
INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
LINGUISTICS

INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
LINGUISTICS



WILLIAM BRIGHT

Editor in Chief

Volume 4

New York Oxford

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1992

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford New York Toronto
Delhi Bombay Calcutta Madras Karachi
Petaling Jaya Singapore Hong Kong Tokyo
Nairobi Dar es Salaam Cape Town
Melbourne Auckland

and associated companies in
Berlin Ibadan

Copyright © 1992 by Oxford University Press

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.,
200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior written permission of Oxford University Press.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

International encyclopedia of linguistics / William Bright, editor-in-chief
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Linguistics—Encyclopedias. I. Bright, William, 1928—
P29.I58 1992 410'.3—dc20 91-7349 CIP
ISBN 0-19-505196-3 (set)

Project Editor: JEFFREY P. EDELSTEIN

Copyeditor and Indexer: JANE MCGARY

Bibliographic Research and Illustrations Editor: PHILOMENA MARIANI

Proofreader: KATHLEEN M. FENTON

Production Coordinator: DONNA NG

Manufacturing Controller: BENJAMIN LEE

Book Design: JOAN GREENFIELD

Cartography and Line Illustrations: VANTAGE ART

*Special acknowledgment is made to Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd.,
for providing characters used in tables of writing systems for
Burmese, Georgian, Kannada, Khmer, Malayalam, and Tibetan.*

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A adjective; agent; argument	ATR advanced tongue root	CR Comparative Reconstruction
A any syntactic category (in A-binding, A-over-A Principle)	AUX auxiliary	CS Context-Sensitive
AA Afro-Asiatic; Austro-Asiatic	Av. Avestan	CSR Contemporary Standard Russian
abbr. abbreviation	BCE Before Common Era (= B.C.)	c-structure constituent structure
abl. ablative	BEAM Brain Electrical Activity Mapping	CV cardinal vowel; consonant-vowel (syllable structure)
abs. absolutive	BI Bahasa Indonesia	D dative; derivational; determiner; diacritic feature; dictionary
acc. accusative	BM Bahasa Melayu; Bokmål	d. died
ACH Association for Computers and the Humanities	BP bound pronoun; Brazilian Portuguese	Da. Danish
ACL Association for Computational Linguistics	BS Balto-Slavic	DA Discourse Analysis
act. active; actor	BVC bound verb complement	DAF delayed auditory feedback
AD Alzheimer's dementia	C complement; complementizer; consonant	dat. dative
adess. adessive	c. century	dat.-acc. dative-accusative
adj. adjective	CA Classical Arabic; Componential Analysis; Contrastive Analysis; Conversational Analysis	DCG Definite-Clause Grammar
ADJP adjective phrase	ca. <i>circa</i> , approximately	DD developmental dysphasia
adv. adverb(ial)	CAP Control Agreement Principle	decl. declension
ADVP adverbial phrase	CAT Computerized Axial Tomography	def. definite
AE Achaemenid Elamite	caus. causative	dem. demonstrative
AGR agreement	c-command constituent command	deriv. derivative
agt. agent(ive)	CD Communicative Dynamism; Conceptual Dependency	desid. desiderative
AI Artificial Intelligence	CE Common Era (= A.D.)	DET determiner
ALLC Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing	CED Condition on Extraction Domain	dim. diminutive
AM Ancient Mongolian	CF Context-Free	dir. direction(al)
AMR Allomorphic Morphological Rule	CFG Context-Free Grammar	DM discourse marker
AN Austronesian	CFL Context-Free Language	DO direct object
an. animate	Ch.Sl. Church Slavic	DP Determiner Phrase
aor. aorist	CHO <i>chômeur</i> (in Relational Grammar)	DR Daco-Rumanian; discourse representation
AP adjective phrase	CL Classical Latin; compensatory lengthening	DRS Discourse Representation Structure
APG Arc Pair Grammar	clf. classifier	DS marking Different Subject marking
API Association Phonétique Internationale	col. column	D-structure an alternative conception to 'deep structure'
A-position argument position	COMP complementizer	DTC Derivational Theory of Complexity
AR Arumanian	comp. comparative; complement	DTW Dynamic Time Warping
Ar. Arabic	conj. conjunction; conjunctive	du. dual
Arm. Armenian	cont. continuative	DV dynamic verb
ART article	cop. copula	e empty category
ASL American Sign Language	CP Complementizer Phrase; Cooperative Principle	E externalized
ASP aspect		EA Eskimo-Aleut
ASR Automatic Speech Recognition		ECP Empty Category Principle
ATN Augmented Transition Network		emph. emphatic

- encl.** enclitic
Eng. English
ENHG Early New High German
EP European Portuguese
EQU1 Equi-NP Deletion
erg. ergative
EST Extended Standard Theory
ex. example
exx. examples
F fall; formant
f. feminine; and following
F-R fall-rise
f-structure functional structure
F₀ fundamental frequency
Fa. Faliscan
fact. factive
FCR Feature Cooccurrence Restriction
fem. feminine
ff. and following (plural)
fig. figure
fl. *floruit*, flourished, lived
FLRP Fixed Language Recognition Problem
FN first name
foc. focus
Fr. French
FSD Feature Specification Default
FSP Functional Sentence Perspective
fut. future
G gender; glide
Gael. Gaelic
GB Government/Binding
G/D genitive/dative
gen. genitive
Ger. German
ger. gerund
Gk. Greek
Gmc. Germanic
Go. Gothic
GPC grapheme-phoneme conversion
GPSG Generalized Phrase-Structure Grammar
GR Grammatical Relation
GS Generative Semantics
Guj. Gujarati
H hearer; high; hold (ASL)
habit. habitual
Hitt. Hittite
HM Hmong-Mien
hon. honorific
HPSG Head-driven Phrase-Structure Grammar
HR high rise
Hz Hertz (cycles per second)
I inflection; internalized
IA Indo-Aryan; Item-and-Arrangement
IC Immediate Constituent; Inherent Complement
ICA Initial Consonant Alternation
ICM Idealized Cognitive Model
ID Immediate Dominance
IE Indo-European
iff if and only if
IG intonation group
II Indo-Iranian
IL Intensional Logic
ill. illative
imper. imperative
impers. impersonal
impf. imperfect(ive)
inan. inanimate
incl. including, inclusive
ind. independent
indef. indefinite
indic. indicative
inf. infinitive
INFL inflection
inst. instrumental
interj. interjection
intrans. intransitive
invol. involuntary
IO indirect object
IP Inflection Phrase; Item-and-Process
IPA International Phonetic Association. or Alphabet
IR Internal Reconstruction
Ir. Iranian
irreg. irregular
IS Interactional Sociolinguistics
Ital. Italian
KA Krama Andhap (= Middle Javanese)
KI Krama Inggil (= High Javanese)
L language; location (ASL); low
L1 first language
L2 second language
LA Latin America; linguistic area
La. Latin; Latvian
LAD Language Acquisition Device
LBH Late Biblical Hebrew
LF Lexical Function; Logical Form
LFG Lexical-Functional Grammar
LH left hemisphere
Lh. Lhasa
Li. Lithuanian
LIC lower incisor cavity
LIPOC language-independent preferred order of constituents
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
LM Literary Mongolian
l-marking marking a lexical category
LN last name
loc. locative
LP Language Planning; Linear Precedence
LPC Linear Prediction Coefficient
LR low rise
LSA Linguistic Society of America
LSP Language for Specific Purposes
LU lexical unit
Lyc. Lycian
M mid; movement (in ASL); modal; mot (in Metrical Phonology)
m. masculine
MA Meso-American
masc. masculine
m-command maximal command
MCS Mildly Context-Sensitive
MDP Minimal Distance Principle
ME Middle English
MG Montague Grammar
MH Middle/Mishnaic Hebrew
MHG Middle High German
MIA Middle Indo-Aryan
mid. middle
MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MK Mon-Khmer
MLU mean length of utterance
MM Middle Mongolian
Mod. modern
Mod.E. Modern English
MOP Maximal Onset Principle
MP Malayo-Polynesian; Middle Persian
MPR Mongolian People's Republic; morphophonological rule
ms millisecond
ms. manuscript
MSA Modern Standard Arabic
MSC Morpheme Structure Constraint
MSK Modern Standard Khmer
mss. manuscripts
MST Modern Standard Telugu
MT Machine Translation
N noun; number
n. note
NA North America; Northern Athabaskan
N/A nominative/accusative
NC Niger-Congo
NCC North Central Caucasian
n.d. no date
NE New English (= Modern English)
neg. negative
neut. neuter
Ng. Ngoko (= colloquial Javanese)
NGP Natural Generative Phonology
NHG New High German
NIA New Indo-Aryan
NL natural language
NLI Natural Language Interface
NLP Natural Language Processing
NM Natural Morphology
NN Nynorsk
No. Norwegian
nom. nominative

NOM nominal(ization)	PN predicate nominal	SC small clause; South Caucasian;
nonfin. non-finite	PNC Proto-Niger-Congo	Structural Change
NP New Persian; noun phrase	PNI Proto-Northern Iroquoian	Sc. Scandinavian
NS Nilo-Saharan	POc. Proto-Oceanic	SCC Strict Cycle Condition
n.s. new series	Pol. Polish	SD South Dravidian; Structural
NWC Northwest Caucasian	pol. polite	Description
O object	poss. possessive	SEA Southeast Asia(n)
obj. object	postpos. postposition	sec. secondary; section
obl. oblique	PP prepositional phrase	ser. series
obs. obsolete	PR Phonological Representation;	SFH Semantic Feature Hypothesis
OCS Old Church Slavic	Phonological Rule	SG Stratificational Grammar; Standard
OE Old English	PRED predicate	Gujarati
OG Old Georgian	pref. prefix	sg. singular
OHG Old High German	prep. preposition	SGML Standard Generalized Markup
OI Old Iranian	pres. present	Language
OIA Old Indo-Aryan	prev. preverb	SH Standard Hausa
OK Old Khmer	PRO pronoun, pronominal	SHWNG South Halmahera—West New
OM object marker	prog. progressive	Guinea
ON Old Norse	pron. pronoun	Skt. Sanskrit
OP Old Persian; Old Portuguese; Old	prt. particle	Sl. Slavic
Prussian	P-rule phonological rule	SM series marker
OP null operator	PS Phrase Structure; Preference	soc. sociative
OPer. Old Persian	Semantics	SP Semantic Parsing; subject pronoun
opt. optative	PSG Phrase-Structure Grammar	Sp. Spanish
ORuss. Old Russian	PST Proto-Sino-Tibetan	SPE <i>The Sound Pattern of English</i>
Os. Oscan	PT patient-trigger; Proto-Tai	SS marking Same Subject marking
o.s. old series	PTB Proto-Tibeto-Burman	S-structure shallow structure
P person; patient; phrase; predicator;	Q quantifier; question	ST Sino-Tibetan
preposition; position (in ASL)	QH Qumranic Hebrew	stat. stative
PA Proto-Australian	q.v. <i>quod vide</i> , which see	sub. subordinator
PAE Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak	qq.v. <i>quae vide</i> , which see (plural)	SUBCAT subcategorization
PAN Proto-Austronesian	R root	subj. subject
PAn. Proto-Anatolian	RC relative clause	subjunc. subjunctive
PAS Preferred Argument Structure	RE Recursively Enumerable	subord. subordinate, subordinative
pass. passive	real. realis	subst. substantive
pat. patient	redup. reduplication	superess. superessive
PC pronominal clitic	refl. reflexive	SUR Speech Understanding Research
PCA Pacific Coast Athabaskan	rel. relative	SV stative verb
PCF Phonetically Consistent Form	rem. remote	Sw. Swedish
pcl. particle	repr. reprinted	SWITCH switch reference
pcpl. participle	REST Revised Extended Standard	syn. synonym, synonymous
PCU Preferred Clause Unit	Theory	Syr. Syriac
PD Proto-Dravidian	rev. revised	t trace
PDP Parallel Distributed Processing	R-expression referring expression	T title; <i>tu</i> (familiar address)
Per. Persian	RG Relational Grammar	TAP tense-aspect pronoun (Hausa)
perf. perfect(ive)	RH right hemisphere	TB Tibeto-Burman
pers. person	RN Relational Network	TBU Tone-Bearing Unit
PET Positron Emission Tomography	RP Recognition Problem; Received	TG Transformational Grammar; Tupí-
PF Phonetic Form	Pronunciation; referential pronoun	Guaraní
pf. perfect(ive)	RR Readjustment Rule	Tib. Tibetan
PGmc. Proto-Germanic	R-rule Redundancy Rule	TK Tai-Kadai
Phryg. Phrygian	RT reading tradition	Toch. Tocharian
PIE Proto-Indo-European	RTN Recursive Transition Network	TOP topic
Pkt. Prakrit	Ru. Russian	tr. transitive
pl. plural	S sentence; speaker; subject	trans. transitive
PLD Primary Linguistic Data	SA stem augment	trig. trigger
PLu. Proto-Luvian	SAAD simple active affirmative	T-rule transformational rule
plupf. pluperfect	declarative (sentence)	TV transitive verb
PM phrase-marker; Proto-Mayan	SBH Standard Biblical Hebrew	U utterance

viii ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

UA Uto-Aztecan
UC ultimate constituent
UG Universal Grammar
Ukr. Ukrainian
Um. Umbrian
URP Universal Recognition Problem
V verb; vowel; *vous* (polite address)
Ved. Vedic (Sanskrit)
ver. version
VH vowel harmony
VL Vulgar Latin
voc. vocative
vol. volume
VOT voice-onset time
VP verb phrase

W word
WFR Word-Formation Rule
WH Western Hausa
wh-word question-word (*what*, etc.)
W* language non-configurational language
WMP Western Malayo-Polynesian
WP Word-and-Paradigm
WT Western Tibetan
X any syntactic category (in X-Bar Theory)
∅ zero (covert element)
1 first person; subject (Relational Grammar)

2 second person; direct object (Relational Grammar)
3 third person; indirect object (Relational Grammar)
***** non-attested form (hypothetical or reconstructed); Kleene star
< comes from
> becomes
→ is rewritten as (phrase structure rule)
⇒ is transformed into
α alpha, a variable
Δ delta, a dummy element in syntax
θ theta, thematic (role)
σ sentence; syllable
Σ sentence; stress

INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LINGUISTICS



S

— C O N T I N U E D —

SOCIAL DIALECTS. The patterns of language use which characterize groups of speakers who share similar social backgrounds represent a critical dimension of the mosaic of variation inherent in all languages. Sociolinguists study this co-variation of language and social traits to develop a fuller understanding of the nature of language and its role in society. (For general reference, see Wolfram & Fasold 1974, Trudgill 1978, 1986, Chambers & Trudgill 1980, Ryan & Giles 1982, Horvath 1985, Wolfram & Christian 1989, Fasold 1990.)

Languages typically provide resources to say the same thing in different ways. For example, English speakers may say either *goin'* or *going*; *ain't* or *isn't*; *Me and her* or *She and I* saw it. Speakers who use similar language forms share the same DIALECT or VARIETY of a language. [See also Dialectology.] Such groups usually share other, non-linguistic characteristics as well—e.g., regional origin, age, sex, ethnicity, and/or social class background. In the examples above, English speakers would generally agree that the first member of each pair represents a different social dialect than the alternative form.

Through language, speakers express their identity, as well as reflect their background. Just as individuals are unified by a common language, and distinguished by it from other language groups, so too can dialects unify and separate groups within a language. Thus natives of the island of Martha's Vineyard in Massachusetts use particular vowel variants to distinguish themselves from 'mainlanders' who visit during the summer (Labov 1972). Members of the upper social classes in New York City pronounce the *r* in words like *hard*, *store* more often than do individuals of lower social status, and thus set themselves apart from the lower-class groups.

The study of social dialects involves several disciplines. From a sociological perspective, language pat-

terns represent one behavioral manifestation of social difference, including class distinctions. From a linguistic perspective, social class is one of the variables that correlates with language use, and social dialect patterns present challenges for linguistic description. From an applied perspective, applied linguists and other social scientists consider the implications of social dialects for education and public policy.

1. Social relationships reflected in language. Although there is wide agreement that social status differences correlate with linguistic differences, the definition of relevant social groupings is less well established. In some societies, a caste system prescribes a fairly rigid differentiation among social groups, and caste dialects are likewise clearly separated. In other societies, distinctions of social status are more fluid; class is best viewed on a continuous scale, with social distance between individuals measured by attributes such as level of education, occupation, income, and residence. However measured, class distinctions can be linked with differences along two dimensions—POWER and STATUS (Guy 1988).

Another approach to social classification is through social NETWORKS (Milroy 1980), where individuals are viewed within their network of social interactions. This approach suggests that people who interact frequently will use similar language patterns. Strong network ties, where a group of speakers share many of the same interactional connections, have been shown to reinforce community norms of language use. Working-class communities tend to have stronger network structures than middle-class groups—a trait which supports the maintenance of vernacular language patterns.

2. Social dialects within society. Any language form whose distribution co-varies with social status may be referred to as 'socially diagnostic'. In terms of social

4 SOCIAL DIALECTS

significance, these features may carry social PRESTIGE, or they may be STIGMATIZED. Socially prestigious features are adopted by high-status groups as linguistic indications of social status, while stigmatized features are associated with low-status groups. These social evaluations reflect the attitudes shared by members of a society; they are not related to any linguist's assessment of worth.

Stigmatized language patterns differ according to the subjective reactions which groups of speakers have toward them. At one extreme, such features may become an overt topic for comment in the speech community. These social STEREOTYPES—e.g. the use in English of *ain't*, or of multiply negated structures like *They don't help nobody*, or pronouncing *these* as *dese*—are widely recognized, and may be invoked in caricatures of members of certain groups.

Social MARKERS also have a regular effect on a listener's judgment of a speaker's social status, though they may not be recognized on a conscious level. Speakers demonstrate awareness of their social evaluation by modifying their use of markers depending on the formality of the situation. Such STYLE differences often covary with social class differences. [See also Register and Style.] For example, the frequency of pronunciation of *r*

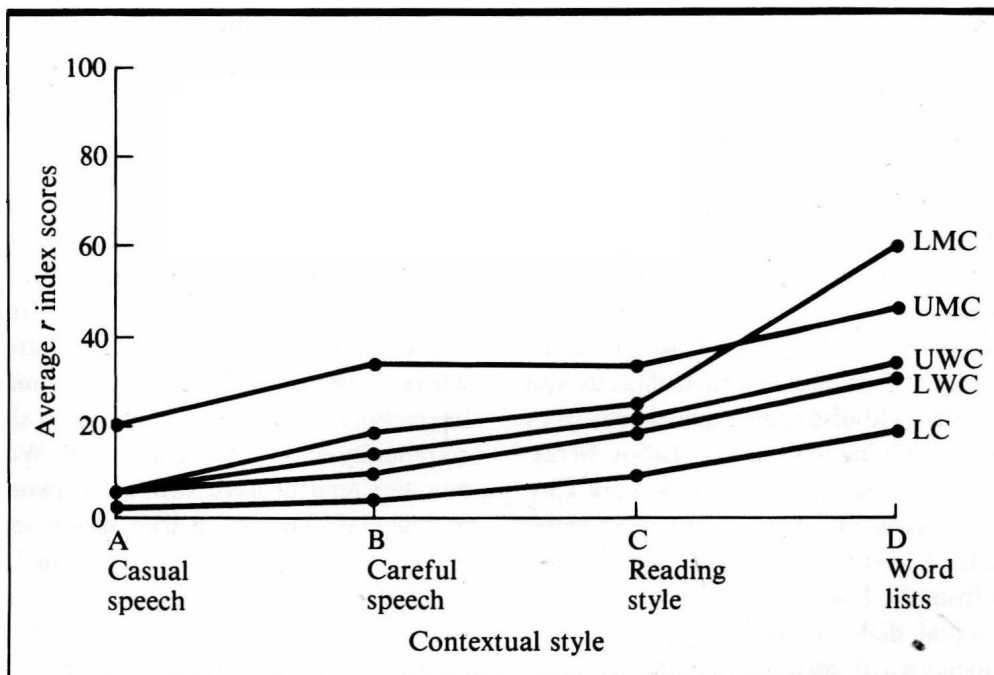
in New York City in words like *pour* and *guard* increases for all social groups as speech style becomes more formal, as shown in Figure 1. And in any given style, lower social classes omit the *r* more often than higher social classes.

Finally, social INDICATORS are features which correlate with social class differences, but of which speakers are apparently unaware. This is demonstrated by a lack of stylistic differentiation.

With respect to prestige features, a distinction must be made between OVERT and COVERT prestige, since these fill very different social functions. Overt prestige follows the norms set by influential and powerful members of a society, such as teachers. However, an equally powerful force may be exerted by covert prestige—where a positive value is associated with use of local, vernacular forms to emphasize solidarity and local identity. A question often posed about social dialects is why they endure, in spite of the negative attitudes toward them. Many researchers suggest that covert prestige works to sustain these dialects, in conjunction with the stronger network ties among their speakers.

3. Social dialects within language. When a language feature has alternate forms, and the variants correlate with social attributes, it is called a SOCIOLINGUISTIC

FIGURE 1. Pronunciation of *r* in New York City by Social Class. Key: LC = lower class, LWC = lower working class, UWC = upper working class, LMC = lower middle class, UMC = upper middle class. (From Labov 1966:240.)



VARIABLE. Social dialects can be characterized by a configuration of such variables; differences in the use of particular variables may be qualitative or quantitative. Many important differences turn out to be quantitative, in that the frequency of occurrence of the alternate forms correlates with the social status of speakers. In Fig. 1, the alternative pronunciations of *r* include its presence and its absence; the (*r*) index represents the average amount of pronunciation of *r* over many possible occurrences. In other words, the index for individual speakers reflects how often they say *card* and *fair* with an *r* sound, as opposed to a vowel sound (or zero). For the sociolinguistic variable (ing) in English, percentages of *in'* (as in *goin'*, *runnin'*) out of the total number of occurrences correlate with differences in social class. [See Sociolinguistics, article on Quantitative Sociolinguistics.]

Sociolinguistic variables exhibit a pattern of class STRATIFICATION when they increase or decrease systematically as social class distinctions move from one pole to the other (as with New York City *r*). Two kinds of stratification patterns have been noted. SHARP stratification describes a pattern of sharp demarcation between social groups, as in the use of multiple negation in English. For this variable, middle-class speakers rarely use multiple negation (*They don't do nothing*), while working-class speakers do so rather frequently. GRADIENT (or fine) stratification shows a progressive change in the occurrence of alternate forms across social classes, rather than a discrete separation. Pronunciation features typically exhibit gradient stratification, as in the pronunciation of final sounds in words ending in certain consonant clusters, e.g. *des(k) top*, *pas(t) president*. The two types of stratification are illustrated in Figures 2–3.

Although individual sociolinguistic variables may exhibit sharp stratification, social dialects of a language typically do not have sharp boundaries. Instead, they form a social DIALECT CONTINUUM from one end of the social hierarchy to the other; neighboring dialects are quite similar, while those separated by more social distance are less so. In addition, even in individual linguistic forms, dialects tend to be differentiated by degree of usage (more or less), rather than by the qualitative presence or absence of features. The attitudes and social evaluations made by a society may define differences more categorically; but the linguistic facts support the continuum model.

4. Social dialects and language change. In the process of language change, new structures are not instan-

FIGURE 2. *Sharp Stratification.* Frequency of multiple negation for four social classes of Detroit Black female speakers. (From Wolfram & Fasold 1974:93.)

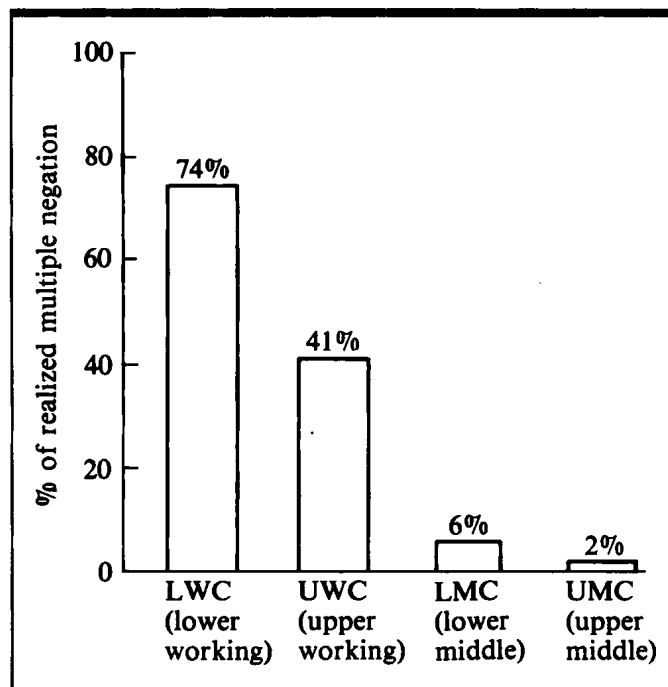
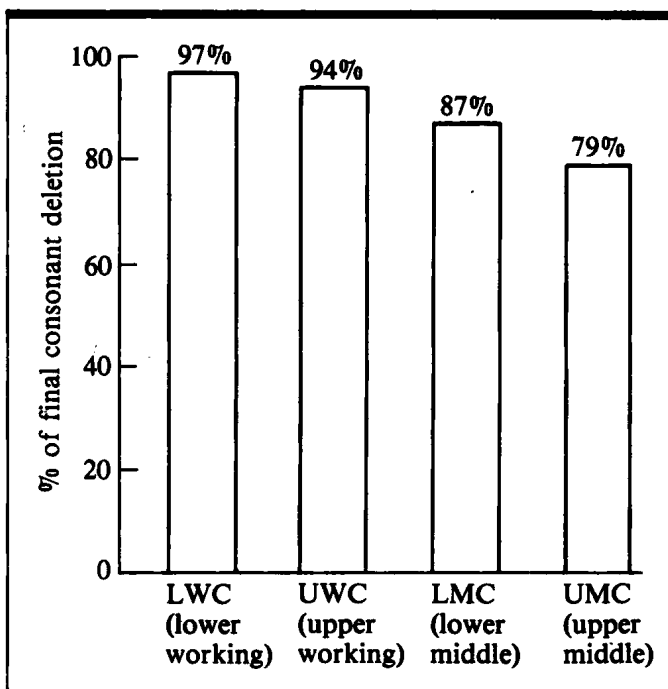


FIGURE 3. *Gradient Stratification.* Frequency of final consonant deletion, as in *des(k) top*, for four social classes of Detroit Black speakers. (From Wolfram & Fasold 1974:132.)



taneously and universally embraced by the speakers of a language. Instead, change is characterized by a period of variation, during which speakers from different groups use new and old forms to varying degrees. (Not all variation implies change, however; some cases of stable variation persist over many years.) Social dialects exert powerful influences in language change, both as initiators and as resisters of change. [See also Causation in Language Change.]

INNOVATIONS may emerge in the speech of any social class. In many cases, the change occurs below the level of awareness of speakers; this is called 'change from below'. Such change often originates in the working class, where new forms are socially motivated to reinforce local identity. Less often, change develops above the level of awareness—'change from above'—where an external prestige form is adopted, typically by members of classes higher on the social scale. Once a change has been initiated, members of other social dialect groups may resist the innovation, so that it does not move steadily through the social dialect continuum. Thus working-class speakers of English have regularized the subject-verb agreement with past tense *be* to allow *was* with all subjects (*I was, you was, they was*). Middle- and upper-class groups have resisted this innovation. In the final analysis, social dialects change in a way which brings dialects closer together in some areas, while maintaining distance in others, thus preserving the dynamic role of language in differentiating social groups.

DONNA CHRISTIAN

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- CHAMBERS, JACK K., & PETER TRUDGILL. 1980. *Dialectology*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- FASOLD, RALPH. 1990. *The sociolinguistics of language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- GUY, GREGORY R. 1988. Language and social class. In *Linguistics: The Cambridge survey*, edited by Frederick Newmeyer, vol. 4, *Language: The socio-cultural context*, pp. 37–63. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- HORVATH, BARBARA. 1985. *Variation in Australian English: The sociolects of Sydney*. (Cambridge studies in linguistics, 45.) Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- LABOV, WILLIAM. 1966. *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- LABOV, WILLIAM. 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- MILROY, LESLEY. 1980. *Language and social networks*. (Language in society, 2.) Oxford: Blackwell. 2d ed., 1987.
- RYAN, ELLEN B., & HOWARD GILES, eds. 1982. *Attitudes towards language variation*. (The social psychology of language, 1.) London: Arnold.
- TRUDGILL, PETER, ed. 1978. *Sociolinguistic patterns in British English*. London: Arnold. Baltimore: University Park Press.
- TRUDGILL, PETER. 1986. *Dialects in contact*. (Language in society, 10.) Oxford: Blackwell.
- WOLFRAM, WALT, & RALPH W. FASOLD. 1974. *The study of social dialects in American English*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- WOLFRAM, WALT, & DONNA CHRISTIAN. 1989. *Dialects and education: Issues and answers*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND LANGUAGE. Since the early 1960s, linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, and other scholars have increasingly focused on the articulation of language and social life (see Gumperz & Hymes 1972, Goffman 1974). Spurred by questions about LANGUAGE VARIATION, early studies applied dialectological methods to patterns of socially rather than regionally based variation. Such social dialectology was often framed in terms of the responsiveness of linguistic features to external determining variables, such as class, sex, and ethnicity. Labov's research (1972) on the social stratification of English in New York City exemplifies this approach, although it goes far beyond traditional dialectology in documenting the skill and artfulness of speakers.

Such work challenged linguistic theory, particularly the assumption that language can be treated as an autonomous system, independent of social context or of its speakers—a premise central to the work of such linguists as Noam Chomsky. In addition, it showed that 'standard' and 'non-standard' languages represent social rather than linguistic judgments, reflecting the sociological characteristics of speakers rather than their cognitive and linguistic capacities (Macaulay 1973). While challenging critical assumptions in linguistic theory, social dialectology still accepted traditional sociological categories—such as ethnic group, class, gender, or profession—as self-evident and relatively fixed. Among those whose research helped define this approach were Labov, Macaulay 1977, Trudgill 1974, and Wolfram 1969. Language was seen as reflecting social variation; the dimensions along which social variation ranged were taken as given. [See also Social Dialects; Sociology of Language.]

Other early research focused on INTERACTIONAL CONTEXTS, and the patterns of speakers' choice among var-

ious optional forms. Thus Brown & Gilman 1960 explored alternations between French *tu/vous*, German *du/Sie*, Russian *ty/vy* and their counterparts in various European languages. They argued that the choice of pronoun form was motivated by the dual dimensions of power and solidarity. *Tu* would be used reciprocally by intimates whose social power was either equivalent or irrelevant; *vous* would be exchanged between socially distant individuals; and the two pronouns would be used asymmetrically where status difference was the most marked social feature. [See Address.]

Concern for interactional events and speakers' options informs a range of disciplinary perspectives, in addition to that of social psychology as exemplified by Brown & Gilman's work. Ethnographic studies of language use—as seen in early writings like those in Gumperz & Hymes 1972 and Bauman & Sherzer 1974—addressed directly such questions as community values concerning language, speakers' repertoires and options, and the rhetorical strategies which might underlie patterns of language use. Thus Ervin-Tripp 1972 provided an important formal model of factors considered in selecting particular terms of address in American English. The choice of nickname, first name, title plus last name, or *Hey, you* was taken to reflect a speaker's well-calculated intentions; specific situation, relative status, and desired outcome were all taken into account.

While social dialectology stressed group membership as a determinant of broad-gauged dialectal competence, the interactional and ethnographic perspective highlighted social dimensions of particular communicative events as both constraints and incentives for more subtle choices. Both approaches, initially at least, assumed that 'society' was unproblematic; yet some sociologists disagreed. Students of CONVERSATION ANALYSIS [*q.v.*], as well as more broad-ranging theorists such as Erving Goffman, argued that social relations existed only in interaction, especially in the particulars of verbal exchange. They understood such variables as 'status' not as antecedent givens, but rather as animated in specific interactions. 'Social structure' was itself an abstraction from ongoing practices; only in the organization of talk was the organization of social relationships created.

One example of this approach can be seen in the work of Goodwin 1980 on black American children's gossip sessions, in which the interactional structure of gossiping both creates and instantiates social relations. Language use does not reflect society, but makes it happen.

From these approaches emerged new questions. A first critical tension has to do with how large-scale or 'macro'

social and economic features of groups, as studied in social dialectology, can be linked to 'micro' phenomena such as conversations and other communicative events, as investigated by ethnographers of speaking. For example, a change from *vous* to *tu* may be seen as embodying a new social relationship between two particular speakers; but how can one then move to the implications of such a change for broader social transformations? What difference can an individual choice make? Further, what kinds of information and interpretive models are necessary to fill in the gap between interactional and societal levels? [See Ethnography of Speaking.]

A second tension is between theories that see language use as reflecting social relationships (as in social dialectology) vs. those that consider that language plays an active CONSTITUTIVE role in creating and sustaining the social structure. The latter derives from the conversation-analysis tradition, from the emphasis on choice and creativity in the ethnography of speaking, and from anthropological interests in comparative rhetoric.

In a number of relatively egalitarian Pacific Island societies, for example, 'society' above the level of the coresident family takes shape only through shared participation in various speech events (Myers & Brenneis 1984, Brenneis 1987). An understanding of what could be called 'local social organization' demands the analysis of verbal performance and of the assumptions—linguistic, rhetorical, aesthetic, and social—which underlie it. Schwartzman (1987:290) has similarly argued that, in the large-scale mental health bureaucracy that she has studied, 'meetings may be THE form that generates and maintains the organization as an entity.' It is critical to note that the political dimension of these studies lies not in conscious, decision-oriented strategic language use, but in the political events which particular shared ways of speaking make possible.

Diverse theoretical predispositions underlie the constitutive approach. Some scholars model communication as a linguistic 'free market', with speakers seen as rational actors making the choices that best suit their interests. Others argue that patterns of language use are considerably constrained, usually by dominant groups. Only shared (rather than individual) articulation of socially repressed ways of speaking can resist the assumptions implicit in dominant discourses and effect social transformation. But all these views emphasize a language's potential for social creativity and power; language use not only reflects social life, but also affords a means of changing it.

A third tension is that between unconscious linguistic

practice and intentional choice. What do speakers take for granted about language, and what social understandings do those unrecognized premises entail? Thus, in recent studies of the rhetorical and literary underpinnings of writing in the social sciences (Nelson et al. 1987), scholarly opinion varies from those who see language as almost entirely the realm of unconscious constraint (a position strongly influenced by the work of Michel Foucault), to those who view it as primarily an arena for conscious choice.

A final tension is that between UNIVERSALIST and more PARTICULARIST explanations. For example, Brown & Levinson 1978 posit sociolinguistic universals of politeness, expressed in a highly economical model of pan-human behavior. A restricted range of social dimensions and concerns is taken to underlie politeness practices world-wide. While the specifics of local behavior may vary considerably, such differences are seen much as surface phenomena—i.e. relatively inconsequential variations on deeper general patterns. Such theories, proposed primarily by linguists and sociologists, oppose the ethnographic emphasis on the complex particulars of individual speech communities. From an ethnographic perspective, such generalizations are premature.

New themes emerging in the 1980s promise to shape future sociolinguistic research. First is a concern for political economy and attempts to bridge the apparent gap between materialist and idealist (such as interpretive and cognitive) approaches. Thus Hill & Hill's 1986 study of Mexicano (Nahuatl) speakers combines synchronic linguistic analysis with a detailed examination of the linguistic and social history of central Mexico. The work addresses questions of language syncretism and change, as well as of the role of linguistic practice in defining class and ethnic affiliation. Similarly, research on code-switching—such as that of Gal 1987, Heller 1989, and Woolard 1989—stresses the intimate relationship of economic and class position to decisions on language choice by bilinguals. [See Bilingualism.] These works effectively combine the detailed consideration of specific cases with a strong historical component.

A second emerging area is the study of linguistic ideology, the values associated with particular ways of speaking and writing. This work develops the sociolinguistic tradition of concern with prestige and stigmatization in language. Strongly influenced by such social theorists as Pierre Bourdieu, studies of linguistic ideology often conceptualize linguistic codes as symbolic capital: a real resource for social positioning and manipulation.

Of special interest is what is not consciously ideological, but is instead taken for granted—more specifically, assumed as 'fact'. Such facts may derive their existence from the ways they are encoded in our largely unconscious knowledge of language, especially in 'dominant discourses': the prevailing ways of speaking which imply certain forms of social relations. Particularly important here are the works of Michel Foucault and of Mikhail Bakhtin, which suggest new ways of viewing multiple discourses and linguistically embodied resistance to dominant voices.

To demonstrate how speech is socially effective—or conversely, how social and economic forces constrain and determine linguistic practice—these new questions must be addressed. The answers will have important consequences for our understanding of both language and society.

DONALD BRENNEIS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BAUMAN, RICHARD, & JOEL SHERZER, eds. 1974. *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*. London & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- BRENNEIS, DONALD. 1987. Performing passions: Aesthetics and politics in an occasionally egalitarian community. *American Ethnologist* 14.236–250.
- BROWN, PENELOPE, & STEVEN C. LEVINSON. 1978. Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In *Questions and politeness*, edited by Esther N. Goody, pp. 56–289. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press. Revised as *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- BROWN, ROGER, & ALBERT GILMAN. 1960. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In *Style in language*, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok, pp. 253–276. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- ERVIN-TRIPP, SUSAN. 1972. On sociolinguistic rules: Alternation and co-occurrence. In Gumperz & Hymes 1972, pp. 213–250.
- GAL, SUSAN. 1987. Codeswitching and consciousness in the European periphery. *American Ethnologist* 14.637–653.
- GOFFMAN, ERVING. 1974. *Frame analysis: An essay in the organization of experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
- GOODWIN, MARJORIE H. 1980. 'He-said-she-said': Formal cultural procedures for the construction of a gossip dispute activity. *American Ethnologist* 9.674–695.
- GUMPERZ, JOHN J., & DELL HYMES, eds. 1972. *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- HELLER, MONICA, ed. 1989. *Codeswitching: Linguistic and anthropological perspectives*. The Hague: Mouton.
- HILL, JANE H., & KENNETH C. HILL. 1986. *Speaking Mexi-*

- cano: *Dynamics of syncretic language in central Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- LABOV, WILLIAM. 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- MACAULAY, RONALD. 1973. Double standards. *American Anthropologist* 75.1324–1337.
- MACAULAY, RONALD. 1977. *Language, social class and education: A Glasgow study*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- MYERS, FRED R., & DONALD BRENNEIS. 1984. Introduction: Language and politics in the Pacific. In *Dangerous words: Language and politics in the Pacific*, edited by Donald Brenneis and Fred R. Myers, pp. 1–29. New York: New York University Press.
- NELSON, JOHN S., et al., eds. 1987. *The rhetoric of the human sciences: Language and argument in scholarship and public affairs*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- SCHWARTZMAN, HELEN B. 1987. The significance of meetings in an American mental health center. *American Ethnologist* 14.271–294.
- TRUDGILL, PETER. 1974. *Sociolinguistics: An introduction*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- WOLFRAM, WALTER A. 1969. *A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- WOOLARD, KATHRYN A. 1989. *Double talk: Bilingualism and the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS. [This entry is concerned with the ways in which language is integrated with aspects of human society—e.g., social identity in terms of class and role, the social situation, social interaction, and social change. It comprises five articles:

- Interactional Sociolinguistics
- Language Planning
- Minorities and Sociolinguistics
- Quantitative Sociolinguistics
- Sociohistorical Linguistics

The term 'sociolinguistics' is often used to refer particularly to studies from the viewpoint of linguistics; for work from the viewpoint of sociology, see *Sociology of Language*. For related topics, see *Address*; *Attitudes to Language*; *Obsolescent Languages*; *Power and Language*; *Register and Style*; *Social Dialect*; *Social Structure and Language*; and *Variation Analysis*.]

Interactional Sociolinguistics

With the rise of interest in discourse analysis, a growing number of linguists have turned to analyzing the

language of face-to-face interaction. The form of interaction most commonly studied in this framework is ordinary conversation; but research has also focused on other speech genres, such as interviews, public lectures, and classroom discourse, and on specific strategies, such as asking questions and telling stories. Work in this area can be distinguished by its relative focus either on the linguistic phenomena or on the interaction. Some linguists use the tape-recorded language of real interaction as a source of data for linguistic analysis, the main goal of which is understanding the linguistic structures found in the transcript. Work in this branch of discourse analysis is an extension of grammatical analysis beyond the sentence level. Others use their knowledge of linguistic phenomena to account for the processes and outcomes of interaction. This branch of discourse analysis may be called I[nteractional] S[ociolinguistics]. In contrast to CONVERSATION ANALYSIS [*q.v.*]*—*a subdiscipline of ethnomethodological sociology whose primary concern is demonstrating the universal orderliness of everyday behavior*—*IS is associated with anthropology, and is frequently concerned with culturally identified interactional strategies.

The backbone of IS is the detailed transcription of audio- or video-taped interaction. Transcription systems vary, depending on conventions established in particular disciplines and the requirements of particular theoretical assumptions and methodological practices. [See *Discourse*, *article on Transcription of Discourse*.] However, most interactional sociolinguists attempt to represent intonational and prosodic contours in the transcription, since these are often crucial for analysis.

A theoretical framework underlying much of the research in IS is the schematization of politeness phenomena. Goffman 1967 observed that speakers serve two 'face' requirements: the POSITIVE FACE need to show involvement with others, and the NEGATIVE FACE need not to offend others. Lakoff 1979 sees linguistic choices as resulting from the application of underlying RULES OF RAPPORT. She has devised a schema to account for the way speakers choose not to say exactly what they mean, in order to serve the social requirements of interaction—i.e. face needs. Lakoff suggests that speakers choose among three pragmatic rules which result in three different communicative styles: Rule 1, 'Don't impose', results in a DISTANT style; Rule 2, 'Give options', results in a DEFERENT style; and Rule 3, 'Be friendly', gives rise to a style based on CAMARADERIE. Brown & Levinson 1987 have formalized and elaborated these schemas as UNIVERSALS OF POLITENESS phenomena.

Gumperz 1982 shows that speakers use CONTEXTUALIZATION cues—prosodic and paralinguistic features, familiar formulaic expressions and conversational routines, and identifiable conventions for organizing and sequencing information—to signal not only what they mean to say, but also what SPEECH ACTIVITY they are engaged in, i.e., what they think they are doing at each point in the interaction. Gumperz departs from immediately preceding linguistic theory by placing at the core of his theoretical framework features which had previously been dismissed as marginal to the linguistic system.

In giving prominence to the notion of speech activity, this approach to IS builds directly on Bateson's (1972) notion of FRAMING. Bateson points out that no message (the meaning of words or utterances) can be interpreted without reference to a metamessage about the frame. For example, any utterance can mean the opposite of what it says if the speaker is operating in a frame of play, irony, joking, or teasing. A formidable, multi-layered framework for frame analysis is presented by Goffman 1974. Theories of framing have been a fruitful source of work in lexical semantics as well as IS; the latter sees the language produced in interaction as the means for accomplishing continual shifts in FOOTING among participants (Goffman 1981, Tannen & Wallat 1987).

Another key element in Gumperz's theoretical framework is CONVERSATIONAL INFERENCE: not only do participants glean meaning from words and phrases as they occur, but they also make active predictions about what will come next, based on the line of interpretation suggested by on-going talk as measured against prior interactive experience. In Gumperz's view, speakers do not follow conversational rules, but rather are guided by interpretive norms which are continually reinforced or revised in the light of on-going interpretation. The analyst's task, then, becomes one of interpreting specific instances of discourse, giving rise to the label HERMENEUTIC for this approach.

Much of the work of Gumperz (and those influenced by him) uses cross-cultural communication as a heuristic site. We can examine conversations in which the interaction of different signaling systems leads to misinterpretation of others' abilities and intentions; this affords insight into the processes of signaling and interpreting meaning which go unnoticed in successful interactions.

Gumperz has analyzed interaction between inner-city Black and middle-class White Americans, as well as

British English-speaking and Indian English-speaking Londoners, by following these steps:

- (a) Tape-recording and transcribing interaction among speakers of different cultural or subcultural backgrounds
- (b) Interviewing participants separately to gain insight into their interpretations of the interaction, and to identify the linguistic phenomena which led to their interpretations
- (c) Where possible, comparing instances of cross-cultural communication with recordings of similar speech events involving participants of a single cultural background
- (d) Examining the tape and transcript to identify the linguistic strategies for signaling frames, and identifying speech activities which were differentially interpreted by the culturally different participants
- (e) Explaining how the cultural differences in interpretive norms led to the differing interpretations, and consequently the breakdown in communication
- (f) Checking the cultural basis of interpretive norms by playing segments of the interaction for other members of the cultural groups represented, to see if their reported interpretations follow patterns similar to those identified for participants

Tannen 1984 extends the paradigm of cross-cultural communication to account for conversation among Americans of different subcultural backgrounds. Individuals develop unique blends of signaling habits as they learn from peers in a particular speech community—influenced by, at least, regional, ethnic, class, age, and gender differences. These habits, which together make up an individual's conversational style, amount to slightly or grossly different systems used to signal meaning and to accomplish framing in interaction. When systems are relatively similar, participants share interpretive norms; so meaning is likely to be understood as intended. But when systems are relatively different, participants have different norms, and intentions are likely to be misjudged. A simple example with reference to the turn-taking system is the situation in which speakers have different expectations about the appropriate length of inter-turn pauses. The speaker who expects shorter pauses repeatedly but unintentionally 'cuts off' the one who expects longer pauses. The shorter-pausing speaker interprets the 'silence' of the other as evidence of having no intention to speak.

Analysis of the language of face-to-face interaction