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

viii ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

UA Uto-Aztecan	W word	2 second person; direct object (Relational Grammar)
UC ultimate constituent	WFR Word-Formation Rule	3 third person; indirect object (Relational Grammar)
UG Universal Grammar	WH Western Hausa	* non-attested form (hypothetical or reconstructed); Kleene star
Ukr. Ukrainian	wh-word question-word (<i>what</i> , etc.)	< comes from
Um. Umbrian	W* language non-configurational language	> becomes
URP Universal Recognition Problem	WMP Western Malayo-Polynesian	→ is rewritten as (phrase structure rule)
V verb; vowel; <i>vous</i> (polite address)	WP Word-and-Paradigm	⇒ is transformed into
Ved. Vedic (Sanskrit)	WT Western Tibetan	α alpha, a variable
ver. version	X any syntactic category (in X-Bar Theory)	Δ delta, a dummy element in syntax
VH vowel harmony	∅ zero (covert element)	θ theta, thematic (role)
VL Vulgar Latin	1 first person; subject (Relational Grammar)	σ sentence; syllable
voc. vocative		Σ sentence; stress
vol. volume		
VOT voice-onset time		
VP verb phrase		

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CONTINUED

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*

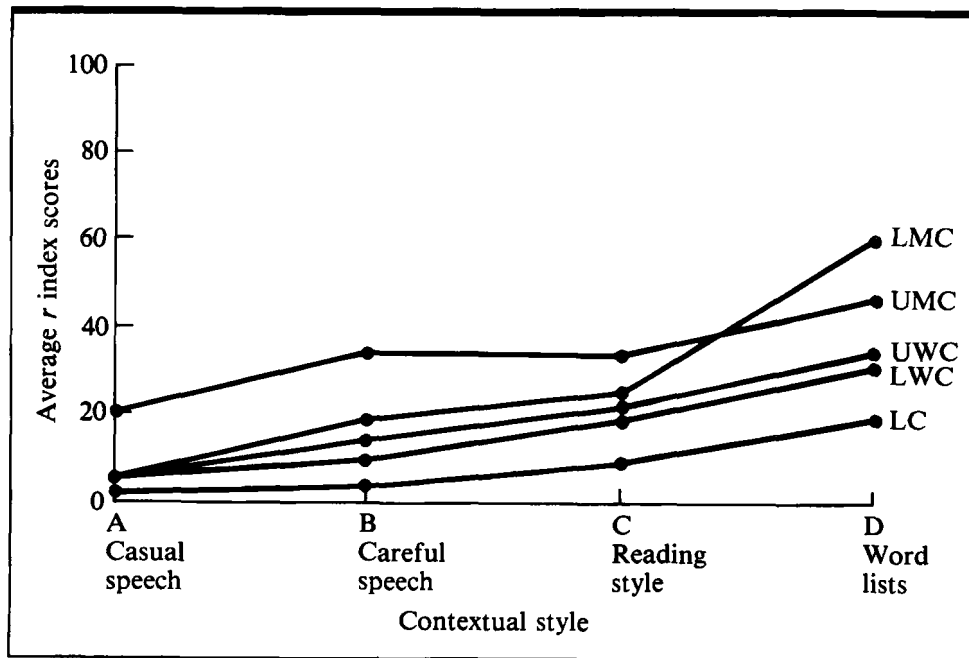
in New York City in words like *pour* and *guard* increases for all social groups as speech style becomes more formal, as shown in Figure 1. And in any given style, lower social classes omit the *r* more often than higher social classes.

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.)

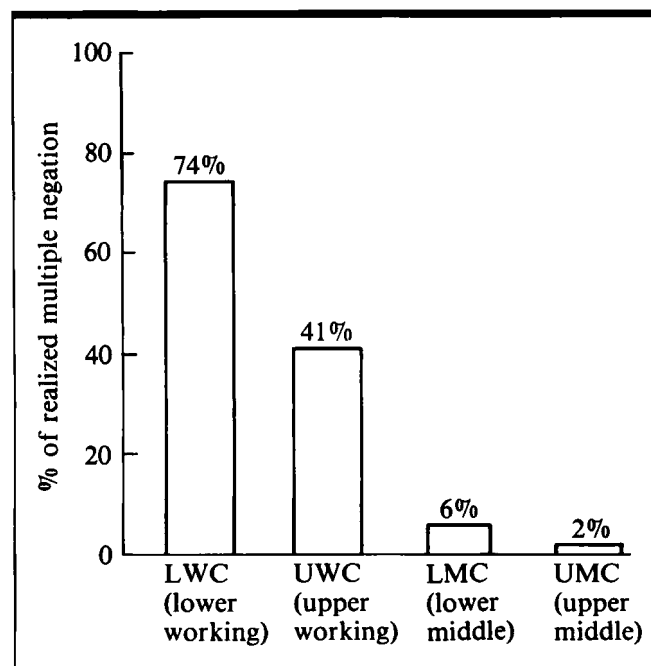
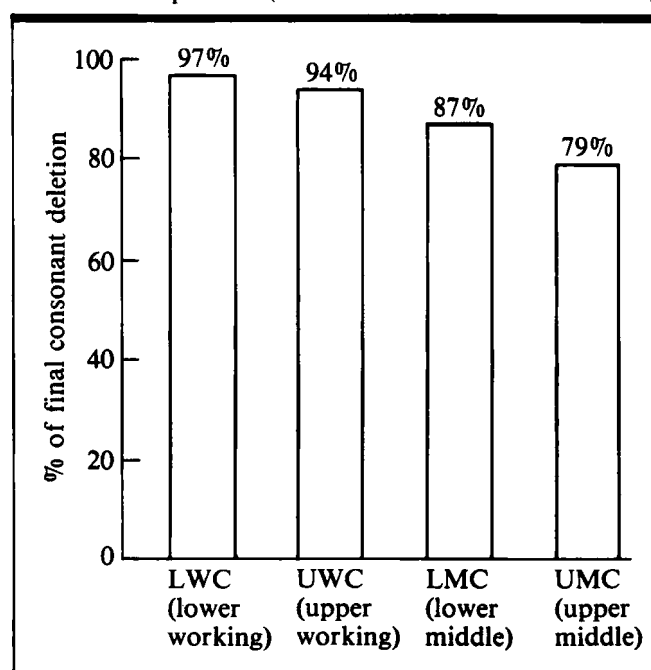


FIGURE 3. *Gradient Stratification.* Frequency of final consonant deletion, as in *des(k) top*, for four social classes of Detroit Black speakers. (From Wolfram & Fasold 1974:132.)



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

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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.

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