such as 태권도 *taegwondo* retain support. Popular Korean music and film have in recent years grown into worldwide sensations, with 'K-Pop' hits like boy band TVXQ, girl group 2NE1, and film star Bae Yong Joon riding the 한류 *hallyu* 'Korean Wave' to international stardom.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

Korea's population is one of the "most ethnically and linguistically homogeneous" in the world, with the most prominent minority group a Chinese community of about 20,000 (South Korea, 2012). Linguists usually identify seven regional dialects, all of which are easily mutually intelligible:

Fig. 2: Major Korean 방언 *bang-eon* 'dialects'

Hamgyeong
Pyeongan (standard in North)
Central/Seoul (standard in South)
Chungcheong
Jeolla
Gyeongsang
Jeju

The generations-old division of the pensinsula has contributed to some **divergence between the northern and southern varieties**--with the North moving away from the Central/Seoul dialect toward use of Pyeongan as standard--but the most significant differences remain orthographic, with North Korea prohibiting the use of Chinese characters and retaining the McCune-Reischauer system of romanization (see Section 4). 'Genetically' speaking, Korean is linked to Japanese only tenuously, and has no 'family' relationship to Chinese whatsoever, but it has been very **significantly influenced by its contact with both languages**. More than half of all Korean words derive from Chinese, many of them--particularly scientific and technical terms--borrowed 'through' Japanese in the first half of the twentieth century (Kim, 2010). In recent years, these areal influences have been joined by a language with roots across and around the globe: English.

2.4 Language and Education

Korean society has embraced the objectives of foreign language learning and multilingualism, but to a certain extent monolithically: it has come to be described as a "Republic of English," in which **acquisition of English is valued** far beyond that of other languages (Chosun Ilbo).

English classes--both language-focused and content-driven (e.g. music, art)--often start in kindergarten (there are even all-English preschools for 18-month-olds, according to Shin 2005), with learning outcomes bearing serious consequences for college admissions and professional success. English language tests and interviews are standardly required for entrance to top

universities, many of which conduct large percentages of their undergraduate classes in English. Two of the highest-ranked colleges (POTECH and the Korea Institute of Science and Technology) plan to move from 80-85% to offering **all courses in English**. 55% of all job interviews in Korea involve an English portion, with 23% involving English for half of the session or more (Jambor).

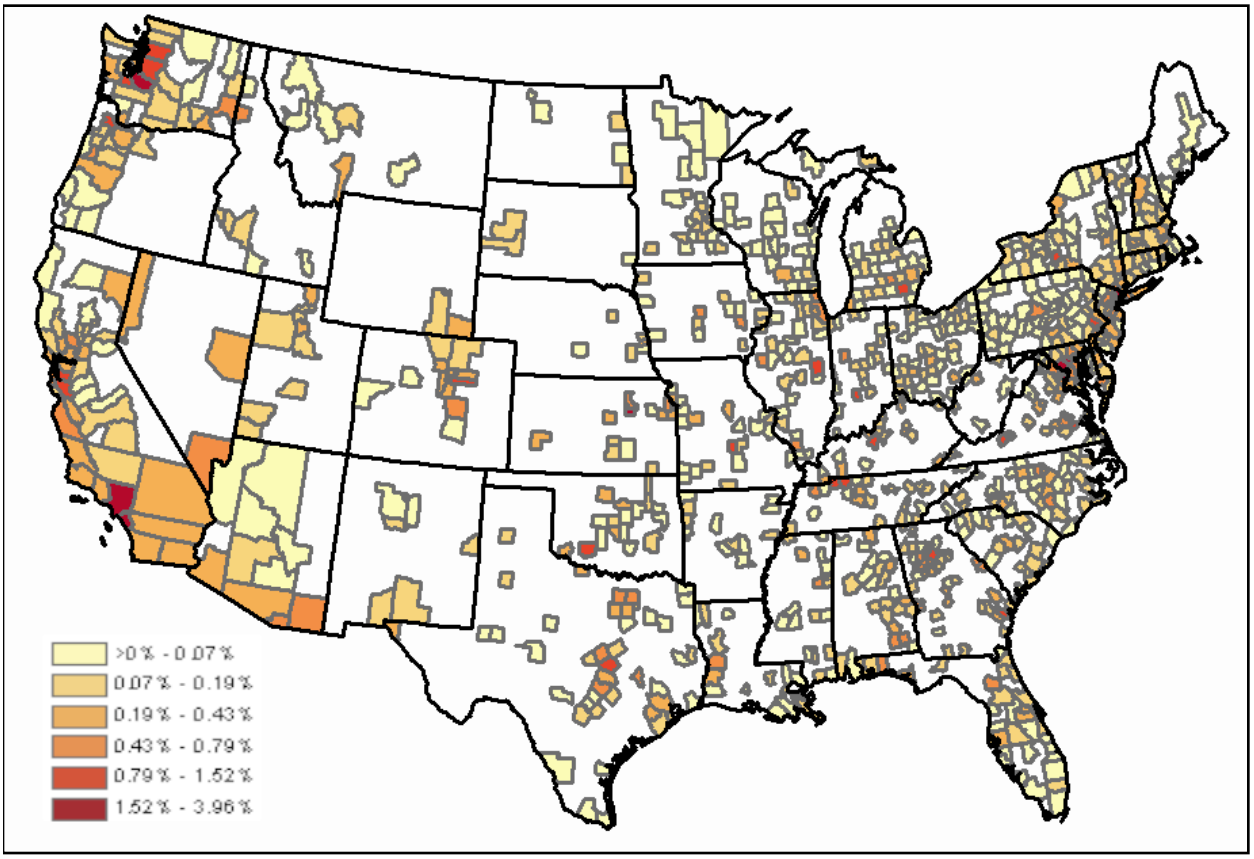
South Korean society has long been one that values education highly: literacy is estimated at 98%, and a recent survey indicates that 100% of South Korean parents want their child to attend college. It struggles, however, to avoid succombing to obsessions with rote memorization and cramming for tests. South Korea's school system is structurally similar to that in the United States, but students face even greater pressure to achieve high grades and scores on standardized tests. The government has recently enforced 10:00 pm curfews designed to limit the use of 학원 *hagwon* 'private tutors,' with police conducting raids to crack down on the crime of **studying too much** (Ripley, 2011). The problem is serious: many attribute South Korea's relatively high suicide rate for young adults--50% higher than America's and more than double China's--to these pressures (One-Shot Society, 2011), and the government stresses that spending on *hagwon* fell by 3% in 2010. This still represents, however, roughly 2% of South Korea's GDP (Ripley, 2011).

Many are concerned that--despite these efforts--Koreans achieve poor results in their push for English mastery. Korea's TOEFL scores in the early 21st century were well below international averages (Jambor), though they appear to now be improving. Perhaps in recognition that traditional 'cramming' methods are not conducive to language learning, there has been a recent growth in "**English Villages**," self-contained language immersion campuses pitched as alternatives to ineffective classroom programs and expensive travel abroad. Though English Villages have also sprouted in Italy and Spain, South Korea appears to be the pace-setter for the phenomenon.

3. Korean in the United States

After two small waves in the early- and mid-20th century, Korean immigration to the United States boomed following the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, **peaking during the 1970s and 1980s** when military rule and other upheaval roiled South Korea (Kim, 2010). The 2010 Census tallies 1,700,000 Korean Americans, while the 2007 American Community Survey puts the number of Korean speakers over 1,000,000. 97% of U.S. Koreans live in metropolitan areas, with Los Angeles, New York and Washington, DC the three biggest hubs.

Fig. 3: % of US population that speaks Korean, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



3.1 National Trends

Korean immigrants post-1965 have typically been college educated professionals from the urban middle class, often motivated to come to the United States by a desire for excellent education for their children. Though this may imply a dissatisfaction with the cramming and rote-memorization of the Korean system, Korean parents in America have themselves been notorious for developing 'Ivy League disease'--the more extreme forms of which involve memorizing admissions requirements and sending away for applications upon their children's births (Shin, 2005).

Korean newcomers have typically gravitated toward **small businesses**--e.g., grocery stores, dry cleaners, and nail salons--in which success is not impeded by the language barrier or non-transferable skills and credentials. Their children, however, have not typically followed in their footsteps, with only 9% of second generation Korean Americans typically self-employed (Kim, 2010).

Christianity is much bigger for Koreans in America than it is in Korea--over half of Koreans in the U.S. attend church, as opposed to about a quarter in South Korea--and there is little question that Korean Christian churches are likely the leading institutional nucleus for Korean American

social networks in the U.S. (Shin, 2005). These churches are popular with second generation Koreans as well as their parents, though the fact that many churches offer services in English for American-born congregants hints at a fairly rapid process of **language shift towards English**.

Use of the Korean language among the second and third generation Americans appears rather low, with studies reporting that 43% of second generation and **90% of third generation Korean Americans speak only English at home**. The Korean language has been assessed as having a linguistic life expectancy of between 1.3 and 2.0 generations of U.S. residence, also a relatively low figure (Kim, 2010). Possible reasons for this include a perception among Korean parents that the Korean language is not of central importance to schooling in America, as well as the difficulty of developing language and literacy skills in young children when both parents work long hours in a small business (Shin, 2005).

There are more than a thousand Korean heritage language schools in the U.S. (Shin, 2005), which have typically been organized by Korean churches, and consquently relatively inexpensive. Recently, however, the *hagwon* phenomenon has grown in America, typically for high school students to prepare for the SAT and other standardized tests, and these tutors and schools are often quite expensive (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

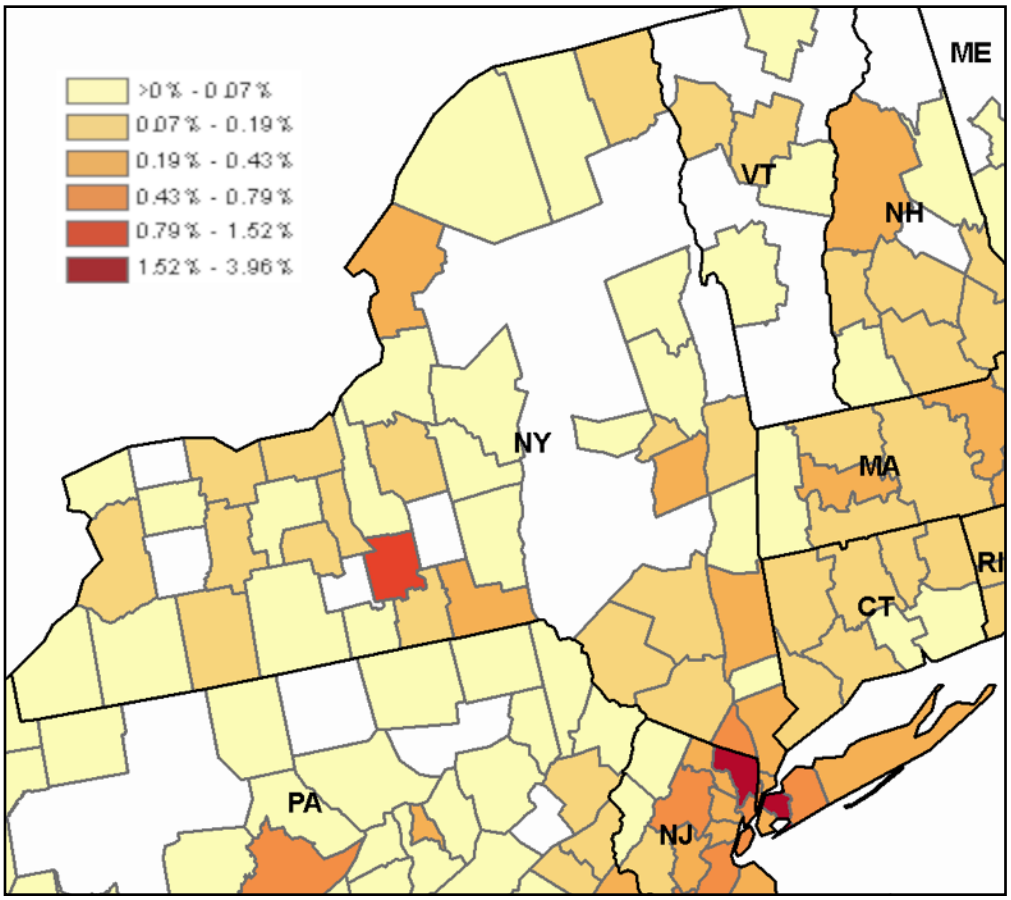
Fig. 4: Korean American boldface names

Margaret Cho	actress, comedian; born in California to Korean parents
Daniel Choi	LGBT activist; Korean-American father
Harold Koh	Dean of Yale Law School; Korean parents
Michelle Rhee	former chancellor of DC public schools; parents born in South Korea
Jenna Ushkowitz	actress (Tina Cohen-Chang on *Glee*); born in Seoul, Long Island-raised
Michelle Wie	golfer; parents immigrated from South Korea
Hines Ward	first Korean American Super Bowl MVP; born in Seoul, Korean mother
John Yoo	former Justice Dept. official, 'Torture Memos' author; born in S. Korea

3.2 Korean in New York State

The two counties with the highest percentages of Korean speakers are Tompkins and Queens, with New York City Districts 25 and 26, followed by the Ithaca City School District for most enrollments of emergent bilingual learners (EBLs) with Korean as a home language.

Fig. 5: % of NYS population that speaks Korean, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



Manhattan is home to Koreatown or 'K-Town,' an ethnic enclave near the Empire State Building packed with restaurants, bookstores, salons and other businesses--including *noraebang* bars--centered on Korean culture. More sophisticated engagement with Korean culture can be found at the Korea Society, an organization that sponsors art shows, film series, language and culture classes, lectures, readings and more. There is some indication that **the more concentrated community may encourage use** of Korean among American-born generations: 42% of NYC Koreans send their children to Korean language schools, as opposed to roughly half that nationwide (Shin, 2005).

4. Structures of the Korean Language

Scholars disagree as to whether Korean is unrelated to any known language, or distantly related to Mongolian, Japanese, and others as part of the Altaic language family. The influence that Chinese has had on Korean, though not genetic, has already been mentioned but can hardly be overstated. Korean is, in any case, a language quite **structurally 'distant' from English**, making acquisition of each relatively difficult for speakers of the other--the Defense Department categorizes it with Chinese, Japanese and Arabic as among the most difficult for English

speakers to learn, and it can reasonably be presumed that the difficulty is mutual. Nevertheless, familiarity with some basic patterns can be quite rewarding for teachers of Korean speakers.

4.1 Sound System

Korean has nineteen consonants and ten vowels. Particularly striking--and challenging to learners of Korean--is the three-way alternation between 'lax' consonants /p,t,s,c,k/, their **'reinforced' counterparts** /pp,tt,ss,cc,kk/, and the **aspirated versions** /p^h,t^h,s^h,c^h,k^h/. The fact that these distinctions are phonemic means that Korean has minimal triples such as:

탈 *tal* 'mask' [tal]
달 *dal* 'month' [ttal]
딸 *ttal* 'daughter' [t^hal]

Though vowel length can be important in Korean, the distinctino is not critical, as few word pairs are distinguished solely on the basis of how long the vowel is (Lee & Ramsey, 2000).

Korean's syllable structure is more complex than that of Japanese or Chinese, but simpler than in most European languages, English included. There are **no consonant clusters**, so words (and syllables) cannot begin with [str] or [pl], nor end with [bz] or [rks]. This can be seen clearly in Korean borrowings of English words like 'cream,' which is pronounced [k^hulim]; the [u] is inserted to break up the initial [kr] cluster (Lee & Ramsey, 2000). Final consonants are never released in Korean, and are in fact often 'neutralized' so that differences between them are undetectable. This pattern can cause trouble when it transfers to English.

Korean learners struggle with **the distinction between /l/ and /r/**; this challenge is one of psychology and muscle training, not physiological ability, though Korean parents have misguidedly sought frenulectomies for their children in order to loosen their tongues and ease foreign language acquisition (Shin, 2005). The English sounds /f,v,θ,ð/ and consonant clusters are typically also difficult for Korean learners. Shin (2005) found that Korean children in New York City struggle to acquire the English plural sounds [s,z,ɪz], and proposes that this stems from the fact that Korean words never end in [s]: final consonant neutralization causes a word like *os* 'clothes' to be pronounced as something like [ot]).

4.2 Writing Systems

For centuries, Korean was written in Chinese characters, which typically depict words, not sounds, but in the 15th century Sejong created **Hangul**, a writing system that represented sounds and grouped them into syllables. For instance, the symbol '말' represents one syllable *mal* [mal], but by combining the three component sounds: consonant ㅁ, vowel ㅏ, and consonant ㄹ. One of the unique aspects of Hangul is that the shapes of a number of the forms are

supposed to reflect the physical act of producing them: the boxy shape of the [m] consonant above is designed to represent the lips coming together.

It has taken many years for Hangul to replace the Chinese writing system, and in South Korea, one still finds Chinese *hanja* interspersed with Hangul. North Korea, on the other hand, has outlawed the use of *hanja*. There are three primary systems for transliterating Korean into the Latin alphabet: Yale, Reischauer-McCune, and **Revised Romanization**, and it is this multiplicity of systems that is why you might see Hangul written as *hankul* (Yale), *han'gŭl* (R-M), or *hangeul* (RR). The latter has been adopted by South Korea as official, and has been used in this discussion; North Korea continues to use Reischauer-McCune.

4.3 Grammar

Korean is a 'verb final' language, often categorized as SOV. It is agglutinative, with inflections and particles added to stems to form complex word forms. It features postpositions rather than prepositions, and marks case on its nouns. Modifiers precede heads; it is a 'left branching' language in the sense that English is 'right branching.'

Korean's **honorific system** is very complex, but can involve the choice of pronoun, the choice of noun, the insertion of an honorific morpheme after the verb stem, and the choice of title. For instance, though there are formal and informal pronouns, it is inappropriate to use any pronoun whatsoever to address a father or teacher; instead, an appropriate title must be used (Sohn, 1999). Children and friends eat *pap* 'rice,' while parents, teachers and elders eat *cinci*; these common nouns differ only in their formality. The lack of articles in Korean leads to difficulty in acquiring English articule usage patterns, which are complex to begin with.

4.4 How Names Work

Korean names typically take the structure **FAMILY GENERATIONAL PERSONAL** or **FAMILY PERSONAL GENERATIONAL**, with each element usually one syllable long. Thus, actress and TV personality Choi Soo-young shares both her family name *Choi* and her generational syllable *Soo* with her sister Choi Soo Jin. In the 1980s, there were only about 250 different family names used in South Korea, and it's unlikely that the number has grown signficantly (Library of Congress, 1992).

4.5 Friends and Classroom Phrases

Given their geneaological distance, English and Korean share few 'old' words with common etymological roots. Nevertheless, there are a number of words with similar forms and meanings, often arising through recent borrowing.

Fig. 6: Some Korean-English Academic 'Friends'

Elementary		
버스	*beoseu*	'bus'
카드	*kadeu*	'card'
커피	*keopi*	'coffee'
컴퓨터	*keompyuteo*	'computer'
게임	*geim*	'game'
아이스크림	*aiseukeulim*	'ice cream'
많이	*mani*	'much/many'
배	*bae*	'pear'
두	*tu*	'two'
예	*ye*	'yes'
Intermediate		
키	*ki*	'key'
미팅	*miting*	'meeting'
모니터	*moniteo*	'monitor'
포스트잇	*poseuteu-is*	'post-it'
프린터	*peulinteo*	'printer'
피라미드	*pilamideu*	'pyramid'
노트	*noteu*	'notes'
테크닉	*tekeunig*	'technique'
왜	*wae*	'why, what for'
Secondary		
아파트	*apateu*	'apartment'
컨설턴트	*keonseolteonteu*	'consultant'
파시즘	*pasijeum*	'fascism'
인터넷	*inteones*	'internet'
렌즈	*lenjeu*	'lens'
로그	*logeu*	'logarithm'
밀리미터	*millimiteo*	'millimeter'
피펫	*pipes*	'pipette'
프레 젠 테이션	*peule jen teisyeon*	'presentation'

Fig. 7: Classroom Phrases in Korean and English

Greetings & Questions

여보세요 *yeoboseyo* 'Hello'

우리 교실에 오신 것을 환영합니다.
uli gyosil e osin geos-eul hwan-yeonghabnida.
'Welcome to our classroom.'

넌 어때? *neon eottae?* 'How are you?'

당신은 무엇이 필요합니까?
dangsin-eun mueos-i pil-yo habnikka?
'What do you need?'

당신은 화장실에 가서해야하나요?
dangsin-eun hwajangsil-e gaseohaeyahanayo?
'Do you need to go to the bathroom?'

Compliments & Niceties

잘 했어 *jal haess-eo!* 'Good job!'

감사합니다
gamsahabnida 'Thanks'

십시오 *sibsio* 'Please'

실례합니다
sillyehabnida 'Excuse me'

Communication

말씀 이신지 ...?
malsseum isinji ...?
'Do you mean ... ?'

당신의 생각은 무엇입니까?
dangsin-ui saeng-gag-eun mueos-ibnikka?
'What are your thoughts?'

어떻게 무엇을 도와 드릴까요?
eotteohge mueos-eul dowa deulilkkayo?
'How can I help you?'

Directions

일어서세요 *il-eoseoseyo* 'Stand up'

앉으세요 *anj-euseyo* 'Sit down'

읽으세요 *ilg-eoseyo* 'Read'

쓰세요 *sseuseyo* 'Write'

잘 들으세요
jal deul-euseyo 'Listen carefully'

대답 세요 *daedabseyo* 'Answer'

짝과 함께세요
jjaggwa hamkkeseyo
'With your partner'

당신의그룹과 협력하여주세요
dangsin-ui geulub gwa hyeoblyeoghayeo juseyo
'Work with your group'

책을 펴세요
chaeg-eul pyeoseyo
'Open your book'

당신의 연필을 꺼내세요
dangsin-ui yeonpil-eul kkeonaeseyo
'Take out your pencil'

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Pak, Soyung. *Sumi's First Day of School Ever*, also *Dear Juno*.
Park, Frances and Ginger. *Where on Earth is my Bagel?*

Ages 8-12

Choi, Sook Nyul. *Year of Impossible Goodbyes*.
Lee, Marie G. *F is for Fabuloso*.
Park, Linda Sue. *A Single Shard*, also *Seesaw Girls*, *The Kite Fighters, When My Name was Keoko*
Kent, Rose. *Kimchi and Calamari*.

Ages 12-16

Lee, Marie G. *Saying Goodbye*.

Ages 16-adult

Kim, Richard E. *Lost Names*.

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U.S. Census Bureau (2010b). Selected population profile in the United States: 2010 American Community Survey 1-year estimates [data file]. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

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Russian

1. Russian in Brief

Russian for ‘Russian (language)’:

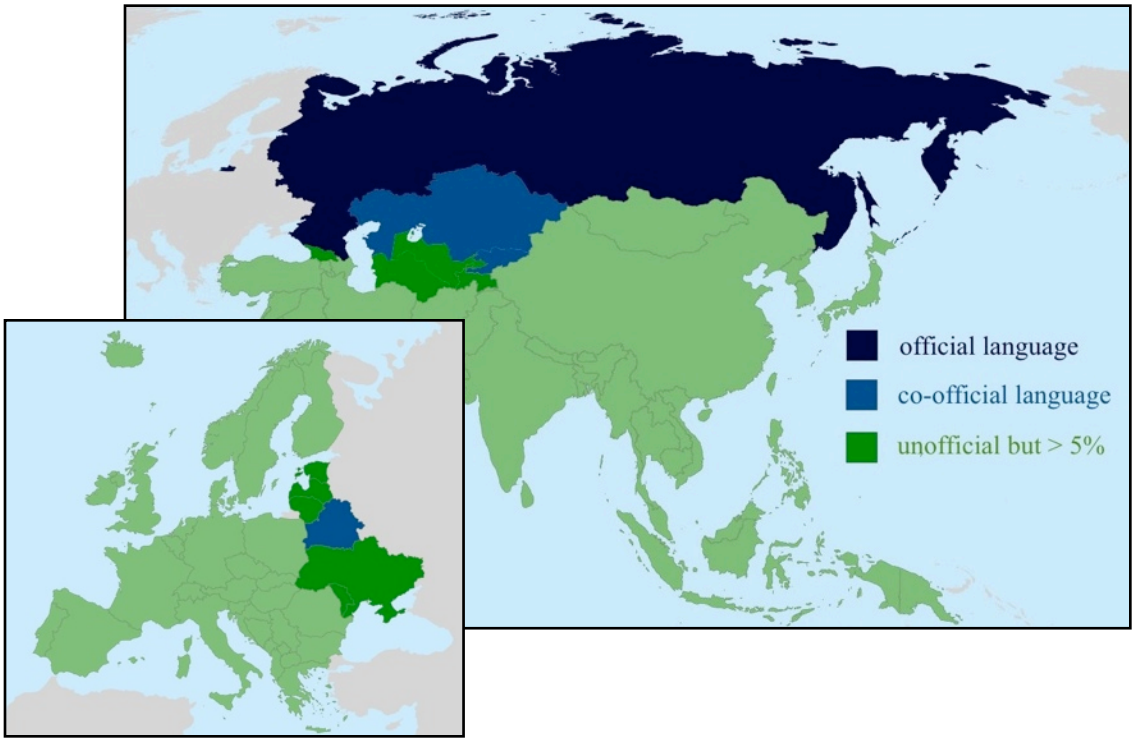
русский *russkiĭ* [ru.skij]

Russian word for ‘English (language)’:

английский *angliĭskiĭ* [aŋ.glij.skij]

Writing system(s):

Cyrillic (alphabetic)



Official national language (*co-official) in:

Russia (pop. 9,801,664); *Belarus; *Kazakhstan; *Kyrgyzstan (CIA, 2012)

Minority language (> 5% speakers) in:

Estonia (30%); Georgia (9%); Latvia (38%); Lithuania (8%); Moldova; Tajikistan (‘widely used’); Turkmenistan (12%); Ukraine (17%); Uzbekistan (14%) (CIA, 2012)

Language family (related languages):

Indo-European / Slavic (Ukrainian, Belarusian)

US Speakers (Shin & Kominski, 2010):

851,174

Ethnic Russians in US (US Census, 2010b):

2,971,599

Top 3 US Metro areas where Russian is spoken (Shin & Kominski, 2010):

New York, Los Angeles, Chicago

Did you know that...

... like English, Russian takes its name from an invading tribe of Germanic speakers?

... 80% of American immigrants from the former Soviet Union are Jewish?

... the second most widely spoken language in Russia is Tatar?

2 Russian in Global Context

The 100 million people who speak it as a home language put Russian among the world's top ten most spoken languages, and the most common home language in Europe (Lewis). It is **the sole official language of Russia**, the country with the world's largest landmass, and a co-official language in Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. It remains a significant minority language in the ex-Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan, and the language of a substantial Russian diaspora. Given that the Russian language roots of these countries stem from their inclusion in earlier, larger Russian states, and that U.S. immigration records from before 1991 do not distinguish the different Soviet republics, the discussion in this sub-section will primarily focus on Russia.

2.1 History and Politics

The modern state of Russia evolved from the medieval duchy of Moscow, and its language descends from an eastern branch of Slavic that also includes Ukrainian and Belarusian. Nearly all of Russia's chieftains, dukes, princes, цари *tsari* 'tsars' and emperors from the 9th to 20th centuries came from two branches of a single royal family, founded by a 9th century Scandinavian warlord named Rurik. The Russian tsardom expanded greatly in the 16th and 17th centuries, then modernized over the next two, particularly at the hands of emperors Peter I and Catherine II. **A 1917 revolution overthrew the Tsarists** and brought the Communist Bolsheviks to power. After roughly seventy years as the standard-bearer for world communism, the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, with many of the former empire's lands breaking away from Russia as independent republics. Russia's influence remains strong regionally, but the language appears to be declining in use in many of the ex-Soviet republics.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

c. 862	Scandinavian 'Rus' warlord Rurik gains control of East Slavic speaking regions
c. 882	Oleg of Novgorod conquers Kiev, establishes it as capital of **Kievan Rus'**
988	Vladimir the Great converts to Christianity, Cyrillic alphabet follows
10th c.	First Old East Slavic (OES, aka Old Russian) writing
11-14th c.	OES co-exists with liturgical/literary Old Church Slavonic
12-15th c.	**Novgorod Republic**--also ruled by Rurik's descendants--eclipses Kievan Rus'
13th c.	Mongols prevail from Danube to Siberia; Novgorod escapes direct conquest
14th-15th c.	Minor forest town of Moscow--also part of Rurik dynasty--grows in power
1478	Moscovite Grand Prince **Ivan III** aka **the Great** takes Novgorod
1480	Ivan defeats Mongols at Ugra River Standoff, ending Tartar control of Russia
1547	Ivan IV aka The Terrible proclaims Tsardom of Russia
late 16th c.	Russians conquer, subdue Mongol khanate of Siberia
1598-1613	'Time of troubles': famine strikes; Polish, Swedes take Moscow, Novgorod
1667	Victory in Russo-Polish war cements Russia's status as world power
1696-1721	Peter the Great founds St. Petersburg, proclaims empire, modernizes
1755	Lomonosov's influential Российская Грамматик 'Russian Grammar'
1762-1796	**Catherine the Great** leads Russian enlightenment, boosts education, literacy
1812	Napoleon invades, reaches Moscow, is beaten back in 'Patriotic War'
1861	Abolition of serfdom liberates millions of peasants
1917-1923	Bolsheviks prevail in Russian Civil War, form СССР *SSSR* **'USSR'**
1940-1945	Russia invades Baltic, Nazis invade Russia; WWII costs 20 million Russian lives
1991	USSR collapses, splinters into Russia and 14 other ex-Soviet republics

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

The autocratic post-Soviet government of Vladimir Putin has overseen a difficult but generally successful transition from state-run to free-market economy. Russia currently has **the world's seventh largest economy**, and produces the most нефть *neft'* 'oil'and second most natural gas of any nation (Russia, 2012). Nonetheless, widespread corruption and Putin's strongarm tactics have led to rising public discontent, with extended protests breaking out after the December 2011 legislative elections, widely seen as fixed.

Roughly two-thirds of the people in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia live in cities, with a lower figure in Kyrgyzstan. Religion was officially illegal during the Soviet period, but **the Russian Orthodox church** remains the religion of at least 15-20% of Russians (Russia, 2012; other estimates are as high as 63%). Over 10% of Russia is Muslim, concentrated primarily in the Caucasus and central Asian regions; the recent separatist movement in Chechnya has a strong religious base, though it should be noted that only about 40% of Chechens are Muslim (Twigg).

Russian food varies widely, unsurprising given the geographical range of the language, but is particularly famous for щи *shchi* [ɕːi] 'cabbage soup,' which Russians legendarily do not tire of, and пельмени *pelmeni* 'dumplings,' similar to Polish pierogis, but with thinner dough and typically uncooked stuffings, often served with butter or sour cream. водка *vodka* is popular both in Russia and abroad, though likely a Polish invention.

Russia's contributions to the artistic world of the 19th and 20th centuries were unsurpassed. Prominent Russians of these centuries include authors Pushkin, Tolstoy, Chekhov, and Dostoevsky; композиторов *kompozitorov* 'composers' Tchaikovsky, Prokofiev and Stravinsky; dancers/choreographers Balanchine, Nureyev, and Baryshnikov; painters Chagall and Kandinsky; and filmmakers Eisenstein and Tarkovsky, but these are only a few of the **high-impact creative artists** that Russia can claim in each area.

Over the same period of time, Russian scientists made enormous contributions to world knowledge, with Mendeleev, Pavlov and Sakharov among the 19th and 20th century luminaries. Russians have long held a strong interest in шахматы *shakhmaty* 'chess' (compare the English word *checkmate*), and claim the greatest number of modern world champions. Tennis, hockey, basketball and soccer are all currently popular, and the country continues to have great success in Olympic sports, with Russian and Soviet athletes consistently finishing third or higher in Olympic medal counts.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

Linguists traditionally identify three principal dialect groups of Russian: Northern, Central, and Southern, with **the Moscow variety** of the Central dialect forming the nucleus for a standard that is regulated by the Russian Language Institute. The three are mutually intelligible, with two primary differences being the pronounciation of the phonemes /o/ and /a/--usually written with the letters 'о' and 'а'--when unstressed, and that of the phoneme /g/ (written 'г').

Fig. 2: Major диалект ***dialekt*** **'dialect' areas of Russian, illustrated**

	pron. of unstressed 'о,' 'а'	pron. of 'г'	горилла *gorilla* 'gorilla'
Northern	[o], [a]	[g]	[go.ril:a]
Central	[ə] and other reduced vowels	[g]	[gə.ril:ə]
Southern	[ə] and other reduced vowels	[ɣ]	[ɣə.ril:ə]

If Russian-internal dialectal differences are relatively small given the huge area in which Russian is spoken (Comrie, 1987), the country exhibits great linguistic diversity when it comes to other languages. The 2002 census indicates that **23% of Russians speak one or more of 38 minority languages**. Seven of these are spoken by over a million people, five as home languages--Tatar, Ukrainian, Bashkir, Chuvash, Chechen--and two more typically as second languages--English and German, the most commonly taught institutionally (Korsunova et al). By comparison, the

United States has over twice the population of Russia, but just the same number of minority languages spoken by a million or more (Shin & Kominski, 2010). Ukrainian, like Belarusian, might be considered a co-dialect with Russian on linguistic grounds, but the other six languages come from different linguistic families and sub-families.

2.4 Language and Education

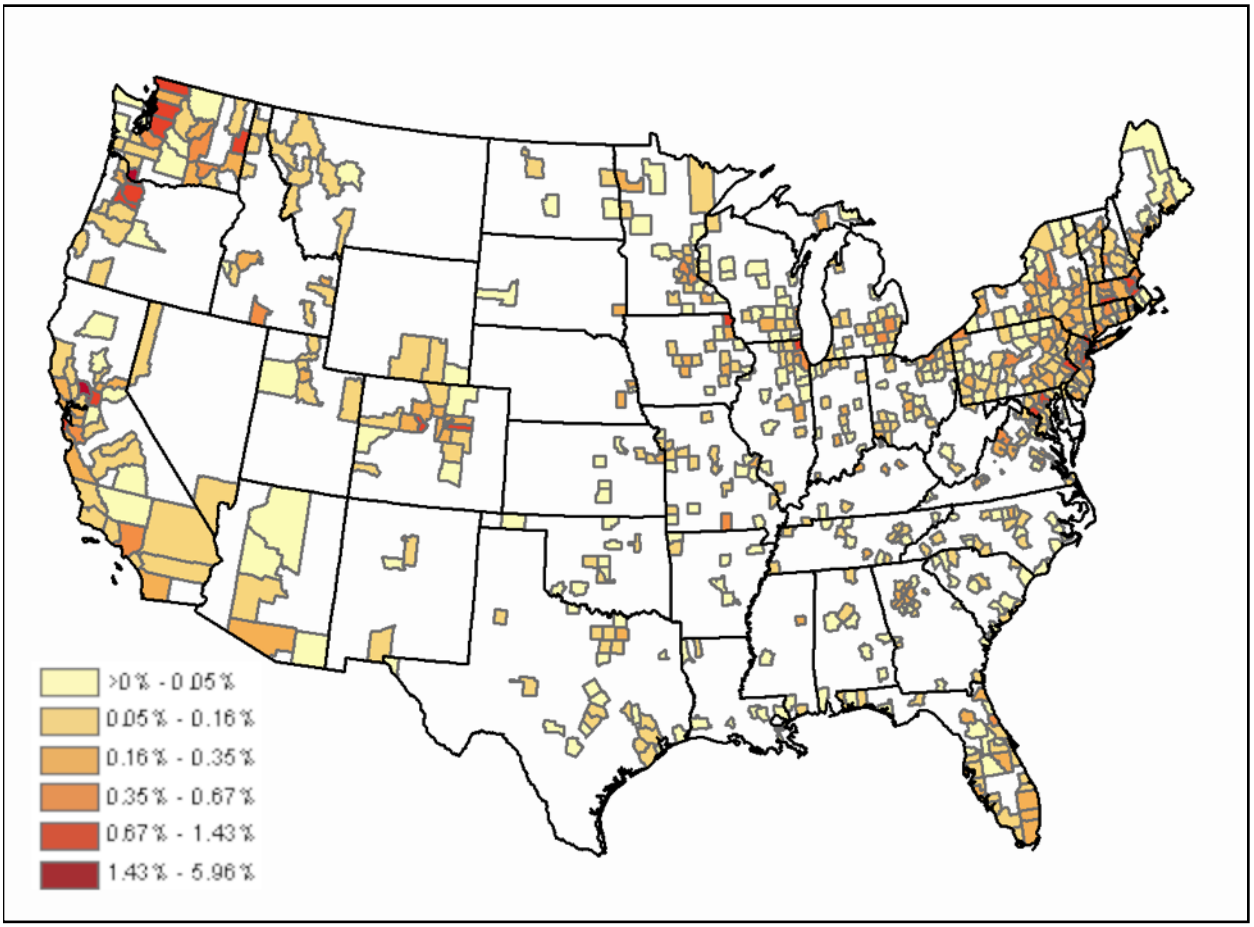
Russia has signed but not ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRM), which obliges nations to support minority tongues as the language of education in the school systems where they are spoken. Russia presents a particularly difficult situation with regard to this obligation, as the **speakers of languages like Tatar and Bashkir are diffused** throughout the enormous land area of the country, rather than typically concentrated in their ethnic homeland (Tishkov et al, 2009): only 36% of Tatar speakers live in Tatarstan. Nonetheless, minority language support appears strong in certain regions: more schools in Tatarstan use Tatar as the language of instruction than do Russian (Kornusova et al, 2010). Russia's general literacy rate is over 99% (Russia, 2012).

3. Russian in the United States

Immigration to the United States from Russian-speaking lands has come in several waves. **Alaska was a Russian territory** until 1867, and though most of the early Russian hunters and traders in Alaska returned to Russia upon its sale to the USA, there are a number of Russian Orthodox 'Old Believer' villages in Alaska today. Ethnic Russians were prohibited from emigrating in the final years of the Russian Empire, so most of the late-19th century Russian speakers who came to the USA had stronger linguistic ties to languages like Polish, Ukrainian or Yiddish (Kagan & Dillon, 2010).

The first 20th century wave of Russian immigration was sparked by the October Revolution and Civil War of 1917-1922, and constitued roughly a million **Russians who had opposed the rise of the Bolsheviks**. Immigration was subsequently reduced by the quota system put in place by the US Immigration Act of 1924, but a second wave came in the aftermath of World War II, typically displaced by the war but also unwilling to return to the Soviet Union. The 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment allowed virtually unlimited immigration of Soviet Jews escaping persecution, so **a third, primarily Jewish wave** came between 1974 and 1980, when the Refugee Act capped refugee immigrants at 50,000 worldwide. A fourth and latest wave began in 1987 with Gorbachev's granting of exit visas to victims of religious persecution, and once again Jewish immigrants predominated (Kagan & Dillon, 2010).

Fig 3: % of US population that speaks Russian, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



3.1 National Trends

Given Russia's linguistic diversity and the predomimantly Jewish make-up of the recent waves of immigration to the USA, **the ethnic identity of Russian immigrants is usually complex**, typically involving two nations (Russia and the United States), a religion (Judiasm for 80%, per Kagan & Dillon, 2010: 183), and possibly a Soviet/Russian republic with its own language and culture (e.g. Tatarstan, Georgia). According to the 2007 American Community Survey, 75% of Russian speakers self-assess as speaking English "well" or "very well," and as a community, Russian-speakers are more likely to be employed in 'knowledge economy' jobs than the US population as a whole (Kagan & Dillon, 2010).

The high education level of Russian immigrants, and relative success in higher status employment fields, may conspire to speed **language shift to English**. Rumbaut et al (2006) found that only 3% of white European immigrant families maintain their heritage language past the second generation, compared to 35% of Mexican-Americans and 29% of Salvadoran- and Guatemalan-Americans, and Russian appears to follow the trend. There are no immersion programs, and very few weekend classes for children who speak Russian; this stands in sharp contrast to the opportunities available for generation 1.5 and later children from Chinese and

Korean-speaking families (see relevant sections of this report). Though heritage language classes at universities have been advocated for and developed in recent years, it remains to be seen whether these and other efforts such as Putin's recent creation of the Фонд Русский мир *Fond Russkij Mir* 'Russian World Foundation' to promote Russian worldwide will make an impact in maintaining and supporting the presence of Russian in future generations (Kagan & Dillon, 2010).

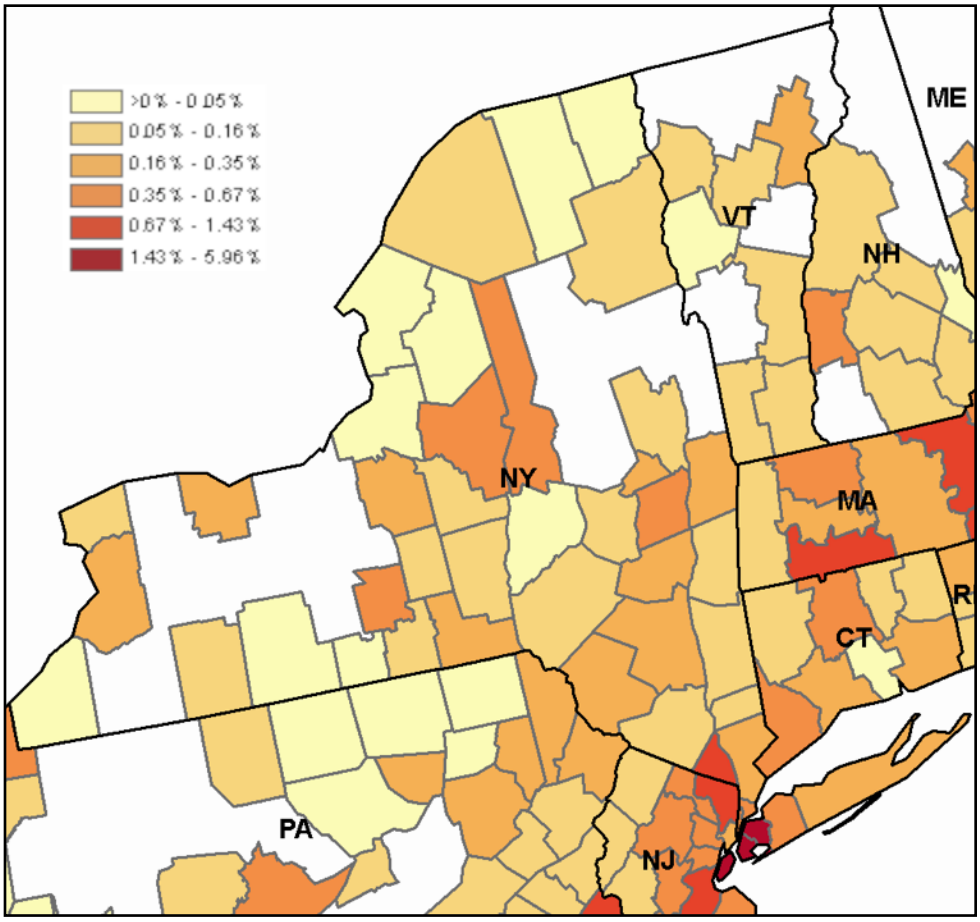
Fig. 4: Russian-American boldface names

Isaac Asimov	author, biochemist; born in Russia
Mikhail Baryshnikov	dancer, chereographer, actor; born in Latvia
Sergey Brin	Google co-founder; born in Moscow
Milla Jovovich	actress; born in Kiev
Mila Kunis	actress (*That 70s Show*); born in Ukraine
Vladimir Nabokov	author (*Lolita*); born in St. Petersburg
Ayn Rand	author (*The Fountainhead*); born in St. Petersburg
Regina Spektor	singer, songwriter; born in Moscow
Igor Stravinsky	composer (*Rite of Spring*); raised in St. Petersburg
Natalie Wood	actress, Russian speaker, parents immigrated from Russia

3.2 Russian in New York State

New York State has the highest Russian speaking population in the USA, with 232,434 speakers (Shin & Kominski, 2010); Brooklyn and Queens counties boast the highest totals and percentages of the population within the state. Russian-Americans tend to integrate and diffuse quickly into mainstream American society (Kagan & Dillon, 2010), so their large numbers have not carved out many ethnic enclaves in the five boroughs. **Brighton Beach in Brooklyn**, also known as 'Little Odessa,' is one of the few clear examples of a Russian neighborhood, boasting Russian groceries, a Russian theatre, and a Russian-language bookstore. The nearby neighborhood of Bath Beach is home to the only Russian dual language program in New York City, while Kew Gardens and Forest Hills are the neighborhoods in Queens with the highest level of Russian speakers in that borough.

Fig. 5: % of NYS population that speaks Russian, by county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



4 Structures of Note in Russian

The Defense Language Institute classifies Russian as a Level III language in its four-level scheme to categorize difficulty for English speakers to learn (Kagan & Dillon, 2010). Some of the most salient ways it differs from standard English are its a) richer consonant system; b) simpler vowel system; c) lack of articles; d) complex case system; and e) present-tense 'be'-deletion. It is written with the Cyrillic alphabet.

4.1 Sound System

One of the most distinctive aspects of Russian phonology is its **palatalization of consonants**: consonants come in voiced and voiceless pairs (like [v] and [f] for English), but also in palatalized and non-palatalized pairs, e.g. [f] and [fʲ], the diacritic [ʲ] indicating a sound much like that made after the [f] in English *few* (compare this pronciation with the first sounds of the English band name *Foo Fighters*). Thus, there are 36 Russian consonant sounds, and the difference between a palatal and non-palatal consonant can change word meaning, as it does with брать *brat'* [bratʲ] 'to take' and брат *brat* [brat] 'brother' (Comrie, 1987). The palatal sounds, often described impressionistically as 'soft,' can pose difficulty for Russian learners to

distinguish from the 'hard' non-palatalized consonants, as the distinction is not phonemic in English.

For Russian-speaking learners of English, there is a **tendency to palatalize consonants**, particularly [n] and [l] before front vowels like [i] and [e] (Mojsin, 2009). Thus, learners may produce unusual forms like *genyeral*, though these variations from English norms will not typically interfere with communication. Bear in mind, too, that sounds like [m] can have palatalization in English, but only before the vowel sound [u]: *music* and *communicate,* for instance.

Other pronunciation difficulties can stem from the fact that Russian consonants [b], [d], [g], [v], [z], and [ʒ], as well as there palatalized counterparts, are always **voiceless when word-final**: thus, рот *rot* 'mouth' and род *rod* 'clan/dynasty' are both pronounced [rot] (Comrie, 1987); Russian-speaking learners may confuse English words like *back*/*bag*, *bet*/*bed*, and *bat/bad*.

Five English consonants and ten vowels are not phonemic in Russian.

(Consonants)	(Vowels)
[θ] at the beginning of 'thin'	[æ] at the beginning of 'ash'
[ð] at the beginning of 'this'	[ɪ] at the beginning of 'igloo'
[ŋ] at the beginning of 'jump'	[ɛ] in the middle of 'pet'
[h] at the beginning of 'change'	[ɔ] in the middle of 'bought'
[w] at the beginning of 'wed'	[ʊ] in the middle of 'put'
	[ə] in the middle of 'putt'

Learners often pronounce English interdentals [θ] and [ð] as [t] and [d], and may pronounced [w] as [v]. As with leaners from many other languages, the lax vowels may be confused with their tense counterparts.

4.2 Writing Systems

Russian is written and read in **the Cyrillic alphabet**, a left-to-right orthography developed in the 10th century and historically linked with the Christian church, as the two came to Old East Slavic peoples at roughly the same time. As with the Latin alphabet, Cyrillic aims to represent individual sounds with unique symbols, but the correspondence is never perfectly one-to-one. Many Cyrillic letters look like Latin letters: some of these also represent the same sounds, e.g. к,м,т, and а represent [k], [m], [t], and [a], respectively, but others are 'false friends' that represent quite different sounds than do their similar Latin equivalents. Нуреев, for instance, spells the last name of dancer Rudolf Nureyev.

Romanization of Russian usually takes the form of transliteration rather than transcription, i.e. Cyrillic letter-to-Latin letter equivalencies are formed, rather than Russian sound-to-Latin letter

correspondences. A variety of these transliteration schemes exist, with minor differences: this section has followed **British Standard**, in which an apostrophe following a consonant indicates that it should be palatalized.

4.3 Grammar

Russian resembles Latin and Old English in marking a number of cases on its nouns: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, and locative. Thus, a noun like бровь *brov'* [brovʲ] 'eyebrow' appears in seven different forms (брови, бровью, etc.) depending on whether it's a subject, an object, a possessor, a receiver/perceiver, an instrument, after certain prepositions, or a place--all information encoded by prepositions and word order in English. This frees up Russian word order: for the English sentence 'Victor kisses Lena,' one can say Виктор целует Лена or Лена целует Виктор without altering the kisser or kissee, as the names are marked as subject and object. In the event that Lena initiates the smooch, we could get Лена целует Виктора or Виктора целует Лена, with neither order confusing the matter, as Victor's name is clearly marked with accusative or 'object' case (Comrie, 1987).

Russian has no articles, so words like собака *sobaka* can mean 'a dog' sometimes and 'the dog' at others, depending on context. As in African American English and Korean, Russian present tense sentences can omit the copula быть *byt'* 'be,' so the sentence 'Alex is a dog' can be written Алекс собаки *Aleks sobaki*, i.e. with no verb or article. Note that the word for 'dog' takes on the case ending -и *-i* instead of -а *-a*.

4.4 How Names Work

Russian names follow the East Slavic three-part pattern of **PERSONAL PATRONYMIC FAMILY**, with the family name passed down from the father, and the patronymic formed from the father's given name. Thus, Mikhail Sergeyev Gorbachev automatically received the names *Gorbachev* and *Sergeyev* from his father Sergey Andreyevich Gorbachev, who himself inherited two names from his father Andrey. Women also take patronymics from their fathers--Maria Yuryevna Sharapova got *Yuryevna* from her father Yuri--and generally take their husband's family names when they marry, though with a feminine ending attached (Mikhail's wife was Raisa Maximova Gorbachova, not Gorbachev).

4.5 'Friends' and Classroom Phrases

Fig. 5: Russian-English Academic 'Friends'

Elementary

апостроф	*apostrof*	'apostrophe'
шоколад	*shokolat*	'chocolate'
класс	*klass*	'class'
классический	*klassicheskiĭ*	'classical'
климат	*klimat*	'climate'
идея	*idyeya*	'idea'
математика	*matematika*	'math'
план	*plan*	'plan'
планета	*planeta*	'planet'
синоним	*sinonim*	'synonym'

Intermediate

астрономия	*astronomiya*	'astronomy'
цикл	*tsikl*	'cycle'
функция	*funktsiya*	'function'
гипотеза	*gipoteza*	'hypothesis'
максимальный	*maksimal'nyĭ*	'maximum'
минеральный	*mineral'nyĭ*	'mineral'
фотосинтез	*fotosintez*	'photosynthesis'
публиковать	*publikovat'*	'to publish'
революция	*revolyutsiya*	'revolution'
система	*sistema*	'system'

Secondary

амплитуда	*amplituda*	'amplitude'
анекдот	*anekdot*	'anecdote'
бактерии	*bakterii*	'bacteria'
колониализм	*kolonializm*	'colonialism'
лингвистический	*lingvisticheskiĭ*	'linguistic'
парабола	*parabola*	'parabola'
парадокс	*paradoks*	'paradox'
квадратный	*kvadratnyĭ*	'quadratic'
символ	*simvol*	'symbol'
теорема	*tyeorema*	'theorem'
вирус	*virus*	'virus'

Fig. 6: Classroom Phrases in Russian and English

Greetings & Questions

Здравствуйте *Zdravstvuĭte* 'Hello'

Добро пожаловать в наш класс.
Dobro pozhalovat' v nash klass.
'Welcome to our classroom.'

Как поживаешь?
Kak pozhivaesh'? 'How are you?'

Что тебе нужно?
Chto tebe nuzhno?
'What do you need?'

Тебе нужно сходить в туалет?
Tebe nuzhno skhodit' v tualet?
'Do you need to go to the bathroom?'

Compliments & Niceties

Хорошая работа!
Khoroshaya rabota! 'Good work!'

Спасибо! *Spasibo!* 'Thank you!

Пожалуйста.
Pozhaluĭsta. 'Please.'

Прости меня.
Prosti menya. 'Excuse me.'

Communication

Ты имеешь в виду ...?
Ty imyeesh v vidu ...?
'Do you mean ... ?'

Что вы думаете?
Chto vy dumaete?
'What are your thoughts?'

Как я могу тебе помочь?
Kak ya mogu tebe pomoch'?
'How can I help you?'

Directions

Встань *Vstan'* 'Stand up'

Садись *Sadis'* Sit down

Читай *Chitaĭ* 'Read'

Записывай *Zapisyvaĭ* 'Write'

Слушай *Slushaĭ* 'Listen'

Ответь *Otvet'* 'Answer'

Поговори со своим партнером
Pogovori so vashim partnerom
'Talk to your partner'

Работай в группе
Rabotaĭ v gruppe
'Work in your group'

Открой книгу
Otkroĭ knigu
'Open your book'

Возьми (свою) ручку / карандаш
Voz'mite vashu ruchku / karandash
'Take out your pen/pencil'

Скопируйте свою домашнюю работу.
Skopiruĭte svoyu domashnyuyu rabotu
'Copy your homework'

5 Further Reading and References

5.1 Imaginative Literature

Ages 4-8

Croll, Carolyn. *Too Many Babas.*

Polacco, Patricia. *Uncle Vova's Tree.* (Christmas). Also *The Trees of the Dancing Goats* (Hanukkah), *The Keeping Quilt.*
Shepard, Aaron. *The Sea King's Daughter.*

Ages 8-12
Cohen, Barbara. *Make a Wish, Molly.*
Hest, Amy. *When Jessie Came Across the Sea.*
Sachs, Marilyn. *Call Me Ruth.*

Ages 12-16
Gelbwasser, Margie. *Inconvenient.*
Brosgol, Vera. *Anya's Ghost*.
Wayne, Kyra Petrovskaya. *Shurik: A Story of the Siege of Leningrad.*

Ages 16-adult
Reyn, Irina. *What Happened to Anna K.*
Shteyngart, Gary. *The Russian Debutante's Handbook*.
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich.*

5.2 English Language Periodicals

The Moscow Times--http://www.themoscowtimes.com/
The Russian Journal--http://www.russianjournal.com/

5.3 Russian Language Periodicals

Komsomolskaya Pravda--http://kp.ru/
Moskovskij Komsomolets--http://www.mk.ru/

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Russia (2012). In *CIA World Factbook*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html

Shin, H. & R. Kominski (2010). *Language Use in the United States: 2007,* American Community Survey Reports, ACS-12. Washington, DC: US Census Bureau.

Tishkov, V., V. Stepanov, D. Funk, & O. Artemenko (2009). Status of and Support for Linguistic Diversity in the Russian Federation. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Online version (Russian website, English document):

U.S. Census Bureau (2010a). Detailed Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Older by States: 2006-2008 [data file]. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/about/faqs.html

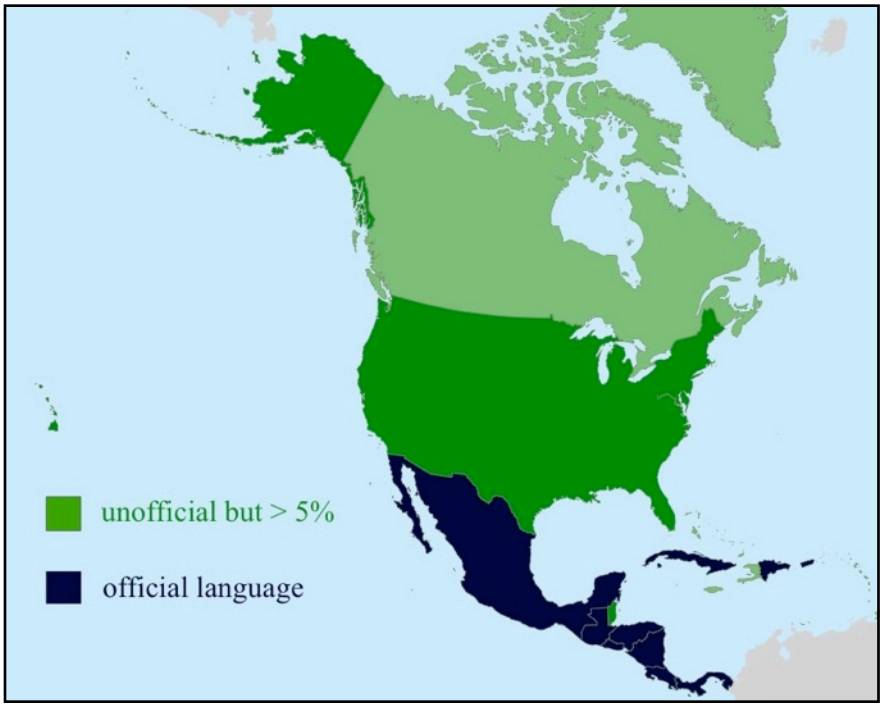
U.S. Census Bureau (2010b). Selected population profile in the United States: 2010 American Community Survey 1-year estimates [data file]. Retrieved from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

Spanish

1. Spanish in Brief

Spanish for ‘Spanish (language)’:
español [es.pa.ˈɲol]
Spanish word for ‘English (language)’:
inglés [iŋ.ˈgles]
Writing system(s):
Latin (alphabetic)
Official national language (*co-official) in:

Argentina	Honduras
*Bolivia	Mexico (de facto)
Chile	Nicaragua
Colombia	Panama
Costa Rica	*Paraguay
Cuba	*Peru
Dominican Republic	Puerto Rico (U.S. terr.)
Ecuador	Spain
*Equatorial Guinea	Uruguay
El Salvador	Venezuela
Guatemala	(CIA, 2012)



Minority language (> 5% speakers):
Belize (46%)
United States (11%)

Language family (related languages):
Indo-European / Romance (Catalan, Portuguese)
US Speakers (2007 ACS):
34,547,077
Ethnic Hispanics/Latinos in US (2010 ACS):
50,477,594
Top 3 US Metro areas where Spanish is spoken (2007 ACS):
Los Angeles, New York, Miami
Did you know that...
... the USA's 34 million Spanish speakers make it the world's fifth-largest Hispanophone country, trailing only Mexico (115 mil.), Spain (47), Colombia (45), and Argentina (42)?
... if you include Puerto Rico's population and estimates of undocumented immigrants in the US mainland, the USA may be the world's second-largest Spanish speaking nation?
... the only Hispanophone nation in Africa--Equatorial Guinea--is also the second richest?
... the term *América Latina* 'Latin America' originally referred to all parts of the continent in which Romance languages were spoken, including Quebec and Louisiana?

2 Spanish in Global Context

With over 300 million home language speakers and official status on four continents, Spanish is one of the three most widely spoken languages in the world (Lewis, 2009). Like English, it is a **colonial language** whose expansion came through 16th century exploration and conquest: today, Spanish is the primary language of the western half of South America, nearly all of Central America, a majority of the population in the Caribbean, Mexico, and its European homeland Spain. Spanish is similar to Chinese in that it exerts a particularly dominant influence in one region: a traveller could traverse the entire Western Hemisphere from the Rio Grande south to Tierra del Fuego--'Latin America'--without once entering a non-Hispanophone nation. In doing so, however, that traveller would leave behind roughly **10% of the world's Spanish speakers**, as the USA boasts a larger Spanish-

speaking population than Chile, Cuba, Peru or Venezuela. Indeed, by many estimates, the USA is now the second largest Spanish speaking country in the world (Ruiz Mantilla, 2008).

2.1 History and Politics

Like fellow Romance languages French, Portuguese, and Italian, Spanish is a 'genetic' descendant of Latin, which is to say that there is "an unbroken chain of speakers, each learning his or her language from parents and contemporaries, stretching from the people of the Western Roman Empire two thousand years ago to the present population of the Spanish speaking world" (Penny, 2002). One could go as far as to say that Spanish is **Latin in modern form**, but this would blur the facts of its significant evolution over two millenia, as well as of the significant differences between Spanish and the other Romance tongues. The linguistic and cultural aspects that set Spanish apart stem primarily from its status in the Roman empire, its seven-century co-existence with Arabic, and its wide colonial diffusion in the Western Hemisphere.

Rome established forts and settlements on the Iberian peninsula earlier than in its other colonies, and the inland towns of 'Hispania' remained somewhat isolated from direct contact with Rome. These facts have led scholars to conclude that modern Spanish is based on an **antiquated and conservative variety of Latin**: quite a number of Spanish words like *queso* 'cheese,' *mesa* 'table,' and *hombro* 'shoulder' (as well as their Portuguese equivalents) derive from Classical Latin terms, while the French, Italian, and Catalan words (e.g., French *fromage*, Italian *tavolo*, and Catalan *espatlla*) trace their etymologies back to later Latin words (Penny, 2002).

The Germanic-speaking Visigoths took control of Hispania in the 5th century A.D., but do not appear to have left much of a mark on the language, instead adapting the (Latin) language of their subjects quite quickly. The 8th century invasion of Arabs and Berbers from Africa was a different matter: the Islamic emirate and caliphate based in Cordoba used **Arabic as the prestige language** of law, literature, schooling, and religion, relegating Latin dialects to second-class, typically unwritten status for several centuries. By the time Isabella of Castile and Fernando of Aragon united to expel the *moros* 'Moors' from the peninsula in 1492, the Arabic language had left an indelible mark even on *castellano* 'Castilian,' a linguistic neighbor to the north that would become standard Spanish. Hundreds of modern Spanish words, from *alcalde* 'mayor' to *barrio* 'neighborhood,' from *arroz* 'rice' to *azúcar* 'sugar,' were **borrowed from Arabic** during this

period, as was the [x] sound written with the letter '*j*,' as in *ojalá* [o.xa.ˈla] 'hopefully,' itself an Arabic borrowing.

The momentous year of 1492 also marked the dawn of Spain's empire in the Western Hemisphere, with **Colombus** landing in Hispaniola, site of the modern Dominican Republic. Though the newly unified Spanish state had precious little time to standardize its language before wholesale colonization, the New World viceroyalties of Peru, New Granada and New Spain exhibited--and continue to exhibit, in their modern incarnations--a relatively **narrow range of variation** (Green, 1987), closely centered around Spain's Andalusian dialect. This is likely a consequence of several 'bottleneck' aspects of Spain's colonization program: the colonists, some Andalusian, but many also from Galicia and the Basque country, gathered in the Andalusian city of Seville prior to departure, often for several weeks or months, where dialect levelling may have occured; they were then channeled to the West Indies, typically San Juan or Havana, from which points they were dispersed in groups that did not necessarily correspond to speech communities, again encouraging linguistic coalescence rather than divergence. Finally, nearly all official trans-Atlantic communciation passed directly between Seville and one of two cities (Mexico City or Lima, the two viceregal capitals), enabling a level of institutional standardization that would have been far more difficult spread among more locations (Penny, 2002).

At the height of its global empire, Spain held colonies in Africa, Asia, and throughout the Americas, from Tierra del Fuego nearly up to Alaska. Almost all of these territories won independence in the first third of the 19th century: *El Libertador* 'The Liberator' **Simon Bolivar** spearheaded the independence movements of several South American nations during this period. Post-colonial Latin America has struggled to escape the unwanted influence--direct and indirect--of international powers, most notably the USA, but also France (which briefly 're-colonized' Mexico in the 1860s), England, Spain and the USSR. Many of the 20th century dictators who inspired the denigration of Latin American governments as 'banana republics' were trained and/or supported by the USA's military and intelligence apparatus, most notably Batista in Cuba, Noriega in Panama, Pinochet in Chile, and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. Though the Cold War climate that fostered the emergence of these despots has receded, Latin America continues to have an **ambivalent relationship with the English-speaking hegemon** to its north: most countries have strong connections to the USA through immigration and/or trade, but there is wide support for governments willing to stand up to the *yanquis*, increasingly through capitalist competition like the Mercosur common market, but also in non-capitalist forms like Hugo Chavez's socialist Venezuela, or the Castros' communist Cuba.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

pre 300 B.C.	Celtic and non-Indo-European languages predominate in Iberian peninsula
3rd c. B.C.	Romans land in Iberia (218), drive Carthaginians out at Battle of Ilipa (206)
415	Romanized Visigoths take power amidst chaos of disintegrating Roman empire
711-718	Arabic-, Berber-speaking Umayyad **Muslims conquer most of Iberia**
9th-14th c.	Non-Muslim *mozárabes* [mo.ˈsa.ɾa.βes] tolerated in Muslim 'Al-Andalus'; Caliphate of Córdoba: **golden age of Moorish Spain** (929-1009)
11-14th c.	Morocco-based dynasties control fractured and shrinking Al-Andalus
1492	Battle of Granada completes *Reconquista*; Moors, Jews targeted by Inquisition; **Columbus 'discovers' New World** for *Reyes Católicos* 'Catholic Monarchs'
16th c.	Spanish develop colonies in viceroyalties Peru (Lima), New Spain (Mexico City)
1713	Foundation of the *Real Academia Española* 'Spanish Royal Academy' in Madrid
1717	Viceroyalty of *Nueva Granada* 'New Granada' established in NW South America
1810-1829	**Wars of Independence**: most of Spanish-speaking America breaks from Spain
1831	Simon Bolivar's *Gran Colombia* breaks up into Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela
1834	Federal Republic of Central America splits into Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua
1898	Spain loses Cuba, Guam, Phillippines, Puerto Rico to USA in Span.-Am. War
1930s	FDR 'Good Neighbor Policy' ends covert US *Guerras Bananeras* 'Banana Wars'; Spanish civil war (1936-39) brings dictator Francisco Franco to power
1970s	**Military dictatorship** flourishes in Hispanophone America, dies out in Spain
2000s	'Pink tide' of leftist leaders elected in Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru

2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

The Spanish language is widely diffused but not far-flung or scattered: its concentration in a contiguous swath of the Western Hemisphere has fostered a shared sense of *hispanidad* 'Hispanic identity' that extends beyond language. Perhaps more coherent than *hispanidad*--and more germane to the present discussion--is the notion of '**Latin American culture**,' an overlapping concept that includes the African and Amerindian elements not part of *hispanidad* proper, as well as the influence of Brazil and other neighboring but non-Hispanosphere cultures. Given that the region contributes 99% of the USA's Spanish-speaking immigrants, this discussion will henceforth take Latin American culture as its focus.

Catholicism is perhaps the strongest non-linguistic inheritance common to Latin American people, as--unlike the mercantilism and religious tolerance that motivated the foundation of many English colonies--Catholic beliefs fueled Spain's *reconquista* and New World *conquista* 'conquest' alike. Latin America has seen recent growth in the number of people 'unaffiliated' with organized religion, as well of Protestants, Evangelicals, and Pentecostalists, but nearly every country has a **Roman Catholic population well above 50%**, with Uruguay the lowest non-communist total at 47.1% (CIA, 2012). New World Catholicism has often taken on

decidedly local flavors in each local society with traditions, most notably Mexico's *Día de los Muertos* 'Day of the Dead.'

The economic variation among Spanish-speaking Latin American countries is also relatively small: none ranks in the top 40 nations by per capita GDP, and none in the bottom 40, with the gap between richest (Uruguay) and poorest (Nicaragua) significantly smaller in dollar values than that between the world's #1 and #2, Monaco and Liechtenstein. However, at the level of the individual citizen there is **great income inequality** in Spanish-speaking Latin America: only Venezuela and Uruguay rank below the USA in GINI scores (a standard measure of inequality), with all other countries in the top 41 (CIA, 2012; no data available for Cuba).

Racial and ethnic identity are a diverse and complex phenomenon. Colonial society typically distinguished between *peninsulares* ('Spanish-born,' also known derogatively as *godos* 'Goths') *criollos* ('Creoles,' whites born in the New World), *mestizos* (Euro-Indians), *mulatos* 'mulattoes,' *indios* ('Native Americans'), *zambos* 'Afro-Indians,' and *negros* 'blacks' in generally decreasing order of status. During the colonial era, both Native Americans and Africans were enslaved or otherwise bound into involuntary labor as part of the *encomienda* system, and--though today Central and South America are arguably the most **racially mixed** of the world's continents--tensions and issues related to this historic stratification linger.

Latin American food is popular the world over, from Peruvian *ceviche* 'marinated raw fish' to Salvadoran *pupusas* 'filled tortillas,' Argentine *chimichurri* 'parsley and garlic sauce,' and Cuban *ropa vieja* 'shredded flank, brisket or skirt steak' (literally, 'old clothing'). In 2010, UNESCO declared Mexican cuisine part of the 'intangible world heritage,' an honor granted to only one other cuisine, that of the Mediterranean. In literature, the **Latin American boom** of the 1960s brought writers like Borges, Marquez, Fuentes, Vargas Llosa, Carpentier and Rulfo to international acclaim, as well as the regional narrative genre of 'magic realism.' Some of the world's biggest pop music stars--Shakira and Daddy Yankee, among others--call Latin America home, as do a **huge number of musical genres**, including Andean, bachata, mariachi, merengue, reggaeton, salsa and tango, to name just a salient handful. No other part of the world is as passionate or united in its love of *fútbol* 'soccer,' but *béisbol* is a competitor in the Caribbean, a region that produces an enormous number of major league ballplayers.

2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

The primary split in Spanish varieties falls between Europe and the Americas. Iberian Spanish, often called *castellano*, and American Spanish have high mutual intelligibility, but differ in a number of key ways. Two of the most prominent are the 2nd person plural pronoun system and the pronunciation of letters '*z*' and '*c*':

	Iberian	American
2nd person plural pronoun	*vosotros* (inf.), *ustedes* (for.)	*ustedes* (informal and formal)
pronunciation of '*z*,' '*ce*,' '*ci*'	[θ], [θe], [θi]	[s], [se], [si]

Both Iberian and American Spanish exhibit great internal variation. Within American Spanish, linguists generally agree on five to seven broad regional dialect groups. One key distinguishing trait is *voseo*, the use of the form *vos* 'you' for the 2nd person singular, as opposed to the Iberian and Mexican standard *tú*: this is most typical in River Plate Spanish (spoken in Argentina and Uruguay), but also occurs in many Central American varieties. Most of the other distinguishing features are phonological--such as [h] replacing [s] in some contexts, and different pronunciations of the sound spelled '*ll*'--or lexical, involving different terms for the same object or concept (e.g. *gafas*, *anteojos* or *lentes* for 'glasses'; *coche*, *carro*, or *auto* for 'car').

Fig. 2: Some aspects of regional *dialectos* 'dialects' of American Spanish, illustrated

		'Who should <u>you</u> (sing. inf.) call?'
Mexican	*¿Quién debes llamar tú?*	[kjenˈðe.βes ʝa.ˈmaɾ tu]
Central American	*¿Quién debés llamar vos?*	[kjen ðe.ˈ**βes** ʝa.ˈmaɾ **βos**]
Caribbean	*¿Quién tú debes llamar?*	[kje**ŋ** tu ˈðe.β**eh** ʝa.ˈ**ma**]
Andean	*¿Quién debes llamar tú?*	[kjen ˈðe.βes **ʎa**.ˈmaɾ tu]
Chilean	*¿Quién debís llamar tú?*	[kjen ðe.ˈ**βis** ʝa.ˈmaɾ tu]
River Plate	*¿Quién debés llamar vos?*	[kjen ðe.ˈ**βes ʃa**.ˈmaɾ **βos**]

These are only the roughest sketches of what are in any case dialect <u>groups</u>: Caribbean Spanish is far from a unified entity, but itself consists of varieties such as Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Cuban Spanish. Furthermore, several of the variables illustrated in boldface above are marked as informal; in writing or formal/polite speech, speakers tend to use them less, gravitating instead toward a normative 'Neutral Spanish.' Foreign films are typically dubbed into two, three or four varieties, with Iberian and American the two basic alternatives, and Mexican and River Plate versions occasionally appearing as well. The 'neutral' American Spanish is often performed by Mexican or Puerto Rican speakers, but de-emphasizing regional traits (source TBD).

Many differences in vocabulary between these dialect groups stem from their **contact with different indigenous languages**. Mexican Spanish's *huarache* 'leather sandal' comes from P'urhépecha; River Plate's *pororó* 'popcorn' from Guaraní; Caribbean's *conuco* 'farm/field' from Taíno. The relationship between Spanish and local indigenous tongues is discussed further in 2.4 below.

Given the enormous and growing number of Spanish speakers in the USA and their constant contact with English, we might reasonably expect **a US Spanish dialect** to emerge, and there is evidence that a certain amount of dialect leveling is occuring. It appears that US Spanish speakers a) tend to minimize formality distinctions in pronouns; b) may use subject pronouns in contexts that would be redundant in other varieties; and c) employ many 'anglicisms' like *lonchear* 'to eat lunch,' as well as longer word- and phrase-calques such as *librería* 'library' and *perder peso* 'lose weight,' which show the clear influence of English when compared to the standard Spanish words *bibliotéca* and *rebajar* (Zentella, 1997). Any US Spanish remains

emergent, however; regulatory institutions such as the *Real Academia* have yet to treat it as a coherent dialect, and *lonchear* remains absent from the Academy's dictionary.

2.4 Language and Education

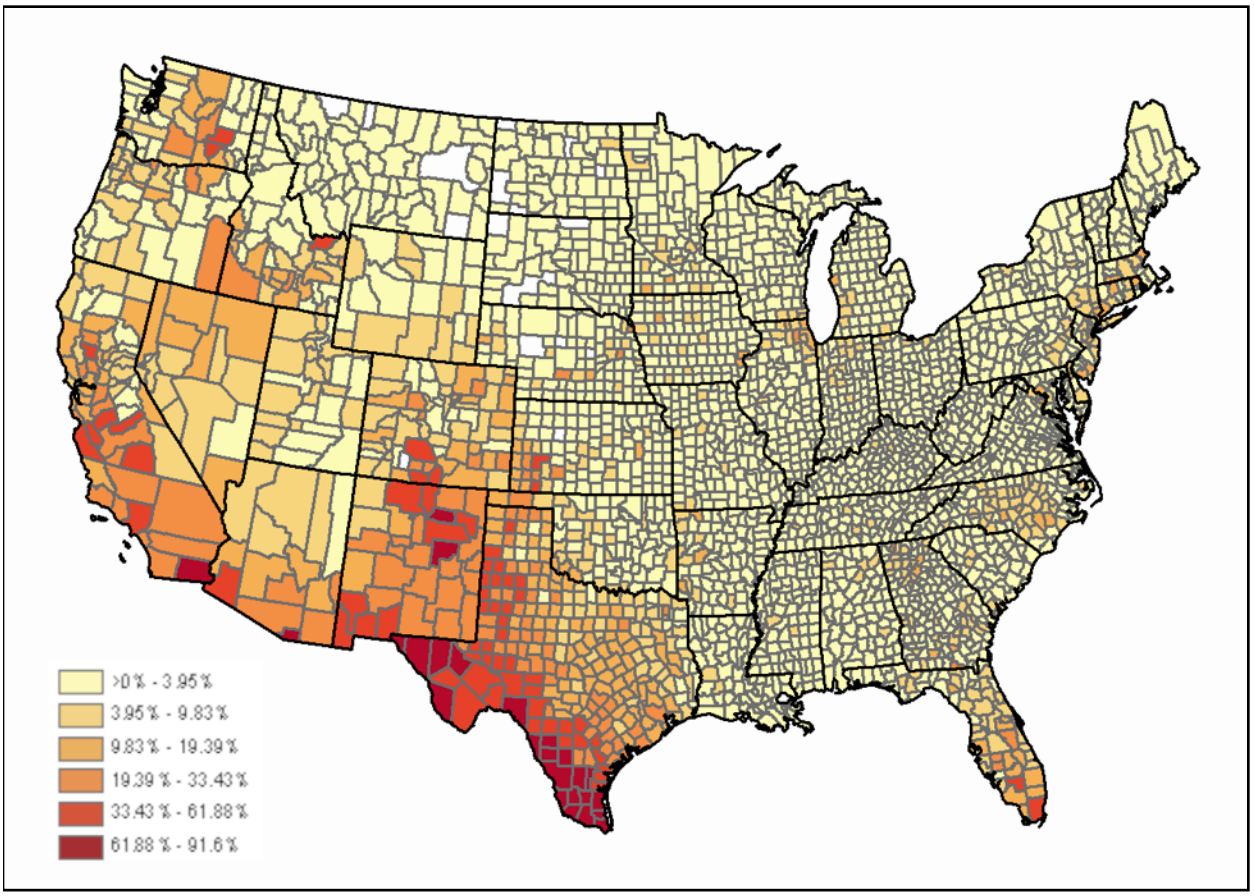
Though Latin America as whole boasts **relatively high literacy rates**--over 90%, on the whole (World Bank)--the performance of students on international exams like PISA indicates some weakness in the educational systems. 2009 PISA reading scores for the USA and US Latinos as a subgroup were 500 and 466, respectively, while Chile's students had the highest Latin American reading score at 449, Nicaragua's the lowest at 330.

After centuries of Latin American language policies supporting European languages at the expense of **indigenous languages**, the Peruvian government took a significant step towards multilingualism in 1975 by recognizing Quechua as a co-official language alongside Spanish. Bolivia and Paraguay followed suit shortly thereafter, recognizing both Quechua and Aymara in the former country, and Guaraní in the latter. Linguists and activists have since labored to prepare materials and promote literature in these languages in order to encourage their cultivation in schools, while Bolivia's ambitious 1994 education reform introduced 30 minority languages into the schools as subjects or media of instruction (Hornberger, 1998). In general, while Latin America has seen recent movement towards protecting the 'rights' of indigenous languages, it has not yet progressed very far in expressing any governmental 'obligation' to provide education in them, Bolivia's reforms notwithstanding.

3. Spanish in the United States

The city of St. Augustine, Florida, founded by Spanish settlers in 1565, predates the first permanent English-speaking colony in the present-day USA by nearly half a century, which is to say that the first European language to take root in this country was Spanish, not English. Subsequent inflows of Spanish speakers to the USA came through the annexation of formerly Spanish territories: the Louisiana Purchase (1803), parts of northern Mexico, including Texas and California (1848), and Puerto Rico (1898). The 20th century saw the USA develop something of a schizophrenic attitude toward Hispanic immigration, with immigrant workers meeting critical labor demands during the two World Wars, only to then be accused of "stealing American jobs" or "living off public relief"--often, paradoxically, both at once (Pettus, 2007)--and prompting **'Hispanophobic' reactions** like the Mexican Repatriation of the 1930s, in which tens of thousands of Mexican-Americans were deported, or more recent calls for an impenetrable fence--electrified, even!--along the entire Mexico-USA border. By the end of the 20th century, Latinos/Hispanics comprised 14 percent of the US population (Potowski & Carreira, 2010), and had overtaken African-Americans as the nation's most numerous Census-identified minority group.

Fig 3: % of population that speaks Spanish, by US county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



3.1 National Trends

California and Texas have the most Spanish speakers in the United States, followed by Florida and New York. Mexico continues to be far and away the predominant source of immigration to the USA, claiming 29% of the US foreign-born population. By way of contrast, China is the second largest country of birth with 5%, and El Salvador the next largest Latin American source at 3% (ACS 2009a). **Undocumented immigration** from Latin America has long been a provocative issue in American society, though in recent years both covert border crossings and the furor over them have subsided somewhat, most likely due to the 2008 economic crisis and ensuing recession (Esquivel et al, 2012). The key issues remain unresolved, however, and flare-ups like that in 2010 surrounding Arizona's SB 1070 law, which essentially directed police to question anybody suspected of lacking residency documents, will likely return before long.

Latinos' large and growing numerical strength has fostered a sense of pride and connection to Latin American culture generally, and to the Spanish language specifically. Research indicates

that Latinos **continue using their home language** at far higher rates than do immigrants from other backgrounds, with more than half of second generation Latinos reporting an ability to speak Spanish 'very well' (Rumbaut et al, 2006). Some view this as a sign of danger, potentially damaging to the cohesion of America's social fabric, particularly given the concentration in areas close to their country of origin (Samuel Huntington as paraphrased in Pettus, 2007). In response, Latinos point out that they **serve in the US military in greater proportion** than the general populace (Segal & Segal, 2007), and that research suggests that Latinos are more patriotic than the population as a whole (de la Garza et al, 1996).

Educational outcomes remain lower for Latinos: in 2009, 39% of Hispanic adults did not have a high school diploma, as opposed to 10% of the non-Hispanic white population (Ryan & Siebens, 2012). There are, nonetheless, many Latino role models who have achieved great success in the United States.

Fig. 4: Latino-American boldface names

Isabel Allende	author (*La Casa de los Espíritus*), grew up in Peru, Chile
César Chavez	Mexican-American civil rights activist
Oscar de la Renta	fashion designer; born in Dominican Republic
John Leguizamo	actor; moved to Queens from Colombia at age four
Jennifer Lopez	singer, actress; born in Bronx to Puerto Rican parents
Ricky Martin	Grammy-winning singer, born in Puerto Rico
Alex Rodriguez	baseball star; born in Manhattan, moved to D.R., then Miami
Marco Rubio	US Senator (FL); parents immigrated from Cuba
Hilda Solis	US Secretary of Labor; Nicaraguan & Mexican parents
Sonia Sotomayor	Supreme Court justice; Bronx-born; Puerto Rican parents

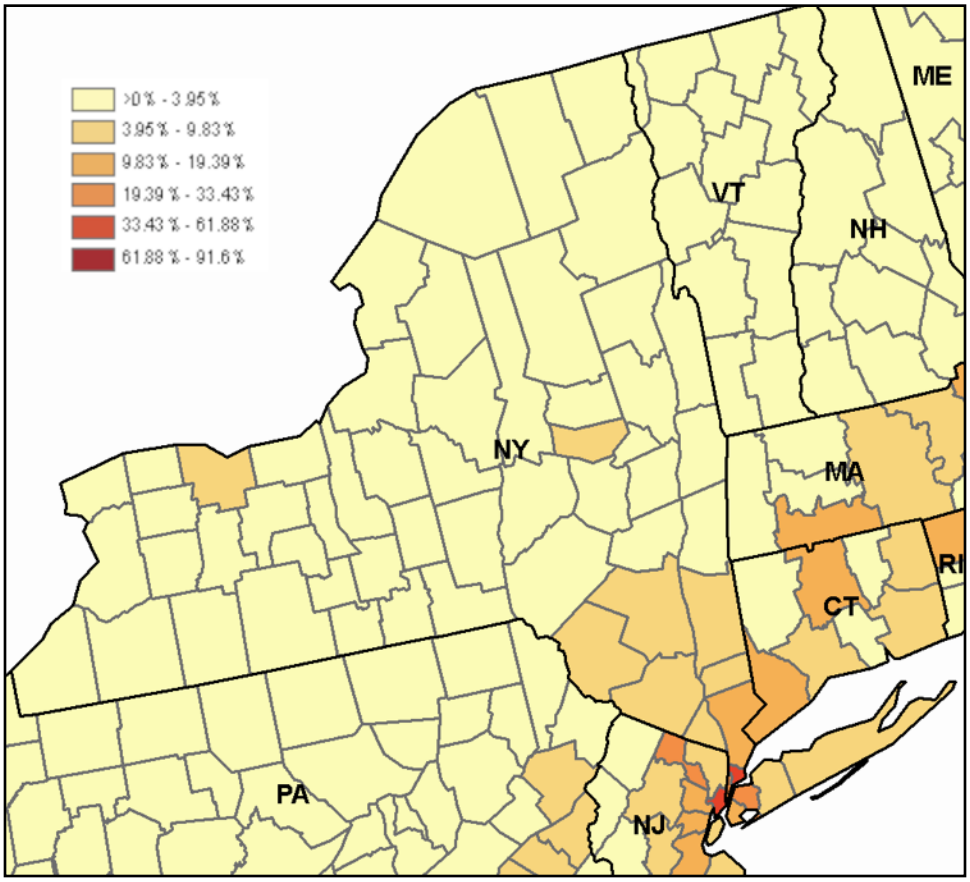
Spanish is the **most widely taught foreign language** in the USA, with roughly half of all college-level language study dedicated to it; two-thirds of US high school students were studying Spanish in 2000. The US Latino market is the largest Spanish-speaking market in the world, and the ninth largest overall market, so there is increasing value attached to Spanish-English transcultural and translingual competence in the business world. The continued development of **heritage speaker** abilities is also of growing interest among educators, though the number of courses and programs remains relatively small (Potowski & Carreira, 2010).

3.2 Spanish in New York State

The New York City area has the highest numbers and percentages of Spanish speakers in New York State--with the Bronx boasting the biggest concentration, followed by Queens, Brooklyn and Manhattan--though Latino communities can be found in every county of the state. New York's Spanish-speaking population has historically been and continues to be **unique in its diversity**: Mexico is the birthplace of more New York State foreign-born Latinos than any other country, but it only contributes 5.5% of the state's foreign-born population, as opposed to 29%

nationwide, and only 10% of New York state's Latin American immigrants (MPI). Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans have historically exerted more of an impact on New York's Latino culture, particularly within the five boroughs; these remain the two largest communities in New York City, and those that have established the clearest ethnic neighborhoods, starting with the heavily Puerto Rican *Barrio* in Spanish Harlem, and later the Dominican *Quisqueya* section of Washington Heights (Zentella, 1997). The influence of Mexican immigration is growing nonetheless: in 2007, Mexicans were the fastest growing ethnic group in New York City (Limonic, 2007), and neighborhoods such as Spanish Harlem and Elmhurst/Corona in Queens are increasingly taking on Mexican flavor.

Fig. 5: % of population that speaks Spanish, by NY county (2005 Census via MLA, 2012)



Research indicates a strong interest in bilingualism among New York's Hispanic parents (Zentella, 1997), and the city currently provides 79 dual-language programs to encourage this, as well as to develop stronger Spanish skills in students whose home language is English; these are in addition to the myriad transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs that exist for Spanish speakers.

4 Structures of Note in Spanish

4.1 Sound System

Spanish differs from many of its linguistic neighbors in having very **little vowel reduction**; its five vowels tend to be pronounced in their 'pure' forms even when unstressed. The word *cafetería*, for example, retains [e] and [a] for the second and fourth vowels, whereas the same word (*cafeteria*) in English, Portuguese and Catalan yields a [ə]-like vowel for both analogues. The voiced consonants written '*b*,' '*d*,' and '*g*' are usually pronounced in a 'softer' way in Spanish than they are in English, as [β], [ð], and [ɣ], e.g. *bodega* [βo.ˈðe.ɣa] 'grocery store/ cellar,' though 'harder' pronunciations will not impede communication, and appear to be growing in US Spanish. The sound written with an '*r*' can be trilled or flapped, but is not standardly pronounced with the 'back in the throat' sound typical of American English.

English, in turn, presents a number of sound contrasts that do not exist in American Spanish, and may therefore be challenging to learners:

(Consonants)
[θ] at the beginning of 'thin'
vs. [ð] at the beginning of 'this'
[b] at the beginning of 'ban'
vs. [v] at the beginning of 'van'
[ʤ] at the beginning of 'joke'
vs. [j] at the beginning of 'yolk'
[ʃ] at the beginning of 'ship'
vs. [ʧ] at the beginning of 'chip'
[z] at the beginning of 'zip'
vs. [s] at the beginning of 'sip'

(Vowels)
[æ] in the middle of 'pat'
vs. [a] at the beginning of 'pot'
[ɛ] in the middle of 'let'
vs. [e] in the middle of 'late'
[ɪ] at the beginning of 'it'
vs. [i] at the beginning of 'eat'
[ɔ] in the middle of 'walk'
vs. [o] in the middle of 'woke'
[ʊ] in the middle of 'look'
vs. [u] in the middle of 'Luke'
[ə] in the middle of 'putt'
vs. [a] in the middle of 'pot'

The notorious inconsistency of the English writing system can also present serious obstacles, especially for students literate in Spanish and thereby accustomed to **more straightforward sound-to-symbol correspondences**. For these students, words like English *pot* may yield 'spelling pronunciations' like [pot].

Spanish allows fewer consonant clusters than English. Most notable is the unacceptability of [s] clusters at the beginning of syllables, which can lead Spanish speakers to **add a vowel** (and thereby syllable) to the beginning of English words like *street*, *Spanish*, *slide* and *scratch*, yielding [es.ˈtrit], for example. English speakers do much the same thing when confronted with the 'impossible' consonant cluster in *Sbarro* (the Italian food chain), adding a vowel to create [sə.ˈba.ro], the only difference with the Spanish adjustment being the placement of the vowel.

4.2 Writing Systems

Spanish is written with the Latin alphabet, and widely reputed to employ a phonetically ('phonemically,' to be more precise) **transparent orthography**: letters are typically pronounced one way only. At a very fine level of detail, this is inaccurate, but the broad generalization holds that decoding in the direction text-to-speech should not pose great difficulty to the Spanish learner. The letter '*c*' echoes the behavior of the same letter in English (only with greater consistency): in American Spanish it is pronounced [s] when preceding '*i*' or '*e*,' and [k] in other contexts. Spanish vowels follow the Latin pattern also used by the IPA;

The digraph '*qu*' is pronounced with no [w] sound: *¿Qué quiere Quique?* [ke kje.ɾe kike] 'What does Quique want?'. The digraphs '*ch*' and '*ll*' are consistently pronounced [ʧ] and [ʝ] respectively (though see Figure 2 above for Andean and River Plate alternates to the latter); and the letter '*ñ*' is pronounced as [ɲ], much like '*ny*' in English *canyon*, a borrowing from Spanish *cañon.* **Accents are marked over vowels** of syllables that receive stress not predictable from broader patterns, as in *película* 'film' and *constitución* 'constitution,' or occasionally to differentiate meanings, as in *sí* 'yes' and *si* 'if.'

The letters '*b*' and '*v*' are pronounced the same way (mostly [β]), as are '*z*' and '*s*' (usually [s]). These redundancies undercut the notion of pure transparency often touted with regard to Spanish writing, but present a problem more for spelling or transcribing spoken language than for pronouncing written text.

4.3 Grammar

Spanish has a very rich pattern of verbal inflection: in the present indicative, verbs conjugate differently in five person-number combinations (six for Iberian), with different tense and aspect forms yielding dozens more conjugations for a single verb. This inflectional richness makes **pronouns unnecessary or redundant in many contexts**; sentences like 'they broke the chair' are most naturally expressed without subject pronouns--*rompieron la silla*--with the inclusion of the pronoun in *ellos rompieron la silla* acceptable, but indicating emphasis or contrast. Students with Spanish as a home language have been observed to omit obligatory subject pronouns in English, likely for this reason.

Spanish nouns have inherent **grammatical gender** that is usually marked with final *-a* for feminine and *-o* for masculine, e.g.. *la mesa* 'the table' is feminine but *el libro* 'the book' is masculine; nouns referring to real-world entitites with biological gender are marked with the appropriate setting (*la actriz* 'the actress').

4.4 How Names Work

Spanish names are fairly unique in their structure, which traditionally goes **PERSONALS--FATHER'S PATERNAL FAMILY--MOTHER'S PATERNAL FAMILY**. For instance, Cuban

revolutionary leader Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz has two personal names *Fidel* and *Alejandro*, *Castro* from his father Ángel Castro y Argiz, and *Ruz* from his mother Lina Ruz González, who inherited it from her father. Though Spanish names buck the international trend of immediate patriarchal naming dominance, they merely postpone the disappearance of maternal-line names for one generation; Fidel's children do not inherit *Ruz* from him, but *Castro*.

4.5 'Friends' and Classroom Phrases

Spanish and English share Latin as a source for many academic terms, so the list of academic 'friends' is far longer than that given below:

Fig. 6: Spanish-English Academic 'Friends'

Elementary		*fotosíntesis*	'photosynthesis'
abreviación	'abbreviation'	*proverbio*	'proverb'
apóstrofe	'apostrophe'	*recíproco*	'reciprocal'
gravedad	'gravity'	*revolución*	'revolution'
hemisferio	'hemisphere'	*sistema*	'system'
medir	'measure'		
octágono	'octagon'	Secondary	
planeta	'planet'	*amplitud*	'amplitude'
población	'population'	*bacterias*	'bacteria'
reproducción	'reproduction'	*colonialismo*	'colonialism'
sinónimo	'synonym'	*hipótesis*	'hypothesis'
volumen	'volume'	*parábola*	'parabola'
		paradoja	'paradox'
Intermediate		*precisión*	'precision'
ciclo	'cycle'	*símbolo*	'symbol'
diversidad	'diversity'	*teorema*	'theorem'
función	'function'	*virus*	'virus'

Spanish second-person pronouns are marked for formality; the phrases below are written with the informal *tú* 'you' (and agreeing verb forms) typically used by teachers with their students:

Fig. 7: Classroom Phrases in Spanish and English

Greetings & Questions	
Hola.	'Hello.'
Bienvenido/a a nuestra clase.	
'Welcome (m/f) to our classroom.'	
¿Cómo estás?	'How are you?'
¿Qué necesitas?	'What do you need?'
¿Necesitas ir al baño/excusado?	
'Do you need to go to the bathroom?'	
Compliments & Niceties	
¡Buen trabajo!	'Good work!'
¡Grácias!	'Thank you!'
Por favor.	'Please.'
Perdón.	'Excuse me.'
Communication	
Querías decir...?	'Do you mean... ?'
¿Qué piensas tú?	
'What are your thoughts?'	
¿Cómo puedo ayudarte?	
'How can I help you?'	
Directions	
Levántate	'Stand up'
Siéntate	'Sit down'
Lee	'Read'
Escribe	'Write'
Escucha	'Listen'
Contesta	'Answer'
Habla con tu companero/a	
'Talk with your partner (m/f)'	
Trabaja en tu grupo	
'Work in your group'	
Abre tu libro/cuaderno	
'Open your book/notebook'	
Saca tu pluma/lapiz	
'Take out your pen/pencil'	
Cópia la tarea	'Copy the homework'

5 Further Reading and References

5.1 Imaginative Literature

Ages 4-8

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Mora, Pat. *Gracias Thanks*. (Bilingual)
Montes, Marisa. *Juan Bobo Goes to Work: A Puerto Rican Fairy Tale.*

Ages 8-12

Hayes, Joe. *The Day it Snowed Tortillas*. (Bilingual)
Jimenez, Francisco. *The Circuit: Stories from the Life of a Migrant Child*
Munoz Ryan, Pam. *Esperanza Rising*.

Ages 12-16

Alvarez, Julia. *Before we were Free*.
Osa, Nancy. *Cuba 15*.
Soto, Gary. *Buried Onions*.

Ages 16-adult

Alvarez, Julia. *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents*.

Borges, Jorge Luis. *Ficciones*.
Cisneros, Sandra. *The House on Mango Street*.
Diaz, Junot. *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao.*

5.2 English Language Periodicals

Hispania News--http://www.hispania-news.com/

5.3 Spanish Language Periodicals

El Diario (New York)--http://www.eldiariony.com/
Excelsior (Mexico)--http://www.excelsior.com.mx/
El País (Spain)--http://elpais.com/
El Tiempo (Colombia)--http://www.eltiempo.com/

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