A Short Knowledge of Janet Holmes' An Introduction to Sociolinguistics

This book was compiled to meet the requirements of the students, particularly English Education Study program. The main purpose of this book is to help the students to understand the basic knowledge of Sociolinguistics.

This is an area where some sociolinguistic have tried very hard to be helpful. Some have undertaken research to investigate the extent to which act as a barrier to communication between teachers and pupils. Other have interpreted the result of sociolinguistics research for teacher and provided advice and recommendations for classroom practice.

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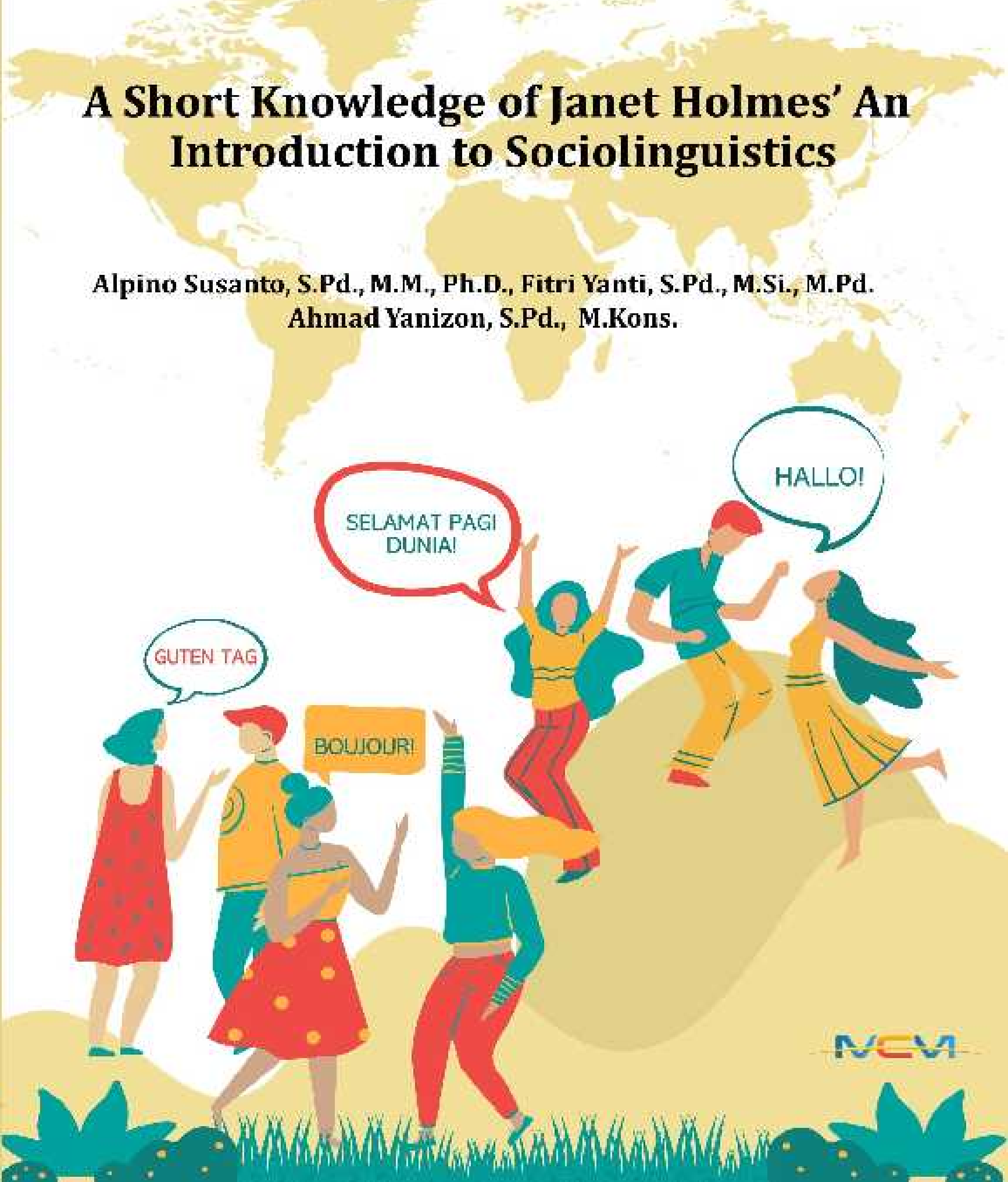
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A SHORT KNOWLEDGE OF JANET HOLMES' AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS

UU No 28 Tahun 2014 tentang Hak Cipta

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Hak Cipta sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 3 huruf a merupakan hak eksklusif yang terdiri atas hak moral dan hak ekonomi.

Pembatasan Pelindungan Pasal 26

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A Preface

This book was compiled to meet the requirements of the students, particularly English Education Study program. The main purpose of this book is to help the students to understand the basic knowledge of Sociolinguistics. This book is entitled "A short knowledge of Janet Holmes's an introduction to sociolinguistics that was mainly adopted from the book of *"An Introduction to Sociolinguistics"* written by Prof. Dr. Janet Holmes, as the main reference. This book was inspired to be the great guidance to understand sociolinguistics. I really indebted to her for her great masterpiece of this book. In writing this book, the writer was assisted by Eka Wilany, S.Pd., M.Pd. as editing in term of language style and format. so that, he dared me to write this book although I myself never see him directly. Special thank goes to him.

This book is urgently needed to whoever is sociology and linguistics. This book is not merely for English Department students but whoever wants to understand both sides, sociology and linguistics. This book really has great weakness to be corrected by whoever who reads it. As humble writers, we do apologize and thank to the readers and mainly Emeritus Professor Janet Holmes from Victoria University. So, any critics or valuable suggestions will be considered as main improvement.

Batam, March 27,2023

The Compilers

What Is Sociolinguistics?

If we talk about sociolinguistics, it deals with the inter – relationship between language and society. Wardhaugh (1998) in Rukmana (2009:10) stated that the distinction, sociolinguistic will be concerned with investigate the relationship between language and society with the goal of better understanding of the structure of language and how language function in communication. Baskaran (2005) and Chaer&Agustina describe that sociolinguistics is related between sociology and linguistics. In addition, Yule (2006) linguistics is the study of a language. While, sociology is the study of people in a society

Another linguists have an opinion about the definition “sociolinguistics” is a Hundson (1996) in Rukmana(2009:10). He stated that sociolinguistic is the study of language in relation society, whereas the sociology of language is the study of society in relation to language. Sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and the context in which it is used by Holmes (1992:1) It is interested in the different types of linguistics variations used to express the social factor. While Trudgill (1983) in Rukmana (2009:10) wrote that sociolinguistics, then, is that part of linguistics, which is concerned with language as a social and culture phenomenon. It investigated the field of language and society and has close connections with the social science, especially social psychology, anthropology, human geography and sociology.

Sociolinguistics is a branch of linguistics that study about the relationship between language and society. Wardhaugh (2002:116) says that sociolinguistics is the study of language use within or among groups of speakers. Furthermore, Trask (1999) in Risna (2009:7) defines that sociolinguistics is the branch of linguistics which studies the relation between language and society. Based on statements above, language and society cannot be separated from one another because they need each other and both of them also are significant to create a good communication in groups of speakers. Sociolinguistics is a branch of linguistics which studies or learns and discusses about the relationship between language variety and society.

What is a sociolinguist? Sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society (Holmes:2008 1). They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community, and the way people signal aspect of their social identity through their language as adopted from Holmes (2008).

Example 1

Nani : Hi Mum.
Mum : Hi. You're late.
Nani : Yeah, that bastard Soot bucket kept us in again.
Mum : Nana's here.
Nani : Oh sorry. Where is she?

Nani description of his teacher would have been expressed differently if he had realized his grandmother could hear him. The way people talk is influenced by the social context in which they are talking. It matters who can hear us where we are talking, as well as how we are feeling. The same message may be expressed very differently to different people. We use different styles in different social contexts. Leaving school Nani had run into the school principal as adopted from Holmes (2002).

Example 2

Nani : Good afternoon, Mum.
Principal : What are you doing here at this time?
Nani : Mrs. Lila kept us in, mum.

This response reflects Nani's awareness of the social factors which influence the choice of appropriate ways of speaking in different social contexts. Sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and the context in which it is used. The conversation between Nani and his mother also illustrates the fact that language serves a range of function. We use language to ask for and give people information. We use it to express indignation and annoyance, as well as admiration and respect. Often one utterance will simultaneously convey both information and express feelings. Nani's utterance Yeah, that bastard soot bucket kept us in again not only tells his mother why he is late, his choice of words also tells her how he feels about the teacher concerned, and tells us something about his relationship with his mother (he can use words like bastard talking to her) compared to his grandmother and the principal (to whom he uses mis). The relationship with his mother is an intimate and friendly one rather than a formal, distant or respectful one as adopted from Holmes (2005).

Example 3

Every afternoon my friend packs her bag and leaves her Cardiff office at about 5 o'clock. As she leaves, her business partner says goodbye Margaret, (she replies goodbye mike) her secretary says goodbye Ms. Walker, (she replies goodbye jill) and the character says bye Mrs. Walker (to which he responds goodbye Andy). As she arrives home she is greeted by Hi mom from her daughter, jenny, hello dear, have a good day?, from her mother, and simply you're late again! From her husband. Later in the evening the president of the local flower club calls to ask if she would like to join. Good evening, is the Mrs. Billington? She asks. No, it's Ms. walker, but my husband's name is David Billington, she answers. What can I do for you? Finally, a friend calls hello meg, Sutwity?

According to Holmes (2002) My friend lives in a predominantly monolingual speech community and yet she has been called all sorts of names in the space of three hours. What's more, none of them are deliberately insulting! If she had managed to embroil herself in an argument or a passionate encounter of a different kind, she might have been called a whole lot more names – some very nasty, some very nice! In most languages, there are many different ways of addressing people. What are the reasons for choosing a particular form?

According to Holmes (2008) that language provide a variety of ways of saying the same things-address-ing and greeting others, describing things, paying compliments. As in examples 1 and 2, the final choice reflects factors such as the relationship between the people in the particular situation and how the speaker feels about the person addressed. In example 3, her mother's choice of dear reflects her affectionate feeling toward Margaret. If she had been annoyed with her daughter, she would have used her full name Margaret. Her friends use of sutreytti? ('how are you') as a greeting reflects her Welsh ethnicity. The choice of one linguistic form rather than another is a useful clue to no linguistic information. Linguistic variation can provide social information Holmes (2013).

Example 4

Sam: You seen our Enri's new house yet? It's in Alton you know.

Jim: I have indeed. I could hardly miss it Sam. Your Henry now owns the biggest house in Halton.

The example discussed so far have illustrated a range of social influences on language choice. Sociolinguists are also interested in the different types of linguistic variation used to express and reflect social factors. Vocabulary or word choice is one area of linguistic variation (e.g. that bastard Soot bucket) vs my teacher Mr. Sutton, Margaretvs dear). But linguistic variation occurs at other levels of linguistic analysis too: sounds, word-structure (or morphology), and grammar (or syntax) as well as vocabulary. Within each of these linguistic levels there is variation which offers the speaker a choice of ways of expression. They provide us with different linguistic styles for use in different social context. Choice may even involve different dialects of a language, or quite different languages, as we shall see.

Chapter 2

Language Choice In Multilingual Communities

This chapter deals with language choice in multilingual communities. Here, Holmes describes how choosing certain variety in the multilingual communities.

A. Choosing your variety or code

What is your linguistic repertoire? According to Holmes (2002) that a number of such typical interactions have been identified as relevant in describing patterns of code choice in many communities. They are known as domains of language use, a term popularized by an American sociolinguist, Joshua fishman. A domain involves typical interaction between typical participant in typical settings.

Example 1:

Kalala is 16 years old. He lives in Bukavu, an African city in eastern Zaire with a population about 220.000. it is a multicultural, multilingual city with more people coming and going for work and business reasons than people who live there predominantly. Over forty groups speaking different languages can be found in the city. Kalala, like many of his friends, is unemployed. He spends his days roaming the street, stopping offs periodically at regular meeting places in the market place, in the park, or at a friend's place. During a normal day he uses at least three different varieties or codes, and sometimes more.

Domains of language use

Example 2:
Anahina is a bilingual Tongan New Zealander living in Auckland. At home with her family, she uses Tongan almost exclusively for a wide range of topics. She often talks to her grandmother about Tongan customs, for instance. With her mother she exchanges gossip about Tongan friends and relatives. Tongan is the language the family uses at mealtimes. They discuss what they have been doing, plan family outings and share information about Tongan social events. It is only with her older sisters that she uses some English words when they are talking about school or doing their homework.

1. ***Modeling variety or code variety***
   Holmes (2005) adds that Domain is clearly a very general concept which draws on three important social factors in code choice – participants, settings, and topic. It is useful for capturing broad generalizations about any speech community. Using Information above the domains of use in a community it is possible to draw a very simple model summarizing the norms of language use for the community. This is often particularly useful for bilingual and multilingual speech communities.

2. ***Other social factors affecting code choice***
   The component of a domain do not always fit with each other. they are not always congruent. In other words, within, any domain, individual interaction may not be typical in the sense in which typical is used in the domain concept. They may nevertheless, be perfectly normal an occur regularly. Features of

the setting and the dimension of formality may also be important in selecting an appropriate variety or code. In church, at a formal ceremony, the appropriate variety will be different from that used afterwards in the church porch. The variety used for a formal radio lecture will differ from that used for the adverts. In Paraguay whether the interaction takes place in a rural as opposed to an urban setting is crucial to appropriate language choice. Other relevant factors relate to the social dimensions of formality and status.

Holmes (2005) that in describing the pattern of code use of particular communities, the relevant social factors may not fit neatly into institutionalized domains. As we have seen, more specific social factors often need to be included, and arrange of social dimensions may need to be considered too. The aim of any descriptions is to represent the language patterns of the community accurately. if the model does not do that, it needs to be modified. The only limitation is one of usefulness. If a model gets too complicated and includes too many specific points, it loses its value as a method of capturing generalizations.

3. Diglossia

Example:

Holmes (2005) In Eggenwil, a town in the Aargau canton of Switzerland, Silvia, a bank teller, knows two very distinct varieties of German. one is the local Swiss German dialect of her canton which she uses in her everyday interactions. The other is standard German which she learnt at school, and though she understands it very well indeed, she rarely uses it in speech. newspaper are written in standard German, and when she occasionally goes to hear a lecture at the university it may be in standard German. the sermons her mother listen to in church are generally in standard German too, though more radical clerics use Swiss German dialect. The novels Silvia reads also use standard German.

According to Holmes (2005) that the pattern of code or variety choice in Eggenwil is one which has been described with the term diglossia. this term has been used both in a narrow sense and in a much broader sense and I will describe both. in the narrow and original sense of the term, diglossia has three crucial features: Two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the community, with one regarded as a high (or H) variety and the order a low (or L) variety. Each variety is used for quite distinct functions; H and L complement each order. No one uses the H variety in every day conversation.

4. *Polyglossia*

Polyglossia is a useful term for describing situations where more than two distinct codes for varieties are used for clearly distinct purpose or in clearly distinguishable situations.

5. *Changes in a diglossia situation*

Diglossia has been described as a stable situation. It is possible for two varieties to continue to exist side by side for centuries, as they have in Arabic-speaking countries and in Haiti for example.

Finally, it is worth considering whether the term diglossia or perhaps polyglossia should be used to describe complementary code use in all communities. In all speech communities people use different varieties or codes in formal contexts, such as religious in legal ceremonies, as opposite to relaxed casual situation.

B. Code- switching or code-mixing

Participants, solidarity and status. People sometimes switch code within a domain or social situations. When there is some obvious change in the situation, such as the arrival of a new person, it is easy to explain the switch. In both cases the switch reflects a change in the social situation and takes positive account of the presence of a new participant.

A speaker may similarly switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee. Even speakers who are not very proficient in a second language may use brief phrase and words for this purpose.

1. Topic

People may switch code within a speech event to discuss a particular topic. Bilinguals often find it easier to discuss particular topics in one code rather than another.

2. Switching for affective functions

The use of Jamaican Creole or Patois alongside standard English by those who belong to the Afro-Caribbean or West Indian Black communities in

Britain follows similar patterns to those described above for arrange of multilingual and bilingual communities. At school, for instance, Black British children use Patois their friends and standard English to their teachers. A language switch in the opposite direction, from the L to the H variety, is often used to express disapproval. So a person may code switch because they are angry.

3. ***Metaphorical switching***

   In many of the examples discussed so far, the specific reason for a switch can be identified with reasonable confidence. Though it would not be possible to predict when a switch will occur without knowing what a speaker intended to say next, it is often possible to account for switching after they have occurred. Each of codes represent a set of social meanings, and the speaker draws on the associations of each, just as people use metaphors to represent complex meanings. The term also reflects the fact that kind of switching involves rhetorical skill. Skillful code-switching operates like metaphor to enrich the communication.

4. ***Lexical borrowing***

   It is obviously important to distinguish this kind of switching from switches which reflect lack of vocabulary in a language. When speaking a second language, for instance, people will often use a term from their mother tongue or first language because they don’t know the appropriate word in their second language. These ‘switches’ are triggered by lack of vocabulary. People may also borrow words from another language to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available the language they are using. borrowing of this kind generally involves single words – mainly nouns – and it is motivated by lexical need. It is very different from switching where speakers have a genuine choice about which words or phrases, they will use in which language. borrowings often differ from code switches inform too. Borrowed words are usually adapted to the speaker's first language. They are pronounced and used grammatically as if they were part of the speaker's first language.

5. ***Linguistic constrain***

   Sociolinguists who study the kind of rapid code-switching describe in the previous section have been interest in identifying not only the function or meaning of switches, and the stylistic motivation for switches, but also the points at which switches occur in utterances. Some believe there are very general rule for switching which apply to all switching behavior regardless of the codes or varieties involved. They are searching for universal linguistic constrain on switching. It has been suggested for example that switches only occur within sentences at points where the grammars of both languages match each other. This is called 'the equivalence constrains'.

Chapter 3

Language Maintenance and Shift

Language maintenance and language shift, as contact phenomena, have received a considerable amount of attention since the publication of Fishman's 1966 pioneering work Language Loyalty in the United States. Studies on this topic have taken different perspectives (sociological and linguistic), and have mostly focused on European and North American settings. The contact situations that have been dealt with are essentially binary: mainstream language vs. non-mainstream language, English vs. Gaelic, indigenous or immigrant languages (Dorian 1982, Hoffman et al. 1972, Gal 1978, among others). Moreover, 'the negative side of the maintenance/shift continuum', as Fishman (2001) rightly observes, has been 'over-attended', whereas the positive side (language maintenance) has been 'down-played'. The general picture that emerges from the literature is, therefore, that of the 'big fish swallowing the small fish' (Pandharipande,1992). It would seem that language contact is ineluctably detrimental to immigrants and minority languages.

Holmes (2008) describes how language maintenance and shift as illustrated as below.

A. Migrant minorities

Maniben’s pattern of language use at work has gradually shift over a period of ten years.

Example:

Maniben is a young British Hindu woman who lives in Coventry. Her family moved to Britain from Uganda in 1970, when she was 5 years old. She started work on shop floor in a Bicycle factory when she was 16. At home Maniben speaks Gujerati with her parents and grandparents. Although she had learn English, she found she didn't need much at work. Many of the girls working with her also spoke Gujerat, So when it wasn't too noisy they would talk to each other in their home language. Maniben was good at her job and she got promoted to floor supervisor. In that job she needed to use English more of the time, tough she could still use some Gujerati with her old workmates. She went to evening classes and learned to type. Then, because she was interested, she went on to learn how operate a word-processor. Now she works in the office and she uses English all the time at work.

At one stage she uses mainly Gujerati; Now she uses English almost exclusively. So, Maniben's experience in typical for those who use a minority language in a predominantly monolingual culture and society. There are many different social factors which can lead a community to shift from using one language for most purpose to using a different language, or from using two distinct codes in different domains to using different varieties of just one language for their communicative needs. Migrant families provide and obvious example of this process of language shift (Holmes, 2002).

Example:

In countries like England, Australia, New Zealand and the US, one of the first o mains in which children of migrant families meet English is the school. The may have watched TV programmers and heard English used in shops before starting school but at school they are expected to interact in English. They have to use English because it is the only means of communicating with the teacher and other children.

B. Non-Migrant Communities

Political, economic, and social change*s* can occurthe language shift in a community. In Oberwart, an Australian town on the border of Hungary, the community has been gradually shifting from Hungarian to German for some time.

Example:

Before the First World War the town of Onberwart was part of Hungary and most of the towns people used Hungarian most of the time. However, because the town had been surrounded by German speaking for over 400 years, many people also knew some German. At the end of the war, Oberwart became part of Australia, and German became the official language (Holmes, 2008).

C. Migrant majorities

When multilingualism wasn't widespread in an area, or where just one indigenous language had been used before the colonizers arrived, languages where often under threat. In this context English has been describe as a killer language'. Where one abrogates political power and imposes its language along with its institutions-government administration, low courts, education, religion-its likely that minority groups will find themselves under increasing pressure to adopt the language of the dominant group (Holmes, 2002).

Example

Tamati lives in Wanganui, a large New Zealand town. He is 10 years old and he speaks and understands only English, though he knows a few Maori phrases. None of his mates know any Maori either. His grandfather speaks Maori however. Whenever there is a big gathering such as a funeral or an important tribal meeting his grandmother one of the best speakers. Tamatis mother and father understand Maori, but they are not fluent speakers. They can manage a short simple conversation ,but that ;s about it. Tamati's little sister ,Miriama has just started at a pre – school where Maori is used so he think maybe he'll learn a big from her.

D. Language Death and Language Loss

Holmes (2002) states that language Death mean: when all the people who speak a language die, the language dies with them Less than 250-300 Aboriginal languages spoken in Australia when the European arrived have survived and fewer than two dozen are being actively passed on to younger generation. Manx disappeared, as the direct result of the massacre of the Aboriginal people, or their death from diseases introduced by Europeans. Factors Contributing to Language Shift

1. **Economic, social and Political factors.**

   The Community sees an important reason for learning the second language. The reasons are often economic, but they may also be political as in the case of Israel. Obtaining work is the most obvious economic reason for learning another language. In English – dominated countries, for instance, people learn English in order to get good job.

   The second important factor, then, seems to be that the community sees no reason to take active steps to maintain their ethnic language. They may not see it as offering any advantages to their children, for example, or they may not realize that it is in any danger of disappearing. Without active language maintenance, shift is almost inevitable in many contexts. For example, where a migrant minority group moves to a predominantly monolingual society dominated by one majority group language in all the major institutional domains – school, TV, radio, newspaper, government administration, courts, work- language shift will be unavoidable unless the community takes active steps to prevent it. The social and economic goals of individuals in a community are very important in accounting for the speed of shift.

2. **Demographic factors**

   Demographic factors are also relevant in accounting for the speed of language shift. This is partly a reflection of the fact that rural groups tend to be isolated from the centers of political power for longer, and they can meet most of their social needs in the ethnic or language. For example: Ukrainians in Canada who live out of town on farms have maintained their ethnic language better than those in the towns. Shift tends to occur faster in some groups than in other. The size of the groups is sometimes a critical factor. In Australia, the areas with largest groups of Maltese speakers had the lowest rates of shift towards English.

3. **Attitudes and values**

Language shift tends to be shower among communities where the minority language is highly valued. when the language is seen as an important symbol of ethnic identify, it is generally maintained longer. the status of language internationally can contribute to these positive attitudes. maintaining French in Canada and the United States is easier because French is a language with international status.

E. How can a minority language be maintained?

Holmes (2005) There are certain social factors which seem to retard wholesale language shift for a minority language group, at least for a time. where language is considered an important symbol of a minority groups identify. Another factor which may contribute to language maintenance for those who emigrate is the degree and frequency of contact with the homeland. A regular stream of new migrants or even visitors will keep the need for using the language alive. Although the pressures to shift are strong, members of a minority community can take active steps to protect its language. Obviously, a group who manage to ensure their language is used in settings such as school or their place of worship will increase the chances of languages maintenance. The minority group which can mobilise this institution to support language maintenance has some chance of succeeding.

Example: Josie goes to a Catholic secondary school in Bradford. Her best friend is a polish girl, Danuta. Josie thinks Danuta has a hard life. Danuta's father is a dentist and he is very strict and, in Josie's opinion, very bossy. He insists that everyone speaks polish in his house. Josie has only been to visit once and even when she was there Danuta's Dad used polish to his wife and the rest of the children. Danuta has to go to polish Saturday school too. Josie doesn't envy Danuta, but Danuta doesn't seem to mind. In fact, she is very proud of being polish and of her bilingualism.

F. How can a Language revive?

Holmes (2005) states that sometimes a community becomes aware that its language is in danger of disappearing and takes deliberate steps to revitalize it. Attempts have been made in Ireland, Wales and Scotland. It is sometimes argued that the success of such efforts will depend on how far language loss has occurred –that there is a point of no return. But it seems very likely that more important are attitudinal factors such as how strongly people want to revive the language, and their reasons for doing so.

National Languages and Language Planning

Holmes (2008) in sociolinguistics the distinction between a national language and an official language is generally made along the affective referential dimension, or more precisely in this context, the ideological instrumental dimension. A national language is the language of political, cultural, and social unit. An official language, by contrast, is simple a language which may be used for government business (2002).

A. Planning for a National Official Language

From, functions, and Attitude. There are generally our interrelated steps:

1. **Selection**: choosing the variety or code to be developed
2. **Codification**: Standardizing its structural or linguistics features. This kind of linguistic processing is sometimes called corpus planning.
3. **Elaboration**; extending its function for use in new domains. The involves developing the necessary linguistic resources or handling new concepts and contexts
4. **Securing its acceptance**. The status o the new variety is important, and so people's attides to the variety being developed must be considered. Step may be needed to enhance its prestige, for instance and to encourage people to develop pride in the language or loyalty towards it.

B. Steps in the language planning:

Selecting the code to be developed is often entirely political decision, though linguistics may point out the different linguistic problems presented by selecting one variety rather than another. Acceptance by the people will generally require endorsement by politicians and socially prestigious groups. So the election and acceptance re steps which involve social and political factors. **Condification and elaboration** of the code to handle wider range o functions are by contras, essentially linguistic processes. Producing a dictionary and ensuring there are words available for teaching math in the variety, or instance are problems for linguistics. In practice, however all these steps are closely interrelated, as the examples below will demonstrate (Holmes, 2008).

Acceptance

What about the problem of attitudes th these two varieties? Though Norwegian nationalists enthusiastically welcomed Nynorsk, the Norwegian-based variety, and rejected the modified Dacish alternative, many influential educated city-dwellers did not. They regarded a standard based on rural dialects as rustic and uncivilized. If Nynorsk was to be accepted at all, government support was essential an it was also necessary to persuade influential public figures to endorse an to use the new variety in public contexts (Holmes, 2002). In practice, the, it is clear that Bokmal rather the Nynorsk has been winning out. It is used in most books and by most schools as a medium on instruction.

In some countries a standard dialect of a language, suitable for official uses and acceptable as a national symbol, has emerged naturally, with little or no help from government agencies or linguistic experts. In Norway, as in many more recently developing nations, things have not been so simple.

The linguist’s role in language planning

Language academies have existed for centuries, but it is also true that individuals have often had an enormous influence on language planning, and especially on the standardization or codification of a particular variety. More often these days, the nuts and bolts of language planning are handled by committees, commissions or academies.

Codification of orthography

Acceptance

I have provided some very specific examples in this section of the kinds of linguistic issues language planners get involved with, illustrating mainly from Maori. The same issues have been faced by those involved in the development of the Navajo language in the USA, Aboriginal languages in Australia, Swahili in Tanzania and standard Norwegian in Norway. The next step in the process involves the politicians and the people as much as the sociolinguist (Holmes, 2013).

Codification: Like Latin, Hebrew is highly codified variety. Grammars and dictionaries already existed. Spelling and pronunciation rules based on classical texts existed too. Codification of the modern variety of Hebrew which has now emerged is still in progress.

Elaboration: This is where most work needed to be done. The selection of forms for use in everyday conversation involved drawing on a variety of literary dialects of Hebrew, as well as the various mainly European vernaculars spoken by immigrants to Israel.

Acceptance: Hebrew had great prestige. People respected it and revered it as the language of religion and literature. An extensive literary revival of Hebrew in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries meant it was used for new and broader functions by writers. This prepared the ground for its being seen as the obvious candidate for national language. It was adopted as a vernacular first in the 1880s by enthusiasts who persuaded people to teach it to their children as a first language, though some felt it was too sacred for everyday use. Its advantages as a lingua franca between immigrants who spoke many different languages generally added to its attraction. So its prestige, its unifying function and its usefulness all contributed to its acceptance (Holmes, 2008).

Securing its acceptance; the status of the new variety is important, and so people's attitudes to the variety being developed must be considered. Enhancing its prestige and encouraging people to develop pride in it and loyalty towards it

C. National Language

A national language is the language of a political, cultural and social unity. It is generally developed and used as a symbol of national unity. Its functions are to identify the nation and unite its people. In multilingual countries, the government often declares a particular language to be the national language for political reasons. The declaration may be a step in the process of asserting the nationhood of a newly independent or established nation, for instance, as in the case of Swahili in Tanzania, Hebrew in Israel, Malay in Malaysia and Indonesian in Indonesia

D. Official Language

Official language, by contrast, is simply a language which may be used for government business. Its function is primarily utilitarian rather than symbolic. It is possible, of course, for one language to serve both functions. If national language cannot serve all the internal and external functions of government business, however, it has then been necessary to identify one or more official languages as well. Example: Arabic is an official language in Israel alongside Hebrew

Chapter 5

Regional and Social Dialects

The way people use language to signal such affiliations. No two people speak exactly the same (Holmes, 2002). There are infinite sources of variation in speech. A sound spectrograph, a machine which represents the sound waves of speech in visual form, shows that even a single vowel may be pronounced in hundreds of minutely different ways, most of which listeners do not even register. Some features of speech, however, are shared by groups, and become important because they differentiate one group from another. Just as different languages often serve a unifying and separating function for their speakers, so do speech characteristics within languages (Holmes, 2008).

A. Regional variation

There are many such stories-some no doubt apocryphal – mistakes based on regional accent differences. Pronunciation and vocabulary differences are probably the differences people are most aware of between different dialects of English, but there are grammatical differences too (Holmes, 2008). Sometimes the differences between dialects are a matter of the frequencies with which particular features occur, rather than completely different ways of saying things.

1. Intra-national or intra continental variation

Regional variation takes time to develop; British and American English for instance, provide much more evidence of regional variation than New Zealand or

Australian English. Dialectologists can distinguish regional varieties for almost every English country.

In the USA, dialectologist can identify distinguishing features of the speech of people from different regions. Different towns and even part of towns can be distinguished. Within the Midland area, for example, the Eastern States can be distinguished, and within those the Boston dialect is different from that of New York City, and within New York City, Brooklynese is quite distinctive. Again, pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary distinguish these dialects.

In areas where English has been introduced more recently, such as Australia and New Zealand, there seems to be considerably less regional variation – though there is evidence of social variation. The high level of intra – national communication, together with the relatively small populations, may have inhibited the development of marked regional differences in these countries. In New Zealand, reflecting the longer period of settlement and more restricted means of communication between people from different Maori tribes before European settlers arrived. Maori pronunciation of words written with an initial "wh", for example, differs from one place to another. The Maori word for 'fish 'is' *ika* in most areas but *ngohi* in the far North, and *kirikiri* refers to gravel in the west but sand in the east of New Zealand (Holmes, 2002).

2. **Cross – continental variation: dialect chains**

Languages are not purely linguistic entities (Holmes, 2008). They serve social functions. In order to define a language, it is important to look to its social and political functions, as well as its linguistic features. So a language can be thought of as a collection of dialects that are usually linguistically similar, used by different social groups who chose to say that they are speakers of one language which functions to unite and represent them to other groups. This definition reflects sociolinguistic reality by including all the linguistically very different Chinese dialects, which the Chinese define as one language, while separating the languages of Scandinavia which are linguistically very similar, but politically quite distinct varieties (Holmes, 2008).

3. **Social variation**

In earlier centuries you could tell where an English lord or lady came from by their regional form of English. But by the early twentieth century a person who spoke with a regional accent in England was most unlikely to belong to the upper class. Upper – class people had an upper – class education, and that generally meant a public (i.e., private!) school where they learned to speak RP. RP stands not for 'Real Posh' (as suggested to me by a young friend), but rather for Received Pronunciation – the accent of the best educated and most prestigious members of English society. It is claimed the label derives from the accent which was 'received' at the royal court, and it is sometimes identified with 'the Queen's English', although the accent used by Queen Elizabeth II is a rather old – fashioned variety of RP (Holmes, 2002). RP was promoted by the BBC for decades. It is essentially a social accent not a regional one. Indeed, it conceals a speaker's regional origins. This is nicely illustrated in figure 6.1, the accent triangle.

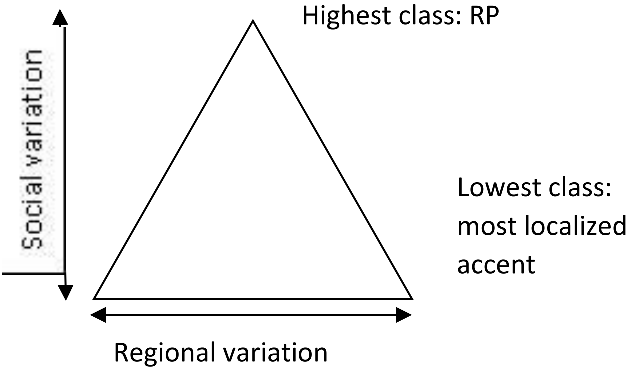

Figure 5.1 Social and regional accent variation.
(Reproduced from Trudgill 1983a: 42)

As the triangle suggest, the linguist will find most linguistic variation at the lowest socio – economic level where regional differences abound. Further up the social ladder the amount of observable variation reduces till one reaches the pinnacle of RP- an accent used by less than 5 per cent of the British population. So a linguist travelling round Britain may collect over a dozen different pronunciations of the word grass from the working – class people she meets in different regions.

B. Social dialects

The stereotypical 'dialect' speaker is an elderly rural person who is all but unintelligible to modern city dwellers. But dialects are simply linguistic varieties which are distinguishable by their vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation; the speech of people from different social, as well as regional, groups may differ in these ways.

Standard English

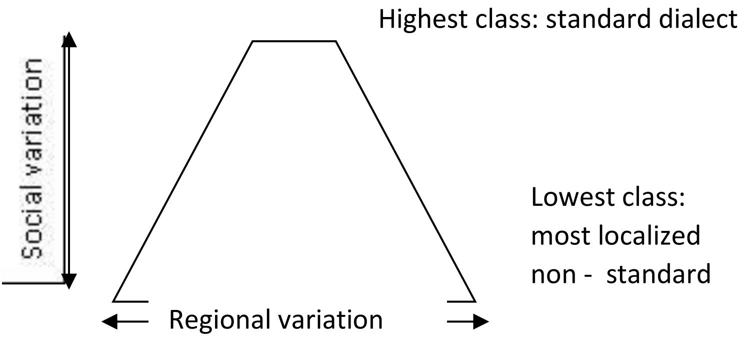
Highest class: standard dialect
Social variation
Lowest class:
most localized
non - standard
Regional variation

Figure 5.2 Social and regional dialect variation.
(Reproduced from Trudgill 1983a: 41)

In figure 5.2, the trapezium or table – topped mountain. The flat top reflects the broader range of variants (alternative linguistics form) which qualify as part of the standard dialect of English in any country. It is estimated that up to 15 per cent of the British regularly use standard British English. So in Standard English, a limited amount of grammatical variations is acceptable. A speaker of Standard English might produce either of the sentences as adopted from Holmes (2002) can be seen in example below:

1. I've not washed the dishes yet today.
2. I haven't the dishes yet today

In social term, linguistic forms which are not part of Standard English are by definition non – standard. Because the standard dialect is always the firs to be codified, it is difficult to avoid defining other dialects without contrasting them with the standard. And then, because such non – standard forms are associated with the speech of less prestigious social groups, the label inevitably acquires negative connotations. But it should be clear that there is nothing linguistically inferior about non – standard forms. They are simply different from the forms which happen to be used by more socially prestigious speakers. To avoid the implication that non – standard forms are inadequate deviations from the standard, some sociolinguists use the term *vernacular* as an alternative to non – standard, and I will follow this practice (Holmes, 2008).

Vernacular is a term which is used with a variety of meanings in sociolinguistics, but the meanings have something in common. Just as vernacular languages contras with standard languages, vernacular dialect features contras with standard dialect features. Vernacular forms tend to be learned at home and used in informal contexts.

C. Social status

Castes

Holmes (2005) states that people can be grouped together on the basis of similar social and economic factors. Their languages generally reflect these grouping - they use different social dialects. It is easiest to see the evidence for social dialects in places such as Indonesia and India where social divisions are very clear – cut. In these countries, there are caste systems determined by birth, and strict social rules govern the kind of behavior appropriate to each group. The rules cover such matters as the kind of job people can have, who they can marry, how they should dress, what they should eat, and how they should behave in a range of social situations. Not surprisingly, these social distinctions are also reflected in speech differences. A person's dialect reflects their social background (Holmes, 2008).

Holmes (2005) states that Javanese social status is reflected not just in choice of linguistic forms but also in the particular combinations of forms which each social group customarily uses, i.e. the varieties or stylistic levels that together make up the group's distinctive dialect. In English, stylistic variation involves choices such as *ta mate vs thank you so much.* In Javanese things are very complicated. There are six distinguishable stylistic levels. Table 6.1 provides a couple of words from each level to show the overlap and intermeshing of forms involved. (This example is discussed further in chapter 10 where the reasons for the numbering system are made clear.) (Holmes, 2002)

Table 5.1 Two Javanese words at different stylistic levels

You	**Now**	**Stylistic level**
Padjenengan	Samenika	3a
Sampejan	Samenika	3
Sampejan	Saniki	2
Sampejan	Saiki	1a
padjenengan	Saiki	1a
kowe	Saiki	1

Source: Based on Geertz, 1960.

There are three distinct Javanese social groups and three associated dialects (see table 5.1).

1. The dialect of the lowest status group, the peasants and uneducated townspeople, consists of three levels: 1, 1a and 2.

2. The dialect of urbanized people with some education consists of five stylistic levels:1, 1a, 2, 3 and 3a.
3. The dialect of the highly educated highest status group also consists of five levels, but they are different from those of the second social group: 1, 1a, 1b, 3 and 3a.

In Javanese, then, a particular social dialect can be defined as a particular combination of styles or levels each of which has its distinctive pattern of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation, though there are many forms which are shared by different stylistic levels.

D. Social Class

1. Vocabulary

The term social class is used here as a shorthand term for differences between people which are associated with differences in social prestige, wealth and education. Class divisions are based on such status differences. Status refers to the differences or respect people give someone – or don't give them. Class is used here as a convenient label for groups of people who share similarities in economic and social status (Holmes, 2002).

Social dialect research in many different countries has revealed a consistent relationship between social class and language patterns. People from different social classes speak differently. The most obvious differences – in vocabulary – are in many ways the least illuminating from a sociolinguistic point of view, thought they clearly capture the public imagination.

2. **Pronunciation**

This speech variable is widely called (h) – dropping – a label which you should note reflects the viewpoint of speakers of the standard. It has been analyses in many social dialect studies of English.

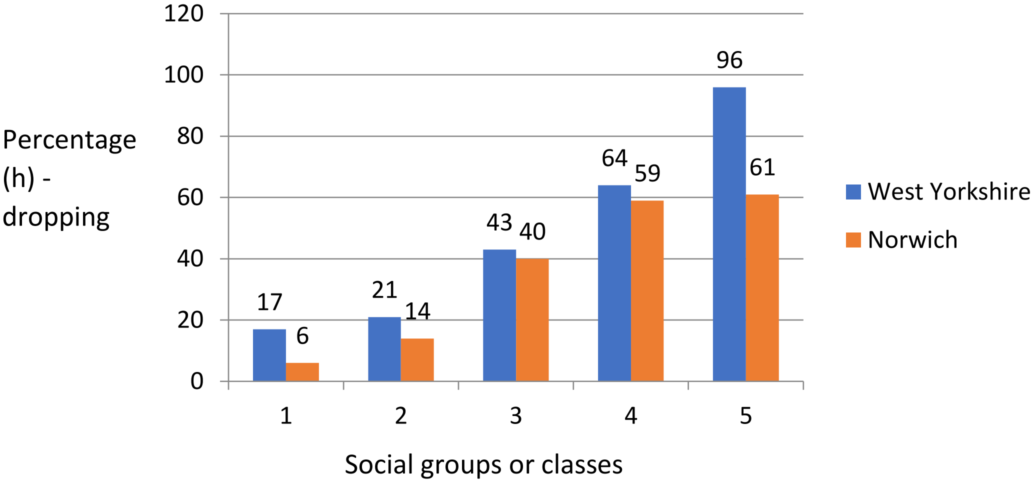

Figure 5.3 (h) - dropping in Norwich and West Yorkshire social groups. (This diagram was constructed from data in Trudgill 1974 and Petyt 1985). Figure 6.3 shows the average (h) – dropping scores for five different social groups in two different places in England: West Yorkshire and Norwich. Different studies use different labels for different classes so wherever I compare data from different studies I have simply used numbers. In this figure (and throughout the book), group 1 refer to the highest social group (often called the upper middle class or UMC) and group 5 to the lowest (usually called the lower or working class) Holmes, 2008).

There are regional differences in that the West Yorkshire scores are systematically higher than the Norwich scores, but the overall pattern remains the same. We also need to remember that these are averages and within each social group there is always a great deal of individual variation. In the West Yorkshire study, for example, one person who belonged socially in the middle group (3) dropped every (h). From a linguistic point of view, taking account only of (h) – dropping, they sounded as if they came from a lower social group. Averaging may conceal considerable variation within a group Holmes, 2002).

a) [r] – Pronunciation

One linguistic form which has proved particularly interesting to sociolinguistics studying English – speaking speech communities is the variable pronunciation of [r] in words like *car* and *card, for* and *form*. For our purposes, there are two possible variants of [r]. Either it is present and pronounced [r], or it is absent. If you listen to a range of dialects, you will find that sometimes people pronounce [r] following a vowel, and sometimes they don't. In areas where [r] pronunciation is prestigious, sociolinguistics has found patterns like those described above for [h] – dropping and *–in'* vs –ing ([in] vs [ing]) pronunciation. The higher a person's social group, the more [r] they pronounce Holmes, 2002, 2008, 2013).

Post-vocalic [r] illustrates very clearly the arbitrariness of particular forms which are considered standard and prestigious. There is nothing in-status of [r]- pronunciation in different cities illustrates.

b) Vowels

Measuring small but significant differences in vowel pronunciations can seem a nightmare. Labov developed a method which involved giving a score to different pronunciations according to how close they were to the prestige pronunciation or standard in the community.

c) Other languages

Holmes (2008) states that language patterns described in the preceding section have been most extensively researched in English – speaking communities, they have been found in other languages too. In fact, we would expect to find such patterns in all communities which can be divided into different social groups.

The surrounding sounds also affect the likelihood of [l] - deletion. It is much more likely to disappear before a consonant that before a vowel. So linguistic as well as social factors are relevant in accounting for patterns of pronunciation. But within each linguistic context the social differences are still quite clear Holmes, 2002). This pattern has been noted for a variety of grammatical variables. Here also some examples of standard and vernacular grammatical forms which have been identified in several English – speaking communities.

Form	Example
Past tense verb forms	1. I finished that book yesterday.
	2. I finish that book yesterday.
Present tense verb forms	3. Rose walks to school every day.
	4. Rose walk to school every day.
Negative forms	5. Nobody wants any chips.
	6. Nobody don't want no chips.
Ain't	7. Jim isn't stupid.
	8. Jim ain't stupid

Multiple negation is a grammatical construction which has been found in all English – speaking communities where a social dialect study has been done. Holmes (2005) states that multiple negation is a very salient vernacular form. People notice it when it is used even once, unlike say the use of a glottal stop for the standard pronunciation [t] at the end of a word, where the percentage of glottal stops generally needs to be quite high before people register them. Many factors interact in determining the proportion of vernacular or standard forms a person uses. Some of these are social factors such as the age or gender of the speaker, and they will be examined in the next couple of chapters.

Conclusion

Holmes (2013) states that sociolinguistics have found clues almost any linguistic feature in a community which shows variation will differ in frequency from one social group to another in patterned and predictable way. Some features are stable and their patterns of use seem to have correlated with membership of particular social groups in a predicable way for many years. The pronunciation of suffix [iŋ] vs [in] and [h] – dropping are examples of features are usually stable. Grammatical features, such as multiple negation and tense markers, are often stable too. This means they are good ones to include in any study of an English – speaking community. They are reliable indicators of sociolinguistic patterning in community. Not all, variations is stable over time, however. In fact variation is often used as an indicator of language change in progress. New linguistic forms don't sweep through a community overnight. They spread gradually from person to person and from group to group.

In exploring the relationship between language and society, this chapter has been concerned almost exclusively with the dimension of social status or class. It is clear from all the evidence discussed that the social class someone belongs to is reflected in their speech patterns. Many people, however, are not very conscious of belonging to a particular social class. They are much more aware of other factors about the people they meet regularly than their social class membership. A person's gender and age are probably the first things we notice about them.

Chapter 6

The Circles Of English

As we know that English widely known as the international language. Throughout the history of England and the British Empire, experts have proposed many models to try to classify English speakers. For example, another English, the Greeks, from whose language the word originated, diaspora meant the dispersal of population through colonization. For Jews, Africans, Armenians, and others, the word acquired a more sinister and brutal meaning. Diaspora meant a collective trauma, a banishment into exile, and a heart-aching longing to return home. During the early modern period, trade and labor diasporas girded the mercantilist and early capitalist worlds. Today the term has changed again, often implying a positive and ongoing relationship between migrants' homelands and their places of work and settlement. (Gupta, Mittal, Nagar; Singhal, 2019 in Handke, 2013 and Wenfang, 2011) However, not all linguists agree in which classification is the best. In this article I will take a look at one of those classifications, Kachru's model, which was proposed just five decades ago. But before starting to explain any the model we need to be aware of the fact that this is a three-group model. That is, one that classifies speakers as:

For many sociolinguists the most important and accurate model is the one proposed by Braj Kachru in 1988. His "***Three circle model of World English's***", states that there are three circles inside which, the different speakers are classified. The different circles are:

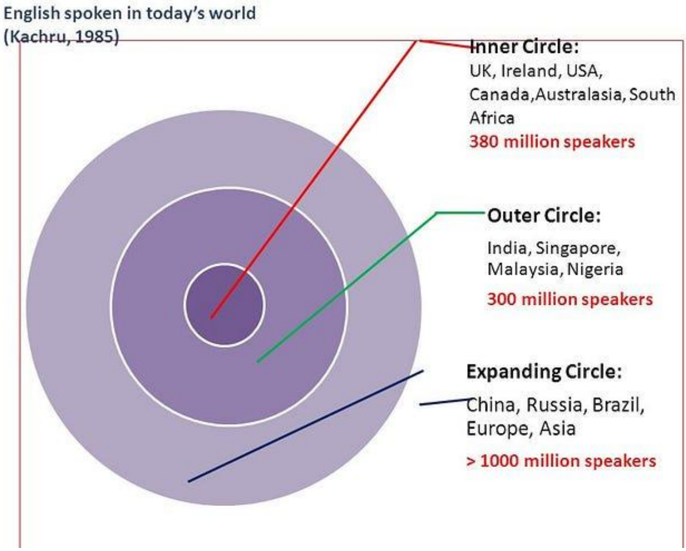
English spoken in today's world
(Kachru, 1985)
Inner Circle:
UK, Ireland, USA,
Canada,Australasia, South
Africa
380 million speakers
Outer Circle:
India, Singapore,
Malaysia, Nigeria
300 million speakers
Expanding Circle:
China, Russia, Brazil,
Europe, Asia
> 1000 million speakers

Figure 6.1: English Circle, adopted from Kachru (1985, 1995, 2008)

The Inner Circle as was explained before is made up by the countries who belong to the first **diaspora**. These countries are the linguistic and cultural bases of English are traditionally located. The Outer Circle is confirmed by the second diaspora thanks to the colonization of different territories in Asia and Africa by the British Empire. One of the most important ideas to take into account regarding this circle is that the English varieties spoken in it are usually in constant contact with other languages. This causes the English variety to be influenced by those other languages and in some cases to incorporate some of their features. This is why the Outer Circle is **norm-developing**, because the contact with other languages prompts changes in its vocabulary and sometimes in its grammar. The Expanding Circle was never colonized by the British Empire and therefore English is not a language spoken by a significant number of people in the country.

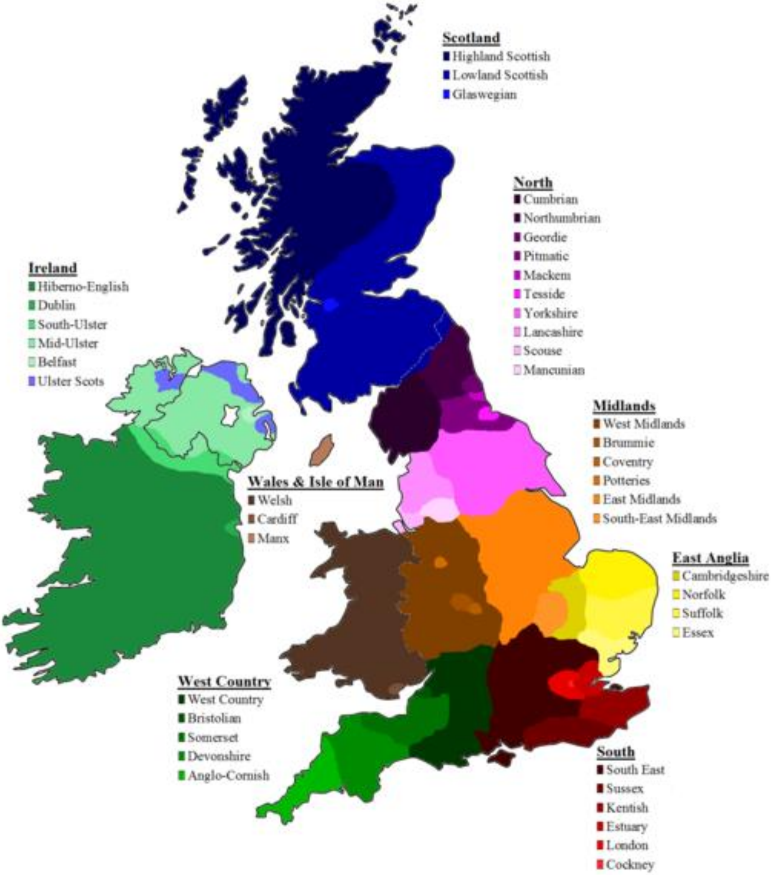
Scotland
Highland Scottish
Lowland Scottish
Glaswegian
North
Cumbrian
Northumbrian
Geordie
Pitmatic
Mackem
Tesside
Yorkshire
Lancashire
Scouse
Mancunian
Ireland
Hiberno-English
Dublin
South-Ulster
Mid-Ulster
Belfast
Ulster Scots
Midlands
West Midlands
Brummie
Coventry
Potteries
East Midlands
South-East Midlands
Wales & Isle of Man
Welsh
Cardiff
Manx
East Anglia
Cambridgeshire
Norfolk
Suffolk
Essex
West Country
West Country
Bristolian
Somerset
Devonshire
Anglo-Cornish
South
South East
Sussex
Kentish
Estuary
London
Cockney

Figure 6.2 Dialects of English in the British Isles

However, we also have to take into account that this model also presents some *problems* because it does not take into account ecosystems in its classification but nations. Because of this fact that might seem irrelevant to some, Kachru is for instance only including Standard English without analyzing the numerous other varieties of UK. And we need to bear in mind that there are more dialects within the British

Islands than outside them, dialects such as Cockney, Scouse or Geordie just to name a few. The inner circle represents the traditional bases of English: the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, anglophone Canada, and some of the Caribbean territories. The total number of English speakers in the inner circle is as high as 380 million, of whom some 120 million are outside the United States. Next comes the outer circle, which includes countries where English is not the native tongue, but is important for historical reasons and plays a part in the nation's institutions, either as an official language or otherwise. This circle includes India, Nigeria, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Malaysia, Tanzania, Kenya, non-Anglophone South Africa and Canada, etc. The total number of English speakers in the outer circle is estimated to range from 150 million to 300 million.

Finally, the expanding circle encompasses those countries where English plays no historical or governmental role, but where it is nevertheless widely used as a foreign language or lingua franca. This includes much of the rest of the world's population: China, Russia, Japan, most of Europe, Korea, Egypt, Indonesia, etc. The total in this expanding circle is the most difficult to estimate, especially because English may be employed for specific, limited purposes, usually business English. The estimates of these users range from 100 million to one billion.

Linguistic Varieties and Multilingual Nations

Holmes (2002) states that over half the world's population is bilingual ad many people are multilingual. The fact that India is one of the most of multilingual nation in the world is reflected in Mr. Patel's linguistic repertoire, just as the linguistics heterogeneity of Zaire was reflected in Kalala's repertoire. Sociolinguistics has developed a number of ways of categorizing languages, according to their stats and social functions. The distinction between a vernacular language and a standard language is aa useful place to start.

A. Vernacular language

There are hundreds of vernacular languages ,such as Buang in Papua New Guinea ,for instance ,many of which have never been written down or described (Holmes, 2002).Vernacular are usually the first languages learned by people in multilingual communities ,and they are often used for a relatively narrow range of informal functions .There are three components of the meaning of the terms vernacular .The most basic refers to the fact that a vernacular languages is an uncodified or unstandardized variety .The second refers to the way it is acquired in the home as a first variety. The third is the fact that it is used for relatively circumscribed functions. The first component has been most widely used as defining criterion, but emphasis on one or other of the component s has led to the use of the term vernacular with somewhat different meanings (Holmes, 2008). Finally the term vernacular is sometimes used to indicated that a language is used for everyday interaction, without implying that it is appropriate only in informal domains.

B. Standard languages

A standard variety is generally one which written, and which has undergone some degree of regulation or codification (for example in a grammar ad a dictionary).It is recognized as a prestigious variety or code by community, and it is used for H functions alongside a diversity of L varieties (Holmes, 2005). Standard varieties are codified varieties. Codifications is usually achieved through grammar and dictionaries which record, and sometimes prescribe the standard from language. The development of standard English illustrates the three essential criteria which characterize of standard. It was an influential or prestigious variety, it was codified and stabilized, and it served H function in that it was used for communication at court, for literature and administration. Once a standard dialect develops or is developed, it generally provides a very useful means of communication across the areas of dialect diversity (Holmes, 2005).

C. Lingua Frances

The term lingua franca describes a language serving as a regular means of communications between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community. A lingual franca is a language used for communication between people whose first language differ. When people from different ethnic groups marry in Zaire or Tazmania or Papua New Guinea, they often used the lingua franca of their area as a language of the home, and their children may therefor e learn very little of their father's and mother's vernaculars (Holmes, 2002, 2008).

D. Pidgins and creoles

A pidgin is a language which has no native speakers. Pidgins as a means of communication between people who do not have a common language. So, pidgins is no one's a native language. Pidgins languages are created from the combined efforts of people who speak different languages (Holmes, 2008). Pidgins language do not have high status or prestige and to those who do not speak them, they often seem ridiculous languages because of large number pidgin words which derive from European language in a pidgin such as Tok Pisin, many European consider pidgin to be a debased form of their own language. they assume they can guess the meaning. this can lead to mis understanding which can be very serious, as the following example demonstrated (Holmes, 2002).

A creole is a pidgin which has acquired native speaker .as a result of their status as some group first languages, creoles also different pidgin in their range of functions their structure and in same cases in the attitudes expressed toward them. A creole is a pidgin which has expanded in structure and vocabulary to express the range of meaning and serve the range of function required of a first language.

In fact, one of the reasons linguists find the study of pidgin and creoles so fascinating is precisely that they provide laboratories of language change in progress, and for testing hypotheses about universal linguistic features and processes (Holmes, 2005). Pidgins and creoles also demonstrate the crucial role of social role of social factor in the development of languages –since it is the meaning which motivate the structural changes, and the functional demands which lead to linguistic elaboration (Holmes, 2002) .

E. Origins and endings

According to Holmes (2008) despite their huge geographical spread –they are found in every continent many similarities are found among pidgin and creoles .Over a hundred have been identified ,but the lexifier language for most (about 85) is one of seven European language: English(35), French(15), Portuguese(14), Spanish (7), German(6), Dutch (5) and Italian (3), so perhaps the similarities are not surprising .Eventually there may exist a continuum of varieties between the standard language and the creole .this is known as a post creole continuum and example can be found in Jamaica and Guyana.

Ethnicity and Social Networks

When people belong to the same group, they often speak similarity (Holmes, 2005). But there are many different groups in community, and so any individual may share linguistic features with range of other speakers. Some features indicated a person's social status, as we saw in previous, chapter 5; others distinguish women and man on identity a person as a teenager rather than a middle-aged citizen, as illustrated in chapter 6. There are also linguistic clues to a person's ethnicity, and closely related to all these are linguistics features which reflect the regular interactions people have-those they talk to most often. Individuals draw on all these resources when they construct their social identities. This chapter illustrates the relevance of ethnicity and social networks in accounting for people's speech patterns, as well as briefly introducing a related concept, the community of practice (Holmes, 2002, 2008, 2013).

A. Ethnicity

Example 1

When I was in Monteral I found a small restaurant in the old French quarter where the menu looked affordable and attractive. I was greeted in French by the waiter and I responded in French, though my accent clearly signaled that I was native English speaker. At this point the waiter, who was undoubtedly bilingual, had a choice. He chose to continue in French and though I cannot be sure of his reasons, I interpreted this choice as expressing his wish to be identified as a French Canadian (Holmes, 2005).

Holmes (2005) illustrates that many ethnic groups use a distinctive language associated with their ethnic identity, as demonstrated in the examples discussed in the first section of this book, as well as in example 1 above. Where a choice of language is available for communication, it is often possible for an individual to signal their ethnicity by the language they choose to use. Even when a complete conversation in an ethnic language is not possible, people may use short phrases, verbal fillers or linguistic tags, which signal ethnicity (Holmes, 2008). So interactions which appear to be in English, for example, may incorporate linguistic signals of the speakers' ethnic identity, as illustrated in example 2.

Example 2

Lee : Kia ora June. Where you been? Not seen you round for a while.

June : Kia ora. I've just come back from my Nanny's tangi [FUNERAL].
Been up in Rotorua for a week.

Lee : E ki [is THAT so!] a sad time for you, e hoa [MY FRIEND] and for all your family, ne [ISN'T IT].

June : Ae [YESS]. We'll all miss Nanny. She was a wonderful woman.

In New Zealand many Maori people routinely use Maori greetings such as *kia ora,* and a conversation between two Maori people may include emphatic phrases, such as e ki, softening tags such as *ne,* and responses such as *ae,* even when neither speaks the Maori language fluently. Bargaining with Chinese retailers in the shopping center, Chinese Singapore similarly often signal their ethnic background with linguistic tags, such as the untranslatable but expressive *la,* and phrases or words from their ethnic language. Emphasizing common ethnicity may mean they get a better bargain!

Exercise 3

Consider the following utterances. Can you identify any of the linguistic clues to the speaker's ethnicity?

1. Yo mama so bowlegged, she looks like the bite out of a donut.
2. I Cannae mind the place where those brains are from.
3. Dem want me fi go up dare go tell dem.
4. Kia ora Hemi. Time to broom the floor eh.
5. Already you're discouraged! Goyim like bagels so why not this.
6. My brother really hungry la. Let's go for makan.

B. Answers at end of chapter

As we saw in the previous chapter, when a group adopts, willingly or perforce, the dominant language of the society, an important symbol of their distinct ethnicity – their language – often disappears. Italian in Sydney and New York, African Americans and Hispanics in Chicago, Indians, Pakistanis and Jamaicans in London are in this situation. For different reason, so are most Scots, Irish and Wels people in Britain, Aboriginal people in Australia, and Maori people in New Zealand. Ethnic groups often respond to this situation by using the majority language in a way which signals their ethnic identity. For groups where there are no identifying physical features to distinguish them from others in the society, these distinctive linguistic features may be an important remaining symbol of ethnicity once their ethnic language has disappeared. Food, religion, dress and a distinctive speech style are all ways that ethnic minorities may use to distinguish themselves from the majority group.

Italian in Boston use a particularly high percentage of vernacular pronunciations of certain vowels, such as the vowel in words like *short* and *horse.* Both first- and second-generation ITALIAN IN Sydney are distinguish able in different ways by their pronunciations of Australian English vowels. In New Zealand, as elsewhere in the world. Scots people and retain features of their Scottish English. The pronunciation of [r] in words like *part* and star is widely noted as a market of Scottish ethnicity. American Jewish people often signal their ethnicity with a distinctive accent of English within any city in which they have settled. Studies of Jewish people in Boston and New York have identified distinctive pronunciations of some vowels. Jewish American also use ethnically marked linguistic tags such as *on way*, and occasional Yiddish vocabulary items, many of which, such as schmaltz, bagel, glitch, and shlemiel, have passed into general American English.

C. African American Vernacular English

Example 1

Jo: This ain' that ba',bu' look at your hands. It ain't get and you either. Alse look at mine. This all my clay…In your ear wi' Rossie Greer. I ain' gone do that one…Did you hear about the fire at the shoe store? It wan't a soul lef'.

In the United States, though their distinct languages disappear centuries ago, Africans Americans do not need a distinct variety or code as a symbolic way of differentiating themselves from the majority group. They are visibly different. Nevertheless, this group has developed a distinct variety of English known as African American Vernacular English (I will use the abbreviation AAVE). This dialect has a number of features which do not occur in standard mainstream American English, and others which occur very much less frequently in the standard variety. These linguistic differences act as symbols of ethnicity. They express the sense of cultural distinctiveness of many African American.

AAVE is heard especially in the northern cities of the United States. One of its most distinctive features is the complete absence of the copula verb *be* in some social and linguistic context. In most speech context, speaker of standard English use shortened or reduced forms of the verb *be*. In other words, people do not usually say *She is very nice* but rather *She's very nice*. They reduce or contract the *is* to *s*. In some kinds of context speakers of AAVE omit the verb be, as illustrated in the example 4.

Example 2

African American Vernacular English
American Standard English
She very nice
She’s very nice
He a teacher
He’s a teacher
That my book.
That’s my book
The beer warms
The beer’s warm

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In recordings of Detroit speech, for instance, white American never omitted the copula verb *be,* whereas the African Americans-especially those from the lower socio-economic groups-regularly did.

Another distinctive grammatical feature of AAVE is the use of *be* to signal recurring or repeated action, as in example 5.

Example 3

African American Vernacular English

American Standard English

She be at school on weekdays .

She’s always at school on weekdays.

The children do be messing’

The children do mees around

Around a lot

I run when I bees on my way

I always run when I'm on my to school.

way to school.

The beer warm at that place.

The beer's always warm at the place.

Clearly the grammar of AAVE has some features which simply do not occur in the grammar of white Americans. However, there are many features of the English used by lower socio- economic groups in the United States which also occur in AAVE. Most AAVE speakers simply use these features more frequently than most white Americans. Multiple negation was identified in chapter 6, for instance, as a feature of the English of many lower socio-economic groups interviewed in Detroit, Africans Americans used more multiple negation then white Americans did.

Consonant cluster simplification is another feature which distinguishes the speech of white and African Americans. All English speakers simplify consonant cluster in some context. It would sound very formal, for instance, in phrase such as *last time* to pronunciation both [t]s distinctly. Most people drop the first [t] so the consonant cluster [st] at the end of last becomes simply [s]. AAVE speakers also simplify the consonant clusters at the ends of words, but they do so much more frequently and extensively than speakers of the standard and regional dialects of English.

AAVE is different from the English of white Americans, then, in a number of ways. There are features which clearly distinguish the two dialects, such as the omission of the verb *be* and distinct meaning of *be*, as illustrated in example 5. And there are other features, such as multiple negation and consonant cluster simplification, where AAVE uses higher frequencies than are found in the English of most white Americans.

Exercise 4

1. Using figure 8.1 as data, what is the relationship between ethnicity and social class in relation to vernacular features of speech?
2. Identify the features the following passages which distinguish it from standard English. These are all features of AAVE, though some also occur in other vernacular varieties.
   Its general name Shirley Jones live in Washington. 'Most everybody on her street like her, cause she nice girl. Shirley like a boy name Charles. But she
   Keep away from him and Charles don't hardly say nothing to her neither.'
3. Look at sentences 1-10. "=ungrammatical utterance.

What is rule for the occurrence of *be?*

1. They usually be tired when they come home.
2. They be tired right now.
3. James always be coming to school.
4. James comes to school right now.
5. My ankle be broken from the fall.
6. Sometimes my ears be itching.
   Which of these is grammatical in this dialect?
7. Linguistics always be asking silly question about language.
8. The students don't be talking right now.

D. British Black English

In Britain the way different ethnic minorities speak English is often equally distinctive. The English of those who speak minority language such as Gujerati, Panjabi and Turkish generally signals their ethnic background. And people of west Indian or African Caribbean origin use a range of varieties, depending on where they live in England, and how long their families have lived in Britain. Those born in Britain are usually describe as members of the British Black community and most speak a variety of Jamaican Creole as well as a variety of English.

The variety of Jamaican, for instance, is the London varieties of Patois. London Jamaican, for instance, is the London varieties of Patois. It derives from Jamaican Creole, but it has a number from the of features which distinguish it from the Jamaican variety.

Example 1

Polly is young British Black teenager who lives in the West Midlands. He parents came to Britain from Jamaica in 1963 looking for jobs. Though Polly's mother had a good education in Jamaica, they only work she was able to find in Dudley was cleaning offices at night. Polly's father used to work in factory but he was laid off and has been unemployed for nearly two years now. They live in a predominantly Black neighborhood and almost all Polly's friends are young Black people. She and her parents attend the local Pentecostal church. Her older brother used to attend too, but he has stopped since he left school. Polly's verbal repertoire includes standard English spoken with a West Midlands accent, in informal variety of English with some Patois features which could be described as

Midlands Black English, and Patois, they variety of Jamaican of Creole used by Black people in Dudley.

There are a number of linguistic features which characterize Patois. It is a Creole and as such it is quite distinct from standard English. There are lexical items such as *lick* meaning 'hit' and *kenge* meaning 'week', puny' (Holmes, 2005). There are many features of pronunciation, including stress and intonation patterns, which differ from those of standard English. The vowel sounds in a word like *home* is sometimes pronounced as in Jamaican Creole, rather than as in the local variety of English. Words like *then* and *thin* are pronounced [den] and [tin]. Plural don't have *s* on the end. Tenses aren't marked by suffixes on verbs, so form like *walk* and *jump* are used rather than *walked,* walks, jumped, and jumps. The form mi is used for I, me and my (e,g. niem for 'my name') and the for *them* is used for *they*, *them* and *their* (e.g. dem niem). Not surprisingly, given the pattern we have found elsewhere, some speakers use more of these features then others. Midlands Black English uses some of these features too, together with a distinctively Midland's accent of English (Holmes, 2005).

There are number of regional varieties of British Black English, such Polly's Midlands' variety and a London variety, as well as regional varieties of Patois, though many of them have not yet been described. The function of these varieties as symbols of ethnicity among Black British people is quite is clear however. They could even be regarded as examples of anti-language a term which has been used to reflect their function of expressing opposition to the mainstream values of white British society which exclude black people and their culture.

Exercise 2

Teachers have reported that some children who show no sign of Patois feature in their speech during their early years at school, start using noticeably Black speech during adolescence. Why do you think this might happen?

E. Maori New Zealanders

Example 1

An' den an old ant came-there was a old Kuia. She went and walk to de ant's house. An' den she went and knock at the window. An' den de ant started to open his window. An' den he's told the old Kuia to go back. An den the old Kuia was talking. An' den the old Kuia went and walk back.

In New Zealand there has been considerable discussion about whether a Maori dialect of English Exists (Holmes, 2005). Many people assert firmly that there is such a variety, but there is little evidence so far of linguistic features with occur only in the speech of Maori people. The alternation between [d] and [0] pronunciation in worlds like *the* and *then,* which is indicated in example 7, for instance, is by no means confined to the speech of Maori people. Greetings like *kia ora*, and vocabulary items like *tangi* (tuneral), illustrated in example 2 above, are used by Pakeha as well as Maori in New Zealand. However, in general, Maori people use Maori words more frequently in their speech than Pakeha people do. The word *kuia* in example 7 illustrates this. Kuia is a Maori word meaning 'old woman', which is widely known is New Zealand.

Nevertheless, its occurrence in the child's story suggests the speaker is more likely to be Maori than Pakeha (Holmes, 2005).

There are also grammatical features which occur more frequently in Maori people speech. In study of 8 years old children's speech, vernacular verb form (such as *walk* for*)* occurred more often in the speech of the Maori children than the Pakeha (Holmes, 2005). There were also some distinctive uses of verbs, such as *went and*, which seemed to be used as a narrative past tense marker by the Maori children, as illustrated in example 7.

A comparison of the speech of a small group of New Zealand women also found that the Maori women were more likely to use vernacular past tense forms of some verbs, as illustrated in sentences (a) and (b) in example 8. Maori women were also more likely than Pakeha to use present tense form with s as in (c) and (d), and much more likely to omit *have,* as in (e) and (f). (Holmes, 2005)

Example 2

1. She *seen* it happen and she stopped and picked Jo up of the bloody road.
2. Well next I *rung* up the police.
3. I *say* you want to bet.
4. So, it *gets* home and I waited a couple of weeks.
5. Yeah, well you *seen him dancing eh so you understand.
6. See I * been through all that rigmarole before.

*Indicates where have /had has been omitted.

Conclusion

When it comes to linguistic form, Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd, Confucius with the head-hunting savage of assam (Holmes, 2005). This famous quotation from Edward Sapir expresses a very fundamental belief held by linguistic (Holmes, 2005). All language varieties are equal. There is no significant difference in the complexity of their linguistic structure; they all have resources for creating new vocabulary as it is needed, and for developing the grammatical contractions their speakers require. Any variety can be developed for use in any situation, a language used by a tribe buried in the mountains of Papua New Guinea or the depths of the Amazonian rain forest has the potential for use at the nuclear physics confer entices of the western world, or in the most sensitive diplomatic negotiation between warring nations. There are no differences of linguistic form between varieties which would prevent them developing the language required for such purposes. The barriers are social and cultural (Holmes, 2005).

Though linguistics presents this ideal of equality between the languages and dialects used by different ethnic and social groups, is has no social reality. Varieties acquire the social status of their users, and the divisions of dialect along racial, ethnic, social lines have been only too apparent in many countries, including the United States of America and Britain. I have used the terms standard and vernacular in describing features which characterize the speech of deferent social and ethnic groups. Some people have used the terms sub-standard for vernacular features, with all the implications of deviance and inadequacy with that term carries, and this has often influenced people’s views of the linguistic features involved (Holmes, 2005).

It should be clear from the description of linguistic features provided in chapter 6,7 and 8, that the different between those the features which happen to characterize the standard dialect and those which occur in vernacular dialects is entirely, arbitrary, indeed, the evidence reviewed demonstrates that the difference between the two is most often simply of the matter of the frequency of different forms in the speech of different groups, in chapter 10, it will become clerk that no one-not even the queen of England or the president of the united states of America –uses standard forms all the time.

Before looking at the way people use language in different situation, however it will be useful to explore a little further the relationship between some of the social factors considered in these three chapters and the process of language change. Since the 1960s, when sociolinguistic began to contribute to study of language change, explanation of the process has been increasingly illuminated by an understanding of the contribution of social factors. In the next chapter the relationship between age-grading and linguistic change will be explore further, and the influence of speaker’s social class and genre on the process of language change will be discussed.

Chapter 9

Style, Context and Register

In sociolinguistics, we study about how; language use by using some styles., based on its context and register used. Style variety is caused by the distinction of style. In speech community, people who use language as means of communication in their community are remarkable varied. No one speak in the same way all the time, and people constantly exploit the nuances of the language they speak for a wide variety purpose Wardhaugh (1992) In Rukmana (2009:12). It is looked from the performance of one's language whether in written or spoken. Joos (1961) in Risna (2009:12) divides five kinds of style based on the standard degree.

1. Frozen: printed unchanging language such as Biblical quotations; often contains archaisms. Examples are the Pledge of Allegiance, wedding vows, and other "static" vocalizations that are recited in a ritualistic monotone.
2. Formal: One-way participation, no interruption. Technical vocabulary; "Fuzzy semantics" or exact definitions are important. Includes introductions between strangers.
3. Consultative: Two-way participation. Background information is provided — prior knowledge is not assumed. "Back-channel behavior" such as "uh huh", "I see", etc. is common. Interruptions are allowed. Examples include teacher/student, doctor/patient, expert/apprentice.
4. Casual: In-group friends and acquaintances. No background information provided. Ellipsis and slang

common. Interruptions common. This is common among friends in a social setting.

5. Intimate: Non-public. Intonation more important than wording or grammar. Private vocabulary. Also includes non-verbal messages. This is most common among family members and close friends.

Holmes (2005) states that some of the features you may have noted are discussed in the next section.

A. Addressee as an influence on the style

Example:

1. Excuse me. Could I have a look at your photos too, Mrs. Hall?
2. C'mon Tony, gizzalook, gizzalook.

The first utterance in example 2 was addressed by a teenage boy to his friend's mother when she was showing the photos of their skiing holiday to an adult friend. The second utterance was addressed to his friend when he brought round his own photos of the holiday. The better you know someone, the more casual and relaxed the speech style you will use to them. People use considerably more standard forms to those they don't know well and more vernacular forms to their friends. In a study in Northern Ireland, for instance people use more standard English forms with an English stranger visiting their village than they did talking a fellow villager.

Holmes (2005) many factors may contribute in determining the degree of social distance or solidarity between people – relative age, gender, social roles, whether people work together, or ate part of the same family, and so on. These factors may also be relevant to people's relative social status. I will illustrate by discussing how the age of the person addressed may influence a speaker's style.

B. Age of addressed

Example 1

Mrs. N	: Ooooh, he's walking already.
Mother	: Oh, yes, he's such a clever little fellow aren't you?
Mrs. N	: Hullo coogieboo. Eeeee……….loo, diddle dur. Ohh eechy, weechy poo poo. Ohh eechy, peachy poo poo. There look at him laughing. Oh he's a chirpy little fellow. Yeees. Whoooo's a chirpy little fellow eh? Yes. Ooooh, can he talk? Can he talk eh, eh?

Uttered with high pitch and a sing-song intonation there is little doubt about the appropriate addressee of utterances such as those in example 3. This example comes, however, from a Monty Python sketch where these utterances are addressed to the speaker's adult son, who responds with 'Yes, of course I can talk, I'm Minister for Overseas Development'. The humor depends on the audience's perception of the inappropriateness of addressing a stateful adult in this way.

People generally talk differently to children and to adults-though some adjust their speech style or 'accommodate' more than others. Talking to younger brothers and sisters, even 3-years-old have been heard using sing-song intonation and ‘baby-talk’ words like *doggie*, which they no longer use themselves. When talking or writing to a 6-years-old as opposed to a 30-years-old, most people choose simpler vocabulary and grammatical constructions. Compare the excerpts in example 4 and guess which letter was addressed to the child and which to the adult (Holmes, 2002). Note the different ways in which the same ideas are expressed to the different addressees.

Example 2

1. Dear Paul

   Thanks for your last letter and the subsequent postcards from exotic resort. We were all green with envy over your trip to Rio with all expenses paid! How do you get to be so lucky!

   Thanks also for the great T-shirt you sent for Rob’s birthday. He has vowed to write to you in order to express his gratitude personally –but don’t hold your breath! He is particularly embroiled in some new complex computer game at present which is absorbing every spare moment.
2. Dear Michael

   Thank you very much for the letter you sent me. It was beautifully written and I enjoyed reading it. I liked the postcard you sent me from your holidays too. What a lovely time you had swimming and surfing. I wish I was there too. Robbie like the T-shirt you choose for him very much. He has been wearing it a lot. He has promise to write to you soon to say thank you but he is very busy playing with his computer at the moment. So you may have to wait a little while for his letter. I hope mine will do instead for now.

Most of the sentences in the letter to the child are short and grammatically simple. Longer ones consist of simple sentences linked by coordination *(and, but).* The sentences are also more explicit. Little is left for the child to infer. There are more complex sentences in the letter to the adult with more subordinate clauses: e.g. *He has vowed (to write to you (in order to express his gratitude))*. The brackets indicate the beginning and end of the subordinate clause (Holmes, 2002, 2008).

The vocabulary in the two letters is different too. In the first letter low frequency words such as subsequent, exotic, resorts, vowed, gratitude, embroiled, and absorbing suggest the addressee is not a 6-years-old. In the second letter simpler and more common words are used such as *like, play* and *too*, with phrases like *a lot* and *a little while.* The different addressees clearly influence the language used, even though the message in each letter is very similar.

Many speakers also use a different style in addressing elderly people, often with features similar to those which characterize their speech to children – a simpler range of vocabulary and less complex grammar, the use of we rather than you to refer to the addressee and sometimes even the sing-song intonation which characterizes baby-talk! The effect is generally patronizing as illustrated in example 5 which was sing-sung by a nursing aid to an elderly woman in a private hospital.

Example 3

It's time for our [i.e.,your] lunch now isn't it Mary. We [i.e,you] better wash our [i.e.,your] hands.

C. Social Background of addressee

Example:

1. Last week the British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher met the Australian Premier Mr. Bob Hawke in Canberra………. Their next meeting will not be for several months.

2. Last week British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met Australian Premier Bob Hawke in Canberra…..Their next meeting won't be for several months.

These utterances illustrate a number of linguistic features which distinguish the pronunciations of newsreaders on different radio stations. In (b) there is simplification of consonant clusters, so [las's] and [nekst] becomes [neks]. The pronunciation of [t] between vowels is voiced so it sounds like a [d]. Hence *meeting* sounds like *meeding*. The definite article *the* is omitted before the titles Prime *Minister* and *Premier* and the honorifics *Mrs.* and *Mr.* disappear. And finally, utterance (b) contracts *will not* to *won't*.

All these features have been identified as typical of the contrasting styles of newsreader on different New Zealand radio stations. Figure 10.1 shows the contrast between the newsreader on a middle-of-the-road station (ZB) with an audience from the lower and of the social spectrum, compared to the prestigious National Radio network (YA) with its older, generally better-heeled audience. (Holmes, 2008)

This is strong support for the view that the addressee or audience is a very important influence on a speaker's style. The most convincing evidence of all comes from the behavior of the same newsreader on different stations. Where the stations share studios, a person may read the same news on two different stations during the same day. In this situation newsreader produce consistently different style for each audience. The news is the same and the context is identical for one factor-the addressee. So, the same person reading the news the news on the middle –level stations read in a very much less formal style than on the higher-brow radio station (Holmes, 2002, 2008).

D. Accommodating theory

1. Speech convergence

The example is the previous section have demonstrated that when people talk to each other becomes more similar. In other words, each person's speech converges towards the speech of the person they are talking to. This process is called speech accommodation. It tends to happen when the speakers like to another, or when one speaker has a vested interest in pleasing the other or putting them at ease. So, the travel agent wanted to gain her customers' orders and the interviewer wanted to gain his interviewee's cooperation. Converging towards the speech of another person is usually a polite speech strategy. It implies that the addressee`s speech is acceptable and worth imitating. Use the same pronunciation and the same sort of vocabulary, for instance, is a way of signaling that you are on the same wavelength.

2. Speech divergence

Example

A number of people who were learning Welsh were asked to help with a survey. In their separate booths in a language laboratory, they were asked a number of questions by RP-sounding English speaker. At one point this speaker arrogantly challenged the learner`s reasons for trying to acquire Welsh which he called a` dying language which had had a dismal future`. In responding to his statement, the learners generally broadened their Welsh accents. Some introduced Welsh words into their answer, while others used an aggressive tone. One woman did not replay for a while, and then she was heard conjugating Welsh verbs very gently into the microphone (Holmes, 2002).

Though the situation in which this example occurred – a language laboratory –is somewhat artificial, it provides a very clear example of speech divergence. For obvious reasons, the respondents deliberately diverged from the speech style, and even language, of the person addressing them. They disagreed with his sentiments and had no to desire to accommodate to his speech (Holmes, 2008).

Deliberately choosing a language not use by one`s addressee is the clearest example of speech divergence. When the Arab nations issued an oil communiqué to the world not in English, but in Arabic, they were making a clear political statement. They no longer wished to be seen as accommodating to the Western English-speaking powers. Similarly, minority ethnic groups who want to maintain and display their cultural distinctiveness will often use their own linguistic variety, even, and sometimes especially, in interaction with majority group members. Maori dissidents who can speak fluent English have nevertheless insisted on using Maori in court, making it necessary to use interpreter. Giving a speech in minority language to an audience made up largely of majority group monolinguals is another example of linguistically divergent behavior. This, too, has sometimes been done to make a political point (Holmes, 2005).

Accent divergence also occurs (Holmes, 2005). Working-class men often respond to the university-educated students who join them just for the summer on the docks, in factories, or in the shearing sheds, by increasing their swearing and using a higher frequency of vernacular forms. On the other hand, people who aspire to a higher social status will diverge upwards from the speech of those from the same social class. In Liverpool, for example teachers in some schools pronounce words like bath and grass with a back vowel more typical of southern than northern accents. So they say [ba:0] and [gra:s] which distinguishes them from their pupils and many of their pupils` parents, who say [bao] and [gras]. And that is often precisely the point of divergent pronunciations: they may signal the speakers` wish to distinguish themselves from their addresses (Holmes, 2008).

Speech divergence does not always reflect a speaker`s negative attitudes towards the addressees. Where the divergent forms are admired, divergence can be used to benefit the diverge. A small difference, such as a slight foreign accent (provided it is one which is viewed favorably). Can be appealing. Brigitte Bardot and Maurice Chevalier exploited their French accents in speaking English to add to their appeal. Victor Borge`s Danish nationality and accent are booth well-integrated into his comedy performance to positive effect. A foreigner can also elicit help by using an accent or vocabulary which signals inadequate control of the language. If a foreign visitor sounds too much like a native speaker it my work to their disadvantage, and even arouse suspicions. An English Canadian who was fluently bilingual French and English aroused considerable hostility when a French speaking group he was talking with realized he could speak perfect English too. He reported that they treated him as if he was a spy. Perfect convergence has its costs.

3. Context, style and class

Formal contexts and social roles as illustrated by Holmes (2005).

Example 1

Yesterday in the Wellington District Court … the all black captain, jock Hobbs, appeared as duty solicitor. Presiding was his father, Judge M. F Hobbs.

Etiquette required Mr. Hobbs to address his father as Your Honor, or sir, and the Bench had to address counsel as Mr. Hobbs… Mr. Hobbs could not remember the last time he had to call his father sir… said the father to son. When the son announced his appearance and all matters as duty solicitor " I appreciate the difficulties you are laboring under , Mr. Hobbs(Holmes, 2005).

Although a powerful influence on choice of style, characteristics of the addressee are not the only relevant factors. In example 3 in chapter 1, the way businesswoman was addressed was determinate largely by the relationship between the woman and her addressee in terms of relative's status and solidarity. People who were very close to her used a short form of her first name(meg), or an endearment. People who were less close and socially subordinate used her title and last name(Mrs. Walker).In example 11, however, the choice of appropriate form is influenced not by the personal relationship between the participants, but by the formality of the context and their relative roles and statuses within that setting(Holmes, 2005).

A law court is a formal setting where the social roles of participants override their personal relationship in determining the appropriate linguistic forms. In classrooms where a child`s mother or father is the teacher, the same pattern is usually found. Children call their parents Mrs. Grady or Mr. Davis rather ceremony. People`s roles in these formal contexts determine the appropriate speech forms. Example 12 illustrates the way vocabulary varies with setting.

Example 2

Judge : I see the cops say you were pickled last night and were driving an old jalopy down the middle of the road. True?

Defendant : Your honor, if I might be permitted to address this allegation, I should like to report that I was neither inebriated nor under the influence of an alcoholic beverage of any kind.

The formal and Latinate Vocabulary appropriate to very formal settings inebriated, alcoholic beverage, an allegation- contrasts with the inappropriately informal vocabulary used here for humorous effect. Words such as pickled and jalopy are normally heard in much more casual contexts (Holmes, 2005).

E. Colloquial style or the vernacular

There are other strategies besides topic manipulation which have been used in order to capture people`s most relaxed or vernacular speech style. Taping groups of people rather than individuals, for instance, and choosing a very comfortable or informal setting are strategies which have been found to shift people`s speech towards the vernacular. One social dialectologist collected her data from adolescents in vacant lots and adventure playgrounds, and she taped them in groups of two or three. Another taped group of friends yarning in each other`s kitchens. And Labor himself in a later study used African American interviewers to collect data from African American adolescents, generally in groups on the streets where they met. Both increasing the number of participants, and choosing a very casual setting contributed to obtaining more relaxed speech. The following examples of the vernacular were collected in a family living-room (Holmes, 2008).

1. Hypercorrection

Example:

I remember where he was run over, not far from our corner. He darted out about four feet before a we cared so much for him till, he was hurt (Holmes, 2005). Example 3 is another of the reading passages used by labor in his study of New York City speech (Holmes, 2005). You can doubtless guess the variable it was designed to elicit. The results for the distribution of this variable- postvocalic{r}-over five speech styles for four social groups is probably the most widely reproduced diagram from labor's research, see figure 10.3. The reason for its popularity is no doubt the fact that it illustrates so many fascinating points about the relationships between language use, social group membership and style (Holmes, 2005).

2. Style in non-Western societies

Example:

When he first visited Tokyo, Neil found his Japanese was fine for reading and for talking to other young mem of his own age, but in any other interactions he found himself floundering. He knew that he needed to express the appropriate degree of respect to his hosts and to the various business contacts he was introduced to. Yet his control of the complex system of Japanese styles and honorifics was not yet good enough. He simply struggled along in a 'basic' or' plain's style, frustrated that the subtleties of Japanese interpersonal interaction were beyond him (Holmes, 2002).

Japanese is one of a number of languages with a special set of grammatical contrasts for expressing politeness and respect for others. Before deciding which style of Japanese to use, Japanese speakers assess their status in relation to their addressees on the basis of such factors as family background, gender and age (and ever one day's age difference can be important).as well as the formality of the context. They then select from plain, polite and deferential style. The choice of appropriate style involves not only pronunciation, but also word forms and syntax. The appropriate from of the verb, for instance varies in different styles.

3. Register

In our daily life, the people use different language. The differences may be caused by who speaks, with whom, where, how, what is the topic, what the media are used to communicate and so on. All the aforementioned reason above can result in an influence to social context, purpose, and need As a result, each expression has differences. Holmes (1992:276) states that the terms ‘Register’ here describes the language of groups of people with common interest of job in certain situation. According to Wardhaugh (1998:48) register are set of language items associated with discrete occupational or social groups.

Yule (2000:253) in his book also identifies register as a variation of language according to its use in specific situation. In general, the choice of register will have a direct effect on the style what one says. It means that register is simply a rather special case of particular kind of language being produced by occupational situation. Register likely occur in any situation involving members of particular profession or occupation, for example: Language of law, language of medicine, language of engineering and etc.

Besides, one phenomenon form in using expression is only used by a certain group or certain people only knows register. The definitions bellows based on some linguists.

a. Wardhaugh (2006: 52) register is another complicating factor in any study of language varieties.
b. Mackey (1978: 45) holds that register is a term employed by some linguists to indicate the use to which a language is put occupational, emotive, and informative.

c. Fowler (1997: 14 -15) proposes that a set of contextual features bringing about a characteristic use of formal features called register.
d. Antilla (1989: 49) says that speech community displays systematic variation on other scale – social layer (occupation, ethnic background,) sex, age and social context, it is called register.
e. According to Wardhaugh (2000:48) in Daniek (2008:7) register is set of the language terms associated with discrete occupational or social groups.
f. Holmes (1992:272) strengthens that register is the language of group of people with common interest or jobs or the language used in situation associated with such groups.
g. Biber (1994:20 then explain that register is the communication situation that recurs regularly in a society (in terms of participant, setting, communicative function and so forth)
h. According to Halliday (1978) in Rukmana (2009:16) register is determined by what is taking place, who is takin g part and what part the language is playing.

In studying language varieties, register is another complicating factor. It is set of items associated with discrete occupational or social groups. People participating in recurrent communication situation tend to develop similar features or intonation, and characteristics bits of syntax and phonology that they use in these situations. This kind of varieties is called register (Ferguson

1994:20). There are some factors which influence register. Firstly, is the purpose of the speaker. Each speaker has own purpose in expressing their ideas, secondly, is speaker's profession or occupation. Hudson (1980:24) defines that "One's register shows what you are doing"

Based on the definition above, it is clear that register is the particular vocabulary choice made by an individual or a group to fulfill the variety functions that add up to communication. Therefore, language used by football register i.e. The examples of register are *play-off, runner up, starting line, drawing, head-to-head, set piece, top scorer, assist, kick off, play maker, top scorer, goal, hand ball, play maker, off side, corner kick, etc.*

Conclusion

People’s speech reflects not only aspects or their identity such as their ethnicity, age, gender and social background, it also reflects the context in at business meeting and graduation ceremonies reflect the formality of those context and the social roles people take in them. We use more relaxed language at home with those we know well. When we talk differently to babies and adults. Or to people from different social background, we are adapting or accommodating our language to our audience (Holmes, 2008).

Stylistic variation of this sort can be observed in all language, in multilingual communities it is often signaled by the choice of a specific language, as well as by choice of linguistic variants within a particular’s language. The linguistic distinction between styles within a language are more clear-cut in some language. Such as Javanese, Korean and Japan’s, than in other such as Tasmanian English the reason people choose one style rather than another can be related once again to the scale described in chapter 1. how well does the speaker know the addresses? What their relative status? How formal is the context? All these factors have proved important in the discussion of linguistic variations in this chapter, the fourth dimension of registers differences introduces the idea that the style may be determined by the function which the language is serving(Holmes, 2005).

Speech Functions, Politeness and Cross-Cultural Communication

When we adapt our talk to suit our audience and talk differently to children, customers and colleagues. We use language differently in formal and casual contexts (Holmes, 2005). The purpose of talk will also affect its form. In this chapter I will begin by considering the range of functions language may serve, and the variety of ways in which the 'same' message may be expressed (Holmes, 2002).

Why do we select one way rather than another to convey our message? Given a choice between *Mr. Shaw, Robert,* and Bob, for instance, how do we decide which is appropriate? One relevant factor is politeness (Holmes, 2008). Cleary rules for polite behavior differ from one speech community to another. Linguistic politeness I culturally determined. Different speech communities emphasize different functions, and express particular functions differently. How should one express gratitude for a meal in another culture? Is it possible to refuse an invitation politely? How should one greet people in different speech communities? These are the kinds of questions which will be touched on in the final section of this chapter where some examples of cross-cultural differences in the expression of speech functions are discussed (Holmes, 2002, 2008,2013).

A. The functions of speech

Example:

Boss	: Good morning, Sue. Lovely day.
Secretary	: Yes, it's beautiful. Makes you wonder when we're doing here doesn't it

Boss : Mm, that's right. Look I wonder if you could possibly sort this lot out by ten. I need them for a meeting
Secretary : Yes sure, no problem.
Boss : Thanks that's great.

This dialogue is typical of many everyday interactions in that it serves both an affective (or social) function, and a referential (or informative) function. The initial greetings and comments on the weather serve a social function: they establish contact between the two participants. The exchange then moves on the become more information-oriented or referential in function. IIt is possible, however, to distinguish a great variety of different functions which language serves (Holmes, 2002).

There are a number of ways of categorizing the functions of speech. The following list has proved a useful one in sociolinguistic research.

1. **Expressive** utterances express the speaker's feelings, e.g. *I'm feeling great today.*
2. **Directive** utterances attempt to get someone to do something, e.g., *Clear the table.*
3. **Referential** utterances provide information, e.g. *At the third stroke it will be three o'clock precisely.*
4. **Metalinguistic** utterances comment on language itself, e.g., *Hegemony is not a common word*
5. **Poetic** utterances focus on aesthetic features of language, e.g., a poem, an ear-catching motto, a rhyme, *Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers.*
6. **Phatic** utterances express solidarity and empathy with others, e.g., *Hi, how are you, lovely day isn't it!*

Though I have provided a very brief indication of what the function labels mean, and an example of each in the form of a single utterances, it is important to remember that any utterance may in fact express more than one function, and any function may be expressed by a stretch of discourse which doesn't exactly coincide with an utterance (Holmes, 2002, 2008).

The first three functions are recognized by many linguists, through the precise labels they are given may differ. They seem to be very fundamental functions of language, perhaps because they derive from the basic components of any interaction – the speaker (*expressive*), the addressee (*directive*) and the message (*referential*). The *phatic* function is, however, equally important from a sociolinguistic perspective. Phatic communication conveys an effective or social message rather than a referential one. One of the insights provided by sociolinguists has been precisely that language is not simply used to convey referential information, but also expresses information about social relationships (Holmes, 2002).

B. Politeness and address forms

Holmes (2008) illustrates as in Israel below.

Example 1

Israeli passenger and driver on an inter-city bus

Passenger : Turn the light on, please.
Driver : What?
Passenger : Turn the light on, please.
Driver : It disturbs me.
Passenger : I wanted to read.

This exchange between two Israeli seems very direct and blunt to most English speakers. Being polite is a complicated business in any language. It is difficult to learn because it involves understanding not just the language, but also the social and cultural values of the community. We often don't appreciate just how complicated it is, because we tend to think of politeness simply as a matter of saying *please* and *thank you* in the right places. In fact, it involves a great deal more than the superficial politeness routines that parents explicitly teach their children, as the discussion of directives and expressive above suggested (Holmes, 2008).

Take the word *please* for example. Children are told to say *please* when they are making requests, as a way of expressing themselves politely. But adults use *please* far less than one might suppose, and when they do, if often has the effect of making a directive sound less polite and more peremptory. Compare the pairs of utterances in example 17, for instance.

Example 2

1. Could you take my bags up?
2. Could you take my bags up, please?
3. Answer the phone, Jo.
4. Please answer the phone, Jo.

As always, a great deal depends on intonation and tone of voice, but clearly *please* does not necessarily increase the politeness of these directives. This example also raises the question of what we mean by politeness. Generally speaking, politeness involves taking account of the feelings of others. A polite person makes others feel comfortable. Being linguistically polite involves speaking to people appropriately in the light of their relationship to you. Inappropriate linguistic choices may be considered rude. Using an imperative such as *stop talking* or *shut that door* to a superior at work is likely to each the office junior a reprimand (Holmes, 2005). Calling the managing director Sally when you do not know her well and have only just started work in the typing pool or stationery store is likely to be considered polite in any community therefore involves assessing social relationships along the dimensions of social distance or solidarity, and relative power or status We need to understand the social values of a society in order to speak politely (Holmes, 2002).

These two dimensions also provide the basis for a distinction between two different types of politeness. *Positive politeness* I solidarity oriented. It emphasizes shared attitudes and values. When the boss suggests that a subordinate should use first name (FN) to her, this is a positive politeness move, expressing solidarity and minimizing status differences. A shift to a more informal style using slang and swear words will function similarly as an expression of positive politeness (Holmes, 2002).

C. Linguistic politeness in different cultures

Example:

Christina Paulston, a Swede, returned home after living in America for some time. One of evening soon after arriving back she invited some people to dinner, including her brother and his wife (Holmes, 2005). She was in the kitchen when they arrived, and when she came through into the lounge she said to her sister-in-law, in impeccable Swedish, ‘do you know everyone?’. An American and am English person would assume that Christina, as hostess, was checking that her sister-in-law had been introduced to anyone she had not previously met. In Sweden, however, etiquette requires as new arrival to introduce themselves to anyone they do not know. Her sister-in-law was very offended by Cristina’s question, assuming Christina was implying she did not know the rules for greeting people politely (Holmes, 2008).

Anyone who has travelled outside their own speech community is likely to have had some experience of miscommunication based on cultural differences. Often these relate to different assumptions deriving from different ‘normal’ environments (Holmes, 2002). A Thai student in Britain, for example, reported not being able to understand what her hostess meant when she asked *On which day of the week would you like to have your bath?* Coming from a very hot country with a ‘water-oriented culture’, the notion that she might have a bath only once a week was very difficult to grasp. Learning another language usually involves a great deal more than learning the literal meaning of the words, how to put them together, and how to pronounce them. We need to know what they mean in the cultural context in which they are normally used. And that involves some understanding of the cultural and social norms of their users (Holmes, 2005).

We automatically make many unconscious sociolinguistic assumptions about what people mean when they as a particular question or make a statement. When we ask someone to introduce an honored guest at an important formal dinner, we expect something more elaborate than *This is Dr Kennedy.* When we ask someone to dinner we assume they will know the norms concerning appropriate dress, time of arrival, and possible topics for discussion during the evening (Holmes, 2002, 2008)..

Language, Cognition and Culture

Wardhaugh (1998) in Rukmana (2009:9) stated that language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by which a group of people communicate or interact. They said, “This particular definition, states that language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbol used for human communication” Wardhaugh (1998:3) in It means that there is no logical relationship between the symbol and language so we can say that language strongly influenced by culture, and social economy. There is truly possible if any differentiation in vocabulary between one and others places. According to Jendra (2004:5) linguistics is the study of human’s language. For the question “What is language? Many and varied answers can be given. There are some definitions from the writer. Truddgill (1974) in Rukmana (2009:8) defined that language is not simply a means of communication information about the weather or many other subjects. It also very important means of establishing and maintaining relationship with other people. In other word, the existence of language is needed for people. Lyons (1997) There is no society without language and there is no society without communication. On the other words, language is very important in human life and it stands on the center of human society ranging from the simple to the complex one.

Example:

A: Why are all dumb blonde jokes one liner?

B: So, man can remember them.

Jokes like this encode culturally specific assumptions, e.g. that *blonde* typically refers to a woman, not a man, and that the categories ‘dumb blonde’ and ‘dumb blonde jokes’ are familiar to the addressee. But the joke also challenges the assumptions of typical ‘dumb blonde’ jokes, in making men rather than woman the butt of the humor. Feminists argue that such challenges are important because they provide alternatives to the dominant social stereotype. They help create new grooves for people’s thinking habits (Holmes, 2002)..

Earlier chapters have demonstrated that the way a person speaks generally signal at least some social information about their background, such as what kind a social group or class they belong to. A person’s ethnicity, age and gender are also often reflected in their linguistic choices. In discussing gender, it became clear it is possible to view the relationship between social factors and language as rather more dynamic than is often assumed. Sociolinguists who adopt a social constructionist approach argue that language not only reflects and expresses our membership of social categories, it also contributes to the construction of our social identity. So, as she interacts with other in a variety of social contexts, a young woman’s linguistic choices actively construct her age, class, ethnic and gender identity(Holmes, 2005). She ‘chooses’ to portray herself as a young, working-class, Maori woman - or not - to the linguistic features she uses (Holmes, 2008).

A. Language and perception

Example:

. . . it has been said that “bad girls get babies, but good girls get myomata”

> Surgery is also indicated when . . . hormone treatment has failed to control the symptoms . . .
>
> Since many women erroneously believe that following hysterectomy, their sexual urge ceases, that coitus is not possible and that obesity is usual, the physician must explain that removal of the uterus has no side-effects.
>
> . . . hysterectomy is the treatment of choice when . . . the patient has completed her family . . .
>
> The operation of choice in all women under the age of 40 . . . who wish to preserve their reproductive function . . .

As you may have guessed, these quotations occur in a textbook written by a (male) medical expert for medical students. But also, the provide clues about the way doctors view patients. Perhaps the most obvious feature of the text is its impersonal and detached tone which is achieved through the use of agentless passive constructions (surgery is . . . indicated) impersonal nouns (the physician, the patient), and formal devices such as nominalizations. So, for example, surgery is indicated, rather than doctors think that people need surgery when . . . or even I think that . . . this construction also permits the author to neatly avoid drawing attention to reasons for the failure of the treatment to control symptoms (Holmes, 2005).. Hysterectomy is described as the treatment of choice, allowing the author to avoid the issue of whose choice. Women are depicted as at least ignorant, if not gullible with their 'erroneous' beliefs, and primarily in their role as potential child-bearers, since invasive surgery is to be avoided as long as the woman's reproductive function needs to be maintained. And the opening sentence presents a patronizing, if not insulting, saying as if it is common knowledge, although its technical word myomata (benign fibroid tumor of the uterus) indicates it could only have been produced by physicians (Holmes, 2002).

B. Verbal hygiene

Example 1

Angela	: I was sitting quietly drinking my tea, minding my own business when suddenly the foreperson burst in and shouted 'what are you doing here? Get back to work - you know that shipments overdue. Bloody cheek. I'm entitled to my tea – break!
Jim	: you are. She's a vampire – but what's all this 'foreperson' stuff? I bet you wouldn't use that term for a man. Political correctness gone mad eh.

Verbal hygiene is the thought – provoking term used by Deborah Cameron to describe how people respond to 'the urge to meddle in matters of language'. It covers a wide range of activities, from writing letters to Editor complaining about the 'deterioration' and 'abuse' of language (Holmes, 2008). Prescriptions and proscriptions about what constitute 'proper', 'correct' and 'acceptable' usage in a range of context, to using language as a political weapon. The discussion of sexist language in chapter 12 illustrated an area where feminists have enthusiastically engaged in verbal hygiene. Reflecting their beliefs that achieving a change in linguistic usage is itself worthwhile form a public, political action and consciousness raising.

We have now reached the point where you being politically correct? must be regarded as a trick question. If you say yes, you will be regarded as over-concerned with a political orthodoxy. If you say no, you put yourself in the politically suspect, non-conformist camp. An ironic confirmation of the political power of language! And an indication, Deborah Cameron suggests, of the extent to which right-wing commentator have captured and redefined a phrase introduced by the liberal left (Holmes, 2002, 2008)..

Example 2

1. All reactionaries are paper tigers.
2. People of the world, unite and defeat the US aggressor and all their running dogs!
3. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings.
4. Lack of achievement in work may breed pessimism and depression, while achievement may breed pride and arrogance.

Holmes (2008) Maoist China provides many further examples of the co-option of language for political purpose. Mao was well aware of the power of language furthering revolutionary goals, and he took control of channel of public communication, including the education system, at an early stage (Holmes, 2005). The central text of the Cultural Revolution was a pocket compendium of quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong, first produced in 1964 and labelled the little Red Book by the rest of the world. These quotations came to permeate every day, life and the phrase *Dai Yulu Zhang* 'fight a quotation war' became established in the Chinese lexicon. Quotation and counter-quotation were even heard in market-place as people bargained for goods. Newspapers filled their columns with extracts Mao's work and with article stitched together around quotation from Mao. One analysis identified an average of 17 quotations from Mao on just the first two pages of the People's Daily throughout 1970. Even English Language textbooks used mainly political material for exemplification. This often resulted in some odd pedagogical practices (Holmes, 2005). Relatively unusual grammatical forms were introduced early, for instance, because of their widespread use in slogans such as *Long live Chairman Mao!* And down with capitalists' imperialism! And English-Chinese dictionaries illustrated the meaning of words such as unemployment with the citation 'Unemployment is increasing in the capitalist countries' and *luoshi 'fulfil'* with the sentence 'Fulfil the task of consolidating the dictator ship of the proletariat down to every grassroots organization'!

Holmes (2002) adds that Mao obviously believed that language had an important role to play in educating people, and in shaping their attitudes and values. To achieve this, powerful groups were established explicitly labeled *Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Teams.* Critics argue that Mao's quotations provided an ideal method of brain-washing or unfairly influencing the thinking of huge and largely illiterate population. they consisted of short formulae which were easily remembered and repeated. They encoded a particular political position which was that of the dominant party, and which was reinforced by materials used in the education system, making it difficult to take an opposing position ,and even more difficult to express such a position. Many analysts argue that Mao‘s revolution owed at least as much to his outstanding skills as a propagandist, as to his military and political prowess. They suggest he used formulaic language to promote conformist attitudes and thinking. This approach suggests a close relationship between language and thought.

C. Whorf

Linguistic determinism is the strong form of linguistic relativity (popularly known as the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis), which argues that individuals experience the world based on the structure of the language they habitually use. Then Holmes (2002) describes about vocabulary and cognition as more detailed explanation as below

D. Vocabulary and Cognition

Example 5

Frank : don’t throw your cigarette butts in there. it’s dangerous

Bill : why not? The label says empty

Frank : well, there’s gasoline in them but there’s plenty of

Explosive vapor - so watch out

Holmes (2005) describes that the example above has been discussed in the previous sections suggest that there is a close relationship between language and perception. But what is the exact nature of this relationship? Does language constrain perception or vice –versa? Is thought independent of language or do the categories of language pre-determine what we can think about or conceive of? Do the categories we learn to distinguish as we acquire language provide a framework? Do different languages encode experience differently? And now can we ever tell since it seems impossible to escape from circle?

The relationship between language, thought and reality has fascinated linguist and philosophers for centuries. In recent times, the person whose name is most closely associated with investigations of the relationship between language and thought is Benjamin Lee Whorf. Whorf was an anthropological linguist who began his career as a chemical engineer working for a fire insurance company. He first investigated Native American languages as a hobby, but later studied with Edward Sapir at Yale University. In the course of processing insurance claims, he noticed that the particular words selected to describe or label object often influenced people's perception and behavior. So, as example 5 illustrates, around gasoline drums labelled as empty, people would smoke, or even toss in cigarette stubs, despite the fact that they were full of potentially explosive vapor (Holmes, 2002, 2008).

E. Linguist determinism: the medium is the massage

The strong form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is generally labelled linguistic determinism (Holmes, 2005). This holds that people from different cultures think differently because of differences in their languages. A narrative speaker of Hopi, Whorf claimed, perceives reality differently from a native speaker of English because she uses a different language. Few sociolinguists would accept such a strong claim, but must accept the weaker claim of linguistic relativity, that language influences perceptions, thought, and, at least potentially, behaviour (Holmes, 2005).

The main problem in assessing Whorf's argument is the danger of inescapable circularity. We observe that languages differ and conclude that the thought of their speaker also differs. Bur the only evidence we have that ship between language and thought is a real challenge because the most obvious way to access thought is thought language (Holmes, 2008).

Some languages have linguistic categories which take account of the shape of object (Holmes, 2005). The form of Navaho verbs, for example is sometimes determined by the shape of the object: e.g., long or short, thin or thick, round or not, and so on. Not surprisingly, Navaho speaking children are typically much faster than English speaking children in categorizing blocks by shape. And given a choice of ways of putting objects into groups, Navaho children tend to groups them according to shape, while English speaking children groups them according to cooler. These interesting finding based on experiment with colors and shapes all support the weaker principle of linguistic relativity, i.e., the categories provided by language may make it easier to draw certain conceptual distinctions (Holmes, 2002).

Exercise:

Examine the data in table 11.1

Table 11.1 names for numbers 1-6 and 10-15 in four languages

Number	English	French	Chinese	Japanese
1	One	Un	Yi	Ichi
2	Two	Deux	Er	Ni
3	three	Trois	San	San
4	four	Quatre	Si	Shi
5	five	Cinq	Wu	Go
6	six	Six	Liu	roku
10	ten	Dix	Shi	Juu
11	eleven	Onze	Shi-yi	Juu-ichi
12	twelve	Douze	Shi-er	Juu-ni
13	thirteen	Treize	Shi-san	Juu-san
14	fourteen	Quartorze	Shi-si	Juu-si
15	Fifteen	Quinze	Shi-wu	Juu-go

The Chinese word for eleven Shi-Yi is literally ten-one and for twenty the Chinese word is er-shi, literally two-ten. consequently, learning to count beyond ten is easier for Chinese speaking children than English speaking children. More recently, it has even been suggested that Chinese, Japanese, Korea children understand number concepts earlier that English French children because of the ways their respective languages code number above 10. If true this is interesting support for the idea that languages facilitate. particular kinds of thinking like the color experiments (Holmes, 2002). This evidence suggest that the categories provide by a language may favor certain ways of perceiving realty or the world and make certain behaviors easier. However, we must also constitute very limited semantic fields. Is there evidence in other areas too?

F. Linguistic Categories and Culture

Native American and Australian Aboriginal languages are often cited as examples which roundly refute popular misconceptions about primitive languages, e.g. simple societies can't have complex grammar's (Holmes, 2008). Kwakiutl, a Native American language, for example , requires a grammatical classification of nouns based on whether they are visible or not. And while French requires every noun to be assigned to one of two genders, Dyirbal, an Australian Aboriginal language, has four such categories (Holmes, 2002).

Using Western criteria, the traditional nomadic lifestyle of the Aboriginal people of Australian seems very simple. Their culture, however is thousands of years old and their languages are amongst the most interesting and grammatically complex that have been researched. Every noun in Dyirbal speaker uses a noun in a sentence the noun must be preceded by one of the four classifiers: *bayi, balan, balam, or bala*. Can you identify any semantic coherence between the items in the different classes?

While there is some basis in perceived shared semantic features for the allocation of Dyirbal nouns to different classes, the answer to this question is not all obvious other cultures. The general patterns Dyirbal (Holmes, 2005).

Table 11.2 Dyirbal noun classes

I	II	III	IV
Bayi	Balan	Balam	bala
Men	women	Edible fruit	Part of the body
Kangaroos	Bandicoots	Fruit plants	Meat
Possums	Dogs	Tubers	Bees
Snakes	Platypus	Ferns	mud
Fishes	Birds	cigarettes	grass
Insect	Spears	wine	wind
Storms	Water	cake	noises
The moon	Fire	honey	language
Fishing spears	Stars	Boomerangs	Sun

Speakers seem to use to learn the system can be summarized as follows:

I.	Bayi	:	(human) males; some animals
II.	Balan	:	(human) females , birds , water, fire , fighting.
III.	Balam	:	non flesh food
IV.	Bala	:	everything else

Particular types of experience establish associations which determine the class membership of some items. So, for instance, fish are in class I because they are animate and fishing implements are also in class I because they are associated with fish. This also explains why sun and stars are in the same class as fire (Holmes, 2002). However, Dyirbal myths and cultural beliefs also make contribution to class allocation. So, contrary to Western mythology, the moon is male and husband of the sun, which is female. Hence the moon is in class I with men, while the sun is in class 2 with women (Holmes, 2008). Birds are believed to be the spirits of dead human females, and hence they are also class 2. The system is of course totally automatic for Dyirbal speakers and one should not necessarily expect a speaker to be able to explain it to an outsider. Nor should we expect the relationship between categorization and cultural beliefs to be direct, transparent or available to reflection. After all, a German speaker would be hard pressed to explain why the word Madchen meaning girl is in the same category as inanimate objects such as books (Buch), while English speakers would have difficulty interpreting the significance of the fact that the English demonstratives this vs that code degrees of proximity to the speaker (Holmes, 2005).

G. Discourse patterns and culture

Example:

Robyn Kina grew up in difficult family circumstances in an Aboriginal environment in Australia. By the age of 19 she had a criminal record, reflecting a number of encounters with the police in which she had come off worst. In her mid-twenties she lived with non-Aboriginal man Tony Black, who regularly beat her up and subjected her to other horrific attack, especially when he was drunk. During an argument one morning, Black threatened to rape Kina's 14-years-old niece who was living them. Kina stabbed him once in the chest as he came toward her with a chair raised above his head. She was shocked to see him fall to the ground. He died in hospital shortly afterwards. Robyn Kina pleaded not guilty to murder since she had not intended to kill Black. She did not give evidence and no witnesses were called. After one of the shorter trials in Australian history, Kina was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor.

The intertwining of language, culture and perception is evident when we examine research on patterns of interaction too (Holmes, 2008). Cultural differences between the discourse patterns of the majority and minority culture can often have serious consequences, as the research of Diana Eades, comparing Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians, demonstrates. Even, and perhaps especially, when both groups apparently use the same language, culturally different pattern of interaction can be a source of misunderstanding (Holmes, 2002).

Regardless of the particular language being spoken, Aboriginal society throughout Australian places great importance on indirectness; it is important to avoid being intrusive. This involves giving other people interactional privacy, a crucial mechanism in a society where there is frequently little physical privacy. In discourse, this socio-cultural norm is reflected in a number of ways (Holmes, 2002, 2008). If you want information form an Aboriginal person, it is important to follow the discourse rules. Factual information relating to location and time, and how people are related to each other, for instance, is typically elicited in Aboriginal English using a statement with rising intonation, e.g. *you were at the store*? In other words, the questioner presents a proposition for confirmation or correction (Holmes, 2002, 2008).

H. Language, social class, and cognition

Example:

1. Emmie, the daughter of a Scottish aristocratic family, was enrolled at an English public school. At the end of her first month, she failed all the oral progress test. The school assumed she lacked intellectual ability.

   ‘This is outrageous’ her mother declared, ‘she is an outstandingly intelligent young woman. What is the problem?’

   ‘Her English is deficient; she can’t communicate’ responded her form teacher. ‘We can’t understand a word she says.’

   ‘Well, that’s your problem’ announced Emmie’s mother. ‘You had better learn to!’

2. Middle – class children do well in school.
   Working – class children don’t do well in school.
   Middle – class children speak a different variety of English than working – class children.

   Usual conclusion working – class children should change the way they speak.
   Spot the faulty logic?

The previous section provided an example of the potentially punitive social implications of culturally different ways of interacting, even when both groups are using varieties of the same language, (Holmes, 2002). Others have been interested in whether there are possible cognitive implications where groups use different varieties of a language. Basil Bernstein was a sociologist, he was concerned that British children from working – class backgrounds were not progressing well at school (Holmes, 2008). It was also widely recognized that working – class children spoke English differently from middles – class children. It was easy to conclude that these two observations were related.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed various ways in which language, thought and culture interrelate. Most sociolinguists agree that language influences our perceptions of ‘reality’. There is little doubt that consistent use of pejorative terms for a group, for instance, affects people’s perceptions of that group’s member. This is the basis of arguments against sexist and racist language. There is also psycholinguistic evidence that the existence of particular categories in a language may predispose speakers to classify ‘reality’ in one way rather than another. So, for instance, sorting colored items into categories is easier when our language clearly influences perception in such cases (Holmes, 20013).

There is also undisputed evidence, however, that the physical and cultural environment in which it develops influences the vocabulary and grammar of a language. Languages develop the vocabulary their speakers need, whether to label different kinds of kangaroo or to identify different ways of cooking rice (Holmes, 2008). Important, frequently occurring distinctions tend to get incorporated into the grammar. The creolisation process described in chapter 4, for example, indicated that future time was initially lexically marked in Tok Pisin as *baimbai* but eventually became grammaticalized in the form of a regular prefix [ba] grammatical gender is another such category which often reflects both physical and culturally important distinctions, with roots deep in the mythology and belief systems of a community, as illustrated by the aboriginal language Dyirbal. Culturally important semantic distinctions are thus typically encoded in many aspects of the structure of languages, even though current users may not always be able to consciously articulate the underlying rationale.

Attitudes to Language

According to Amin (2020) that the use of language is a form of social interaction that occurs in various situations. Social interaction will live from the activity of talking to members of the language users. Language is also a means to show self-identity. Through language, we can show our viewpoint, our origins and nations, our education level, even our nature. From the sociolinguistic perspective, language attitude in multilingual society is an interesting phenomenon to study. Language behavior and attitude towards language are the two things that are closely related, which can determine the choice of languages as well as the survival of a language. Holmes (2002) illustrates as below.

Example 1

Sir,

What are teachers doing today? They don't seem to know the first thing about teaching pronunciation. One mispronunciation which really galls me is when people say LORE instead *law*. On radio and TV LORE *and order* is replacing law and order in the speech of all the announcers. Can't people see that lore and law, saw and soar are different words? Introducing these superfluous rs all over the place is a sign of ignorance. Yesterday my son SOAR a frog in the pond he tells me. Though his teacher isn't a bore, she appears to be a boor as far as teaching him which words have an r in them and which don't!

People who hold strong views about the way words should be pronounced illustrated nicely the themes of this chapter. The issue of whether r should be pronounced or not pronounced in English is an especially good example of the arbitrariness of the linguistic features which attract such attention, as we saw in chapter 9 and 10. There is nothing intrinsically good or bad about [r]-pronouncing. Yet in some communities it is regarded as an example of 'good speech', and in other [r]-pronouncing is regarded as humorous, rustic, and as evidence of lack of education. Ultimately attitudes to language reflect attitudes to the users and the uses of language, as we shall see in this chapter. There is nothing intrinsically beautiful or correct about any particular sound. Swallow, for example, has positive connotations when people associate the word with the bird, but if you define it as the action which follows chewing, the associations alter, and so do assessments of the word's 'beauty'. Context is all!

Some critics of [r]-less accents argue that they will disadvantage their users in the area of reading in particular. They argue that people who don't distinguish the pronunciation of lore and law or sword and sawed are storing up literacy problems for the future. It is easy to demonstrate that such fears are ill-founded. While pronunciation differences can be a help in distinguishing different meaning, they are not essential. People manage to distinguish the meanings of son and sun, break and brake, and write, rite and right, despite the fact that they sound the same in most accents of English. But this kind of argument, linking linguistic attitudes which are based on social prejudice to often spurious educational consequences, is surprisingly widespread. The second half of this chapter discusses these issues as one example of applied sociolinguistics (Holmes, 2002, 2008).

Example 2

‘Danish is not a language, but a throat disease’ wrote one Norwegian respondent in reply to a 1950s postal questionnaire asking for Scandinavian people’s opinions of the relative aesthetic qualities of Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian.

The results of the questionnaire placed Swedish first and Danish at the bottom of the pile. These results reflected not so much the relative aesthetic qualities of the three languages as the political fortunes of the three countries associated with each. Swedish was at that time the undoubted political leader, while Danish – the former ruling power – was in a less influential political position. People’s attitudes to Swedish and Danish reflected Scandinavian politics rather than any intrinsic linguistics features of the language. With the rise of Danish influence through its membership of the European economic community, one would expect different results from a similar questionnaire in the twenty-firs century (Holmes, 2002).

It has been suggested that intelligibility is also affected by attitudes. People generally find it easier to understand languages and dialects spoken by people they like or admire (Holmes, 2005). A closely related point at least for majority group members is that people are more highly motivated and consequently often more successful, in acquiring a second language when they feel positive towards those who use it clearly attitudes to language have interesting implications both for politicians and language teachers (Holmes, 2008).

People generally do not hold opinions about languages in a vacuum. they develop attitudes towards languages which reflect their views about those who speak the languages, and the contexts and functions with which they are associated. when people listen to accents or languages they have never heard before their assessments are totally random. There is no pattern to them.in other words there is no universal consensus about which languages sound most beautiful and which most ugly, despite people's beliefs that some languages are just inherently more beautiful than others.

Attitudes to languages are strongly influenced by social and political factors (Holmes, 2002). Language planners must take account of attitudes when they select a suitable language planners must take account of attitudes when they select a suitable language for development as an official or national language. Attitude to pidgins and creoles, for instance, present major impediments to their promotion and acceptance as official languages, or for use in schools.in other countries the official status given to unpopular languages has caused problems. There have been riots in Belgium and India over language issues, and bombings and the removal of English road signs illustrate the strength of people's feelings about the place of English in Wales. In Quebec it was found in the 1960.that French-Canadians tended to rate English-Canadian voices on tape very positively, as more intelligent competent and likeable for instance than French-Canadian voices increased political awareness and the increased self-esteem that went with this. language attitudes are very sensitive to social and political changes (Holmes, 2008).

Language attitudes can have a great influence in areas such as education (Holmes, 2002). Argument in Somalia about which script should be used to write down Somalia, a Cushitic language, progress in increasing literacy rates for decades (Holmes, 2013). The most influential factors in this debate were not the intrinsic merits of the alternative scripts, but rather people's attitudes to speakers and writers of Arabic and English and the functions for which those language were used. Supporters of Arabic script pointed to the prestige, the religious significance, and the cultural importance of Arabic for the people of somalia.it was claimed that some of the religious poetry written by the Arabs. Those who advocated, the Latin alphabet pointed to its usefulness and the access it would give to scientific and technological information.an Osman Yusuf, was tried, but failed to catch on. Finally in 1973 a Latin script was adopted and given official status. Some saw this as a triumph for efficiency over sentiment. Others regarded it as a bureaucratic decision in favor of a culturally sterile script attitudes to language certainly contributed to the years of stalemate and lack of progress in selecting a script in Somalia (Holmes, 2005).

A. Overt and covert prestige

Example:

Context elocution class in Belfast. The pupil has just recited a poem using the local Belfast pronunciation of words like Jane. The elocation teacher responds as follows.

Teacher : How do you pronounce her name?
Pupil : Jane (with an RP – like pronunciation)
Teacher : How do you remember that?
Pupil : The rain in Spain falls mainly on the plain (with an RP – like pronunciation).

Prestige is a slippery concept. The meaning of overt prestige is reasonably self – evident. The standard variety in community has overt prestige (Holmes, 2005). Speakers who use the standard variety are rated highly on scales of educational and occupational status, and these ratings reflect the associations of their speech variety, which is generally held up as the ‘ best ‘ way of speaking in the community.it is the variety taught in elocution classes, regardless of the pupils native accents, as example 3 ilustrates.it is overtly admired and generally identified as a model of ‘good’ speech by all section of the community, regardless of the way they themselves speak.in fact it has been suggested that this agreement about the standard variety or ’best’ accent is what identifies a group of people as belonging to a speech community. Regardless of variation in their own speech, they all recognize one variety as the standard or norm for the community (Holmes, 2013).

Covert prestige, by contrast is an odd term which could even be regarded as involving two contradictory ideas. how can something have prestige if its value is not publicly recognized? The term’ cover prestige ’has been widely used, however, to refer to positive attitudes towards vernacular or non-standard speech varieties (Holmes, 2008).

B. Attitudes to standard English and RP

Example 1

1. ‘Next to our people our language is our greatest national asset; it is the essential ingredient of the Englishness of England.
2. ‘English ought to be the queen of the curriculum for any British child. It is one of the things that define his or her nationality.

Standard English has an enormous legacy of overt prestige. It has been regarded as a symbol of British nationhood, as the quotations in example 6 indicate. For well over a century, it has been promoted as the only acceptable variety for use in all official domains, including education. By comparison, vernacular dialects of English are down-graded. The political and social basis of these attitudes is clearly evident, however, when we remember that the elite consensus until at least the eighteen century was that English was a decidedly inferior language, less eloquent than Latin or Greek, or even than French and Italian. Prestige codes emerge by social consensus and owe nothing to their intrinsic linguistic features (2008).

While there is general agreement on the inferior status of vernacular dialect (whatever their covert value as solidarity markers), many people are surprised to find that standard accent of English are so highly regarded by those who don't use them. This is clearly illustrated by reactions to RP in England (Holmes, 2002). When people are asked to assess RP speakers on tape, they rate them as more intelligent, industrious, self-confident and determined than regional-accented speakers-even when the raters themselves speak with a regional accent. RP is rated ahead of all other accents on such criteria as communicative effectiveness, social status and general pleasantness. People who use RP accents are often taken more seriously, and RP speakers are more likely to persuade people to cooperate. And for RP-speaking women there are even further benefits. They are rated as more competent, less week, more independent, adventurous and more feminine than non-RP speakers (Holmes, 2008).

Example 2

But in England, people of education and good social position all speak pure English. In New Zealand, this harsh and horrid brogue of ours is permeating every class

> of society; you get it in the speech of shop-girls and on the lips of university graduates.

Even outside Britain, RP is still an overtly admired model in many countries where English is used, such as Singapore and New Zealand. While attitudes to local varieties vary, RP often has a guaranteed place among acceptable prestige forms (Holmes, 2008).

The robustness of such attitudes is remarkable. Such inspector visiting New Zealand from Britain in the 1980s described New Zealand speech as pure and undefiled, preserving all that was good about English pronunciation. By the turn of the century, however, a New Zealand accent which was different from RP and British regional accents began to develop (Holmes, 2005). The school inspectors' report became correspondingly less admiring and more critical. Agreeing with the letter writer in example 7, they called New Zealand English an objectionable colonial dialect. Subsequently the New Zealand accent was described as 'indefensible', 'corrupt', 'degraded', and even 'hideous' and 'evil-sounding'. Given the inspectors' British origins, these views were predictable. What is rather more surprising is that many young New Zealand students in the 1980s rated RP more highly than New Zealand speech (though interesting), by 1998, not as highly as a North American accent). One student responded to a recording of a distinctly New Zealand accent with the comment 'God help us if we all sound like this'.

Once gain the social basis of these attitudes is very clear. Though there are many notable exceptions, such as former Prime Minister David Lange, it is still the case for most New Zealand that a high level of education and a high-status job is associated with an accent closer to RP than to broad New Zealand English. Hence the high ratings of RP – at least on overt measures (Holmes, 2002).

It should be said that there have always been a few New Zealand who took a different view, objecting, for example, to the adoption of imported so-called 'refined' upper-class vowels. But they have been a minority. On the other hand, while RP tends to be rated highly on the status dimension, as in Britain, local accent generally scores more highly on characteristics such as friendliness and sense of humor, and other dimensions which measure solidarity or social attractiveness. This evidence of the covert prestige of regional accent and vernacular-varieties is discussed further in the next section.

C. Attitudes to African American Vernacular English

Example:

… what makes me feel that blacks tend to be ignorant is that they fail to see that the word is spelled A-S-K not A-N. And when they say asked, it give the sentence an entirely different meaning. And that is what I feel holds blacks back.'

(Female call-in-viewer, Oprah Winfrey Show, 1987)

Some examples of structural differences between African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and standard American English (SAE) were discussed in chapter 8. Most non-linguistics, however, are unaware of the evidence for AAVE has been well documented by sociolinguistic for decades. As example 8 indicates, critics typically assume that AAVE use reflects ignorance father than choice. Given the minuscule sound difference between (ask) and the basis of a written form, it is ironic that ask has been a particularly frequent focus of comment. Yet this is quite typical of the kinds of comments made about condemnation (Holmes, 2002).

Much media use tends to confirms these negative attitudes to AAVE. African American newsreaders and movie stars typically use SAE, while those entertainers and sport celebrities who do use AAVE features tend to restrict them to more intelligible, stereotypical features in less formal contexts (Holmes, 2008). The prejudices of the wider community tend to be reinforced by such behavior, as well as by the subtle in TV shows and movies as less well-educated, down-at-hell and often unsavory characters. One interesting analysis showed that the characters who used AAVE in successful Disney film such as The Jungle Book and The Lion King represented animals rather than humans.

D. Attitudes to vernacular forms of English

Example:

Attention to the rules of grammar and care in the choice of word encourages punctiliousness in other matter. the overthrow of grammar coincided with the acceptance of the equivalent of creative writing in social behavior. As nice point of grammar was mockingly dismissed as pedantic and irrelevant, so was punctiliousness in such matters as honesty, responsibility, property, gratitude, apology, and so on.

Support for so-called ‘grammar’ teaching often from the misleading association of grammar with authority, hierarchy, tradition and elitism, order and rules, as illustrated by this quotation. what is mean here is not ‘grammar’, but a number of arbitrary, superficial rules of formal standard English. Such advocates do their cause more harm than good. It is difficult for a sociolinguist to take seriously the suggestion that using standard grammar encourage honest, or that the use of vernacular forms has any connection with ingratitude (Holmes, 2002).

The reasons that vernacular forms survive is attitudinal. As mentioned above, working-class children do not want to sound like John Major or Hillary Clinton. They do not even want to sound like their teacher, however well they get on with them. If they were to speak like their middle-class friends, their families would laugh at them for sounding posh or stuck up or prissy (Holmes, 2008).

It is also true that everyone increases their use of standard forms as the context becomes more formal. This means that middle-class children are unlikely to use any vernacular forms at all when they are asked to read aloud, for instance, whereas children from lower socio-economic groups may use vernacular forms. The use of vernacular forms is clearly patterned and systematic, not random and haphazard. The number of standard forms in everyone’s speech increase in formal context like school and a law court, while the number of vernacular forms increase in relaxed causal context such as the playgroup and the home. Vernacular forms express the friendliness and relaxed attitudes appropriate in causal context (2008).

I have tried to show that the reasons people condemn vernacular forms are attitudinal, not linguistic. Children who use vernacular forms are not disadvantages by inadequate language. They are disadvantages by negative attitudes towards their speech – attitudes which derive from their lower social status and its association in people minds. Unfortunately, these attitudes often have unhappy educational consequence, as well as see in the next section.

E. Sociolinguistic and educational

Vernacular dialects and educational disadvantage

Many sociolinguistics have been drawn into public debates about the education implications of their research. The best-known example is probably the part sociolinguists have played in debates over the place of vernacular dialect in school, and the claims that children who use vernacular forms are linguistically deprived or deficient. It has been evident for some time that in many speech communities' middle-class children do better at school than working-class children. They exception, children from the mainstream culture generally have greater success in school than minority group children. In English-speaking communities, these facts have often been misleadingly linked to the fact that children from the successful groups tend to use more standard dialect forms –they use standard English- while the speech of children from the less successful groups often includes a greater frequency of vernacular forms (2008).

This is an area where some sociolinguistic have tried very hard to be helpful. Some have undertaken research to investigate the extent to which act as a barrier to communication between teachers and pupils. Other have interpreted the result of sociolinguistics research for teacher and provided advice and recommendations for classroom practice. A widely quoted example involved the legal case in the United States which is describe in example 8 (Holmes, 2002).

Example:

In 1977 Moira Lewis was 8 years old. She lived in the city of Ann Arbor in the United States in Green Road, an area where there were both rich and poor people. She went to the local school, Martin Luther King Elementary School. It was a school with mainly white children, but there were also some African American children like Moira, and a few Asian and Latino children. By the time Moira was, her mother was getting concerned that she was not doing well at school. She talked to some of the other African American mother and found they were worried too. The school took the view that Moira and her African American friends were problem- they labeled them as learning disabled. But Moira’s mother and friends knew better. Their kids were perfectly healthy, bright children. It was the school which was failing not the children. The mother decided to take the school to court claiming that the teacher was not adequately providing for their children’s education. The mother won their case, and the school was required to provide a program for Moira and her friends which gave them a better chance of educational success.

In this example the African Americans mothers argued that the local school was not taking proper account of their children’s linguistic proficiency and educational needs (Holmes, 2005). A number of sociolinguistic were called as expert witnesses to testify that the variety of English used by the children was dialect distinct from Standard American English (SAE), with a distinct history and origins in a Creole which developed on American slave plantations. The judge accepted their testimony and ordered the school to take account of features of the children's dialect. He pointed out that the teachers and children could understand each other, and expressed the view that the main barriers to the children's progress took the form of unconscious negative attitudes held by the teacher to children who spoke AAVE. The step that was taken to remedy, the situation consisted mainly of in-service training for the teachers. This involved, for example, helping them distinguish between features of the children's dialect and reading errors, and suggesting ways they could help the children developed the ability to switch between AAVE and SAE (Holmes, 2002, 2008).

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Biodata of the Writers

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