



BUKU MATERI POKOK
MPBI5302/3sks/MODUL 1 - 9

Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching

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PENERBIT UNIVERSITAS TERBUKA

Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching

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ISBN: 978-602-392-127-0

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Edisi kesatu

Cetakan pertama, Juni 2017

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Katalog Dalam Terbitan (KDT)

Jufrizal

Sociolinguistics and language teaching (BMP); 1--9 / MPBI5302 / 3SKS /
Jufrizal, Refnaldi. -- Cet. 1; ed. 1--. Tangerang Selatan: Universitas Terbuka, 2017.
(621 hal.; 21 cm).

Termasuk daftar referensi.

ISBN 978-602-392-127-0

1. *sosiolinguistik*

I. Judul

2. *pengajaran bahasa*

II. Refnaldi

306.44—ddc23

201700024

Table of Contents

OVERVIEW	ix
MODULE 1: THE NATURE OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN LANGUAGE TEACHING.....	1.1
Unit 1:	
The Definitions of Sociolinguistics	1.4
Exercises	1.13
Summary	1.19
Formative Test 1	1.20
Unit 2:	
The Scope of Sociolinguistics.....	1.22
Exercises	1.29
Summary	1.33
Formative Test 2	1.34
Unit 3:	
The Implication of Sociolinguistics in EFL Teaching.....	1.36
Exercises	1.46
Summary	1.50
Formative Test 3	1.52
KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS	1.54
REFERENCES	1.57
MODULE 2: LANGUAGE VARIETIES	2.1
Unit 1:	
Regional Varieties.....	2.3
Exercise	2.15
Summary.....	2.18
Formative Test 1	2.18

Unit 2:	
Social Varieties.....	2.21
Exercise	2.38
Summary	2.40
Formative Test 2	2.41

Unit 3:	
Language Varieties and EFL Teaching.....	2.44
Exercise	2.54
Summary	2.57
Formative Test 3	2.59

KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS.....	2.61
REFERENCES	2.65

MODULE 3: LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND ITS IMPLICATION IN EFL TEACHING 3.1

Unit 1:	
Language Attitude in Sociolinguistics	3.4
Exercises	3.15
Summary	3.19
Formative Test 1	3.22

Unit 2:	
Attitude toward Local, National, and Foreign Language	3.24
Exercises	3.36
Summary	3.40
Formative Test 2	3.42

Unit 3:	
The Implication of Language Attitude in EFL Teaching.....	3.44
Exercises	3.55
Summary	3.57
Formative Test 3	3.59

KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS.....	3.61
REFERENCES.....	3.64

MODULE 4: LANGUAGE, GENDER, AGE, AND THEIR IMPLICATION IN EFL TEACHING 4.1

Unit 1:	
Language and Gender.....	4.4
Exercises.....	4.14
Summary.....	4.19
Formative Test 1.....	4.20

Unit 2:	
Language and Age.....	4.22
Exercises.....	4.32
Summary.....	4.36
Formative Test 2.....	4.37

Unit 3:	
Language, Gender, Age, and Their Implication to EFL Teaching.....	4.39
Exercises.....	4.50
Summary.....	4.53
Formative Test 3.....	4.54

KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS.....	4.56
REFERENCES.....	4.58

MODULE 5: LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT 5.1

Unit 1:	
Language Maintenance.....	5.3
Exercise.....	5.23
Summary.....	5.25
Formative Test 1.....	5.27

Unit 2:	
Language Shift.....	5.29
Exercise	5.45
Summary	5.47
Formative Test 2	5.49
Unit 3:	
Implication of Language Maintenance and Shift in EFL Teaching	5.51
Exercise	5.54
Summary	5.55
Formative Test 3	5.56
KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS	5.58
REFERENCES	5.62
MODULE 6: BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM	6.1
Unit 1:	
The Basic Concepts of Bilingualism and Multilingualism.....	6.3
Exercise	6.13
Summary	6.15
Formative Test 1	6.17
Unit 2:	
Multilingual Discourse.....	6.19
Exercise	6.36
Summary	6.38
Formative Test 2	6.40
Unit 3:	
Bilingual and Multilingual Education	6.42
Exercise	6.57
Summary	6.59
Formative Test 3.....	6.60
KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS.....	6.62
REFERENCES	6.67

MODULE 7 : LANGUAGE PLANNING, LANGUAGE POLICY, AND THEIR IMPLICATION IN EFL TEACHING	7.1
Unit 1:	
Language Planning	7.4
Exercises	7.15
Summary	7.21
Formative Test 1	7.22
Unit 2:	
Language Policy.....	7.24
Exercises	7.41
Summary	7.46
Formative Test 2	7.48
Unit 3:	
Language Planning, Language Policy, and Their Implication to EFL Teaching	7.50
Exercises	7.58
Summary	7.61
Formative Test 3	7.62
KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS.....	7.64
REFERENCES	7.67
 MODULE 8: LANGUAGE CHANGE	 8.1
Unit 1:	
Key Concepts of Language Change.....	8.3
Exercise	8.25
Summary	8.29
Formative Test 1	8.30
Unit 2:	
Aspects of Language Change.....	8.32
Exercise	8.46
Summary	8.49
Formative Test 2	8.50

Unit 3:	
Language Change and English Language Teaching	8.52
Exercise	8.62
Summary	8.64
Formative Test 3	8.64
KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS	8.66
REFERENCES	8.69

MODULE 9: ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION AND EFL TEACHING 9.1

Unit 1:	
The Concepts of Ethnography of Communication.....	9.5
Exercises	9.17
Summary	9.22
Formative Test 1	9.24

Unit 2:	
Ethnography and Ethnomethodology	9.26
Exercise	9.39
Summary	9.43
Formative Test 2	9.45

Unit 3:	
The Implication of Ethnography of Communication in EFL Teaching	9:47
Exercise	9.56
Summary	9.59
Formative Test 3	9.61

KEY TO FORMATIVE TESTS.....	9.63
REFERENCES	9.67

Overview

Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching is one of the courses that must be taken by the students of master degree in English Education at Graduate Program of Universitas Terbuka.

This course-book (*Buku Materi Pokok/BMP*) consists of 9 (nine) modules, as follows:

Module 1 The Nature of Sociolinguistics in Language Teaching

Module 2 Language Varieties

Module 3 Language Attitude and Its Implication in EFL Teaching

Module 4 Language, Gender, Age, and Their Implication in EFL Teaching

Module 5 Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Module 6 Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Module 7 Language Planning, Language Policy, and Their Implication in EFL Teaching

Module 8 Language Change

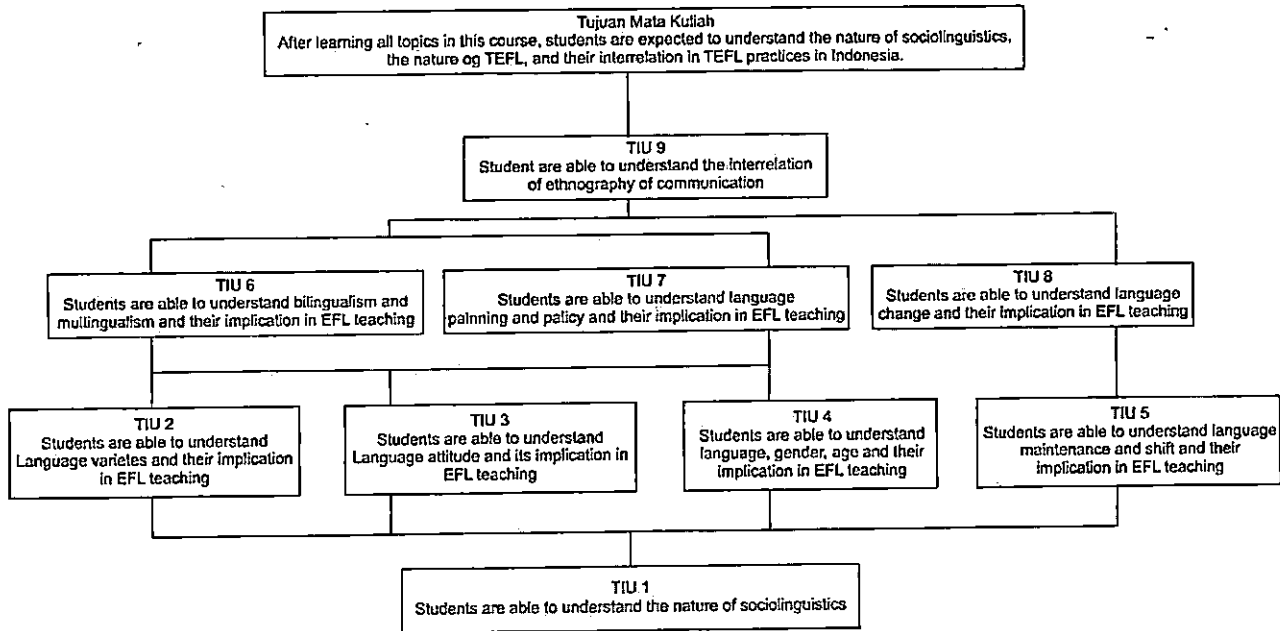
Module 9 Ethnography of Communication and EFL Teaching

Upon completing the course students are expected to comprehend the nature of 'sociolinguistics' and 'TEFL', and to have linguistic and pedagogical understanding on their interrelation in TEFL practices in Indonesia.

Competence Map

Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching/MPBI5302

x



The Nature of Sociolinguistics in Language Teaching

Prof. Dr. Jufrizal, M. Hum.



INTRODUCTION

Dear students! Welcome to Module 1 concerning with Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching, particularly the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching! This is the first of nine modules in Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching subject. This module mainly deals with the nature of Sociolinguistics in language teaching. As matter of fact, the materials and discussion on the nature of Sociolinguistics in language teaching are broad enough to pack in one module. In order to have meaningful-academic contents concerning with this main topic, the materials and discussion presented are the concepts, definitions, and/or the implications of Sociolinguistics which are closely related to EFL teaching. Therefore, the materials and topics of discussion presented in this module are more on Applied-Sociolinguistics rather than those of descriptive or theoretical Sociolinguistics.

The specific topics discussed in this first module include the definitions of Sociolinguistics, the scope of Sociolinguistics, and the implication of Sociolinguistics in EFL teaching. Many sociolinguists have formulated and proposed various definitions of Sociolinguistics based on various theoretical viewpoints and practical aims. Therefore, there are many definitions of Sociolinguistics found in linguistic books and references. Accordingly, we are possible to formulate and to have specific definitions on Sociolinguistics based on particular viewpoints, then. In addition, linguists and sociolinguists, in particular, assign and describe the scopes of Sociolinguistics based on various theoretical bases and frameworks, as well. Based on those points, it may be conceptually derived several ideas and points as the implications of Sociolinguistics to EFL teaching. The implications of Sociolinguistics to EFL

teaching and learning may be argued as the pedagogical and practical contributions of sociolinguistic theories and concepts to language teaching.

After finishing this module, you are kindly expected to be able to:

1. mention and argumentatively criticize the available definitions of Sociolinguistics;
2. formulate and state definition(s) of Sociolinguistics by using your own words;
3. mention and argumentatively criticize the scopes of Sociolinguistics stated by linguists;
4. map the scopes of Sociolinguistics as the general one(s) which are universally applicable for sociolinguistic studies;
5. search and to collect ideas and concepts of Sociolinguistics which are closely relevant to EFL teaching;
6. mention, argue, and verbally state the implications of nature of Sociolinguistics in EFL teaching.

To achieve the objectives academically, the presentation and explanation of learning materials, including the exercises of this module are elaborated in three units. Unit 1 is about the definitions of Sociolinguistics which is highly aimed at achieving objectives 1 and 2. Unit 2 deals with the scope of Sociolinguistics which leads you to successfully come to objectives 3 and 4. Then, Unit 3 is talking about the implication of Sociolinguistics in EFL teaching and learning which leads you to have knowledge and inspiration related to objectives 5 and 6. Please keep in your mind that the general objective of Module 1 is to 'serve you to be able to understand and have argumentations on the nature of Sociolinguistics in language teaching, particularly on EFL teaching and learning.

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, reading activities and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are kindly suggested to do in order to learn this module successfully.

1. Please read carefully the materials and explanation in each unit!
2. Then, read further related references and information by means of independent learning and reading!
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have discussion in groups or in pairs!

4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, read the materials again and you may have comparative discussion with your partners.
5. Do exercises well and compare your answers with those of your friends before consult the key answers provided!

All right students, do your best and good luck!

UNIT 1

The Definitions of Sociolinguistics

Welcome to Unit 1 of Module 1 which mainly deals with the definitions of Sociolinguistics as the introductory part which may lead you to have essential foundation for the further understanding of concepts, theories, or ideas in this subject. As you have already known, Sociolinguistics belongs to macro-linguistics, the study of language phenomena in relations with other related phenomena outside of language. There are many non-linguistic features and properties which are naturally involved in language uses in complex systems. Thus, the studies on sociolinguistic phenomena may have something to do with language teaching and learning.

For learners and researchers, particularly those who are the beginners, definitions and scopes of Sociolinguistics are essential to know and understand. Definitions may give us basic ideas and concepts on given terms so that the further discussion may run well smoothly. Then, the understanding on the scopes of Sociolinguistics leads us to be on right positions to have researches or studies toward language phenomena which belong to sociolinguistic works. These are all needed to relate the studies on Sociolinguistics with other relevant fields of studies, such as with language teaching and learning. In Unit 1, however, we only focus on the discussion and exercises dealing with language and society and the definitions of Sociolinguistics in general viewpoints and those which are closely related to language teaching.

A. LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

Language is social phenomena; human languages are naturally influenced by many social factors as they are found daily life. Human beings speak particular languages as they are naturally used in their speech community. The term speech community (see Hudson, 2001:24) is widely used by sociolinguists to refer to a community based on language. In this simple idea, community may refer to group of people who live together in one area and have social agreements as their shared socio-cultural identities. Therefore, it can be stated, as well, that languages exist in societies although the languages are spoken by individual speakers. The idea implies that a

language is in a society; language and society are in closed interrelationship, then.

Before we come to closer discussion on the relationship between language and society, it is better to see again the concepts of speech community as proposed by sociolinguists. According to Hudson (2001:24), the study of speech communities has therefore interested linguists for some time, as least since L. Bloomfield wrote a chapter on speech community in his book *Language* (1933: chapter 3). Although in some cases the definitions of speech community are confused, the term speech community is 'central' in Sociolinguistics, especially in the discussion of relationship between language and society. The understanding on the concepts of speech community leads us to know more about the systematic interrelationships between language and society.

As quoted by Hudson (2001:24), the simplest definition of 'speech community' is that of Lyons (1970): "The speech community is all the people who use a given language (or dialect)". According to this definition, speech communities may overlap (where there are bilingual individuals) and need not have any social or cultural unity. Thus, it is possible to delimit speech communities in this sense only to the extent that it is possible to delimit languages and dialects without referring to the community that speaks them. Hudson (2001) adds that a more complex definition is given by Hockett (1958). Hockett states: "each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language". Based on this definition, the criterion of communication within the community is added, so that if two communities both spoke the same language but had no contact with each other at all, they would count as different speech communities.

Actually, there are some other definitions of speech community. Those definitions may be formulated by the sociolinguists based on different viewpoints. On this occasion, we see one more definition proposed by Gumperz (1968) in order to have further idea on speech community (more definitions can be seen in Hudson, 2001). Gumperz wrote: "the speech community; any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use". This definition does not require that there should be just one language per speech community. The effect of putting emphasis on communication and interaction, as in this

definition, is that different speech communities will tend not to overlap much, in contrast with the earlier definitions where overlap automatically results from bilingualism (see Hudson, 2001:25).

The definitions of speech community above reflect that there are systematic relationships between human beings, language, and society. For our main purpose, let's see further the inter-relationship between language and society. Wardhaugh (2010:9 – 10), among the others, states that we must acknowledge that a language is essentially a set of items, what Hudson (1996) calls 'linguistic items', such entities as sounds, words, grammatical structures, and so on. It is these items, their status, and their arrangements that language theorists such as Chomsky concern themselves with. On the other hand, social theorists, particularly sociolinguists, attempt to understand how societies are structured and how people manage to live together. To do so, they use such concepts as 'identity', 'power', 'class', 'status', 'solidarity', 'accommodation', 'face', 'gender', 'politeness', etc. In relation with these, the sociolinguists seriously learn the relationship of these sociological terms with language. Thus, it is highly essential to search and to know how language and society relate each other.

The relationships between language and society have been becoming fundamental topics of discussion in Sociolinguistics. According to Wardhaugh (2010:10 – 12); there are several possible relationships between language and society. One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behavior. The evidence for this relationship is that the *age-grading* phenomenon whereby young children speak differently from older children and, in turn, children speak differently from mature adults; studies which show that the varieties of language that speakers use reflect such matters as their regional, social, or ethnic origin and possibly even their gender; and other studies which show that particular ways of speaking, choices of words, and even rules for conversing are in fact highly determined by certain social requirements.

A second possible relationship is directly opposed to the first; linguistic structure and/or behavior may either influence or determine social structure. This is the view that is behind the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the claims of Bernstein, and many of those who argue that languages rather than speakers of these languages can be 'sexist'. Then, a third possible relationship is that the influence is bi-directional; language and society may influence each other. One variant of this approach is that this influence is dialectical in nature, a

Marxist view put forward by Dittmar (1976) who argues that 'speech behavior and social behavior are in a state of constant interaction'.

A four possibility is to assume that there is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of the other. A variant of this possibility would be to say that, although there might be some such relationship, present attempts to characterize it are essentially premature, given what we know about both language and society. In accordance with the possible relationships between language and society may lead us to have basic understanding that language and society cannot be sharply separated since they are in systematic and natural interrelationship. This is important to support idea that Sociolinguistics concerns with the relationships of language to society in various viewpoints. We may highly argue that the phenomena of the interrelationships between language and society are scientifically studied in Sociolinguistics.

In order to have better understanding and further exploration on the relationships between language and society, it is on the right way for you to do the following exercises. Please answer and/or give responses to the following items of exercises argumentatively. It is highly expected that your answers and/or response are described in your own words and supported by relevant examples. The answers/responses given may be in different styles and argumentations, but the key to answers given in this module can be consulted, then. After that, you may come and learn the next sub-topic as in B below.

B. THE DEFINITIONS OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN GENERAL VIEWPOINTS

In general, we can define Sociolinguistics as *the study of language in relation to society* (see Hudson, 2001:1; Wardhaugh, 2010:1). This definition reflects both purposes and scopes of studies in Sociolinguistics as a field of macro-linguistics. As we have already known, based on the scope of studies, linguistics can be divided into two, namely micro-linguistics and macro-linguistics. In micro-linguistics, linguists search and study languages as linguistic phenomena; they study on language phenomena as language itself. Thus, the linguistic fields, such as, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics belong to micro-linguistics. In other side, macro-linguistics refers

to the studies on language phenomena in relationships with other phenomena outside language. In accordance with this, sociolinguistics belongs to macro-linguistics, in nature (see further Wardhaugh, 2010:12).

In addition to general definition, there are many other definitions of sociolinguistics. The definitions are formulated by sociolinguists based on various points of view. Such definitions are commonly derived from the general-basic definition above. Before closely looking at some other definitions of sociolinguistics, let's again see a general description of sociolinguistics. Hudson (2001:1) mentions that sociolinguistics, the study of language in relation to society, has become a recognized part of most courses at university level on 'linguistics' or 'language'. It has been becoming one of the main growth points in the study of language, from the viewpoint of both teaching and research. Most of the growth in sociolinguistics has taken place since the late 1960s. Like other subjects, sociolinguistics is partly empirical and partly theoretical – partly a matter of going out and amassing bodies of fact and partly of sitting back and thinking. The approach to sociolinguistics can be fairly productive, whether it is based on facts collected in a systematic way as part of research or simply on one's own experience. In particular, it allows the beginnings of an analytical framework to be worked out, containing terms such as language (a body of knowledge or rules), speech (actual utterances), speaker, addressee, topic, and so on. It should be understood, however, that personal experience is a rich source of information on language in relation to society.

As a field in linguistics, sociolinguistics focuses on the studies of language phenomena in relation to society in which the speakers of a language habitually live. The study on society itself is not linguistics, but it is sociology. It is one of the main reasons to say that sociolinguistics belongs to macro-linguistics. The basic definition of sociolinguistics as proposed by Hudson (2001) intentionally implies that sociolinguistics is part of the study of language. Thus, the value of sociolinguistics is the light which it throws on the nature of language in general, or in the characteristics of some particular language. In this sense, the term sociolinguistics is the study in which language phenomena as the basis to see their relationship with social phenomena.

Beside sociolinguistics, the term *sociology of language* is commonly used in similar sense. The students of society have found that the facts about language can illuminate their understanding – after all, it is hard to think of

any characteristics of a society which is as distinctive as its language, or as important for its functioning. In this case, the theories of sociology become the bases on analysis toward language phenomena. The study of society in relation to language defines what is generally called the *Sociology of Language*. The difference between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is very much one of emphasis, according to whether the investigator is more interested in language or society, and also according to whether they have more skill in analyzing linguistic or social structures (see Hudson, 2001:4; Wardhaugh, 2010:12 – 13). In short, sociolinguistics uses the linguistic theories as the bases of analyses concerning with language and society relationship, meanwhile sociology of language uses theories of sociology as the bases to analyze the relationship between language and society. We may also use Hudson's ideas saying that sociolinguistics is 'the study of language in relation to society', whereas the sociology of language is 'the study of society in relation to language'.

Based on the ideas above, it can be also defined that sociolinguistics is the study concerning with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal being a better understanding of the structure of language and of how language function in communication (Wardhaugh, 2010:12). In addition to definitions of sociolinguistics previously mentioned, linguists differentiate between micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics, as well. Coulmas (1997) as quoted by Wardhaugh (2010:12–13) says that 'micro-sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex, and age. Macro-sociolinguistics, on the other hand, studies what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities.

This brief review of scopes and definitions sociolinguistics leads us know three main things. Firstly, various forms of linguistic studies aiming at investigating the interrelationships between language and society belong to sociolinguistics. Therefore, the basic definition of sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society. Secondly, the theories, conceptual frameworks, and analyses of sociolinguistics are overlapped with sociological studies, as they are used in sociology. Consequently, in addition

to sociolinguistics, linguists also use technical term *sociology of language*. As it has been mentioned above, sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society, whereas the sociology of language is the study of society in relation to language. The last one, linguists also differentiate between micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics. These three main points are essentially helpful in the studies of language and society, including in the studies of sociolinguistic phenomena in relation to language learning.

C. THE DEFINITIONS OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN THE SENSES OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

Some studies on sociolinguistics may have something to do with language learning whether it is the first, second, or foreign language. General-basic definition of sociolinguistics as mentioned by Hudson (2001) and others mentioned previously reflect many sides and aspects of sociolinguistic studies, including those which are in the senses of language teaching. It may be argued that many sociolinguists have formulated other definitions in the senses of language teaching and learning, as well. In this part, let's see studies and definitions of sociolinguistics in the senses of language teaching and learning.

The studies on sociolinguistics in language teaching and learning are partially derived from the sociolinguistics and education. Therefore, it is helpful to begin the discussion in this part with some ideas on the relationship between sociolinguistics and education. Hornberger (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996: 449) states that language in all its societal, variational, interactional, and cultural diversity both influences and is influenced by education. Education is the site where, on the one hand, broad social and political forces are reflected in the kind of educational opportunities offered to speakers of different language varieties and, on the other, language use mediates the participation of these speakers in these opportunities and, ultimately, their potential contributions to the larger society.

In addition, Verhoeven (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:389) says that during the past decades linguists, psychologists, and educationalists have been involved in a continuing debate on how language can be taught. Research on language education has sought answers to the question of how the development of spoken and written language can be fostered, from their origins in early

infancy to their mastery as systems of representation for communication with others and for the inner control of thinking and feeling. Thanks to the input of sociolinguistics in educational research, the ways in which social equality can be enhanced through education have also received attention. To have more understanding on the relationship between sociolinguistic studies and language teaching, it is necessary to see the processes involved in language learning and language teaching. Since language can be seen as a social marker of gender, class, and ethnicity, it is also important to discuss ways in which classroom experiences may contribute to equality in school learning processes. The discussion on these points may lead us to know the scope of sociolinguistics in language teaching and learning. The definitions of sociolinguistics in the sense of language teaching may be derived, then.

Verhoeven (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:389 – 390) furthermore states that the ability of individuals to communicate through language is both a unique and a universal human quality. The human capacity to think symbolically and to interpret and produce sounds makes it possible to create a language system. Human culture, social behavior and thinking would not exist without language. On the other hand, communication would be meaningless in the absence of thinking. Language and thinking are so closely connected that it is hard to discuss one without the other, for speech can serve thought and thought can be revealed in speech. In sociolinguistic perspectives, taking a socio-cultural approach to language as a starting point, a more elaborated concept of communicative competence was introduced by Hymes. Hymes argues that the concept of competence should be extended to include language use as well as sentence creation.

In the context of language teaching, Canale and Swain as quoted by Verhoeven (see Coulmas (ed.), 1997:390) define communicative competence as: “a synthesis of knowledge of basic grammatical principles, knowledge of how language is used in social settings to perform communicative functions, and knowledge of how utterances and communicative functions can be combined according to the principles of discourse. Communicative competence itself is composed of four competencies: grammatical competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, and sociolinguistic competence. Grammatical competence covers the mastery of phonological rules, lexical items, morphosyntactic rules, and rules of sentence formation. Discourse competence refers to knowledge of rules regarding the cohesion and coherence of various types of discourse. Strategic competence involves

the mastery of verbal and nonverbal strategies to compensate for breakdowns and to enhance the effectiveness of communication. Sociolinguistic competence is related to the mastery of socio-cultural conventions within varying social contexts (see also Brown, 2001). This type of competence involves rules that are sensitive to various factors, such as the context and topic of discourse, and the social status, sex, and age of participants. These factors account for stylistic differences or varying registers of speech.

Verhoeven (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:392 – 393) particularly adds that sociolinguistic competence enables the individual to cope with language situations in everyday life. As it has been mentioned, sociolinguistic competence referring to the knowledge of stylistic differences is also usually called register variation. Different types of situations may call for different types of language items, as well as different values and beliefs. Furthermore, the development of sociolinguistic competence involves the elaboration of distinct sources of knowledge: person knowledge referring to the moods, states, preferences, and intentions of people; knowledge of social categories, such as age, sex, and status in order to tune their linguistic behavior to the social context; and knowledge of how events are organized in the forms of routines, as in telephone dialogues.

It is obvious that the studies on sociolinguistics provide information and data for language education (language teaching-learning), especially those for intermediate and advanced learners. The sociolinguistic information and data should be accommodated and selected in such a way that they are academically appropriate with goals of learning. As it has been academically known that language education involves the learning of language skills – listening, speaking, reading, and writing. A basic assumption of language teaching is that all modes of language must be trained in all courses at varying school levels. Language learning should be viewed as inherently integrative, then. Because the roots of both language and thought are social, language learning will enhance children's (and learners') social skills as well (see Verhoeven in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:396). The learners' social skills can be partially seen and developed based on the skills of the learnt language.

In sociolinguistics, that a language has variation is the facts and natural. Verhoeven (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:400) and others such as Hudson (2001) and Wardhaugh (2010) mention that language and language varieties vary according to their status and social functions. In this case, the functions of language in the classroom are a special case of language in its social context.

The further development of such language varieties and learning of new varieties in school are highly dependent on teacher attitudes toward language diversity. The teaching-learning processes of language classroom need to include sociolinguistic items such as dialects, language and gender, language and social class, language ethnicity and attitude, including specific socio-cultural features of the speech community of the learnt language.

Based on the brief review above, it is on the right point to say that sociolinguistics has particular relationships with language teaching, whether it is the first, second, foreign language. In accordance with this, it is possible to formulate definitions of sociolinguistics in the sense of language teaching. In its relation to language teaching and learning, sociolinguistics can be defined as the study of social features involved in natural language and language forms used in classroom interactions. This definition implies that sociolinguistic phenomena can be found in natural language as daily languages and/or in the forms of 'more' formal languages as they are found in classroom interactions.

In relation to the scope of sociolinguistics in language teaching and learning, in more specific viewpoint, sociolinguistics can be defined as the study of social dimensions and interactional features of language naturally found in its speech community and academically used for the success of the teaching-learning processes and to build learners' sociolinguistic competence. The sociolinguistic competence and other related competencies are really necessary to have in order that the learners may have communicative competence. Language learning is not only to know and understand the grammatical rules and lexical items of the language being learnt, but leading learners to have communicative competence that they normatively actualize in language skills. Therefore, the sociolinguistic studies are helpful for the success of language teaching and learning.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

Human beings live in societies, and each society naturally develop socio-cultural features as the products of humanistic life. Therefore, there must be systematic interrelationships between human beings, language, and society. How can you prove that such systematic-natural inter-relationship are found in one particularly society?

Exercise 2

No human beings live in isolation; they live and mutually interact in particular society. Therefore, humans being need languages as a main tool of communication. How can you argumentatively illustrate that no humans without society, and no society without language?

Exercise 3

As we know in daily life, the members of a society naturally speak in one language with several mutual-intelligibility dialects as a speech community. Why do you think that Minangkabaunese people, for example, can be assigned as speech community of Minangkabaunese, and Javanese people are the speech community of Javanese, as well?

Exercise 4

How can you formulate your argumentative ideas about the interrelationship between language and society?

Exercise 5

As it has been known, language has close relationships with society. Based on the phenomena, some linguists are interested to study how the linguistic features may reflect social structures of its speech community. Such interests lead linguists to come to sociolinguistics. How do linguists construct the theoretical and conceptual foundations of sociolinguistics?

Exercise 6

As a field of science in macro-linguistics, sociolinguistics studies language phenomena in relation to society. What are the examples of language phenomena which belong to *micro-sociolinguistics* and those of *macro-sociolinguistics*?

Exercise 7

Formulating definitions of certain terms need fundamental understanding on concepts and scopes of studies. Based on the scopes of studies and definitions proposed by sociolinguists, how can you formulate your own definition of sociolinguistics?

Exercise 8

The language phenomena, in fact, can be studied in the framework of sociolinguistics and/or in sociology of language. What are the examples of linguistic studies which belong to sociolinguistics and those belonging to sociology of language?

Exercise 9

The sociolinguistics does not only work for natural languages as they are found in the speech communities. Sociolinguistic phenomena may be found in the processes of language teaching and learning. What are the examples of sociolinguistic phenomena which are normally found in language classroom interactions?

Exercise 10

How do you believe that sociolinguistic phenomena are also found in language classroom interaction?

Exercise 11

Why do you think that certain language features and materials brought into language education should academically consider the results of sociolinguistic studies?

Exercise 12

Please formulate your own definitions of sociolinguistics in the sense of language teaching and learning!

Key to Exercises

Exercise 1

Human beings are social creatures; they live in a particular society which has its members. Every society develops and has socio-cultural systems which lead the members of the society live together in such a way that they belong to the society. Therefore, there are no normal human beings live in isolation or without society. As human beings are intellectual, they are able to create and develop language as an intellectual communication system used in their daily life. In addition to the product of their intellectuality, human languages are naturally influenced by the nature of society and culture. It can be said

that there is a systematic interrelationship between human beings, language, and society. No human being without society and language, and no society without culture and human being, then.

Exercise 2

The fact that no human being without society and language, and no society without culture and human being is not questioned by many anymore. We easily found that all human beings need to communicate and they are able to develop their own socio-cultural features in natural ways. Minangkabaunese and Javanese, for examples, are the names of societies with specific socio-cultural members and features. They have their own local languages naturally developing in line with socio-cultural development in the speech communities. They speak in Minangkabaunese or in Javanese and culturally act as Minangkabaunese or Javanese, as well. Thus, there are no human beings without society, and no society without language, of course.

Exercise 3

As we know, speech community is a group of people speaking in a mutual-intelligibility language and behaves in their own socio-cultural features. In accordance with this, Minangkabaunese is an example of speech community, and so is Javanese. In the real life, Minangkabaunese speaks Minangkabaunese and Javanese speaks Javanese. In addition, anything sounds Minangkabaunese is possessed by the speech community members, and so is Javanese.

Exercise 4

In one side, it can be argued that language is influenced by society. Many social features influence linguistic items and the ways the native speaker speak. In other side, society may be influenced by the language as it can be seen in linguistic politeness strategy and practical behaviors. Therefore, it is reasonable to state that there is systematic interrelationship between language and society.

Exercise 5

The theoretical and conceptual foundations of sociolinguistics are developed by linguists by having data, information, and conclusions derived from the studies of linguistics in relation to society. In other words, sociolinguists

scientifically attempt to study and conclude the phenomena of linguistic in relation to society, especially those of the speech community members. The interrelationships between language and society found in the fields are formulated into theoretical and/or conceptual statements which define certain phenomena by using technical terms. Having these ways, sociolinguists gradually have and develop the theories and concepts commonly used in sociolinguistics.

Exercise 6

The examples of micro-sociolinguistic studies are: (i) the studies on linguistic (lexical, pronunciation, grammatical, semantic) items in relation to the characteristics of speakers in speech community; (ii) the studies on how linguistic items and dialects reflect the socio-cultural features of given speech community; (iii) the studies on linguistic politeness strategies and how the strategies influence the speakers behave socially in their societies.

The examples of macro-sociolinguistics studies are: (i) the studies on how socio-cultural features influence the vocabulary and language uses in particular society; (ii) the studies on how environmental characteristics contribute to lexical items, vocabulary, and sound systems of a language; (iii) the studies on how cultural development and technology influence language change and death.

Exercise 7

1. Sociolinguistics is the study of particular linguistic phenomena as the influences and relationships of social features existing in a speech community or group of people.
2. Sociolinguistics is the linguistic studies which attempt to explore, describe, and explain the interrelationship between language and society.
3. Sociolinguistics is the systematic studies to explore and describe how linguistic features and uses naturally influenced by socio-cultural features.

Exercise 8

The answers are similar to exercise 6 with the addition that the term *sociolinguistics* is the same with *micro-sociolinguistics* and *sociology of language* is the same with *macro-sociolinguistics*.

Exercise 9

The examples of sociolinguistic phenomena normally-commonly found in language classroom interaction are:

1. code-mixing, code-switching, and language interference in L2 and FL learning in practical classrooms;
2. dialects and sub-dialects of the learnt languages possessed by learners in the classroom interactions, for example the dialects and/or sub-dialects produced by EFL learners in Indonesia in speaking English;
3. semantic changes and pragmatic transfers in EFL learning.

Exercise 10

A classroom can be assumed as 'mini' society as its members come from different social status and background. In classroom interactions, there must be verbal interactions and 'temporary' socio-cultural composition. In this situation, as it is in natural society, sociolinguistic phenomena frequently occur in classroom interactions as the reflections of sociolinguistic phenomena in real societies.

Exercise 11

It is necessary and helpful to bring relevant sociolinguistic phenomena and materials into language classroom because verbal communication is not only pay attention to grammatical rules and lexical items, but the successful communication in one particular language needs to base on sociolinguistic competence in order to speak contextually and appropriately.

Exercise 12

1. Sociolinguistics, in the sense of language teaching and learning, is the studies on linguistic phenomena occurring in verbal communication in classroom interactions.
2. Sociolinguistics, in the sense of language teaching and learning, is the systematic studies on linguistic phenomena in relation to socio-cultural features of classroom interactions.



SUMMARY

Human beings, language, and society are naturally in interrelationships. Sociolinguistics attempts to study how language relates to society, the studies of language in its speech community. Social features are socio-culturally involved in systematic ways into linguistic features. It may be also argued that language is the reflection of social dimensions of its speakers. The term '*interrelationship*' implies that not only social features influence the language forms and uses, but language forms may influence the social behavior, as well. The teaching-learning processes of language need to serve and accommodate the nature of inter-relationships between language and society.

The scopes and definitions of sociolinguistics are derived based on the results of researches on the interrelationship between language and society, and other relevant phenomena dealing with social aspects of languages. In addition to sociolinguistics as "an umbrella" of the study of language in relation to society, sociolinguistics can be classified as micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics. Micro-sociolinguistics, in one side, investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex, and age. Macro-sociolinguistics, on the other side, studies what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities.

Definitions of sociolinguistics in the sense of language teaching and learning may be seen as the development of basic definitions argued by sociolinguists with the emphasis on sociolinguistic aspects involving in language teaching and learning. The programs of language teaching and learning in intermediate and advanced levels need to include the sociolinguistic aspects of language being learned. The information dealing with sociolinguistic aspects in language learning may be used to build and develop learners' communicative competence, especially in sociolinguistic competence. Having the sociolinguistic competence, the learners are possible to use the language forms in socio-cultural contexts.



FORMATIVE TEST 1 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the examples proving that there are interrelationships between language and society?
- 2) In accordance with the facts that language is in closed relationship with society, all languages have their own speech community. How can you argue that you belong to the speech community of your own (native) language?
- 3) What does '*language is social phenomena*' mean?
- 4) Why do you think that language in classroom interactions or in language education reflects also the sociolinguistic phenomena?
- 5) What are the pedagogic reasons to say that language education (language learning) needs to consider the sociolinguistic data and information to build and develop sociolinguistic competence?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.

Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit
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Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

The Scope of Sociolinguistics

In Unit 1, we learned and discussed definitions and little bit information about the scope of sociolinguistics. In Unit 2, let's continue discussing further ideas, argumentations, and relevant information on the scope of sociolinguistics. The main aim of learning this unit is that you are expected to be able to map the scope of sociolinguistics. Actually, topics of discussion presented in this unit are closely related to those presented in unit 1. It can be said that topics of discussion are the further elaboration and explanation of similar items previously discussed in Unit 1. To have systematic explanation and discussion, this unit is divided into three parts, namely: Sociolinguistics and Sociology of Language, Micro-sociolinguistics and Macro-sociolinguistics, and Sociolinguistics in Language Education. You can see again that these three parts were already presented in Unit 1. In this unit, however, further examples, explanation, and argumentation are intentionally presented.

A. SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

In Unit 1, the explanation and discussion about the different between sociolinguistics and sociology of language were emphasized on leading to know and understand the definitions of sociolinguistics and sociology of language; they were definitions oriented, in nature. In this unit, the discussion and explanation about sociolinguistics and sociology of language are broader; they are more on leading you to have information and knowledge on the scope of sociolinguistics. So, you should not be confused why the terms sociolinguistics and sociology of language appear again in this part. It is also highly expected that you may add your readings, particularly, with references suggested and relevant ones.

As mentioned in Unit 1, sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society meanwhile sociology of language is the study of society in relation to language. Based on these definitions, it can be seen that the term sociolinguistics basically refers to linguistic studies; linguistic theories as the bases to analyze the data and then continue to see their relationships with social variables. In sociolinguistics, linguists attempt to study how linguistic

features relate to social features of speech communities. In other side, sociology of language is a part of sociology which attempt to see how the sociological factors influence language forms and uses. In sociology of language, sociological (social) theories are the bases to see how society gives particular effects to human languages.

According to Hudson (2001), the difference between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is very much one of emphasis; whether the investigator is more interested in language or society, and also according to whether they have more skill in analyzing linguistic or social structure. Accordingly, the scope of sociolinguistics can be generally described as any form of the linguistic studies in relation to social structures in particular societies. The clear distinction between sociolinguistics and sociology of language is easy to state because more topics of discussion and research interests are overlapped; they can be assigned as parts of sociolinguistics and sociology of language, as well. The key point that can be simply argued is that if the emphasizes of studies are more on language phenomena they belong to sociolinguistics, while if the social structures are the focus of studies, they belong to sociology of language.

Sociolinguistics, in nature, is derived from linguistic studies in relation to sociological features. In this case, sociolinguists attempt to know how and why the linguistic features bring about social structures and characteristics of speech communities. In other words, it can be said that sociolinguistics is the study of language phenomena in order to see the social characteristics of speech communities. In sociology of language, the researchers attempt to study social structures and characteristics of groups of people and how they naturally influence languages of the societies. Therefore, sociology of language is more on sociology rather than linguistics. Based on these opinions, it is expected that you can theoretically and academically argue the relationship and differences between sociolinguistics and sociology of language. It is highly appreciated that you can enlarge your ideas and argumentations about sociolinguistics and sociology of language by reading further related literatures, then.

B. MICRO-SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND MACRO-SOCIOLINGUISTICS

As in linguistics, the terms micro-sociolinguistics and macro-linguistics are intentionally used to refer to the scope of sociolinguistic studies. Sociolinguists, in the first period of sociolinguistic development, did not explicitly use these two terms in their studies. In its rapid development, however, many and complex forms of studies have been coming up as the logical consequence of interface between language and social phenomena. Language and social structures with complex-integrated relationship cannot be simply studied as sociolinguistic features. It has been scientifically realized that the sociolinguistic phenomena are not simple and linearly constructed. The facts lead sociolinguists to assign the scope of sociolinguistic studies into micro and macro-sociolinguistics. The classification is theoretically and practically helpful in further development of sociolinguistics.

The use and discussion of micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics cannot be separated from the terms sociolinguistics and sociology of language; they are in sharply similar. According to Wardhaugh (2010:13–14), some investigators have found it appropriate to try to introduce a distinction between *sociolinguistics* and *sociology of language*. In short, the term *sociolinguistics* is the same with *micro-sociolinguistics* while *sociology of language* is practically the same with *macro-sociolinguistics*. If it is so, we can obviously understand that all studies which belong to sociolinguistics are micro-sociolinguistic studies and those which belong to sociology of language are the macro-linguistic phenomena. Wardhaugh adds that sociolinguistics (micro-sociolinguistics) is concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goals being a better understanding of the structure of language and of how languages function in communication. In equivalent goal of sociology of language (macro-sociolinguistics), the linguists are trying to discover how social structure can be better understood through the studies of language, e.g., how certain linguistic features serve to characterize particular social arrangements.

Based on Hudson's and Coulmas', Wardhaugh (2010) mentions that in micro-sociolinguistics, we study language and society in order to find out as much as we can about what kind of thing language is, and in macro-sociolinguistics we reverse the direction of our interest. Micro-

sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties and patterns of use correlate with social attributes such as class, sex (gender), and age. Macro-sociolinguistics, on the other hand, studies what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities.

Labov (1970) as quoted by Wardhaugh (2010:13) states that the area of study of macro-sociolinguistics deals with large-scale social factors, and their mutual interaction with languages and dialects. There are many open questions, many practical problems associated with the decay and assimilation of minority languages, the development of stable bilingualism, the standardization of languages and the planning of language development in newly emerging nations. The linguistic input for such studies is primarily that a given person or group uses language X in a social context or domain Y. Then, according to Wardhaugh (2010:10), both sociolinguistics (micro-sociolinguistics) and the sociology of language (macro-sociolinguistics) require a systematic study of language and society if they are to be successful. Moreover, a sociolinguistics that deliberately refrains from drawing conclusions about society seems to be unnecessarily restrictive, just as restrictive indeed as a sociology of language that deliberately ignores discoveries about language made in the course of sociological research.

Although we have the dichotomy between micro and macro-sociolinguistics, it is also necessary to pay attention to Coulmas (1997:3) saying that there is no sharp dividing line between the two (micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics), but a large area of common concern. Although sociolinguistic research centers about a number of different key issues, any rigid micro-macro compartmentalization seems quite contrived and unnecessary in the present state of knowledge about the complex interrelationships between linguistic and social structures. Contributions to a better understanding of language as a necessary condition and product of social life will continue to come from both quarters.

Trudgill (1978) as also exposed by Wardhaugh (2010) tries to clearly differentiate between sociolinguistics (micro-sociolinguistics) and sociology of language (macro-sociolinguistics). According to him, the studies which are not really relevant with linguistics in many aspects are not micro-sociolinguistics; they are sociology of language (macro-sociolinguistics). The

studies which have linguistic aspects may be assigned as micro-sociolinguistics. But, some studies may fall into both micro-macro sociolinguistics, such as: the structure of discourse and conversation, speech act, studies in the ethnography of speaking, investigations of such matters as kinship systems, studies in the sociology of language, e.g., bilingualism, code-switching, and diglossia, and certain 'practical concerns such as various aspects of teaching and language behavior in classroom. It may be simply stated that micro-sociolinguistics concerns with linguistic matters, while macro-sociolinguistics mainly deals with social matters.

In the development of macro-linguistics since in the middle of the 20th century, the sociolinguistic phenomena can be overlapped with the studies of anthropological linguistics, geolinguistics, or with dialectology, especially social-dialectology. Thus, the most important thing for us is that to know the factual subject matters of interest and how we analyze them. If the subject matters and ways of analyses are more linguistic perspectives, they are micro-sociolinguistics (or sociolinguistics). On the other hand, if they are more on social or sociological phenomena, we may assign them as macro-sociolinguistics (sociology of language).

C. SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The term language education may refer to the language used in pedagogical classroom interaction (instructional language) and teaching-learning processes of language in practical classroom. Then, sociolinguistics in education can be seen as the sociolinguistic phenomena naturally found in educational processes and related matters in language teaching and learning. According to Verhoeven (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:389), during the past decades linguists, psychologists, and educationalists have been involved in a continuing debate on how language can be taught. Research on language education has sought answers to the question of how the development of spoken and written language can be fostered, from their origins in early infancy to their mastery as systems of representation for communication with others and for the inner control of thinking and feeling.

To see the sociolinguistics and language education in this unit, we need to look at the processes involved in language learning and language teaching. In addition, it is also necessary to have a brief view of language as a social marker of gender, class, and ethnicity. Verhoeven (in Coulmas (ed.),

1997:389 – 390) argues that the ability of individuals to communicate through language is both a unique and a universal human quality. The human capacity to think symbolically and to interpret and produce sounds makes it possible to create a language system. Human culture, social behavior, and thinking would not exist without language. On the other hand, communication would be meaningless in the absence of thinking. Language and thinking are so closely connected that it is hard to discuss one without the other, for speech can serve thought and thought can be revealed in speech.

Verhoeven (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:390) argumentatively adds that talking a sociocultural approach to language as a starting point, it is necessary to look at the concept of communicative competence as introduced by Hymes. According to him, the concept of competence should be extended to include language use as well as sentence creation. In the context of language teaching, Canale and Swain (1980) define communicative competence as: “a synthesis of knowledge of basic grammatical principles, knowledge of how language is used in social settings to perform communicative functions, and knowledge of how utterances and communicative functions can be combined according to the principles of discourse. The communicative competence is composed of four competencies: grammatical competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, and sociolinguistic competence. Grammatical competence covers the mastery of phonological rules, lexical items, morphosyntactic rules, and rules of sentence formation. Discourse competence refers to the knowledge of rules regarding the cohesion and coherence of various types of discourse. Strategic competence involves the mastery of verbal and non-verbal strategies to compensate for breakdowns and to enhance the effectiveness of communication. Sociolinguistic competence is related to the mastery of sociocultural conventions within varying social contexts.

It can be argued, in this sense, that the sociolinguistic competence involves rules that sensitive to various factors, such as the context and topic of discourse, and the social status, sex, and age of participants. These are all account for stylistic differences or varying registers of speech. Sociolinguistic competence enables the individual to cope with language situations in everyday life. Sociolinguistic competence refers to the knowledge of stylistic differences usually called register variation in social-verbal interactions. And of course, different types of situations may call for different types of language items, as well as different values and beliefs. Then, the

development of sociolinguistic competence involves the elaboration of distinct sources of knowledge: person knowledge, referring to the moods, states, preferences, and intentions of people; knowledge of social categories, such as age, sex, and status in order to tune their linguistic behavior to the social context; and knowledge of how events are organized in the form of routines, as in telephone dialogues (Verhoeven in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:392).

Based on the brief explanation above, it seems that sociolinguistic studies have significant contributions to language education or language teaching. Sociolinguistic data, information, and conclusion may be used to support better programs and results of language education. The language education needs information and data of language uses in socio-cultural context in order that the learners may have sociolinguistic competence. The programs of language teaching and learning are not only to build grammatical competence, but also to build discourse, strategic, and sociolinguistic competencies. In this case, sociolinguistics theoretically and practically helps programs in language education in building sociolinguistic competence.

The sociolinguistic competence in any language naturally develops from the role of the environment. According to Verhoeven (see Coulmas (ed.), 1997:393), the role of social interaction in determining language form and function has been emphasized by Halliday in his systemic-functional linguistics. According to Halliday, the beginning stages of language development are related to limited functions. The child's meaning potential is said to increase as he or she learns to take on more social roles. Three situational variables are viewed as the constraining factors of the process of language development: the social activity generating the topic, the role relationships of the participants in terms of contact, affect, and status, and the rhetorical modes they are adopting. As such, the theory provides insight into the social determining factors of variation in children's language development. Therefore, the cases of children's language development, in which the role of social environment naturally helps, can be academically used in language education.

Another theoretical framework in which the role of social interaction in language learning has been emphasized is Soviet Activity Theory. In this theory, it is assumed that individuals acquire knowledge and skills by participating in activities with more experienced members of the culture. For learning to be effective, the child's intellectual growth must be contingent on

mastering language as the social means of thought. The basic premise of activity theory is that development takes place on the social level within a historical-cultural context. In a dialogue with an adult, the child has the opportunity to internalize the mental processes that occur on the social level. By means of social interaction, mental processes move from inter-psychological functioning to intra-psychological functioning. According to Vygotsky (1978), higher mental functions have a social origin and define language as a sign system that can be used for symbolic activities permitting intellectual accomplishments (see Verhoeven in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:394).

The theoretical argumentations above inspire us that sociolinguistics as a field of linguistics has specific relation to language education. Sociolinguistics provides the language education with data, information, and theories of social contexts of language uses in speech communities. In other side, language education needs those information and data to build learners' sociolinguistic competence. The success of language education program depends on the ability of learners to use the learnt language in appropriate socio-cultural context. The ideas on the relationship between language and society are helpful to language education.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

How can you differentiate between sociolinguistic phenomena and those of sociology of language?

Exercise 2

What are the examples of sociolinguistic phenomena derived from your own native language?

Exercise 3

What are the examples of researches which can be specifically assigned as sociology of language?

Exercise 4

What are the examples of phenomena which can be studied in both sociolinguistics and sociology of language?

Exercise 5

How can you argue that the term micro-sociolinguistics refers to sociolinguistics, while macro-sociolinguistics refers to sociology of language in nature?

Exercise 6

What are the examples of linguistic studies which belong to micro-sociolinguistics?

Exercise 7

What are the examples of linguistic studies which belong to macro-sociolinguistics?

Exercise 8

Why do you think that some linguistic phenomena may be assigned as both of micro and macro-sociolinguistics?

Exercise 9

What are the basic ideas on the relationships between sociolinguistics and language education?

Exercise 10

How do you believe that sociolinguistic data, information, and conclusions are helpful to build learners' sociolinguistic competence?

Exercise 11

What are the examples of direct-practical contribution of sociolinguistic features to language education?

Exercise 12

Please formulate your own conceptual statement about: (i) language education; (ii) language teaching and learning!

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

In general, it is not easy to differentiate between sociolinguistic phenomena and those of sociology of language because some of them may be

overlapped. However, the main criteria that we can use to differentiate them is that if the phenomena being studied are more on linguistics rather than on sociology, they are sociolinguistic phenomena. In other side, if the phenomena being studied are more on sociology rather on linguistic, they are sociology of language. In other words, the sociolinguistic phenomena should be studied and analyzed by means of linguistic theories, while the phenomena of sociology of language need the sociological theories.

Exercise 2

1. Dialectal comparisons based on social status and cultural systems.
2. Addressee terms in relation to family kinships and cultural systems.
3. Dictions and lexical items used in greeting related to social status and cultural systems or features.
4. Taboo words and euphemism in particular societies.

Exercise 3

1. Matrilineal society and speech events in ceremonies.
2. Family kinship and development of social addressee terms.
3. Legend and folklore in particular societies and development of taboo words.
4. Industrial and political development toward semantic change.

Exercise 4

1. Classical issues on language development and characteristics of society.
2. The effects of socio-cultural development on language shift, change, and death.
3. Native speakers' language attitude and language change.
4. Language policy and standardization.

Exercise 5

The term micro 'small' in linguistics commonly refers to 'small scope' of study. In this connection, micro-sociolinguistics can be lexically understood as 'the small-scope of sociolinguistic studies' which focuses on the study of language phenomena by means of linguistic theories and then seeing their relationships to society. Therefore, the term micro-sociolinguistics simply refers to sociolinguistics itself. Next, the term macro 'big' in linguistics commonly refers to 'big scope' of study. So, macro-sociolinguistics can be

lexically understood as 'the big-scope of sociolinguistic studies' which mainly focus to study social phenomena in relation to language. In the study, theories of sociology are the bases. In accordance with this, macro-sociolinguistics simply refers to sociology of language.

Exercise 6

1. The studies on how grammatical features and lexical items relate to social condition in particular speech communities.
2. The studies on the relationships between forms of greeting and diction and language politeness.
3. The studies on semantic changes and educational developments in society.

Exercise 7

1. The studies on social behaviors and language development.
2. The studies on socio-cultural hierarchy and diglossia.
3. The studies on political and economic system and language death.

Exercise 8

It is because the phenomena can be reasonably seen and studied based on linguistic and sociological theories, as well. In addition, it is also right that the phenomena of language and social ones may be in overlapped position.

Exercise 9

1. Language education reflects social condition of language uses in real society.
2. Language education involves the phenomena of monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual societies.
3. Language education needs sociolinguistic data, information, and conclusions in order to build and develop sociolinguistic competence and communicative competence.

Exercise 10

Sociolinguistic competence cannot merely be built and developed based on grammatical rules and lexical items. The competence needs data, information, and conclusions which show how a language is socially used. Those are, of course, helpful in building and developing learners' sociolinguistic competence.

Exercise 11

1. The socio-cultural consideration of how specific words and expressions are used in conversation and greeting.
2. How particular expressions socially function in daily life communication.
3. The ways of having contextual conversations and dialogues based on the socio-cultural systems of language being learnt.

Exercise 12

1. Language education is the study of how language instructionally used in the classrooms and how a particular language is academically taught and learnt.
2. Language teaching and learning is the study of how a particularly language is academically taught and learnt.

**SUMMARY**

The general topic of discussion of this unit is the scope of sociolinguistics. The main aim of learning this unit is that you are expected to be able to map the scope of sociolinguistics. There are three sub-topics discussed in this unit, namely: Sociolinguistics and Sociology of Language, Micro-sociolinguistics and Macro-sociolinguistics, and Sociolinguistics in Language Education. Sociolinguistics, in nature, is derived from linguistic studies in relation to sociological features. It can be said that sociolinguistics is the study of language phenomena in order to see the social characteristics of speech communities. In sociology of language, the researchers attempt to study social structures and characteristics of groups of people and how they naturally influence languages of the societies. Therefore, sociology of language is more on sociology rather than linguistics.

The use and discussion of micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics cannot be separated from the terms sociolinguistics and sociology of language; they are in sharply similar. Some investigators have found it appropriate to try to introduce a distinction between *sociolinguistics* and *sociology of language*. In short, the term *sociolinguistics* is the same with *micro-sociolinguistics* while *sociology of language* is practically the same with *macro-sociolinguistics*. All studies which belong to sociolinguistics are micro-sociolinguistic studies and those which belong to sociology of language are the macro-linguistic

phenomena. Sociolinguistics (micro-sociolinguistics) is concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goals being a better understanding of the structure of language and of how languages function in communication. In equivalent goal of sociology of language (macro-sociolinguistics), the linguists are trying to discover how social structure can be better understood through the studies of language.

The term language education may refer to the language used in pedagogical classroom interaction (instructional language) and teaching-learning processes of language in practical classroom. Sociolinguistics in education can be seen as the sociolinguistic phenomena naturally found in educational processes and related matters in language teaching and learning. During the past decades linguists, psychologists, and educationalists have been involved in a continuing debate on how language can be taught. It is also necessary to have a brief view of language as a social marker of gender, class, and ethnicity. The ability of individuals to communicate through language is both a unique and a universal human quality. The human capacity to think symbolically and to interpret and produce sounds makes it possible to create a language system. Human culture, social behavior, and thinking would not exist without language. On the other hand, communication would be meaningless in the absence of thinking.

Verhoeven (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:390) argumentatively adds that talking a sociocultural approach to language as a starting point, it is necessary to look at the concept of communicative competence. In the context of language teaching is a synthesis of knowledge of basic grammatical principles, knowledge of how language is used in social settings to perform communicative functions, and knowledge of how utterances and communicative functions can be combined according to the principles of discourse. The communicative competence is composed of four competencies: grammatical competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, and sociolinguistic competence. In this case, the sociolinguistic competence is related to the mastery of sociocultural conventions within varying social contexts.



FORMATIVE TEST 2 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the examples proving that there are interrelationships between sociolinguistics and language education?

- 2) In accordance with the facts that language education cannot be separated from language in society, all programs of language education need sociolinguistic data and information. How can you argue that sociolinguistics has significant roles in language education?
- 3) What does '*sociolinguistics in language education*' mean?
- 4) Why do you think that language in classroom interactions or in language education reflects languages in particular speech communities?
- 5) What are the theoretical reasons to say that language education (language learning) needs sociolinguistic data and information as the way to develop sociolinguistic competence?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

The Implication of Sociolinguistics in EFL Teaching

In Unit 2, we learned and discussed ideas, argumentations, and relevant information on the scope of sociolinguistics. Now we are in Unit 3: The Implication of Sociolinguistics in EFL Teaching. The main aim of learning this unit is that to have information and to understand the implication of sociolinguistics in English and a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching. The topic areas discussed in this unit are more on practical issues dealing with classroom application of sociolinguistic theories. It may be said this unit is the operational uses of sociolinguistic theories, data, and information into applied sociolinguistics in EFL teaching. To have systematic presentation, explanation, and discussion on this topic, this unit is divided into three sub-units, namely: *English and Standard English*, *English as a Foreign Language*, and *Sociolinguistics in EFL Teaching*. The information, explanation, and argumentation presented in this unit are those of theoretical and practical ones. In order to have better understanding and critical argumentation on this topic, you are highly suggested to read further information derived from references as noted in this module or you may find further relevant references in library or in electronic ways. It is also expected that you have to learn in details to have better understanding and you should not go to next module before having “good” passing grade of exercises and tests given to you. Please study well and good luck!

A. ENGLISH AND STANDARD ENGLISH

What is ‘English’? The answer for this question may refer to language, society, speech community, culture, economy, or other modern-political status because English has been already known as international issues. One of the reasons for this is associated with the world-wide spread of English, and the status that English has as a global language. English is associated by many with power and prestige: it is seen as the language of electronic media, the language of business, the language people often turn to when other means of communication fail – English is the world’s lingua franca or common

language. English fulfils a global function which other languages do not (see Trousdale, 2010:1). We, however, are not talking about English in many aspects in this part; we are talking about English as a language in society only.

As alternative way of thinking about what 'English' is to ask speakers of the language, and evaluate their attitude towards English. This can result in quite a different understanding of the concept: research has shown that speakers often don't think about languages and dialects in their 'dictionary' senses, preferring instead to categorize varieties of English as either 'good' or 'bad' (Preston, 2002 in Trousdale, 2010). This way of thinking about varieties applies equally to spoken and written forms of English. This is about language ideology, as well (Trousdale, 2010:8). In this sense, it is sure to categorize 'good' and 'bad' English as a means of communication. English used in academic affairs and formal context is viewed as 'good' English and commonly assigned as standard one. English with unaccepted dialectal varieties without clear grammatical features or receptive pronunciation is regarded as 'bad' English.

Associated with this notion of good and bad forms of English is the doctrine of correctness some speakers will often report that a particular way of saying something is just plain wrong. Such 'errors' have included grammatical features like multiple negation (for examples, *I ain't never been there*), and the use of 'redundant' words (for example, *added in added bonus*). In many cases, the features that are reported as wrong either used to be fairly common in the earlier history of the language but failed to it into the 'standard language'. This change may be incipient only in a very specific domain, and even in a restricted set of constructions (Trousdale, 2010:9). Thus, the 'good' English needs the ways of standardization in some linguistic and non-linguistic aspects.

The 'bad' and 'good' English are not only the linguistic consideration, but those need native speakers' judgments in language uses. Trousdale (2010:10 – 11) explains that just as we have seen that there are common-sense, folk-linguistic views of linguistic varieties, so there are common-sense views of speakers of those varieties. One such view is that of a native speaker, a concept as problematic as that of a language. The notion of a native speaker is an issue relevant to all languages, but perhaps especially to English, given the fact that there more speakers of English as a second or other language than speakers of English as a first or native language. The

common-sense view is that a native speaker of English is one who is born in a community of other speakers of English, and acquires his language from them (primarily from his parents or caregivers). Particularly, a native speaker may be someone to whom others may turn for guidance as to what is acceptable and what is not the language in question: a native speaker of English might be asked by non-native speakers whether a particular definition of a word is correct, or whether a particular grammatical construction is better or worse than another, though this very much depends on the social context, and the nature of the community in question.

Trousdale (2010) adds that one aspect of being a native speaker is indeed a sense of community, and with that, a sense of identity. Being a native speaker of English gives you a different identity from the group of individuals who are native speakers of French: it's a way of establishing who is part of the group, and who is not. The input to acquisition is typically the language of the parents or caregivers, a very specific social group. In English-speaking communities, when the child goes to school, he or she will be expected to acquire another variety, which may differ significantly in form, and will certainly differ in function, from the variety spoken at home: Standard English. It may argue here that social uses of language need standardization, as well.

Furthermore, Trousdale (2010:11) states that the concept of a standard language is a critical one in sociolinguistics. Quoting Milroy and Milroy (1998), the creation of a standard variety of any language is very much a sociopolitical one, as part of the language policy of a particular community. In other words, the standard language of a community will fulfill a particular set of functions: for example, it will often be the variety used in the broadcast and print media, in education and in government. Furthermore, by and large, members of a community agree on what counts as Standard English, so there is an agreed set of forms which make up the standard variety. The notion of standard language, let's say Standard English, has the linguistic and sociolinguistic judgments of educated-native speakers, then.

The Standard English does not mean English without variations. So, how precisely does Standard English vary? Trousdale (2010:12 – 13) mentions the characteristics of variations in Standard English. First, we can distinguish between written Standard English and spoken Standard English. Grammatical variation occurs in both spoken and written Standard English. Some examples of variation in standard grammar which could be written or spoken include:

- (1) *I've not written to him* vs. *I haven't written to him.*
 (2) *I dreamed of you last night* vs. *I dreamt of you last night.*
 (3) *May I be excused?* vs. *Can I be excused?*

Some of these features may be undergoing change (for example, the regularization of past tense marking on verbs means that irregular forms like *dream* – *dreamt* are shifting into a different category), while others may denote differing regional standards, construction of the auxiliary verb and subject (such as *I've*) in negative sentences is more common in the northern part of England, while construction of the auxiliary verb and the negative marker (such as *haven't*) is more common in the south).

Second, different communities have different Standard Englishes. There is a Standard American English and a Standard British English, for instance. These two are probably the best-known of all Standard Englishes, because they are the ones that are typically used as models for teaching English as a second or foreign language. These two standards vary in a number of ways: in terms of pronunciation (for example, whether the / r / is pronounced in *card*), grammar (for example, whether the participle of *get* is *got* or *gotten*), vocabulary (for example, whether the storage compartment at the rear of a car is called *a boot* or *a trunk*) and spelling (for example *center* vs. *centre*). Other standards are emerging too, however – in Canada, in Australia, in India, in Singapore, and in a number of African countries, for instance. But, those are not in the levels of world uses yet.

Third, Standard English varies in terms of formality. In both written and spoken Standard English, speakers may use different linguistic forms and patterns to mark a more careful style. For instance, formal, written, Standard English prose tends to have a greater incidence of Latinate vocabulary (such as *incidence*, *Latinate*, and *vocabulary*!) than informal writing. Similarly, there may be a higher frequency of particular grammatical forms, like the subjunctive – to mark hypothetically, as in (4), or the laying down of an obligation, as in (5) – in formal Standard English:

- (1) *If he were here, we could go.* (cf. *If he was here, we could go.*)
 (2) *I insist she be given more time to finish her essay.* (cf. *I insist she is given more time to finish her essay.*)

Finally, there is issue of reactions to standardization. Some think that the standard language is disseminated in a community usually via the media and

(more importantly) the school. When we look at the development of Standard English in the history of the language, we notice that standardization has been more successful in terms of spelling than in any other area of language (grammar, pronunciation, etc.). Spelling variation used to be very common in English, such that well-educated individuals of high social status would use different spellings from one another, and indeed display a high incidence of intra-writer variation; but the advent of standardization reduced spelling variation to a minimum. However, with the development of electric communication systems, there has been a significant change in the way in which English is written.

It can be understood that language in society is various and the language variations can be linguistically assigned as accent, style, dialect, formal, informal, and standard one. In sociolinguistics, that a language has variations is natural. For some aspects of language uses in society, the concepts and ideas of language policy, language planning, and standardization are practically necessary. Therefore, as an international language, English and Standard English are highly needed for the success of world communication. We can imagine now that without Standard English(es) the teaching-learning processes of English as a second and/or foreign language are hardly formalized.

B. ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Because English has become the most important language of wider communication in the world, and because so much of the world's work is done and published in it, there has been a tremendous increase in the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL) (Fishman et.al. in Wolfson, 1989:286). The teaching of English as a subject of study in countries where its function is limited but where it is nevertheless regarded as an important and prestigious medium of communication carries implication which have rarely been investigated. In the countries where English is not a native and/or second language, the uses and status of English is limited and commonly used at schools or other educational institution. In this condition, English is not practically used in daily life communication. In addition, the studies on EFL are relatively related to its low functions or status. In Indonesia, in many Arabian countries, for instance, the status of English is as a foreign language.

In many aspects of sociolinguistics and in language teaching, it is necessary to differentiate between first language (L1), second language (L2),

and foreign language (FL). According to Stern (1994), L1 can be simply understood as 'language acquired first in early children' and/or 'language of dominant or preferred use'. For most of Indonesia people, local languages are their L1. The term L2 has two meanings. First, it refers to the chronology of language learning. An L2 is any language acquired (or to be acquired) later than the native language. Second, the term 'second language' is used to refer to the level of language command in comparison with a primary or dominant language. In this second sense, L2 indicates a lower level of actual or believed proficiency. Hence, 'second' also means 'weaker' or 'secondary'. As in many cases the two uses coincide, that is to say, proficiency in a language acquired later than the L1 is frequently lower than that in the L1, the term L2 is used to cover both meanings. If the lower proficiency level is to be referred to specifically, the terms 'weaker' or 'secondary' can be used for clarification. Then, an FL is a non-native language and it is learned and used after someone has his L1 and/L2. An FL usually requires more formal instruction and other measures compensating for the lack of environmental support.

Many studies and social phenomena on EFL give information that English is naturally used in a relatively-limited situation. In Indonesia for example, English is academically learned at first class of high-school till university level. It is not used and environmentally supported by socio-cultural features in real society. In this case, English does not work as a main medium of communication in daily life. The condition is not only found in Indonesia, but it is common in other countries where English is not the L1 or L2, as well. We can see that English as a foreign language is learned and used in formal and academic ways in Indonesia or in other countries in which English is not L1 and/or L2.

Based on reports of studies on EFL, it can be argued that the ways in which English is used in other countries where it is a foreign language, it has attained a position of extreme importance in the lives of those who use it. Ease of communication and modern electronic media have had a deep and important effect on linguistic habits and attitudes. Further, ease of travel makes it ever more likely that people who learn English as a foreign language in classrooms rather than in naturalistic situations which occur spontaneously will nevertheless be in a position to use the language for purposes of interaction (see Wolfson, 1989:287). We may say that sociolinguistic aspects EFL in non-English speaking countries cannot be separated from its teaching-

learning processes in formal settings. Even though we have information that some people in such countries speak English, but they can be assigned as the speakers in formal and academic purposes. They do not naturally speak by having environmental supports in their speech community.

The status of English as a foreign language in some countries has both advantages and disadvantages. In countries where English is a foreign language, the local and national languages develop well and those languages may reflect the socio-cultural features in natural ways. English is not dominant in such countries. The main disadvantage of EFL in one country is that the information and communication to and from the country would be 'in gap' and people will be lack of international communication. English is only used and understood by academic people in particular level of education. Therefore, it is on the point to say that the status of English as a foreign language in Indonesia may give both positive and negative consequences.

C. SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN EFL TEACHING

Now, we are coming to sociolinguistics in EFL teaching. Let's firstly see what Stern (1994:1191) dealing with this sub-topic. According to him, we cannot teach a language for long without coming face to face with social context factors which have bearing on language and language learning. That language and society are in many ways closely linked is not questioned, either in language education or in social science. Yet, while language teaching has interacted for a long time with linguistics and with psychology, social science and language teaching have only recently come into contact with each other. The reason for this belated recognition lies partly in the history of the disciplines themselves and partly in development of language teaching theory. Sociolinguistics, the most recent arrival on the scene of the social sciences, can be treated as an outcome of approaches to language that have gradually evolved in linguistics and all the sciences of society. It is reasonable to say that the results and conclusions based on sociolinguistic studies significantly help the success of language teaching and learning.

Street and Leung (in Hornberger and Mckay (eds.), 2010:291) state that in the field of language studies and in particular of language education, with respect to literacy studies, there has recently been a shift away from dominant assumptions that language could be conceptualized and taught as though it were independent of social context. In this point, language is practically

taught out of socio-cultural contexts. It may be argued in this case that such language teaching possibly occurs, but for beginners or at elementary level. At intermediate and advanced levels, the language teaching and learning should involve the socio-cultural context as the natural languages function in societies. Many teaching-learning methodologists and linguists propose theories and methods of language teaching and learning which respect to sociolinguistic aspects. One of them, the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is the most obvious example.

Street and Leung (in Hornberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:291) furthermore argue that the development of the concept of CLT was generally associated with a break with the grammar-focused approaches to language teaching that dominated practice up to the 1960s and early 1970s. The emerging work with a social orientation in this period, for example Austin (1962), Halliday (1973, 1975), Halliday et.al., (1964), and Savignon (1983), was in many ways the vanguard of a paradigm shift in language teaching.

For Hymes (1972), as quoted by Street and Leung (in Hornberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:292), a child learning to communicate through language has to acquire 'knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. The children acquire competence as to when to speak, when to not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, in what manner'. In other words, there social rules of use, a dimension of language use 'without which the rules of grammar would be useless'. This inclusion of the 'social' makes it necessary to raise questions of context of communication and aspects of socio-cultural practice when working towards a theory of language in use. In this connection, Hymes (1972) suggests that four empirical questions must be raised:

- Whether (and to what degree) something is formally possible;
- Whether (and to what degree) something is feasible in virtue of the means of implementation available;
- Whether (and to what degree) something is appropriate (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated;
- Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually performed, and what it's doing entails.

Street and Leung (in Hornberger and McKay (eds.), 2010) add that the key implication of Hymes' position regarding language teaching and language education more generally, were quickly taken up by language

educators. A notion of competence that appeals to the actual use of language in context is potentially very useful in helping teachers to ground their professional work in concrete terms. In the move away from grammar-oriented approaches to language teaching, the Hymesian notion of communicative competence offered language educators a dynamic and situated perspective on language and language use. Building on the works of Hymes and others, Canale and Swain (1983, 1984) produced a series of seminal papers that can be regarded as the foundation for the formation of the concept of communicative competence in foreign or additional language pedagogy. In the early 1980s, papers by Canale and Swain propose that communicative competence comprises four areas of knowledge and skills as follow:

- (1) grammatical competence, concerning with '... knowledge of lexical items and of rules of morphology, syntax, sentence grammar-semantics, and phonology'. This type of knowledge and skill will allow the language learners to make use of the basic fabric of a language, so to speak, and to understand and produce the literal or propositional meaning of language expression;
- (2) sociolinguistic competence, dealing with rules of use, including something is in fact done. In other words, probabilistic rules of occurrence concerning whether something is 'sayable' in a given context;
- (3) discourse competence, concerning with organizational features of spoken and written texts (cohesion and coherence). It deals with the knowledge and skills required to combine lexical and grammatical forms with context- and purpose-relevant meanings to produce different type of unified spoken or written texts, for examples, oral and written narratives, business reports and so on;
- (4) strategic competence, referring to additional language learners' capacity to achieve communication goals by mastery of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action for two main reasons: (a) to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to limiting conditions in actual communication; and (b) to enhance the effectiveness of communication.

These four areas (components) of communicative competence (they have been mentioned in the previous part, as well) are really necessary in the

programs of any language learning. Therefore, modern instructions and materials of language education need to pay attention in building and developing the communicative competence, moreover in the learning of a foreign language. In accordance with this, Brown (2001:43) offers a set of characteristics of CLT which includes the following:

- (1) paying attention to 'the components of communicative competence;
- (2) use of classroom activities and students tasks that would 'engage learners in the pragmatic, authentic, functional use of language for meaningful purposes;
- (3) use of the teacher as 'a facilitator and guide ... Students are therefore encouraged to construct meaning through genuine linguistic interaction with others'.

Based on these criteria, CLT which belongs to modern methodology of language teaching and learning include the sociolinguistic features in language education. It means that better language teaching needs to pay attention to sociolinguistics.

In addition to CLT, functional grammar initially created by Halliday (1975) includes also the sociolinguistic matters. Street and Leung (in Hornberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:298) mention that the work of Halliday and his colleagues represents another strand of sociolinguistics that can be seen as part of the move to 'social' rather than autonomous approaches and that has had a significant impact on language teaching. In order to show the contribution of this body of work to language teaching and language education more generally, it is necessary to first a very brief account of its conceptual and epistemic foundations. The idea of 'function' is understood in terms of the relationship between meaning and linguistic form. In other words, what people mean to say is realized by the specific linguistic means and features they select to manifest their meaning. This functional relationship '... reflects the fact that language has evolved in the service of particular human needs ... what is really significant is that this functional principle is carried over and build into the grammar, so that the internal organization of the grammatical system is also functional in character' (Halliday in Street and Leung, 2010).

The internalizing of sociolinguistics to language teaching is not only in the level of teaching methodology, but also in detailed practices of language skills. The phenomena of genre theory and literacy studies commonly include

the sociolinguistic ideas and features. We can now understand that many sociolinguistic aspects contribute to language teaching and learning. Moreover, the teaching and learning of EFL obviously need the sociolinguistic data and ideas to build and develop learners' communicative competence. It is sure that sociolinguistics and EFL teaching in Indonesia, for instance, work hand in hand for both theoretical and practical issues.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

Why do you think that it necessary to have the understanding on English and Standard English in the teaching-learning processes of English as a second and/or foreign language?

Exercise 2

Language policy and standardization are formally useful for the success of human communication in global era. Why do you think so?

Exercise 3

What are the examples of variation in Standard Englishes? You may list the examples based on British English and American English.

Exercise 4

Many linguists argue that standardization is not natural; it is dissemination language. What is your opinion about this statement?

Exercise 5

How can you differentiate between L1, L2, and FL based on sociolinguistic viewpoints?

Exercise 6

Why do you think that bahasa Indonesia becomes L2 for most Indonesian people?

Exercise 7

What are the advantages and disadvantages of having EFL in Indonesia?

Exercise 8

What are the linguistic consequences if English is promoted as L2 in Indonesia?

Exercise 9

How do you believe that sociolinguistic studies give academic and pedagogical contributions to EFL teaching in Indonesia?

Exercise 10

In EFL teaching and learning, communicative competence needs to be built and develop in such a way that the learners are able to communicate appropriately. How do sociolinguistic data and information help to build and develop communicative competence?

Exercise 11

What should the EFL teachers do in the classroom to build and develop sociolinguistic competence?

Exercise 12

Why do you think that teaching and learning a foreign language need formal-academic programs to build and develop sociolinguistic competence?

Key to Exercises

Exercise 1

The understanding on English and Standard English is necessary in the teaching and learning of English as L2 and as FL because English also has geographical and social variations. The term English may refer to language or other socio-cultural features related to England or relevant countries. Meanwhile, Standard English refers to formal-standardized language which is developed in such a way to minimize communicative problems. For learners of English as L2 and FL, the understanding on English and Standard English may help them to systematically study and develop their communicative competence and are successful in language uses.

Exercise 2

The main aim of language policy and standardization is to overcome the communication problems and administration in certain area of language uses.

If there is no language policy and standardization, it is hard to have codification and uniformity. So, the codification and uniformity are necessary in language uses, moreover in global era.

Exercise 3

BRITISH ENGLISH:

pupil

football

programme

neighbour

centre

colour

gotten

(Please find more!)

AMERICAN ENGLISH:

student

soccer

program

neighbor

center

color

got

Exercise 4

Yes, that is right. But standardization is academically and administratively needed to overcome the communication problems, moreover in modern era.

Exercise 5

L1 can be simply understood as 'language acquired first in early children' and/or 'language of dominant or preferred use'. In Indonesia, for instance, most people have local languages as their L1. An L2 is any language acquired (or to be acquired) later than the native language, or the level of language command in comparison with a primary or dominant language. 'L2' also means 'weaker' or 'secondary'. An FL is a non-native language and it is learned and used after someone has his L1 and/L2. An FL usually requires more formal instruction and other measures compensating for the lack of environmental support. English is an FL in Indonesia.

Exercise 6

It is because most people in Indonesia have had and spoken in their local languages as their L1 before they speak in Bahasa Indonesia as the national and educational language.

Exercise 7

The advantages:

1. local languages, as the socio-cultural identity of Indonesian people, are used and develop well;
2. Bahasa Indonesia, as the national language, is formally used and develop well;
3. local languages and bahasa Indonesia may develop as main tool of communication among Indonesian people.

The disadvantages:

1. most Indonesian learners do not have opportunity to practice their international language in real life;
2. most Indonesian people have limited access to international systems of communication;
3. most Indonesian learners have to learn English in specific-academic ways in order to master and communicate in English.

Exercise 8

1. English becomes dominant language in any form of verbal communication.
2. Local languages and bahasa Indonesia may be gradually left by low loyalty native speakers.
3. Indonesia will be lack of local-national values and identities.

Exercise 9

Sociolinguistic studies obviously provide the EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia with data, information, and conclusion dealing sociolinguistic phenomena of the foreign language. The EFL teachers and instructors may use and bring the sociolinguistic information to the classroom in the forms of teaching-learning materials and language assessments. Having those ways, classroom interactions may build and develop sociolinguistic competence as one component of communicative competence.

Exercise 10

Linguistic data and information based on sociolinguistic information can be academically used to develop learning materials and other forms of language assessments. The learning materials and assessments needed do not only focus on grammatical rules and lexical items, but they have been in the forms of learning materials with language features needed in contextual

communication. Thus, sociolinguistic data and information may be used to build and develop communicative competence.

Exercise 11

They should study the phenomena of sociolinguistics and then use the information to support their grammatical and lexical mastery for communication. It is highly believe that the knowledge and data based on sociolinguistic will help learners to communicate in English in appropriate ways, especially in socio-cultural contexts. These are all will develop learners' sociolinguistic competence.

Exercise 12

The sociolinguistic competence in foreign language needs formal-academic programs to build and develop sociolinguistic competence because the learners do not have sufficient support from the environment to use their language. The optimal supports are just given by formal-academic programs in classroom interaction. Therefore, the well-formed programs to build and develop sociolinguistic competence are really necessary.



SUMMARY

English may refer to language, society, speech community, culture, economy, or other modern-political status because English has been already known as international issues. One of the reasons for this is associated with the world-wide spread of English, and the status that English has as a global language. English is associated by many with power and prestige: it is seen as the language of electronic media, the language of business, the language people often turn to when other means of communication fail – English is the world's lingua franca or common language. English fulfils a global function which other languages do not.

The concept of a standard language is a critical one in sociolinguistics; the creation of a standard variety of any language is very much a sociopolitical one, as part of the language policy of a particular community. The standard language of a community will fulfill a particular set of functions: for example, it will often be the variety used in the broadcast and print media, in education and in government. The notion of standard language, let's say Standard English, has the linguistic and sociolinguistic judgments of educated-native speakers, then.

The Standard English does not mean English without variations. First, we can distinguish between written Standard English and spoken Standard English. Grammatical variation occurs in both spoken and written Standard English. Second, different communities have different Standard Englishes. There is a Standard American English and a Standard British English, for instance. These two are probably the best-known of all Standard Englishes, because they are the ones that are typically used as models for teaching English as a second or foreign language. Other standards are emerging too, however – in Canada, in Australia, in India, in Singapore, and in a number of African countries. Third, Standard English varies in terms of formality. In both written and spoken Standard English, speakers may use different linguistic forms and patterns to mark a more careful style. Finally, there is issue of reactions to standardization. Some think that the standard language is disseminated in a community usually via the media and (more importantly) the school.

Because English has become the most important language of wider communication in the world, and because so much of the world's work is done and published in it, there has been a tremendous increase in the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL). In the countries where English is not a native and/or second language, the uses and status of English is limited and commonly used at schools or other educational institution. In this condition, English is not practically used in daily life communication. L1 can be simply understood as 'language acquired first in early children' and/or 'language of dominant or preferred use'. Then, the term L2 has two meanings. First, it refers to the chronology of language learning. Second, the term 'L2' is used to refer to the level of language command in comparison with a primary or dominant language. Then, an FL is a non-native language and it is learned and used after someone has his L1 and/L2.

We cannot teach a language for long without coming face to face with social context factors which have bearing on language and language learning. That language and society are in many ways closely linked is not questioned, either in language education or in social science. Yet, while language teaching has interacted for a long time with linguistics and with psychology, social science and language teaching have only recently come into contact with each other. Many teaching-learning methodologists and linguists propose theories and methods of language teaching and learning which respect to sociolinguistic aspects. The inclusion of the 'social' makes it necessary to raise questions of context of communication and aspects of socio-cultural practice when working towards a theory of language in use.

The communicative competence comprises four areas of knowledge and skills: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence. Therefore, modern instructions and materials of language education need to pay attention in building and developing the communicative competence, moreover in the learning of a foreign language, as it is in Indonesia.



FORMATIVE TEST 3 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) How can you bring the phenomena of sociolinguistics into EFL teaching and learning?
- 2) How can you argue that communicative competence needs to formally be involved in EFL learning programs?
- 3) How can English become international language?
- 4) Why do you think the Standard English still has linguistic and social variations?
- 5) What are the advantages and disadvantage of having English as a foreign language in Indonesia?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next module.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once

		again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) All human beings live in a group or a society; they live together in particular socio-cultural systems and conventions. Language is one of intellectual socio-cultural features naturally created and developed by human beings in the society. Although language created internally by individuals, but it belongs to society; language exists in a speech community. Accordingly, language has close interrelationship with society.
- 2) I myself socially live in a society and I speak a local language as my L1. All grammatical features, lexical items, and social uses of my L1 should be conventionally accepted by neighbors or other members in the society. It means that my neighbors and I speak the same language; we live in one speech community. Thus, I belong to the speech community of my own (native) language in daily life.
- 3) '*Language is social phenomena*' means that language exists in one particular speech community and it is naturally used as shared-social belongings to communicate verbally.
- 4) Language in classroom interactions or in language education reflects sociolinguistic phenomena because the classrooms can be assumed as a 'mini and temporary' society. Members of the 'mini' society speak as their characteristics and interact with partners in certain rules that are similar with socio-cultural conventions of using language in real society.
- 5) (i) Language education needs consider sociolinguistic data, information, and conclusion in preparing and constructing learning programs and curriculum; (ii) Language education needs to consider the sociolinguistic data, information, and conclusion to build and develop learners' sociolinguistic competence as a component of communicative competence; (iii) the sociolinguistic competence supports other components of communicative competence as it is needed in any form of verbal communication.

Formative Test 2

- 1) Sociolinguistics studies language phenomena in relation to society. In language education, language interaction occurs in classroom with the

members come from different background. In this case, language education reflects the social uses of language. So, there is interrelationship between language education and sociolinguistics. In addition, there are many linguistic aspects appear in classroom interaction that can be studied by means of sociolinguistics.

- 2) The ideal purpose of language education is to enable learners to communicate in the learnt language appropriately. Such ideal purpose cannot be achieved by the understanding of grammatical rules and lexical items only. Learners need sociolinguistic competence to support their communicative competence. Therefore, it is necessary to include the sociolinguistic features in the programs of language education or in language learning. It is reasonable to say that sociolinguistics has significant roles in language education.
- 3) '*Sociolinguistics in language education*' means the sociolinguistic phenomena commonly found in language education or in language classroom interaction. It also means the sociolinguistic studies toward language used in classroom interaction.
- 4) Language in classroom interactions or in language education reflects languages in speech community because classroom can be said as 'mini society'; classroom members interact in social systems, including in using language. In accordance with this, language in classroom interaction is supposed to be the reflection of language naturally used in speech community.
- 5) (i) Language education needs sociolinguistic data, information, and conclusion in preparing and constructing learning materials and assessments; (ii) Language education needs sociolinguistic data, information, and conclusion to build and develop learners' sociolinguistic competence; (iii) Sociolinguistic competence is one of the components of communicative competence.

Formative Test 3

- 1) The phenomena of sociolinguistics can be brought into EFL teaching and learning by means of: (i) selecting communicative methods and techniques which are appropriate with the condition and situation of given classroom activities; (ii) preparing and using relevant media and other learning aids; (iii) creating situation and simulation to have natural-like language uses in the EFL classroom.

- 2) Because of lack of natural uses and practices out-side the classroom, any attempt and technique of learning should be formally involved in EFL learning programs. The learning materials of EFL should not merely focus on grammatical rules and lexical items. The programs in language learning should include how the language is used in social contexts.
- 3) English becomes an international language is supported by linguistic and non-linguistic factors. Linguistic factors which support English becomes an international language are: (i) English has cosmopolitan vocabulary; (ii) English has been standardized since a long time; (iii) English is a neutral gender language; (iv) English has been developed based on some Indo-European languages. Non-linguistic factors which support English becomes an international language are: (i) British Kingdom (England) colonized a large area of the world; (ii) English has been used in international education, trading, economy, and technology; (iii) United Nation Organization has declared English as an international language.
- 4) The Standard English still has linguistic and social variations because: (i) the speakers of English as L1 and/or L2 spread out in large area of the world; (ii) the speakers of English have language creativity; (iii) Languages, including English, develops and changes all times.
- 5) The advantages and disadvantages of having EFL in Indonesia:
The advantages:
 - i. local languages, as the socio-cultural identity of Indonesian people, are used and develop well;
 - ii. Bahasa Indonesia, as the national language, is formally used and develop well;
 - iii. local languages and bahasa Indonesia may develop as main tool of communication among Indonesian people.
The disadvantages:
 - i. most Indonesian learners do not have opportunity to practice their international language in real life;
 - ii. most Indonesian people have limited access to international systems of communication;
 - iii. most Indonesian learners have to learn English in specific-academic ways in order to master and communicate in English.

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Language Varieties

Dr. Refnaldi, M.Litt



INTRODUCTION

Congratulation! You have successfully finished Module 1. Welcome to Module 2. This module deals with language varieties. As a matter of fact, the materials and discussion of language varieties are too broad to pack in one module. Thus, the main issues discussed in this module are the regional varieties, social varieties, and language varieties and EFL teaching.

After finishing this module, you are kindly expected to be able to:

1. define the concepts of dialect, idiolect, accent, and register by using your own word;
2. explain and provide some examples of international varieties;
3. analyze the differences between intra-continental and cross-continental varieties;
4. explain and provide some examples of social varieties;
5. analyze the differences between caste dialects and social class dialects;
6. explain and argumentatively criticize the teaching of language varieties in EFL teaching.

To achieve these objectives systematically, the materials of this module are presented respectively as follow:

1. Unit 1: Regional varieties
2. Unit 2: Social Varieties
3. Unit 3: Language Varieties and EFL Teaching

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, reading activities and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are kindly suggested to do in order to learn this module successfully.

1. please read carefully the materials and explanation in each unit;

2. then, read further related references and information by means of independent learning and reading;
3. do not forget to add relevant examples and have discussion in groups or in pairs;
4. sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, read the materials again and you may have comparative discussion with your partners;
5. do all the exercises and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided!

All right students, do your best and good luck!

UNIT 1

Regional Varieties

We use the term variety as a general term for a way of speaking. There are many ways of speaking, and each way of speaking is known as a variety. In a more precise manner, a variety may be defined as, according to Hudson (1996), a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution. It should be emphasized that a variety is not necessarily a “full-fledged language”, with a large vocabulary and grammar. It may simply be a small set of linguistic items, as is the case with a *slang*, which may typically be defined as a quite restricted set of new words and new meanings of older words, mixed with linguistic items with a much larger social distribution. In more comprehensive way, Hickey (2014: 331) defines variety as a term used to refer to any form of a language which can be sufficiently delimited from another form. The grounds for such differentiation may be social, historical, geographical or a combination of these factors. The necessity for the neutral term variety arose from the use of dialect with reference to the speech of an older rural male population. Varieties may be of different kinds. A ‘regional variety’ is a variety associated with a place, such as the Yorkshire dialect in England or the Bavarian dialect in Germany. Varieties of a language tend to differ more from one another the more remote they are from one another geographically. In this respect the study of varieties has to do with boundaries, which often coincide with geographical features such as rivers and mountains. Boundaries are, however, often of a social nature, e.g. between different social class groups. In this case we may speak of ‘social varieties’. Romaine (2000: 2) concludes that social varieties say “who we are”, and regional varieties say “where we come from”.

A. ACCENT, DIALECT, LANGUAGE AND VARIETY

We are usually able to tell, after just hearing a few words, whether someone has a Scottish, Australian or American accent; in other words, we do not have to wait for them to say some particularly revealing local word or to use some special construction. The important thing about an accent is that it is something we hear: the accent we speak with concerns purely the sound we make when we talk, i.e. our pronunciation. Since everybody has a

pronunciation of their language, everybody has an accent. Therefore, accent can be defined as 'a particular way of pronouncing a language' (Trask 1997:3). Those people who say that somebody 'doesn't have an accent' either mean that the person concerned sounds just like they do themselves, or means that the accent used is the expected one for standard speakers to use. In either case, there is an accent. In more comprehensive way, Hickey (2014:12) defines accent as "a reference to pronunciation, that is the collection of phonetic features which allow speakers to be identified regionally and/or socially. Frequently it indicates that someone does not speak the standard form of a language.

What you speak with your accent is your individual version of a dialect – a regional or social variety of language that may differ from other varieties of the language in features of its vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation (Crane, Yeager, and Whitman, 1981). Like an accent, everybody speaks one or more dialects. Standard Southern British English dialect is just one dialect among many. To recognize that this is true, we only have to think of that dialect from an international perspective: it marks the speaker as coming from a particular place (the south of England or perhaps just England) which is just one of the very many places where English is spoken. A dialect is made up of vocabulary items (what Carstairs-McCarthy 2002: 13 calls 'lexical items', that is words, approximately) and grammatical patterns, and is usually spoken with a particular accent, though in principle the accent may be divorced from the dialect such as when an American, in an attempt to mimic the English, calls someone 'old chap', but still sounds American (Bauer, 2002:3).

Next we need to ask what the relationship is between dialect and language. This is not an easy question to answer. One of the experts in dialectology, Haugen (1966) once pointed out that language and dialect are two ambiguous terms in linguistics. Ordinary people use these terms quite freely in speech; for them a dialect is almost certainly no more than a local non-prestigious variety of a real language. Dialect may be understood as referring only to rural speech; it may be understood as referring only to non-standard language; it may be interpreted as implying 'quaint' or 'colourful' or 'unusual'; none of these are things which a linguist would necessarily wish to imply by using the word. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 29) use the term superordination in contrast to subordination in distinguishing language and dialect. Language is usually used to mean both the superordinate category

and the standard variety; while dialects are nonstandard and subordinate to languages.

In addition, Wardhaugh (2006: 30), the relationships between languages and dialects can be seen through the concepts of “power” and “solidarity” that may help us understand what is happening. Power requires some kind of asymmetrical relationship between entities: one has more of something that is important, e.g. status, money, influence, etc., than the other or others. A language has more power than any of its dialects. It is the powerful dialect but it has become so because of non-linguistic factors. Standard English and Parisian French are good examples. Solidarity, on the other hand, is a feeling of equality that people have with one another. They have a common interest around which they will bond. A feeling of solidarity can lead people to preserve a local dialect or an endangered language to resist power, or to insist on independence. It accounts for the persistence of local dialects, the modernization of Hebrew, and the separation of Serbo-Croatian into Serbian and Croatian.

However, it is not very helpful to define a language in this way because nobody speaks exactly the same language as anybody else. Even some linguists use the term ‘idiolect’ for the language spoken by an individual. Because the terms dialect and language are so difficult to define and so open to misinterpretation that it is often better to avoid them where possible (Bauer, 2002: 4). To do this, Bauer suggests to use the term ‘variety’. It can be considered as a neutral term because ‘variety’ can be used to mean a language, a dialect, an idiolect or an accent; it is a term which encompasses all of these (Hickey, 2014). The term ‘variety’ is an academic term used for any kind of language production, whether we are viewing it as being determined by region, by gender, by social class, by age or by our own inimitable individual characteristics.

B. INTERNATIONAL VARIETIES

English is a global language, but because it is a living language, it has inevitably changed in order to suit specific contexts or needs (Crystal, 1997). As English has spread all over the world, there are many varieties of English in the world. There are three types of country in the world in terms of their relationship to the English language (see Figure 2.1). First, there are nation-states in which English is a native language (ENL), where people have English as their mother-tongue, as they do in Australia, Canada, and Ireland

or what Holliday (1994) calls BANA (Britain, Australia and North America). Varieties of English spoken in ENL countries are sometimes also referred to as 'Inner Circle' Englishes. Second, there are countries where English is a foreign language (EFL), such as in Poland, Indonesia and Brazil, and this is sometimes known as 'Expanding Circle' nations. These are places where people do not speak English natively and where, if they do speak English, they use it to speak to foreigners. And, third, there are places where English is a second language (ESL). In ESL or 'Outer Circle' countries such as India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Kenya, and Singapore, English is not typically spoken as a mother-tongue, but it has some kind of governmental or other official status; it is used as a means of communication within the country, at least among the educated classes; and it is widely employed in the education system, in the newspapers, and in the media generally (Bauer, 2002; Kachru, 1985; Quirk, 1990; Trudgill and Hannah, 2013).

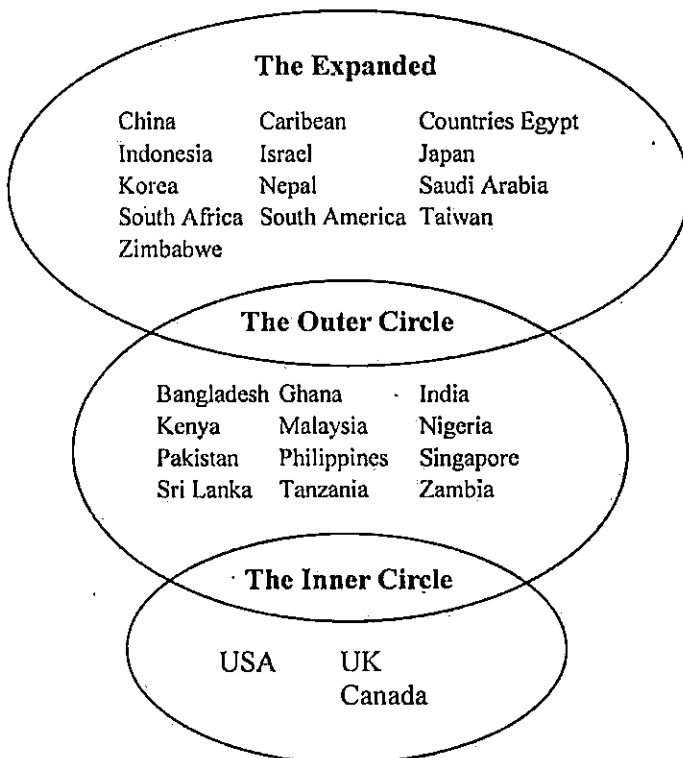


Figure 2.1
Three Concentric Circles of Englishes (Kachru, 2004)

International varieties of English mean varieties of English used in all of parts of the world or used in a wide variety of international contexts. However, in this book, we focus only on ENL varieties. One of the reasons for doing this is that ENL varieties have typically quite naturally been used as models for people learning EFL, just as people who learn German, for example, would typically learn it directly or indirectly from native-speakers of German.

Holmes (2013: 132) reported that, to British ears, a New Zealander's *dad* sounds like an English person's *dead*, *bad* sounds like *bed* and *six* sounds like *sucks*. Americans and Australians, as well as New Zealanders, tell of British visitors who were given *pens* instead of *pins* and *pans* instead of *pens*. On the other hand, an American's *god* sounds like an English person's *guard*, and an American's *ladder* is pronounced identically with *latter*.

In terms of lexical item, there are vocabulary differences in the varieties spoken in different regions too. Americans use the word *postman* to refer to 'a man who collects and delivers mail', while British use *mailman*. Australians talk of *sole parents*, for example, while people in England call them *single parents*, and New Zealanders call them *solo parents*. South Africans use the term *robot* for British *traffic-light*. British *wellies* (Wellington boots) are New Zealand *gummies* (gumboots), while the word *togs* refers to very different types of clothes in different places. In New Zealand, *togs* are what you swim in. In Britain you might wear them to a formal dinner.

In terms of grammar, the use of the auxiliaries *shall* and *should* with first-person subjects, as in *I shall go*, *we should like to see you*, is less usual by Australians and New Zealanders than by British. Instead, they prefer to use *will* or *would* for all of the subjects as in *I'll go* or *we'd like to see you*. Meanwhile, South Africans and Welsh perform different grammar usage from British in the use of questions. A common 'broad' feature is that South Africans respond question *is it?* For all purposes, invariable for person, tense or auxiliary, which corresponds to the complex series *do they, can't he, shouldn't we, will you*, etc. used by British. Consider the example in (1).

(1) He's gone to town.

Oh, is it? (South Africans)

Oh, has he? (British)

The example in (1) shows how South Africans respond *is it?* For any subject, tense or auxiliary used in responding to any statement. Meanwhile, British pay attention to the subject, tense or auxiliary used. Therefore, they respond *has he?* Because the auxiliary used in the early statement is “has” and the pronoun is “he”.

In similar way, Welsh use the universal tag question *isn't it?* Invariable for main clause person, tense or auxiliary. Consider the tags used in (2).

- (2) a. You're going now, isn't it? (Welsh)
 You're going now, aren't you? (British)
 b. They do a lot of work, isn't it? (Welsh)
 They do a lot of work, don't they? (British)

Sentences (2) show that Welsh only use *isn't it?* As the only variant of tag question. Meanwhile, British construct tag questions by considering the person, tense or auxiliary used in the main clause.

Another example is the difference between *have* used by Americans and British. Although both Americans and British agree that *have* may be used as either auxiliary verb or main verb, they use it differently. In American English, *have* can only be followed by *not* when it functions as an auxiliary verb. In British English, on the other hand, *have* may be followed by *not* if it belongs to stative *have*: If the meaning of *have* indicates an ongoing state involving possession, *have* does not require *do*-support as in *I haven't (any) coffee in the cupboard*. In addition, speakers of American English tend to prefer *do you have* when asking about possession state, though this can now also be heard in Britain alongside the traditional British English *have you got*.

The grammar variation of international English also includes inflectional process involving verbs. Americans say *gotten* where people in England use *got* for the past participle form of the verb *get*. The same case happens when many Americans use *dove* while most British English speakers prefer *dived* for the present verb *dive*. Not only did it happen between American and British English but also in other parts of the world. In New Zealand, where American English forms are usually regarded as more innovative, younger New Zealanders say *dove*, while older New Zealanders use *dived*.

C. INTRA-NATIONAL OR INTRA-CONTINENTAL VARIETIES

To open the discussion on intra-national or intra-continental varieties, I took the example from Holmes (2013:134) as in (3).

(3) Rob : This wheel's completely disjaskit.

Alan : I might could get it changed.

Rob : You couldn't do nothing of the sort. It needs dumped.

This conversation between two Geordies (people from Tyneside in England) is likely to confuse many English speakers. The double modal *might could* uttered by Alan is typical Geordie, although it is also heard in some parts of the southern USA. The expression *needs dumped* is also typical Tyneside, although also used in Scotland, as is the vocabulary item *disjasket*, meaning 'worn out' or 'completely ruined'. The way English is pronounced is also quite distinctive in Tyneside, and perhaps especially the intonation patterns. Because they like the speech heard in television programmes such as *Auf Wiedersehen Pet*, *Byker Grove* and *Joe Maddison's War*, some people can imitate the tune of Geordie speech – if nothing else. We are dealing here not only with different accents but also with dialect differences within a country, since the distinguishing forms involve grammatical usages and lexical items as well as pronunciation. Dialect differences within a country are known as intra-national varieties.

Regional variation takes time to develop. British and US 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 county, e.g. Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Somerset, Cornwall, and so on, and for many towns too. Some British dialects, such as Scouse (heard in Liverpool), Cockney and Geordie, even have distinct names showing how significant they are in distinguishing groups from one another. Within the London area, the Cockney dialect is quite distinctive with its glottal stop [c] instead of [t] between vowels in words like *bitter* and *butter*, and its rhyming slang: e.g. *apples and pears* for 'stairs', *lean and lurch* for 'church', the undoubtedly sexist *trouble and strife* for 'wife' and the more ambiguous *cows and kisses* for 'the missus'.

In the USA, too, dialectologists can identify distinguishing features of the speech of people from different regions. Northern, Midland and Southern

are the main divisions, and within those three areas a number of further divisions can be made. Different towns and even parts 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, Brooklynesse is quite distinctive. The Linguistic Atlas Projects (<http://us.english.uga.edu/>) provide a rich source of information on the features of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary which distinguish different US dialects. In the rural Appalachians, one can hear pronunciations such as *acrosst* and *cliffi*, as well as verbs with *a*-prefixes, such as *a-fishin'* and *a-comin'*. Words for *dragonfly* in the Eastern States include *darning needle*, *mosquito hawk*, *spindle*, *snake feeder*, *snake doctor* and *snake waiter*, but of these only *darning needle* is used in New York. From *darning needle*, however, New York has developed two new variants *dining needle* and *diamond needle*.

In areas where English has been introduced more recently, such as Australia and New Zealand, there seems to be 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, for instance, there are greater differences among the Maori dialects than within English, 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. There are many more such differences as shown in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 is a map of England showing where different dialect words are used for the Standard English word *splinter*. The boundary lines are called *isoglosses*. This is just one word out of thousands of linguistic features which vary in different dialects, and which were documented by Harold Orton's comprehensive Survey of English Dialects in the 1950s.

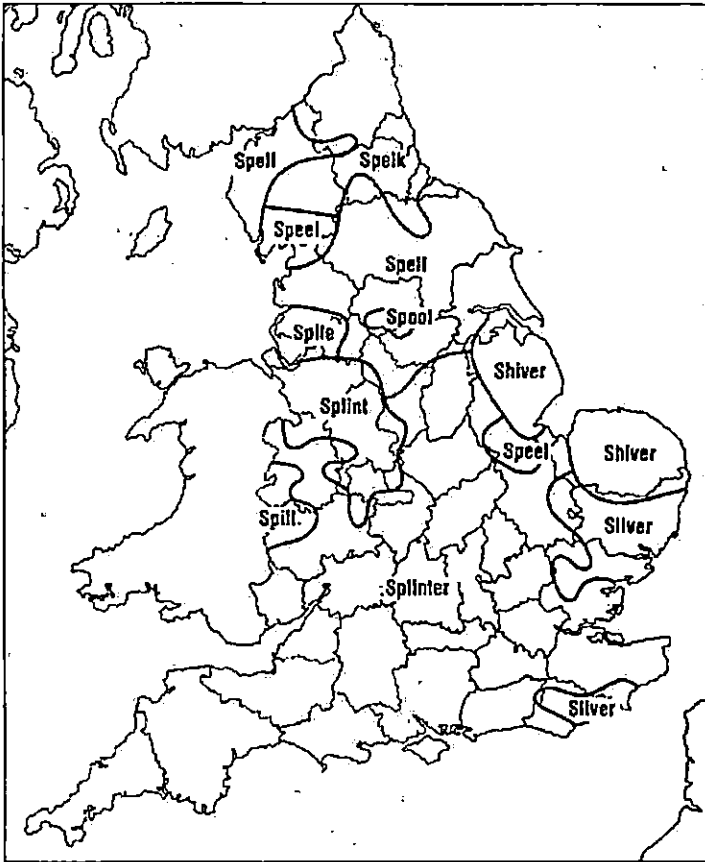


Figure 2.2
Words for *splinter* in English dialects (Trudgill, 1994: 21)

When all the information on linguistic regional variation is gathered together on a map, with *isoglosses* drawn between areas where different vocabulary, or grammatical usages or pronunciations occur, the result looks something like a spider's web. Hickey (2014:164) defines isogloss as a line shown on a map and which represents the boundary between two linguistic features. Some of the web's lines are thicker than others because a number of boundaries between features coincide, known as *dialect boundary* (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:40). But there is also a great deal of overlap between areas. The line between an area where people use [a] rather than [a:]

in a word like *path*, for example, does not coincide with the line which separates areas using *have you any sugar?* Rather than *have you got any sugar?* Areas which use the word *eleveses* rather than *snap* or *snack* do not all use different words for *brew* or *snowflake* or *manure* or *splinter*. The same vocabulary may be used throughout an area where contrasts in the pronunciation of words are quite dramatic.

If Figure 2.2 shows different dialect within England in terms of words or vocabulary, Figure 2.3 shows intra-national variety in terms of grammar.

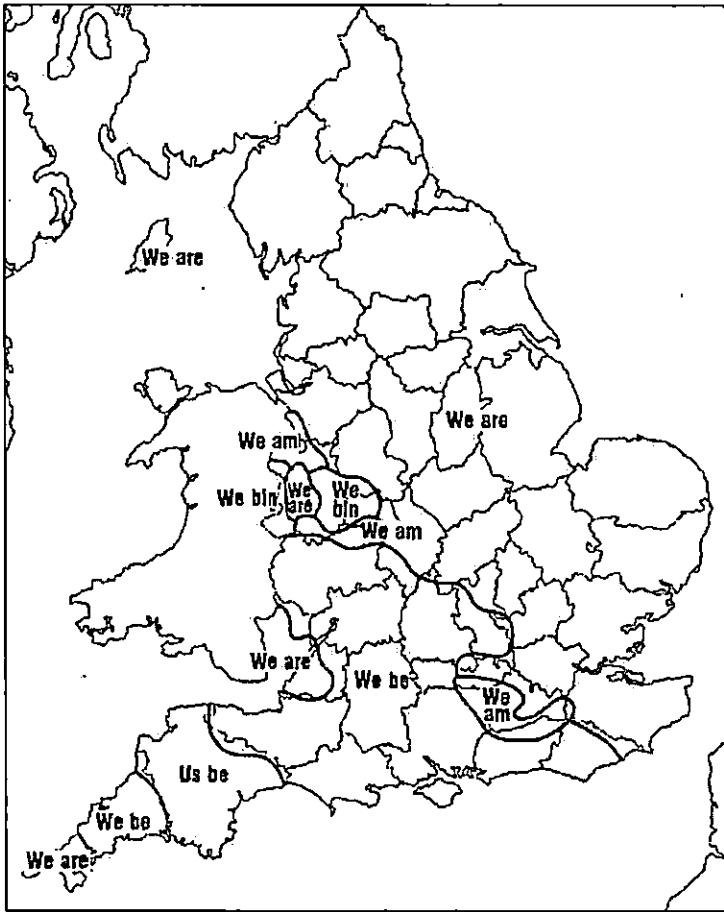


Figure 2.3
Clauses for *we are* in English dialects (Trudgill, 1994: 22)

Figure 2.3 is a map which is concerned with a grammatical feature variation in English dialects. This is a map prepared by the survey of English dialects (SED) showing forms corresponding to Standard English *we are*. We can see that in addition to *we are*, traditional dialects also have, in different parts of England, a number of other forms: *we am*, *we bin*, *we be*, and *us be*.

D. CROSS-CONTINENTAL VARIATION: DIALECT CHAINS

There are many parts of the world where, if we examine dialects spoken by people in rural areas, we find the following type of situation. If we travel from village to village, in a particular direction, we notice linguistic differences which distinguish one village from another. Sometimes these differences will be larger, sometimes smaller, but they will be “cumulative”. The further we get from our starting point, the larger the differences will become. The effect of this may therefore be, if the distance involved is large enough, that (if we arrange villages along our route in geographical order) while speakers from village A understand people from village B very well and those from village F quite well, they may understand village M speech only with considerable difficulty, and that of village Z not at all. Villagers from M, on the other hand, will probably understand village F speech quite well, and villagers from A and Z only with difficulty. In other words, dialects on the outer edges of the geographical area may not be mutually intelligible, but they will be linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility. At no point is there a complete break such that geographically adjacent dialects are not mutually intelligible, but the cumulative effect of the linguistic differences will be such that the greater the geographical separation, the greater the difficulty of comprehension.

This type of situation is known as a geographical dialect continuum (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004: 6) or a dialect chain (Holmes, 2013: 137). There are many such continua. In Europe, for example, the standard varieties of French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese are not really mutually intelligible. The rural dialects of these languages, however, form part of the West Romance dialect continuum which stretches from the coast of Portugal to the centre of Belgium (with speakers immediately on either side of the Portuguese–Spanish border, for instance, having no problems in understanding each other) and from there to the south of Italy as shown in Figure 2.4.

Other European dialect continua include the West Germanic continuum, which includes all dialects of what are normally referred to as German, Dutch and Flemish (varieties spoken in Vienna and Ostend are not mutually intelligible, but they are linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility); the Scandinavian dialect continuum, comprising dialects of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish; the North Slavic dialect continuum, including Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech and Slovak; and the South Slavic continuum, which includes Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian and Bulgarian.



Figure 2.4

European dialect continua (Chambers and Trudgill, 2004: 7)

The notion of the dialect continuum is perhaps a little difficult to grasp because, as has already been noted, we are used to thinking of linguistic varieties as discrete entities, but the fact that such continua exist stresses the legitimacy of using labels for varieties in an ad hoc manner. Given that we have dialect continua, then the way we divide up and label particular bits of a continuum may often be, from a purely linguistic point of view, arbitrary. Note the forms in (4) from the Scandinavian dialect continuum as cited from Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 7):

- (4) a. /hem:a har ja intə sɔ me:d sɔm et gam:alt ɡausabain/
 b. /hem:a har ja intə sɔ myk:t sɔm et gam:alt ɡɔ:sbe:n/
 c. /jem:ə har jə ik:ə sɔ my:ə sɔm et gam:alt ɡɔ:səbe:n/
 d. /heimə har eg iç:ə sɔ myç:ə sɔm et gam:alt ɡɔ:səbein/
 At home have I not so much as an old goose-leg

Some of these forms we label 'Swedish' and some 'Norwegian'. As it happens, (4a) and (4b) are southern and central Swedish respectively, (4c) and (4d) eastern and western Norwegian respectively. But there seems to be no particular linguistic reason for making this distinction, or for making it where we do. The motivation is mainly that we have a linguistically arbitrary but politically and culturally relevant dividing line in the form of the national frontier between Sweden and Norway.

In some cases, where national frontiers are less well established, dialect continua can cause political difficulties – precisely because people are used to thinking in terms of discrete categories rather than in ad hoc or continuum-type terms. The South Slavic dialect continuum, as we have seen, incorporates the standard languages, Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian and Bulgarian. This description, however, conceals a number of problems to do with autonomy and heteronomy. Until recently, for example, Serbian and Croatian were thought of in Yugoslavia as a single language. Since the break-up of that country, however, many politicians have wanted to stress their separateness, while the government of Bosnia has argued that Bosnian constitutes a third language distinct from the other two. Similarly, Bulgarian politicians often argue that Macedonian is simply a dialect of Bulgarian – which is really a way of saying, of course, that they feel Macedonia ought to be part of Bulgaria. From a purely linguistic point of view, however, such arguments are not resolvable, since dialect continua admit of more-or-less but not either-or judgements.



EXERCISE

- 1) How do you distinguish accent from dialect?
- 2) How is language different from dialect?
- 3) Why do some experts tend to find out the relation between language and dialect, but not to distinguish the two terms?
- 4) Why do some experts suggest to use the term 'variety' of language?
- 5) What is your understanding of international varieties of English?

- 6) Explain the meanings of the term ENL, EFL, and ESL!
- 7) How do you explain the term intra-national varieties?
- 8) What is dialect boundary? Explain!
- 9) What is dialect chain?
- 10) Give the examples of dialect continuum in Europe.

Key to Exercise

- 1) Accent can be understood as 'a particular way of pronouncing a language'. Since everybody has a pronunciation of their language, everybody has an accent. What you speak with your accent is your individual version of a dialect – a regional or social variety of language that may differ from other varieties of the language in features of its vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation.
- 2) In terms of superordination, language is usually used to mean both the superordinate category and the standard variety; while dialects are nonstandard and subordinate to languages. Dialect may be understood as a variety of language referring only to rural speech; it may be understood as referring only to non-standard language.
- 3) Because the terms dialect and language are so difficult to define and so open to misinterpretation. Besides, they also consider language and dialect as two ambiguous terms in. Ordinary people use these terms quite freely in speech; for them a dialect is almost certainly no more than a local non-prestigious variety of a real language.
- 4) The term 'variety' can be considered as a neutral term because it can be used to mean a language, a dialect, an idiolect or an accent; in other words, it is a term which encompasses all of these. The term 'variety' is an academic term used for any kind of language production, whether we are viewing it as being determined by region, by gender, by social class, by age or by our own inimitable individual characteristics.
- 5) International varieties of English mean varieties of English used in all of parts of the world. Since English is spoken by people in almost all countries throughout the world, it has a lot of varieties in different countries. These varieties are usually caused by the interference of the local or national language in those countries.
- 6) ENL stands for English as a native language which is usually found in a country where people have English as their mother-tongue, as they do in

Australia, Canada, and Ireland. Varieties of English spoken in ENL countries are sometimes also referred to as 'Inner Circle' Englishes. EFL stands for English as a foreign language, which is usually found in a country where people do not speak English natively and where, if they do speak English, they use it to speak to foreigners, such as in Poland, Indonesia and Brazil, and this is sometimes known as 'Expanding Circle' nations. ESL stands for English as a second language which is usually found in a country where English is not typically spoken as a mother-tongue, but it has some kind of governmental or other official status; it is used as a means of communication within the country, at least among the educated classes; and it is widely employed in the education system, in the newspapers, and in the media generally. Varieties of English spoken in ENL countries are sometimes also referred to 'Outer Circle' countries such as India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Kenya, and Singapore.

- 7) Intra-national varieties can be defined as dialect differences within a country. The varieties are dealing not only with different accents but also with dialect differences within a country or within a continent, since the distinguishing forms involve grammatical usages and lexical items as well as pronunciation.
- 8) Dialect boundary is a number of boundaries between features that coincide. This boundary indicates that speakers on one side of that boundary speak one dialect and speakers on the other side speak a different dialect.
- 9) Dialect chain is also known as geographical dialect continuum, a dialect on the outer edges of the geographical area which may not be mutually intelligible, but which will be linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility. Through dialect chain, it can be understood that the greater the geographical separation, the greater the difficulty of comprehension.
- 10) (1) West Germanic continuum, which includes all dialects of what are normally referred to as German, Dutch and Flemish (varieties spoken in Vienna and Ostend are not mutually intelligible, but they are linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility); (2) Scandinavian dialect continuum, comprising dialects of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish; (3) the North Slavic dialect continuum, including Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech and Slovak; (4) the South Slavic continuum, which includes Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian and Bulgarian.



SUMMARY

Language varieties are of two kinds: regional and social variety. Regional varieties say “where we come from”, and social varieties say “who we are”. The term ‘variety’ can be used to mean a language, a dialect, an idiolect or an accent.

One of the phenomena concerning about language regional varieties is English varieties because English has served as international language or global language. English varieties include international, intra-national or intra-continental, and cross-continental varieties. International varieties of English mean varieties of English used in all of parts of the world that include pronunciation variations, vocabulary variations, and grammar variations.

Intra-national varieties refer to varieties of English used within a country, while intra-continental varieties refer to varieties of English used within a continent. The varieties are dealing not only with different accents but also with dialect differences within a country or within a continent, since the distinguishing forms involve grammatical usages and lexical items as well as pronunciation. 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.

Cross-continental varieties are related to geographical dialect continuum or a dialect chain, a dialect on the outer edges of the geographical area which may not be mutually intelligible, but which will be linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility. For example, in Europe, the standard varieties of French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese are not really mutually intelligible. The rural dialects of these languages, however, form part of the West Romance dialect continuum which stretches from the coast of Portugal to the centre of Belgium (with speakers immediately on either side of the Portuguese–Spanish border, for instance, having no problems in understanding each other) and from there to the south of Italy.



FORMATIVE TEST 1

Answer the following questions.

- 1) Study the following sentences
 - a. The mailman has just left.

- b. I shall tell the truth.
- c. Our neighbour has returned from their holiday, isn't it?
- d. We haven't any milk in the refrigerator.
- e. How many children have you got?
- f. Do you have a cigarette?
- g. He dove in, head first.
- h. He dived in head first.
- i. She has gotten used to the noise.
- j. She's got used to the noise.

Identify the country (ies) in which the sentences in (a-j) are used!

- 2) What can you say about the sentence "They would might give a bit roar and they would come along."?

- 3) Study the following conversation.

A : *Dima ang bali sampelo ko?*

Where did you buy this papaya?

B : *Indak babali ge do, babawo dari kampung. Cubo lah, kalikih tu manih ma!*

I didn't buy it, I brought it from my village. Just taste it, this papaya is sweet.

A : *lyo bana ko? Den cubo ciek lu. Bilo ang tibo dari kampung?*

Really? I'll taste it. When did you return from your village?

B : *Potang. Den bawo jo boreh ko ha.*

Yesterday. I also brought some rice.

A : *Bareh? Lai ka batanak awak kini?*

Rice? Are we going to cook rice?

Look at carefully the underlined words used in each of the expressions. Do they speak in the same language or the same dialect? Do you think that their conversation runs smoothly?

- 4) Each of the following is found in some variety of English. Each is comprehensible. Which do you yourself use? Which do you not use? Explain how those utterances you do not use differ from those you do use.

- a. I haven't spoken to him.
- b. I've not spoken to him.
- c. Is John at home?
- d. Is John home?
- e. Give me it!
- f. Give it me!
- g. Give us it!

- h. I wish you would have said so.
 i. I wish you'd said so.
- 5) Find the differences in your regional dialect with the standard Bahasa Indonesia!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Social Varieties

A. RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION: A SOCIAL ACCENT

The term 'Received Pronunciation' (RP) has come to designate the British English style of pronunciation that carries the highest overt prestige. It is generally agreed that it has long lost all associations with its regional origin (London and the South-East of England) and is now purely a class dialect (or 'sociolect'). As such the term is often used synonymously with 'standard pronunciation' or at any rate, taken to represent some sort of standard, at least for British English, at home and abroad. Hickey (2014: 263) argues that RP is a socially prestigious accent of English in Britain. Its roots lie in the speech of London in the early modern period but it became a sociolect, and hence non-regional. Hickey's idea emphasizes that RP is an accent, not a dialect, because all RP speakers speak Standard English. RP is a non-regional variety because it does not contain any clues about the speakers' geographic background; instead, it does reveal a great deal about their social and/or educational background. In addition, in relation to the status of RP as a socially based accent, Trudgill (1995: 7) has pointed out what he considers to be the most interesting characteristics of RP: (i) the speakers who use it do not identify as coming from a particular region, nor is the variety associated with a particular region, except that it is largely confined to England; and (ii) it is possible to speak Standard English but not speak RP; hence it is characterized as an accent and not a dialect.

RP is probably the most widely studied and most frequently described variety of spoken English in the world, yet recent estimates suggest only 3% of the UK population speak it (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015: 40). It has a negligible presence in Scotland and Northern Ireland and is arguably losing its prestige status in Wales. It should properly, therefore, be described as an English, rather than a British accent. As well as being a living accent, RP is also a theoretical linguistic concept. It is the accent on which phonemic transcriptions in dictionaries are based, and it is widely used for teaching English as a foreign language.

The development of RP and its unique position in British society is closely linked to the rise of accent as a social signifier and the wish to

establish a standard for spoken language. The historical origins of an English speech standard are commonly traced back to the 16th century (Gimson, 1977; Mugglestone, 1995; Nevalainen, 2003) when prestige became attached to one type of pronunciation. According to Honey (1985: 241), this development started as early as the 15th century, with the emerging predominance of a variety which was “a fusion of South Central Midlands influences with existing London speech forms”. For political and economic reasons, it was the educated speech of the capital and the surrounding areas which emerged as the high-status variant. The fact that Britain’s central government, trade and fashion were mainly concentrated on the capital contributed to making the London accent widely understood throughout the country. Moreover, it was the pronunciation of the upper social ranks that provided the model for spoken language, which is in line with Haugen’s observation that “if a recognized élite already exists with a characteristic vernacular, its norm will almost inevitably prevail” (Haugen, 1997: 349). The 16th century pronunciation norm was neither fixed nor codified, but it was ‘focalised’ in social and regional terms (Nevalainen, 2003: 135). It became a social norm associated with the upper classes in the southeast, and later in the whole of England.

The emerging speech standard remained a social norm in the southeast of England, but did not become widespread until the late 19th century, as the notion of a completely non-localized standard accent became increasingly dominant. Before that, it was common for the members of the aristocracy to speak with the accents of their regions. The extensive geographical and social diffusion of the pronunciation standard was made possible primarily by the public school system, which was a nationwide network of residential schools for children of the upper and upper-middle classes. Honey (1985: 242) dates the emergence of the new public school system to around 1870, and at about the same time, the term Received Pronunciation was used for the first time to describe the standard speech form. It was commonly expected that all upper- and upper-middle class boys should be educated at a public school, and a new caste was created in British society: the ‘public school man’, whose primary hallmark was a specific accent.

An RP accent became the primary superficial marker of social standing, and it was no longer acceptable for members of the upper classes to speak with a regional accent. At the start of the 20th century the increasing influence and availability of RP had created a situation which, according to Honey

(1985: 244) “is perhaps unique in Western Europe, whereby one variety of spoken language enjoyed overwhelming predominance in terms of general social acceptability”.

Up until the middle of the 20th century, RP reigned supreme as the unrivalled English pronunciation standard. But in the decades after the Second World War, Britain underwent radical social changes which also left their marks on the linguistic development and on the attitudes towards accent. Along with the general social changes, the role of RP also changed considerably. Between 1944 and 1966 the number of universities in Britain doubled and higher education became available to people from diverse social backgrounds. The increased democratization in the educational system extended into the occupational and public life. Professional and academic careers became open to people from the lower social strata, who of course were non-RP speakers. Regional accent features “massively invaded the realms of the social élite” (Wotschke, 1996: 221) and the hegemony of RP was broken. An educated speaker was no longer synonymous with an RP speaker, and RP was no longer the exclusive property of a narrow social class (Hannisdal, 2006: 15).

Modern RP is still associated with education and social status, and “widely regarded as a model for correct pronunciation, particularly for educated formal speech” (Wells 2000: xiii). Jones’ English pronouncing dictionary, with RP as the model, came out in its 16th edition in 2003, and RP is still the British English accent taught to foreign learners of English. However, with the increasing democratization of British society, RP has lost its former unique position, and non-RP accents are now heard in many contexts from which they were previously excluded. RP may now even be a disadvantage in many contexts, as it carries connotations of social exclusiveness and pretension.

In Trudgill’s (1995: 42) accent triangle (see figure 2.5), the range between regional and social accent variation can be seen with the greatest differences found at the lowest socio-economic level. These regional differences abound for the majority of localized accents present in the English of the British Isles. The higher class or RP can be found at the top of the pyramid where the presence of local accents is absent.

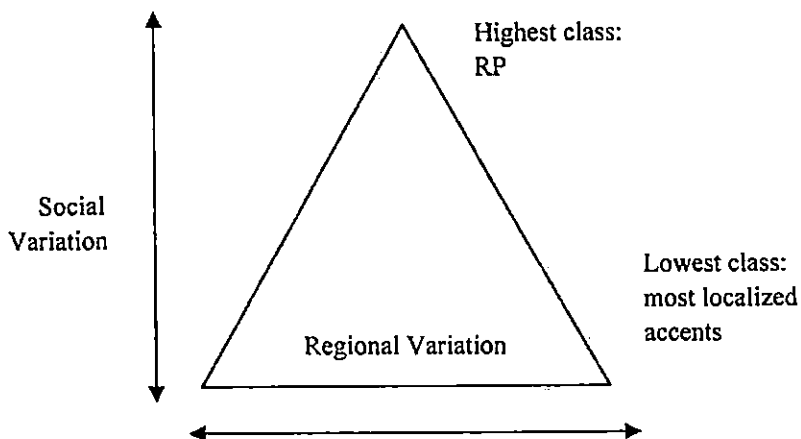


Figure 2.5 - RP as a social accent

As figure 2.5 illustrates, there still exists a sliding scale of hierarchy in English dialects and accents, with that of Standard English and RP held to be the most prestigious, and those of large urban conurbations cities such as Birmingham the least. Speakers of the most marked form of RP appear at the apex of the triangle and tend to be accorded the highest status, whereas speakers of marked regional pronunciation are accorded the lowest. Even though London is the historical centre of Standard English, nevertheless geographically bound local London accents and dialects such as those associated with the East End of London (Cockney) and Essex (Estuary English) are generally thought of as less prestigious and open to ridicule. In order to understand current issues and debates surrounding accents and dialects, we have to consider the ways in which English was standardized, and the social attitudes and prejudices upon which standardization was based.

In the last few decades there have been a number of changes in the sociolinguistic situation of RP, and in its relationship to other accents. Much of this appears to stem from a change in attitudes towards RP and other accents of British English on the part of the British population as a whole. Most of what we know about attitudes to English accents derives from a whole series of research programmes carried out by the social psychologist Howard Giles and his associates, particularly in the 1970s. Giles, Hewstone, Ryan, and Johnson (1987), for example, very skillfully using a whole range of research techniques, most notably matched-guise experiments, showed that

it was a reasonably straightforward matter to gain access to people's attitudes to different accents of English without asking them directly - something which would naturally have produced a series of skewed results.

It was apparent from Giles' work that RP was perceived as being an accent associated, in the absence of information to the contrary, with speakers who were competent, reliable, educated, and confident. It was also perceived as being the most aesthetically pleasing of all British English accents. On the other hand, RP speakers scored low on traits like friendliness, companionability, and sincerity, and messages couched in RP also proved to be less persuasive than the same messages in local accents.

As far as changes in the last twenty years are concerned, we lack reliable research on most of these issues, but it is a matter of common - and not necessarily unreliable - observation that the RP accent is no longer the necessary passport to employment of certain sorts that it once was. Non-RP accents are very much more common on the BBC, for example, than they were forty years ago. And telephone sales companies, as known from frequent requests from such companies for advice, now think about which regional accents will be most effective rather than automatically employing non-regional RP.

Discrimination on the grounds of accent still, unfortunately, occurs in British society. But this discrimination is no longer against all regional accents but only against those from, as it were, lower down the triangle. And it is also no longer permitted in British society to be seen to discriminate against someone on the basis of their accent - it has to masquerade as something else. This hypocrisy is a sign of progress, of an increase in democratic and egalitarian ideals. This has also, probably, though again we lack the research, had the consequence that an RP accent can be even more of a disadvantage in certain social situations than was formerly the case. In many sections of British society, some of the strongest sanctions are exercised against people who are perceived as being 'posh' and 'snobbish'. These factors also mean that many fewer people than before are now speakers of what Wells (1982: 283-285) has called adoptive RP: that is, many fewer people than before who are not native speakers of RP attempt, as adolescents or adults, to acquire and use this accent. Even Conservative Party politicians no longer have to strive for RP accents, as a recent Conservative Prime Minister once did.

B. STANDARD ENGLISH

The term Standard English (SE) is the one most commonly used to label the language 'English'. This type of English is called 'standard' because it has undergone standardization, which means that it has been subjected to a process through which it has been selected, codified and stabilized, in a way that other varieties have not (Trudgill and Hannah, 2013: 1). It is the variety of English used in public life in England and other English speaking countries, for example: in education, law, medicine and government. Nowadays, it has no geographical boundary, and is used across the whole of England and other English speaking countries. In England, it also has an accent associated with it, known as RP. Kerwsill (2007:37) argues that ideas surrounding 'Standard English' depend on the social and economic relationships between sections of the population in a particular time and place – and on the ideologies that are linked to these social conditions. This is most clearly seen in the rise of a belief in a 'standard' pronunciation in Britain, RP. Because of their origins and history, SE and RP are closely associated with the language of the middle and upper classes in English society, known variously as 'the Queen's English' or 'BBC English'.

In social terms, linguistic forms which are not part of Standard English are by definition non-standard. Because the standard dialect is always the first 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. It is very important to understand, however, 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.

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 contrast with standard languages, vernacular dialect features contrast with standard dialect features. Vernacular forms tend to be learned at home and used in informal contexts. So all uses of the term vernacular share this sense of the first variety acquired in the home and used in casual contexts. Vernacular dialects, like vernacular languages, lack public

or overt prestige, though they are generally valued by their users, especially as means of expressing solidarity and affective meaning.

Indeed, there is much disagreement amongst linguists as to whether or not SE can be classed as dialect at all. Some, such as Chambers and Trudgill (1980) and Milroy (1987) argue that it is, pointing out that all speakers speak at least one dialect, and that standard English is as much a dialect as any other form of English. Consequently, some speakers may have no other variety than SE, whilst others may have either a regional variety and/or SE. Other linguists disagree, on the grounds that Standard English differs from other dialects in a number of ways, especially in the fact that it has its own writing system. Because of this, they argue that dialects and the study of dialect should concentrate upon speech. This position, however, ignores the fact that many nonstandard English dialects in England such as that found in the Black Country in the English West Midlands or Geordie in the North East of England have an established tradition of writing. Also, if Standard English is not a dialect, then it is difficult to see what else it could be.

A number of linguists have argued strongly that SE is easily defined and delimited. SE across the world basically shares the same grammar, with only a small number of minor differences. Its vocabulary is less fixed, though it avoids regional, traditional words. While it is the only form of English used in writing, it is also used in speech, and has native speakers throughout the world. Trudgill (1999) gives perhaps the clearest statement of this position. He argues that SE is not a style, a register or an accent, noting that its speakers have access to a full range of informal styles, and can produce it with different accents, while non-standard speakers can discuss technical subjects without switching to SE. SE is a dialect, defined by the criteria that have been discussed. However, because SE is standardized and codified, it is not part of a continuum of dialects: either a feature is standard, or it is not (Trudgill, 1999: 124). It also does not have a particular pronunciation associated with it. Trudgill lists eight 'idiosyncrasies' of SE grammar as follows:

1. SE does not distinguish between the forms of the auxiliary verb *do* and its main verb forms. Non-standard varieties normally include the forms *I done it* (main verb), *but did he?* (auxiliary): SE has *did* for both functions.
2. SE has an unusual and irregular present tense verb morphology in that only the third-person singular receives morphological marking: *he goes*

versus *I go*. Many other dialects use either zero for all persons or *-s* for all persons.

3. SE does not permit double negation (negative concord), as in *I don't want none*. Many other dialects use either zero for all persons or *-s* for all persons.
4. SE has an irregular formation of the reflexive, with *myself* based on the possessive *my*, and *himself* based on the object form *him*. Non-standard dialects generalize the possessive form, as in *hissself, theirselves*.
5. SE does not distinguish between second-person singular and second-person plural pronouns, having *you* in both cases. Many non-standard dialects maintain the older English distinction between *thou* and *you*, or have developed newer distinctions such as *you* versus *youse*.
6. SE has irregular forms of the verb *to be* both in the present tense (*am, is, are*) and in the past (*was, were*). Many non-standard dialects have the same form for all persons, such as *I be, you be, he be, we be, they be*, and *I were, you were, he were, we were, they were*.
7. In the case of many irregular verbs, SE redundantly distinguishes between the preterite and past participle forms both by the use of the auxiliary *have* and by the use of distinct preterite and past participle forms as in *I saw – I have seen*, or *I did – I have done*, where many dialects have forms such as *seen* or *done* for both.
8. SE has only a two-way contrast in its demonstrative system, with *this* (near to the speaker) opposed to *that* (away from the speaker). Many other dialects have a three-way system involving a further distinction between, for example, *that* (near to the listener) and *yon* (away from both speaker and listener).

(Adapted from Trudgill, 1999: 125-126)

Another linguist working along similar lines is Hudson (2000), who lists further Standard English features, including:

1. Standard English adverbs end in *-ly*; as in *Come quickly!* Most non-standard varieties use the bare form, as in *Come quick!*
2. Standard English has relative pronouns *that* or *which*. Non-standard varieties tend to have *what*.

Despite the strength of the Standard norm, there are some areas of variability, such as differing preferences for (spoken) forms such as: *I haven't finished* vs. *I've not finished*. Trudgill and Hudson give sociolinguistic characterizations of Standard English. For Trudgill it is a 'purely social dialect' (Trudgill, 1999: 124). He estimates that it is spoken natively by 12–15 percent of the population, concentrated at the top of the social class scale. It was selected because it was the variety of the most influential social groups. Subsequently, according to Trudgill, its 'social character' was reinforced through its use in an 'education to which pupils have had differential access depending on their social-class background' (Trudgill, 1999: 124). Hudson takes a slightly different approach, focusing more on the written form and literacy. Hudson (2000) states that Standard English is '(1) written in published work; (2) spoken in situations where published writing is influential, especially in education; and (3) spoken natively by people who are most influenced by published writing (Kerswill, 2007).

C. CASTE DIALECTS

People can be grouped together on the basis of similar social and economic factors. Their language generally reflects these groupings – 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 behaviour 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 have corresponding speech differences. A person's dialect is an indication of their social background.

Caste is one of the social variables responsible for the variation of language. Caste system is a form of social stratification where an individual gains a position or status by birth and is life-long (Girish, 2003). Achieved status cannot change an individual's place in this system. It means that a person who was born in a particular caste cannot change his caste. Caste is usually associated with social class; however, there are some differences between caste and class. Class is also a form of social stratification though it is quite different from caste. Class is primarily based on the possession of

economic status or material possessions. In the distinction between caste and class, Cox (1944: 139) says that castes differ from social classes in that they have emerged into social consciousness to the point that custom and law attempt their rigid and permanent separation from one another. Meanwhile, classes, according to Weber (1958), are not communities, they merely represent possible and frequent bases for communal action.

The caste system grew from the Hindu religion as a method of social hierarchy that came to encompass most of Indian culture. Idealistic in nature, it prescribes a person's duties within their own caste as parts of a much larger community. Unfortunately due to its description of personal purity, the caste system came to breed a culture of social isolation, where cross-caste interactions were rare and often discouraged. Each caste has its own rituals, food habits and dressing style. In India, for example, caste system prevails everywhere, whether its North or South, Hindu or Muslim, Urban or Village etc. The notion of purity and pollution is attached with caste. Generally people of high status are associated with purity and people of low status with pollution. Earlier the low caste and the high caste people did not live together. It is still prevalent in many villages till date. In the Hindu caste hierarchy, the Brahmins are considered the upper caste. They are priestly and learned class, so their language contains more Sanskritized words. Then are the Kshatriyas, the warriors and rulers, so terminologies regarding war are more in them. After them comes the Vaisyas, the farmers and merchants. Then the Sudras, Peasants and laborers and at the lower end comes the Untouchables, now known as Scheduled Caste.

Many works by different Scholars at different point of time have been done on caste variation. A very eminent work has been done by Gumperz (1958) on a North Indian village named Khalapur located in Saharanpur District of Uttar Pradesh. He divided the inhabitants into thirty one endogamous caste or *jatis*. He found differences in the village of three types—differences in phonemic distribution, etymological differences and phonetic differences. Besides, he was successfully able to show that where caste contact was more frequent, dialectal variation was decreased. As such where caste contact was infrequent, stronger differences between dialects were more notable and even identifiable by speakers. He concluded that members of the same caste living in different sections of the village speak the same dialect. In addition, Bright (1990) discussed the linguistic variations found between two Kannada dialects of Bangalore District on the basis of caste. One spoken by a

young Brahmin woman born and raised in the city of Bangalore and the other of Agricultural Okkaliga community. The differences were there at the level of phonology, grammar, lexicon etc. Furthermore, Holmes (2013: 142) mentions clear differences in Indian languages, between the speech of the Brahmins and non-Brahmin castes. The Brahmin word for 'milk' in the Kannada language, for instance, is *haalu*, while non-Brahmin dialects say *aalu*. The Tamil Brahmin word for 'sleep' is *tuungu*, while non-Brahmin dialects use the word *orangu*. And in Tulu, the Brahmin dialect makes gender, number and person distinctions in negative tenses of the verb which are not made in non-Brahmin dialects.

In more recent years with the advent of independence for India as well as increased influence from western countries through mass media, Internet and social media, more voices have arisen calling for a removal of the caste system. In the government, efforts have been made to reduce certain cases of caste backwardness by creating a reservation system within positions of employment as well as systems of higher education. This reservation system allows people from castes and tribes that are considered backwards and economically deprived to be given opportunities for higher education and better paid positions of employment. In spite of these efforts, though, it seems as though the government is itself sending contradictory messages. In the most recent census, India's government included caste as an identifier for its citizens (Foy, 2010) as if to say that, while this method of discrimination is frowned upon by democratic systems, it still exists and is not something that will be removed entirely in the near future.

In Javanese, too, linguistic differences reflect very clear-cut social or caste divisions. Javanese social status is indicated 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 2.1 provides a couple of words from each level to show the overlap and intermeshing of forms involved.

Table 2.1
Two Javanese words at different stylistic levels (Geertz, 1960)

'You'	'Now'	Stylistic Level
<i>padjenengan</i>	<i>samenika</i>	3a
<i>sampéjan</i>	<i>samenika</i>	3
<i>sampéjan</i>	<i>saniki</i>	2
<i>sampéjan</i>	<i>saiki</i>	1a
<i>pandjenengan</i>	<i>saiki</i>	1a
<i>kowé</i>	<i>saiki</i>	1

Based on Table 2.1, there are three distinct Javanese social groups and three associated dialects: (i) the dialect of the lowest status group, the peasants and uneducated townspeople, consists of three stylistic levels: 1, 1a and 2; (ii) the dialect of urbanized people with some education consists of five stylistic levels: 1, 1a, 2, 3 and 3a; and (iii) 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 patterns of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation, though there are many forms which are shared by different stylistic levels.

D. SOCIAL CLASS DIALECTS

Variation in language according to social class is, like variation according to age or ethnicity, a subcategory of variation according to its user (the differences between groups of speakers in various dimensions), as distinct from variation according to term 'use' in different styles or registers as proposed by Halliday's (1964). The term social class is a shorthand term for differences between people which are associated with differences in social prestige, wealth and education. In most societies, bank managers do not talk like office cleaners, and lawyers do not speak in the same way as the burglars they defend. Class divisions are based on such status differences. Status refers to the deference or respect people give someone – or do not give them, as the case may be – and status generally derives in Western society from the material resources a person can command (Holmes, 2013: 143),

though there are other sources too. Family background may be a source of status independently of wealth. In Britain, for example, the youngest child of an earl may be poor but respected. So class is used here as a convenient label for groups of people who share similarities in economic and social status.

Social class variation in language has attracted the most attention and yielded some of the most striking regularities within quantitative sociolinguistics (Rickford, 1996: 167). The best-known work in this area is Labov's study (1966) of variation in New York City English. In this study, Labov (1966: 49) introduced the concept of a sociolinguistic variable, a linguistic feature which varies in form and has social significance, and established the importance of adhering to a principle of accountability in studying such variables — reporting how often they occurred in recorded samples as a proportion of all the cases in which they could have occurred.

In Figure 2.6, for instance, the variable is (-*ing*), the realization of the suffix in words like *fishing*, and what is shown is the percentage of the time that speakers “dropped their *gs*” (more accurately, used an alveolar instead of a velar nasal — [in] instead of [ɪŋ]) in all words with such suffixes in their recorded samples. For this study, Labov drew on a random sample of New Yorkers from the Lower East Side, stratified on the basis of occupation, education, and income into the four primary socioeconomic classes shown in Figure 2.6: lower working class (SEC index nos. 0 to 2), upper working class (3 to 6), lower middle class (7 and 8), and upper middle class (9). For example, in style A, casual speech, the classes are neatly separated with respect to this variable, with the lower-working class speakers using [in] most often, and the upper middle class using it least often. What Figure 2.6 also reveals, however, is that although the social classes are differentiated by their frequencies of [in] in each style, they are similar to each other insofar as they all show lower frequencies of [in] in more formal styles (B, careful speech, and C, reading style).

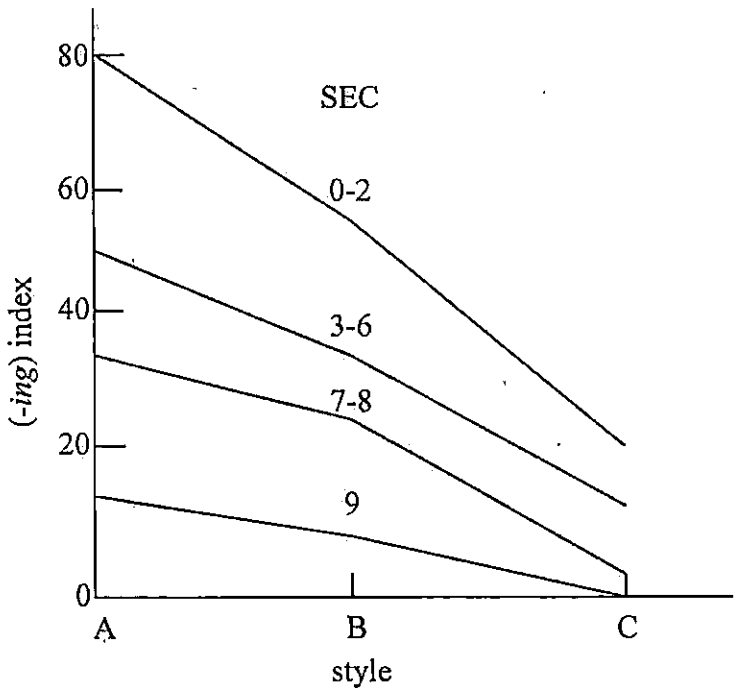


Figure 2.6

Class and style stratification of *-ing* in *working*, *living*, and so on, for white New York City adults. Socioeconomic class scale: 0 to 2, 3 to 6, 7 and 8, and 9. A = casual speech, B = careful speech, C = reading style (Labov, 1966)

Variables like *(-ing)*, which vary simultaneously by social group membership and style, are called sociolinguistic markers, in contrast with indicators, which are correlated with geographic region or social group membership only. This particular variable is actually a stable sociolinguistic marker, because variation in its use does not reflect an ongoing change in New York City English; it is part of a stable pattern which has been observed in several other communities. For instance, Fischer (1958: 309), in an early quantitative sociolinguistic study of *(-ing)* among 24 children in a New England village, reported "a slight tendency for the [irj] variant to be associated with higher socio-economic status" and a strong tendency for its frequency to increase as the context became more formal. And Wolfram (1991: 194), drawing on earlier data from Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley (1967),

reported the following mean percentages of [in] in Detroit: upper-middle class, 19.4; lower middle class, 39.1; upper working class, 50.5; and lower working class, 78.9. Not only are these figures parallel to the statistics in Figure 2.6, but they are also parallel to those in Table 2.2, from Holmes (1992), which includes data from Norwich and West Yorkshire, England, and Brisbane, Australia, as well as New York City. As Holmes observes (1992: 152) that there are regional variations between communities, but the regularity of the sociolinguistic pattern in all four communities is quite clear, and people from lower social groups use more of the vernacular [in] variant than those from higher groups.

Table 2.2

Percentage of vernacular [in] pronunciation for four social groups in speech communities in Britain, the United States, and Australia (Holmes, 1992: 153)

Social Group	1	2	3	4
Norwich	31	42	91	100
West Yorkshire	5	34	61	83
New York	7	32	45	75
Brisbane	17	31	49	63

The Norwich data shown in Table 2.2 are adapted from Trudgill (1974); the West Yorkshire, from Petyt (1985); the New York City, from Labov (1966); and the Brisbane, from Lee (1989). The number 1 used in Table 2.2 indicates upper middle class or its equivalent, and the number 4 indicates lower working class or its equivalent. Numbers 2 and 3 represent intermediate social classes. Source: adapted from various sources

In order to demonstrate that social class differences can be reflected in patterns of grammar as well as pronunciation, we will draw once again on Holmes (1992: 159), whose Figure 2.7 shows the percentage of unmarked or vernacular third person singular present tense forms (*he walk* instead of *he walks*) in Norwich and Detroit. The stratification in Figure 2.7 is even sharper than it was for (-ing) in Table 2.2 and Figure 2.6, with the middle-class groups almost never “dropping their s” whereas the working-class groups do so quite often. As Holmes notes (1992: 159), in a generalization that may be familiar to teachers from their own classroom experience: “People are often

more aware of the social significance of vernacular grammatical forms, and this is reflected in the lower incidence of vernacular forms among middle class speakers in particular”.

Another linguistic form which has proved particularly interesting to sociolinguists studying English-speaking speech communities is the variable pronunciation of [r] in words like *car* and *card*, *for* and *form*. To make it specific, in this book, there are two possible variants of [r]: either it is present and pronounced [r], or it is absent. If we listen to a range of dialects pronouncing the words *car*, *card*, *for* and *form*, we will find that sometimes people pronounce [r] following a vowel, and sometimes they do not. In some regions, pronouncing [r] is part of the standard prestige dialect – in the Boston and New York areas of the eastern part of the United States, for example, in Ireland and in Scotland.

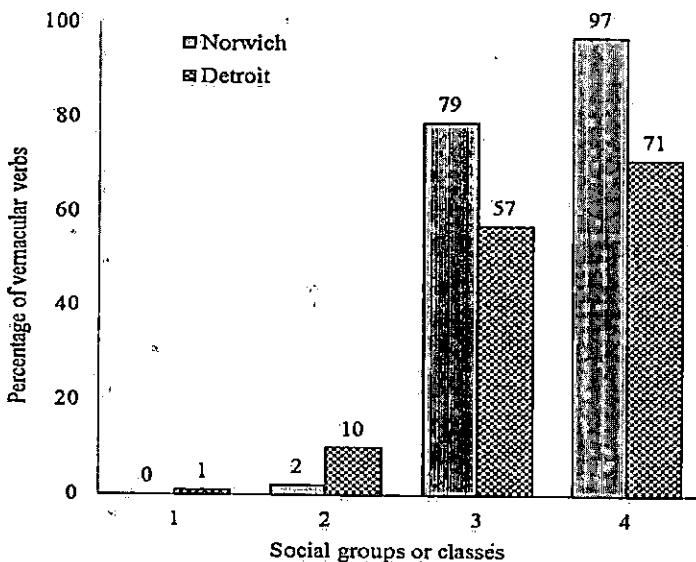


Figure 2.7
Vernacular present-tense verb form (third person singular: she walk,) in Norwich and Detroit (Holmes, 1992: 159)

In other areas, standard dialect speakers do not pronounce [r] after vowels (or 'post-vocalically' as linguists describe it) in words like *car* and *card*. The higher a person's social group, the more [r] they pronounce (Holmes, 2013: 147).

In New York City, Labov conducted an interesting experiment demonstrating in a neat and economical way that pronunciation of post-vocalic [r] varied in the city according to social group. He did it by asking a number of people in different department stores where to find an item which he knew was sold on the fourth floor. Then, pretending he had not heard the answer, he said, 'Excuse me?' People repeated their answers and he obtained a second and more careful pronunciation. So each person had the chance to pronounce [r] four times: twice in *fourth* and twice in *floor*. This ingenious rapid and anonymous survey technique provided some interesting patterns. The results showed clear social stratification of [r] pronunciation. Overall, the 'posher' the store, the more people used post-vocalic [r]. And even within stores a pattern was evident. In one store, for instance, nearly half the socially superior supervisors used post-vocalic [r] consistently, while only 18 percent of the less statusful salespeople did, and the stock boys rarely used it at all.

Post-vocalic [r] illustrates very clearly the arbitrariness of the particular forms which are considered standard and prestigious. There is nothing inherently bad or good about the pronunciation of any sound, as the different status of [r]-pronunciation in different cities illustrates. In New York City, pronouncing [r] is generally considered prestigious. In Reading in England it is not (Romaine, 1984: 86). This is apparent from the patterns for different social groups in the two cities illustrated in Figure 2.8. The studies on Post-vocalic [r] in Reading and New York social group may reveal that in one city the higher your social class the more you pronounce post-vocalic [r]; in the other, the higher your social class the fewer you pronounce.

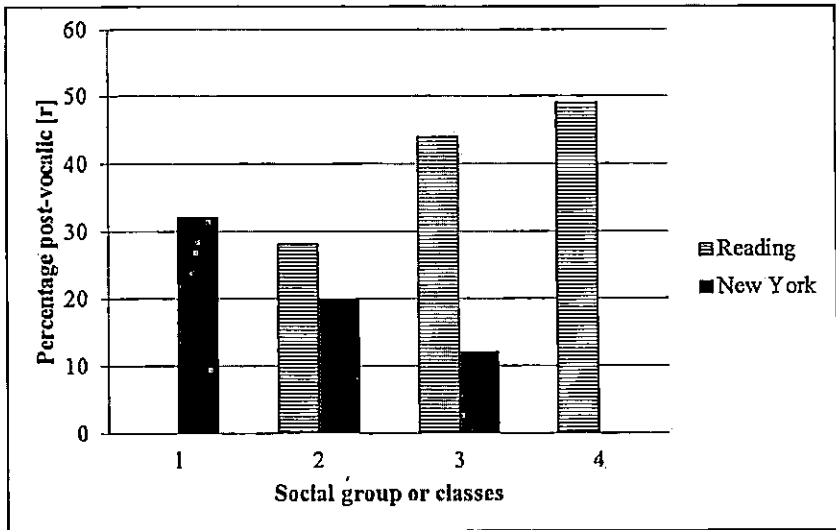


Figure 2.8

Post-vocalic [r] in Reading and New York social group (Romaine, 1984: 86).

The studies that have been done by various experts as having been mentioned above show that social class is related to social stratification in a community. It is not a community, but it shows stratification or different level of community members.



EXERCISE

- 1) Explain what you know about RP!
- 2) Why RP is called a social accent?
- 3) Explain a brief history of RP!
- 4) How is RP different from Standard English (SE)?
- 5) Why SE variety is called a standard variety of English?
- 6) Why does RE belong to type of social variety?
- 7) What does vernacular English mean?
- 8) Explain what caste dialect means!
- 9) How is caste dialect different from social class dialect?
- 10) Explain the Labov's concept of a sociolinguistic variable!

Key to Exercise

- 1) RP, standing for Received Pronunciation, has come to designate the British English style of pronunciation that carries the highest overt prestige. RP is a social accent, not a social dialect. RP is the accent on which phonemic transcriptions in dictionaries are based, and it is widely used for teaching English as a foreign language.
- 2) RP is a social accent because it does not contain any clues about the speakers' geographic background; instead, it does reveal a great deal about their social and/or educational background.
- 3) The historical origins of an English speech standard are commonly traced back to the 16th century when prestige became attached to one type of pronunciation because at that time the pronunciation norm was neither fixed nor codified, but it was 'focalized' in social and regional terms. The emerging speech standard remained a social norm in the southeast of England, but did not become widespread until the late 19th century, as the notion of a completely non-localized standard accent became increasingly dominant. An RP accent became the primary superficial marker of social standing, and it was no longer acceptable for members of the upper classes to speak with a regional accent. At the start of the 20th century the increasing influence and availability of RP had created a situation which, is perhaps unique in Western Europe, whereby one variety of spoken language enjoyed overwhelming predominance in terms of general social acceptability. Up until the middle of the 20th century, RP reigned supreme as the unrivalled English pronunciation standard.
- 4) RP is related to pronunciation or is used in oral communication, while SE is used in written communication.
- 5) SE is called 'standard' because it has undergone standardization, which means that it has been subjected to a process through which it has been selected, codified and stabilized, in a way that other varieties have not. It is also the variety of English which is used in public life in England and other English speaking countries, for example: in education, law, medicine and government.
- 6) Because it has no geographical boundary, and is used across the whole of England and other English speaking countries. It depends on the social and economic relationships between sections of the population in a

particular time and place – and on the ideologies that are linked to these social conditions.

- 7) 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 contrast with standard languages, vernacular dialect features contrast with standard dialect features. Vernacular forms tend to be learned at home and used in informal contexts. So all uses of the term vernacular share this sense of the first variety acquired in the home and used in casual contexts. Vernacular dialects, like vernacular languages, lack public or overt prestige, though they are generally valued by their users, especially as means of expressing solidarity and affective meaning.
- 8) Caste is one of the social variables responsible for the variation of language. Caste system is a form of social stratification where an individual gains a position or status by birth and is life-long. Caste is usually associated with social class in spite of their several differences. Caste dialect has emerged into social consciousness to the point that custom and law attempt their rigid and permanent separation from one another.
- 9) Class is primarily based on the possession of economic status or material possessions. Castes differ from social classes in that they have emerged into social consciousness to the point that custom and law attempt their rigid and permanent separation from one another. Meanwhile, classes are not communities, they merely represent possible and frequent bases for communal action.
- 10) Sociolinguistic variable is a linguistic feature which varies in form and has social significance, and established the importance of adhering to a principle of accountability in studying such variables.



SUMMARY

Received Pronunciation (RP) is a socially prestigious accent of English in Britain. Its roots lie in the speech of London in the early modern period but it became a sociolect, and hence non-regional. RP is an accent, not a dialect, because all RP speakers speak Standard English. RP is a non-regional variety because it does not contain any clues about the speakers' geographic background; instead, it does reveal a great deal

about their social and/or educational background. In addition, in relation to the status of RP as a socially based accent, the most interesting characteristics of RP include: (i) the speakers who use it do not identify as coming from a particular region, nor is the variety associated with a particular region, except that it is largely confined to England; and (ii) it is possible to speak Standard English but not speak RP; hence it is characterized as an accent and not a dialect. RP is the accent on which phonemic transcriptions in dictionaries are based, and it is widely used for teaching English as a foreign language.

Another related social variety is Standard English (SE). SE is called 'standard' because it has undergone standardization, which means that it has been subjected to a process through which it has been selected, codified and stabilized, in a way that other varieties, which are known as vernacular, have not. The characteristics of standard English include (i) written in published work, (ii) spoken in situations where published writing is influential, especially in education, and (iii) spoken natively by people who are most influenced by published writing.

Another related social variety is caste dialect. Caste is one of the social variables responsible for the variation of language. Caste system is a form of social stratification where an individual gains a position or status by birth and is life-long. The caste system grew from the Hindu religion as a method of social hierarchy that came to encompass most of Indian culture. Each of caste dialect has its distinctive patterns of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation.

Caste is usually associated with social class; however, there are some differences between caste and class. Class is also a form of social stratification though it is quite different from caste. Class is primarily based on the possession of economic status or material possessions. Social class variation in language has attracted the most attention and yielded some of the most striking regularities within quantitative sociolinguistics. Usually, the research findings on social class dialect are presented in numbers.



FORMATIVE TEST 2

Answer the following questions.

- 1) A preference for different vocabulary by different social groups is relatively easy to identify and always fascinates people. Can you produce a list of words for your speech community that divides people up according to their social background? Words for *mati* (death), *kakus*

(lavatory), *mantap* (really good) and *di bawah pengaruh alkohol* (under the influence of alcohol) often vary from one social group to another.

- 2) Make three points about the distribution of non-standard or vernacular forms in British urban dialects which are supported by Figure 2.9!

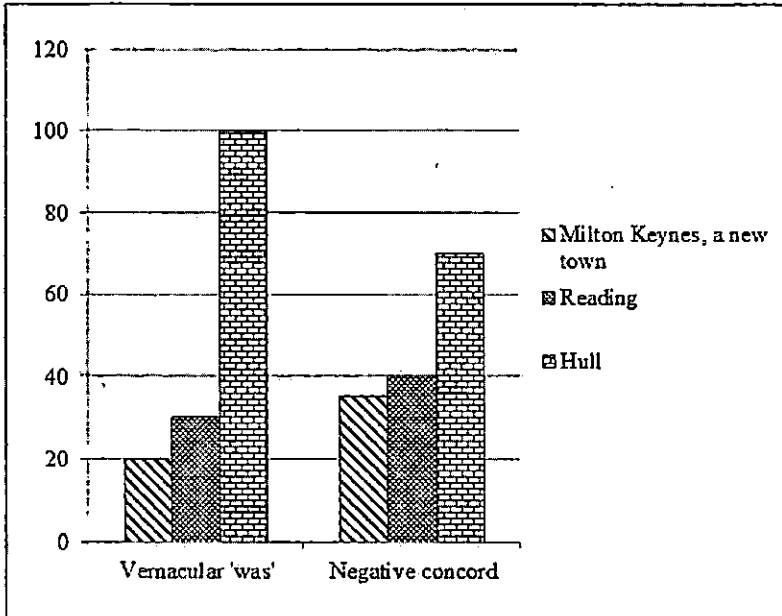


Figure 2.9

Vernacular forms in three English towns (Cheshire, 1999: 129-148)

- 3) The diagram in Figure 2.9 shows values for 3 towns in England. Similar diagrams can be drawn for social classes. If the labels 'Hull', 'Milton Keynes' and 'Reading' referred to social classes, which would be the lowest social class? How do you know?
- 4) Explain linguistic differences reflecting very clear-cut social or caste divisions in Javanese!
- 5) Explain 10 (ten) Standard English features or characteristics!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

Language Varieties and EFL Teaching

A. TEACHING VOCABULARY VARIETIES

The learners of English often complained about situations in which their native or non-native interlocutors had been speaking “so strangely” (i.e., employing a variety of English with which they were not familiar) that their English did not enable them to take part in certain English-language conversations. More precisely, these learners of English could not cope in situations in which they either had to speak English in a native-speaking context or use English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) with other non-native speakers of English. The conversation failed because their interlocutors did not speak the type of standardized English they had themselves learned in their school, but used a variety they considered “strange”. The “strange English” they found can be in the vocabulary they heard. For instance, in one of the variety of English, they heard people saying the word *cell phone*, equivalent with *mobile phone* (Svartvik and Leech, 2006: 153) in the vocabulary they learned at school. Even though they may eventually understand the meaning of that word, they still found it strange to speak in the same language with different vocabulary for the same meaning or reference. Rickford (1999: 12) says that extensive overlaps in vocabulary can cause speakers to miss subtle but significant differences between their own and the target variety. Trudgill and Hannah (2013: 59) also argues that vocabulary differences are very numerous and are capable of causing varying degrees of comprehension problems.

Additionally, the encounter with more or less intelligible varieties of English obviously added to the so-called “culture shock” generally caused by foreign environments. The above reports indicate that for many years, English as a Foreign Language (EFL) education in schools had not prepared these speakers for the sociolinguistic reality in an increasingly globalised world and had failed to create any kind of awareness of the considerable regional variation in the use of English. This violates the basic principle of English language and foreign language education as stated by Klippel and Doff (2007: 36), “school is supposed to prepare children and teenagers for successfully coping with their lives”.

Klippel and Doff's principle emphasizes the importance of involving cultural knowledge when teaching English vocabulary varieties. This is in line with Gnutzmann and Intemann (2005:20) who demand an increased consideration of varieties of English in English language teaching (ELT), particularly as far as receptive abilities and intercultural skills are concerned. They say that as a result of globalization the function of English as an international tool for communication needs rethinking in the English language classroom. This does not only include linguistic skills to understand various kinds of accents and to be understood by others, but it also includes knowledge of other cultures which provides the learners with the ability to respond adequately to problems arising from cultural differences between the participants in international communication.

Gnutzmann (1999: 165-166) declares that cultural topics relating to countries where English is spoken as a native language, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States, have to be complemented by topics dealing with other parts of the world in order to do justice to the global use of English in classroom teaching. Besides widening the scope of topics geographically, Gnutzmann thinks that a stronger orientation towards social, economic, scientific and technological topics with an international or global dimension would seem an appropriate measure in view of the global dimension of English. The cultural topics are much helpful to introduce vocabulary varieties to students and help them enrich their vocabulary stock in different varieties. Baxter (1991: 67) seems to agree with the choice of cultural topics in teaching vocabulary varieties when he says that teaching materials should be drawn from all the various English-using communities, not only L1 communities, so as to introduce students to the different manners of speaking English and to build an attitudinal base of acceptance.

Furthermore, in teaching vocabulary varieties, Gortlach (1999: 18) argues that learners should also receive broad receptive training and should be confronted with a number of different varieties from an early age, to enable them to understand speakers from different geographical and social backgrounds and to increase awareness that there is a considerable amount of variation in language use in English. Receptive training at the lexical level should certainly start with, but not be limited to, the most common standard varieties.

In addition, responding to the teaching English vocabulary varieties, Bieswanger (2008:35) says that as far as vocabulary is concerned, there

should be a certain amount of variety-related productive training, particularly at the intermediate and advanced level, to enable learners to communicate with speakers from different backgrounds. Such training also helps to increase learners' awareness that a certain amount of knowledge about varieties is necessary to be able to communicate effectively in English in speech and writing, and that communication has to be geared to their recipients' backgrounds to avoid misunderstandings and communicative breakdown.

B. TEACHING PRONUNCIATION VARIETIES

The emergence of so many different kinds (or 'varieties') of international English has caused a number of linguists to question the use of native speaker pronunciation models in the teaching of English. Their argument is that native speaker accents are not necessarily the most intelligible or appropriate accents when a non-native speaker is communicating with another non-native speaker (Jenkins, 2002a).

There is no doubt that there are individuals who are more successful than others at achieving their targets for the learning of pronunciation. Some individuals acquire native-like pronunciation despite a late start and limited opportunities for interaction with native speakers of the target language. In at least some such cases the result is less due to unusual talent or aptitude than to hard work. Motivation and identity are also important factors in the equation. Some individuals feel that attempting to acquire a native-like accent is a rejection of their own culture which endangers their personal identity.

Some learners, perhaps particularly where there is a local variety of the target language, such as is the case for speakers of English in Nigeria or Pakistan, feel strongly that the local variety is the only legitimate target for their pronunciation, regardless of any problems this might cause when using English with speakers from outside this community. Others, with less personal identification or simply with less phonetic sensitivity, feel that a native-like accent is the obvious target for an ambitious language learner (Cunningham, 2013: 6).

Jenkins, in her *Lingua Franca* core (Jenkins 2002b), identified some features of English pronunciation as being more worthy than others of attention, at least if the target is to be intelligible to as wide a variety of

native and non-native speakers of English as possible. For example, one of the features she mentioned as not being important for intelligibility and yet very difficult to acquire is the English interdental fricatives. Others have since then looked at various ways of ranking pronunciation targets. Scales, Wennerstrom, Richard, and Wu (2006), for example, looked at learners' preferences, and found that learners preferred more intelligible accents. Others, unsurprisingly, have also found that listeners prefer speech that is intelligible to them (Burda and Hageman, 2005; Kennedy and Trofimovich, 2008; Volberg Kulka, Sust, and Lazarus, 2006). Cunningham-Andersson and Engstrand isolated and elicited reaction to various features of Finnish-accented Swedish (Cunningham-Andersson and Engstrand, 1989) and could rank individual features and combinations of features for the disturbance associated with them. But these rankings do not concern themselves with how possible it is for a learner to achieve the target.

In responding how pronunciation varieties should be taught to students, Gurlach (1999: 18) argues that starting at an early age, learners should get broad receptive training and should be confronted with as many accents as possible, progressing from the most common to the least frequently used pronunciation varieties. From a communicative point of view, it is important to enable 21st century learners of English to understand a variety of accents so that they can effectively communicate with most speakers of English. At the same time, such receptive training will create awareness among learners that English, most likely just like their mother tongue, is not monolithic. As far as production is concerned it seems to be sufficient, again from a communicative point of view, to train learners to be able to produce any widely understood accent of English. Being able to produce or imitate different accents of English does not benefit learners' communicative competence. Gurlach's idea implies that accent is the most important point to be considered in teaching pronunciation varieties.

In addition, Macedo (2001: 14) argues that teaching pronunciation varieties can be done by modifying or adjusting English pronunciation appropriately to the audience and/or situation. This can allow students to hear a variety of English accents in acceptable forms. He also suggests that a practical way for non-native English speakers to learn how to handle the difficulties of English pronunciation, was through meaningful exposure to accent variation. This could then facilitate a process which more effective communication would likely occur. However, it was argued, even though this

variety may be exceptional, language teachers need to maintain a high standard of model pronunciation, in order for students to aim successfully at an acceptable level of global intelligibility.

Jenkins (2002a) lists three ways of teaching pronunciation varieties to non-native speakers of English, in which she shows her disagreement to focus teaching pronunciation varieties only on accent.

1. Students should be given choice. That is, when students are learning English so that they can use it in international contexts with other non-native speakers from different first languages, they should be given the choice of acquiring a pronunciation that is more relevant to English as International Language (EIL) intelligibility than traditional pronunciation syllabuses offer. Up to now, the goal of pronunciation teaching has been to enable students to acquire an accent that is as close as possible to that of a native speaker (e.g. see Gorlach, 1999: 18). But for EIL communication, this is not the most intelligible accent and some of the non-core items may even make them less intelligible to another non-native speaker.
2. The non-core items are not only unimportant for intelligibility but also socially more appropriate. After all, native speakers have different accents depending on the region where they were born and live. So why non-native speakers of an international language should not be allowed to do the same?
3. Students should be given plenty of exposure in their pronunciation classrooms to other non-native accents of English so that they can understand them easily even if a speaker has not yet managed to acquire the core features. For EIL, this is much more important than having classroom exposure to native speaker accents.

In addition, Celce-Murcia, Brinton, and Goodwin (2010) list a number of ways how pronunciation varieties should be taught, with an emphasis on word-level accuracy. Pronunciation teaching can potentially involve many kinds of activities: (i) lectures and exercises on the phonetics of the model variety; (ii) extensive listening activities (listening for content); (iii) extensive speaking activities in a communicative learning context; (iv) real communication outside the classroom (with or without feedback); (v) intensive listening activities (listening for form) and noticing activities; and (vi) listening and repeating activities with different kind of feedback.

Finally, Jenkins (2002b) emphasizes that teachers of English should be aware that the goal of improving pronunciation for many learners is mutual intelligibility, not perfection. In other words, the objective of teaching English is that the learners can communicate one another effectively in spite of their pronunciation varieties.

C. TEACHING GRAMMAR VARIETIES

From the point of view of communicative competence, varieties of English are generally thought to differ least at the level of grammar (Jenkins, 2003; Trudgill and Hannah, 2013), implying that the grammatical differences between varieties of English do not have to be addressed extensively in the English language classroom, particularly not at the beginning and intermediate stages. Trudgill and Hannah (2013: 24) mention that at the level of educated speech and writing, there are very few obvious grammatical differences between, for example, Australian English and British English. It is not usually possible to tell if a text has been written by an English or Australian writer-unless by the vocabulary used in the text. Nevertheless, they provide an example indicating few distinctive tendencies between the two varieties as in (5).

1. a. He used not to go.
- b. He usedn't to go.
- c. He didn't use to go.

In British English, the negative forms of *used to* as in (5a) to (5c) are all possible with the construction in (5a) is considered older and more formal, and is the most usual construction in writing. In Australian English, the form in (5c) is less usual than in British English, while the second form is probably more usual than in British English. Contracted forms without *to* – He usedn't go – are also more usual in Australian English than in British English.

The varieties of English grammar offer English learners a powerful entranceway through which they can be encouraged to discover the structure of language. In particular, the language of ordinary conversation itself provides an essential grammar resource for the classroom. If teachers know some of the basic grammatical features of the language varieties besides Standard English that their students speak, they will find it easier to discuss the language differences with students. In turn, such discussions of contrasts,

according to Haussamen (2003: 14), will help students in three important ways: (i) students will flex their understanding of grammatical structure in language generally; (ii) they will understand Standard English itself more clearly; and (iii) they will better understand why mastering Standard English is a challenge for those who have not grown up with it.

One of the ways of teaching grammar varieties is through collection of larger corpora. This can help the students to identify the form of grammar used in the varieties of English. Britain (2007: 75) says that the collection of larger corpora has facilitated studies of grammatical variation, however, and we are now fortunate to have, for some non-standard features at least, a number of systematic analyses of an appropriate empirical depth to begin to piece together a more sensitive picture of variation in England. The importance of using corpora is also emphasized by Bauer who says that with the advent of large computer corpora of reasonably representative materials from a number of varieties of English around the world, it has become possible to discuss difference in grammar at all meaningfully (Bauer, 2002: 46).

In addition, in teaching grammar varieties, Richards and Reppen (2014: 22) suggest the use of internet. Through the internet, students can be exposed to variety of speakers and regional styles of English. In addition to being exposed to different speakers, students see how grammar in spoken language varies within different contexts of use. Students can listen and compare formal speeches and casual conversations and see how the grammar used in these two spoken, but different contexts of language use varies. A useful starting point for this activity is for students to notice or count the use of contractions and/or different personal pronouns. Students could also listen to newscasts and then read a news article on the same topic/ event and compare how language varies in these two different contexts of use. Raising student awareness of how grammar varies according to the context and function of language is a valuable tool that can help learners to become more autonomous and accurate language users.

D. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MORE VARIETIES IN ELT

The previous sections have made it clear from a linguistic as well as a pedagogical point of view why we need to include more varieties of English in ELT in a more effective manner for each item of linguistic varieties

including vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. The question remains as to how this can be done, especially without making naïve demands and in consideration of the existing framework of the education system. The following suggestions (Bieswanger, 2008: 42-43) could be among the necessary steps in the right direction.

Firstly, curriculum designers need to recognize the position of English in our changing world and the fact that the global spread of English has made the language and issues around its use more complex. The role of native and non-native varieties has to be strengthened in curricula and more time has to be devoted to English lessons to give teachers the opportunity to include teaching on varieties in the classroom; three times 45 minutes a week, as in years eight and nine of the Realschule, is simply not enough and does not do justice to the importance of English. It is, however, not enough to simply include ambitious demands concerning varieties in the curriculum and to devote more time to English learning – it also has to be ensured that the accompanying textbooks adequately reflect these demands.

A second important and necessary step would be to begin curriculum-based ELT at an earlier age. In the case of the German state of Bavaria, and in fact in all states of Germany, primary school learners do receive foreign language instruction, usually English, some from year one and some from year three. However, the content of such lessons depends largely on the selection of the teacher since curricula are either vague or have not yet been established. This means that the intake of secondary schools is extremely heterogeneous with regard to previous knowledge of English and as a result English instruction at the secondary level usually has to start from scratch in year five. In order to make English learning in primary school worthwhile, curricula for English learning at primary school level would need to be introduced in all states as soon as possible (Klippel and Doff 2007: 25). This would automatically provide two to four more years of meaningful English learning and at the same time free up instruction time for varieties of English. Since the system of English language education in primary schools is already in place, sticking to the current curriculum-free approach would mean a lost opportunity.

A third essential step for the implementation of more varieties in ELT would be the introduction of adequate and mandatory variety-related training of prospective and active teachers. Variety-related training must be provided to keep already active teachers up to date, because teaching “the same old

same old" for many decades after having left university cannot be an option in a world constantly changing at an increasing pace. For prospective teachers, it would be necessary to make adequate variety-related training a mandatory part of English programs at universities.

E. FALLACIES ABOUT LEARNING ENGLISH VARIETIES

Fallacies about learning English varieties mean any use of invalid or otherwise faulty reasoning, or wrong moves in the construction of an argument related to teaching and learning English varieties. Based on a study conducted at the University of Evora which investigated EFL students' and teachers' attitudes towards English as an international language (Guerra, 2009), the analysis of data from the interviews showed some interesting perspectives and beliefs about learning and teaching English which somehow do not correspond to the overall concept of English varieties. The following 'fallacies' were taken from some students' and teachers' responses.

The first fallacy is related to the idea that British English is the correct variety of English. In a previous study with 65 EFL students in a teacher training course at the University of Évora, 60% said British English was the correct variety while 40% said there was no correct variety. There is still a strong monolithic and lingua centered belief that does not fit into the needs and uses of the learners. Moreover, the belief that there is a correct variety has no linguistic grounds. English teachers or educators should not allow this belief to continue to exist. It is, certainly, crucial to identify the source(s) of such belief: textbooks, teachers, or society.

The second fallacy is that many people believe that it is important that students get as close as possible to a native-speaker accent. Having a native or near-native accent does not mean possessing the necessary skills to achieve communication because this is not the most intelligible accent and some of the native accents may even make them less intelligible to another non-native speaker. Rather than dealing with the concept of native speakers, we should consider the idea of a competent speaker whose accent is intelligible even though it does not follow native norms.

The third fallacy is that it is not important to know the differences between American English and British English; in fact, it is. As American English and British English are the most common norms used in ELT worldwide, it is vital that language users produce and understand both

varieties. A good understanding of the differences between American English and British English will help students to communicate more effectively. This is true for the spoken as well as the written language (Modiano, 1996). Besides, teachers can help students to know the differences between American English and British English in order to make them speak English well. Knowledge of just one variety certainly limits the speaker's ability to understand others and be understood.

The fourth fallacy is that we can only refer to the differences between American English and British English in advanced levels. Knowledge of the differences between American English and British English should not be regarded as advanced materials. Many of the differences are found in basic vocabulary (e.g. cinema/movies, football/soccer), spelling (e.g. colour/color, grey/gray) and grammar (e.g. use of Simple Past and Present Perfect). The differences between American English and British English can be introduced as soon as the first lesson (e.g. 'z', /z/ or /zéd/).

The fifth fallacy is concerned with the statement that students are expected to be consistent in one variety. In fact, research has proved that a great number of ESL and EFL learners mix both varieties. Moreover, some ENL and ESL varieties also display features of both American English and British English. The aim towards consistency generally leads to teachers 'punishing' students for using both varieties when writing. However, many times teachers consider those different spellings, vocabulary or syntactic structures wrong due to their own lack of knowledge about the differences between American English and British English.

The sixth fallacy says British English is formal English; American English is informal English. There is a misconception that American English is a substandard variety which is usually a deviation from the British norms. Many students believe that the use of vernacular English words *wanna*, *gonna* or *ain't* is associated with American English. This indicates that there seems to be some confusion between the concepts of geographical varieties and register (informal and formal language). In teaching English varieties, such kinds of misconception should be made clear to the students so that they know the differences between standard and non-standard, or formal and informal English.

The seventh fallacy is that many people believe that it is not important to spend time with EFL accents and cultures. In fact, this is not true. The Portuguese secondary education English syllabus, for example, gives

English-speaking communities (World Englishes) a significant role in ELT. However, from the standpoint of EIL, this is a limited approach to learning and using the language since English is to be used with native and non-native speakers alike, regardless of their origin and first language.

The eighth fallacy is the belief that there is no room or time for other native varieties and cultures other than British and American. This is a fact that teachers struggle with limited classroom time. There is always a feeling that we cannot fulfill our goals due to the several constraints we come across in and out of the classroom. However, it seems that there is always the possibility of including materials from other native varieties and cultures if enough time is devoted to the preparation of classes.

The ninth fallacy is the belief that students will learn to make mistakes if they contact with ESL or EFL varieties. The fear of making mistakes cannot be a sound argument to prevent students from dealing with ESL and even EFL varieties. There is no guarantee that by contacting native varieties students will acquire error-free standard norms. Also, it is important to distinguish practice in productive skills (usually norm-oriented) and practice in receptive skills, which would be the focus of activities centered on non-native cultures and varieties.

The nine fallacies mentioned above need to be considered by teachers in teaching English varieties. Misconception in understanding the concept of varieties may lead students to the situation in which they cannot get the best advantage from English varieties.



EXERCISE

- 1) Why do many EFL learners often encounter problems when having a conversation with native speakers of English?
- 2) In your opinion, why did this situation happen?
- 3) What should be done in teaching vocabulary varieties?
- 4) Why are cultural topics much helpful to introduce vocabulary varieties to students?
- 5) What do pronunciation varieties need to be prioritized in teaching English to EFL learners?
- 6) How should teachers teach pronunciation varieties?
- 7) List three ways of teaching pronunciation according to Jenkins (2002a)!

- 8) What does the statement “teachers of English should be aware that the goal of improving pronunciation for many EFL learners is mutual intelligibility, not perfection” mean?
- 9) Is it true that teaching grammar varieties is useless?
- 10) How does internet help teachers in teaching grammar varieties?

Key to Exercise

- 1) The conversation sometimes failed because their interlocutors did not speak the type of standardized English they had themselves learned in their school, but used a variety they considered “strange”. The “strange English” they found can be in the vocabulary they heard. For instance, in one of the variety of English, they heard people saying the word *cell phone*, equivalent with *mobile phone* in the vocabulary they learned at school.
- 2) For many years, English as a Foreign Language (EFL) education in schools had not prepared the learners for the sociolinguistic reality in an increasingly globalised world and had failed to create any kind of awareness of the considerable regional variation in the use of English. In fact, school is supposed to prepare children and teenagers for successfully coping with their lives.
- 3) There should be an emphasis on the importance of involving cultural knowledge when teaching English vocabulary varieties. Besides, in teaching vocabulary varieties, learners should also receive broad receptive training and should be confronted with a number of different varieties from an early age, to enable them to understand speakers from different geographical and social backgrounds and to increase awareness that there is a considerable amount of variation in language use in English. In addition, there should be a certain amount of variety-related productive training, particularly at the intermediate and advanced level, to enable learners to communicate with speakers from different backgrounds.
- 4) Because those topics can help them enrich their vocabulary stock in different varieties. Teaching materials should be drawn from all the cultures of various English-using communities, not only L1 communities, so as to introduce students to the different manners of speaking English and to build an attitudinal base of acceptance.

- 5) Some learners, perhaps particularly where there is a local variety of the target language, such as is the case for speakers of English in Nigeria or Pakistan, feel strongly that the local variety is the only legitimate target for their pronunciation, regardless of any problems this might cause when using English with speakers from outside this community. Others, with less personal identification or simply with less phonetic sensitivity, feel that a native-like accent is the obvious target for an ambitious language learner.
- 6) Some experts argue that, starting at an early age, learners should get broad receptive training and should be confronted with as many accents as possible, progressing from the most common to the least frequently used pronunciation varieties. Others argue that teaching pronunciation varieties can be done by modifying or adjusting English pronunciation appropriately to the audience and/or situation. This can allow students to hear a variety of English accents in acceptable forms.
- 7) Three ways of teaching pronunciation varieties to non-native speakers of English include:
 - a. students should be given choice, i.e. when students are learning English so that they can use it in international contexts with other non-native speakers from different first languages, they should be given the choice of acquiring a pronunciation that is more relevant to English as International Language (EIL) intelligibility than traditional pronunciation syllabuses offer;
 - b. the non-core items are not only unimportant for intelligibility but also socially more appropriate;
 - c. students should be given plenty of exposure in their pronunciation classrooms to other non-native accents of English so that they can understand them easily even if a speaker has not yet managed to acquire the core features.
- 8) It means that the objective of teaching English should be that the learners can communicate one another effectively in spite of their pronunciation varieties. This statement implies that perfection in English pronunciation only belongs to its native speakers because they acquire English.
- 9) No, but grammar varieties do not have to be addressed extensively in the English language classroom, particularly not at the beginning and intermediate stages.

- 10) Through the internet, students can be exposed to variety of speakers and regional styles of English. In addition to being exposed to different speakers, students see how grammar in spoken language varies within different contexts of use. They can listen and compare formal speeches and casual conversations and see how the grammar used in these two spoken, but different contexts of language use varies.



SUMMARY

Many learners of English could not cope in situations in which they either had to speak English in a native-speaking context or use English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) with other non-native speakers of English. The conversation sometimes failed because their interlocutors did not speak the type of standardized English they had themselves learned in their school, but used a variety they considered "strange". Therefore, it is necessary for English teachers, especially English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers to pay careful attention in teaching varieties of English in terms of its vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar varieties.

Some experts emphasize the importance of involving cultural knowledge when teaching English vocabulary varieties. Others argue that, in teaching vocabulary varieties, learners should also receive broad receptive training and should be confronted with a number of different varieties from an early age, to enable them to understand speakers from different geographical and social backgrounds and to increase awareness that there is a considerable amount of variation in language use in English. Others also suggest that, in teaching vocabulary varieties, there should be a certain amount of variety-related productive training, particularly at the intermediate and advanced level, to enable learners to communicate with speakers from different backgrounds.

In teaching pronunciation varieties, the emergence of so many different kinds (or 'varieties') of international English has caused a number of linguists to question the use of native speaker pronunciation models in the teaching of English. Some learners acquire native-like pronunciation despite a late start and limited opportunities for interaction with native speakers of the target language. Some others, perhaps particularly where there is a local variety of the target language, such as is the case for speakers of English in Nigeria or Pakistan, feel strongly that the local variety is the only legitimate target for their pronunciation, regardless of any problems this might cause when using English with speakers from outside this community. Some experts argue that, starting

at an early age, learners should get broad receptive training and should be confronted with as many accents as possible, progressing from the most common to the least frequently used pronunciation varieties. Others argue that teaching pronunciation varieties can be done by modifying or adjusting English pronunciation appropriately to the audience and/or situation. Jenkins (2002a) lists three ways of teaching pronunciation varieties to non-native speakers of English: (i) Students should be given choice; (ii) The non-core items are not only unimportant for intelligibility but also socially more appropriate; and (iii) Students should be given plenty of exposure in their pronunciation classrooms to other non-native accents of English so that they can understand them easily even if a speaker has not yet managed to acquire the core features.

From the point of view of communicative competence, varieties of English are generally thought to differ least at the level of grammar, implying that the grammatical differences between varieties of English do not have to be addressed extensively in the English language classroom, particularly not at the beginning and intermediate stages. In teaching grammar varieties, some experts suggest the use of internet. Through the internet, students can be exposed to variety of speakers and regional styles of English. In addition to being exposed to different speakers, students see how grammar in spoken language varies within different contexts of use.

Bieswanger (2008:42-43) suggests the necessary steps in the right direction of implementing more varieties in English language teaching (ELT), including (i) curriculum designers need to recognize the position of English in our changing world and the fact that the global spread of English has made the language and issues around its use more complex; (ii) curriculum-based ELT should be started at an earlier age; and (iii) there should be the introduction of adequate and mandatory variety-related training of prospective and active teachers.

In teaching English varieties, teachers should avoid fallacies in understanding the use of English varieties. Fallacies about learning English varieties mean any use of invalid or otherwise faulty reasoning, or wrong moves in the construction of an argument related to teaching and learning English varieties. Based on a study conducted at the University of Evora which investigated EFL students' and teachers' attitudes towards English as an international language (Guerra, 2009), there are nine 'fallacies' about learning English varieties that were taken from some students' and teachers' responses. The fallacies are: (i) British English is the correct variety of English; (ii) it is important that students get as close as possible to a native-speaker accent; (iii) it is not important to know the differences between American English and

British English; (iv) we can only refer to the differences between American English and British English in advanced levels; (v) students are expected to be consistent in one variety; (vi) British English is formal English; American English is informal English; (vii) it is not important to spend time with EFL accents and cultures; (viii) there is no room or time for other native varieties and cultures other than British and American; and (ix) students will learn to make mistakes if they contact with ESL or EFL varieties. These fallacies have to be carefully considered in teaching English varieties to EFL learners.



FORMATIVE TEST 3 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) Explain the necessary steps in implementing more varieties in English language teaching!
- 2) In particular, the language of ordinary conversation provides an essential grammar resource for the classroom. Mention how it benefits EFL learners!
- 3) Why do varieties of English not have to be addressed extensively in the English language classroom?
- 4) List a number of ways how pronunciation varieties should be taught, with an emphasis on word-level accuracy!
- 5) Why should a certain amount of variety-related productive training be conducted, particularly at the intermediate and advanced level?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next module.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) The countries are:
 - a. England;
 - b. England;
 - c. Wales;
 - d. England;
 - e. England;
 - f. The United States;
 - g. The United States;
 - h. England, New Zealand;
 - i. The United States;
 - j. England.
- 2) This is a typical sentence spoken by Geordies, people from Tyneside in England. This variety is indicated by such clues as: (i) the use of double modal *would might* in one sentence; and (ii) the use of vocabulary *alang* for the standard form *along*.
- 3) They speak in the same language, but in different dialect because they can understand each other in spite of some different vocabulary used in their sentences. I think the conversation runs smoothly as the variation only involves differences in pronunciation and vocabulary only.
- 4) Free Answer
- 5) Free Answer

Formative Test 2

- 1) Free answer
- 2) Example of points you might have made:
 - a. the pattern of vernacular usage is consistent for both variables in all 3 places;
 - b. the negative concord is slightly more frequent than non-standard was in 2 of the 3 places;
 - c. vernacular was is particularly distinctive of Hull speech, where it reaches almost 100 per cent or categorical status;
 - d. the further north you go the higher the percentage of vernacular forms;

- e. this diagram suggests that regional variation intersects with class variation since, as the section preceding this exercise indicates, these vernacular forms typically stratify urban.
- 3) Hull would be the equivalent of the lowest social class because the percentages of vernacular forms are highest in Hull and lower social groups tend to use more vernacular forms.
 - 4) There are six distinguishable stylistic levels with three distinct Javanese social groups and three associated dialects: (i) the dialect of the lowest status group, the peasants and uneducated townspeople, consists of three stylistic levels: 1, 1a and 2; (ii) the dialect of urbanized people with some education consists of five stylistic levels: 1, 1a, 2, 3 and 3a; and (iii) 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.
 - 5) The ten features of SE are:
 - a. SE does not distinguish between the forms of the auxiliary verb *do* and its main verb forms;
 - b. SE has an unusual and irregular present tense verb morphology in that only the third-person singular receives morphological marking: *he goes* versus *I go*;
 - c. SE does not permit double negation (negative concord), as in *I don't want none*;
 - d. SE has an irregular formation of the reflexive, with *myself* based on the possessive *my*, and *himself* based on the object form *him*;
 - e. SE does not distinguish between second-person singular and second-person plural pronouns, having *you* in both cases;
 - f. SE has irregular forms of the verb to be both in the present tense (*am, is, are*) and in the past (*was, were*);
 - g. In the case of many irregular verbs, SE redundantly distinguishes between the preterite and past participle forms both by the use of the auxiliary *have* and by the use of distinct preterite and past participle forms as in *I saw – I have seen*, or *I did – I have done*;
 - h. SE has only a two-way contrast in its demonstrative system, with *this* (near to the speaker) opposed to *that* (away from the speaker);
 - i. SE adverbs end in *-ly*, as in *Come quickly!*
 - j. SE has relative pronouns *that* or *which*.

Formative Test 3

- 1) The necessary steps in implementing more varieties in English language teaching are:
 - a. curriculum designers need to recognize the position of English in our changing world and the fact that the global spread of English has made the language and issues around its use more complex. The role of native and non-native varieties has to be strengthened in curricula and more time has to be devoted to English lessons to give teachers the opportunity to include teaching on varieties in the classroom; three times 45 minutes a week is simply not enough and does not do justice to the importance of English. It is, however, not enough to simply include ambitious demands concerning varieties in the curriculum and to devote more time to English learning – it also has to be ensured that the accompanying textbooks adequately reflect these demands.
 - b. curriculum-based ELT should be started at an earlier age. In the case of the German state of Bavaria, and in fact in all states of Germany, primary school learners do receive foreign language instruction, usually English, some from year one and some from year three.
 - c. there should be the introduction of adequate and mandatory variety-related training of prospective and active teachers. Variety-related training must be provided to keep already active teachers up to date, because teaching “the same old same old” for many decades after having left university cannot be an option in a world constantly changing at an increasing pace.
- 2) By teaching the language of ordinary conversation to EFL learners, they
 - a. will flex their understanding of grammatical structure in language generally;
 - b. will understand Standard English itself more clearly;
 - c. will better understand why mastering Standard English is a challenge for those who have not grown up with it.
- 3) Because, at the level of educated speech and writing, there are very few obvious grammatical differences between, for example, Australian English and British English. It is not usually possible to tell if a text has been written by an English or Australian writer-unless by the vocabulary used in the text.

- 4) Teaching pronunciation varieties can potentially involve many kinds of activities:
 - a. lectures and exercises on the phonetics of the model variety;
 - b. extensive listening activities (listening for content);
 - c. extensive speaking activities in a communicative learning context;
 - d. real communication outside the classroom (with or without feedback);
 - e. intensive listening activities (listening for form) and noticing activities;
 - f. listening and repeating activities with different kind of feedback.
- 5) Such training needs to be conducted:
 - a. to enable learners to communicate with speakers from different backgrounds;
 - b. to increase learners' awareness that a certain amount of knowledge about varieties is necessary to be able to communicate effectively in English in speech and writing, and that communication has to be geared to their recipients' backgrounds to avoid misunderstandings and communicative breakdown.

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Language Attitude and Its Implication in EFL Teaching

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INTRODUCTION

Dear students! After learning Module 2, we are now in Module 3. This module talks about “*Language Attitude and its Implication in EFL Teaching*”. Language attitude is simply a part of someone’s psychological phenomena toward language or languages. In this module, we are going to talk about the language attitude particularly related to language teaching, especially in EFL teaching and learning. Although the language attitude is more on psychological tendency, such phenomena relate to social behavior, as well. Therefore, the materials and discussion presented in this module are theoretically and practically based on sociolinguistic view points. We begin the discussion with the social view of language in modern linguistics in order to have sufficient information on the natural relation of language and society. We try to relate the theoretical materials to practical ones as the implication in EFL teaching. The related theories presented in this module are aimed at having better foundation dealing with language attitude and the implication to language teaching, especially in EFL teaching.

As we know, language has social-functions, the participants in communicative events need to understand and follow the “conventional rules” of communication in a speech community in order that the communication runs well and successfully. In addition, language attitude can be also assigned as a part of sociolinguistic phenomena. In order to have systematic-academic contents and discussion dealing with the main topic, the learning materials are divided into three units, namely: (i) Language Attitude in Sociolinguistics; (ii) Attitude toward Local, National, and Foreign Language; and (iii) The Implication of Language Attitude in EFL Teaching. The three units are then divided into several sub-units in order that the specific theories, information, and implication in EFL teaching can be systematically learnt and discussed well.

Briefly, the learning materials and discussion in Module 3 include the social view of language in modern linguistics, the brief review of language attitude, the study of language attitude in sociolinguistics, attitude toward local, national, and foreign language, and how such concepts and theories have theoretical and academic implication in language teaching, particularly in EFL teaching. For the learners of EFL in Indonesia, the concepts and discussion about language attitude is helpful in order to build and develop learners' understanding on language attitude which is originally derived from psychological matters can be related to social phenomena of language in uses. Although the concepts and discussion presented in this module are more on theoretical ones, they can be useful for the guidelines of language uses and language teaching in general. The information and ideas derived from the theories and concepts of language attitude can be used by language learners and curriculum developers to have successful programs of language teaching and learning. In addition, the ideas and concepts can purposefully be used to have programs in language planning and language policy. Therefore, the topic of discussion in this module is theoretically, academically, and practically useful for all of you.

In accordance with this, it is necessary for the teachers and learners of EFL in Indonesia to learn and pay attention to the concepts and information dealing with language attitude and its implication in EFL teaching. In sociolinguistics subject, in fact, the learners of EFL need to know how humans have attitude toward a language(s) whether it is a local, national, or foreign language. Furthermore, the learners of sociolinguistics and EFL learners need to know that the language attitude may have something to do with the science of language and language teaching. Many researchers have conducted many researches and studies on language attitude and relevant implications to language teaching and learning, including in EFL learning. Then, we are also possible to formulate and to have specific ideas and argumentations on the concepts and the application of language attitude and its educational-practical uses. The implications in EFL teaching and learning may be argued as the pedagogical and practical contributions of the concepts to language teaching, in general viewpoints.

After learning and finishing this module, you are kindly expected to be able to:

1. mention and argumentatively criticize the relevant concepts and theories of language attitude based on sociolinguistic viewpoints;

2. formulate and state ideas and opinions on the concepts and applications of language attitude in your own words;
3. mention and argumentatively criticize the concepts, theories and applicative uses of language attitude;
4. formulate ideas and opinions on relationships between language attitude, whether it is a local, national, and foreign language, and its implication in language teaching based on sociolinguistic points of view;
5. search and to collect data, information, and linguistic facts dealing with language attitude;
6. formulate definition and state the educational-practical implications of language attitude in language teaching, particularly to EFL teaching.

To achieve the learning objectives well, the presentation and explanation of learning materials, including the exercises of this module are given in three units, as well. Unit 1 is about language attitude in sociolinguistics. Then, in Unit 2 you are studying the attitude toward local, national, and foreign language. In Unit 3, the materials and discussion are about the implication of language attitude in EFL teaching and learning which leads you to have knowledge and scientific inspiration. Please keep in mind that the general objective of Module 3 is to lead you understand and have relevant ideas on the nature and phenomena of language attitude and its implication in language teaching, particularly on EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia.

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, individual reading comprehension and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are highly suggested to do in order that you understand this module well.

1. Please read and seriously learn the materials and explanation in each unit!
2. Then, read also the related references and information by means of independent learning and reading!
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have academic discussion in groups or in pairs!
4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, you need to read the materials again or you may have comparative discussion with your partners.

Do exercises well and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided to you!

UNIT 1

Language Attitude in Sociolinguistics

Welcome to Unit 1 of Module 3 which mainly deals with language attitude in sociolinguistics. It has been already known that all human languages have interrelationships with socio-cultural features of the speech communities. People speak and use language in such a way that ethnic and local features involve in the forms and uses of language as an instrument of communication. Languages and/or specific codes are not used without particular “ways” conventionally followed by the (native) speakers in natural life. In addition, the socio-cultural properties of language uses are also followed by psychological factors, such as attitude. In the context of language teaching, let’s say EFL teaching, the learners have particular attitude toward the learnt language and need to know the formal forms and communicative uses of English in the classroom interactions. In broader scopes, language attitude is also necessary in language policy and planning. It is simply stated that sociolinguistics studies also the language attitude as one of central issues.

Language, both as medium and subject of study, is more than a system of sounds, meaning units, and syntax, more than simply a tool for getting meaning across. More than anything else, language is social behavior, and it is upon this fact that sociolinguistics is predicated. Language uses and teaching are, by its very nature, concerned with understanding and interpreting cultural meaning, the connection between language teaching and sociolinguistics would seem to be both natural and inevitable (Wolfson, 1989:1). In this sense, it is highly believed that the discussion on language attitude related to sociolinguistic studies is academically helpful, then.

For learners and researchers, the discussion on language attitude in sociolinguistics is not only necessary in language practices, but it is also needed to do further studies on developing theories and researches of sociolinguistics. As learners, you will know and understand the theories, concepts, and practical applications of language attitude in EFL teaching. In addition, the information and socio-cultural features and psychological factors, such as language attitude, should be informed to EFL learners in order that they know the social-psychological factors involved in language. The discussion on language attitude in sociolinguistics is also relevant to

build and strengthen the knowledge and science on macro-linguistics. Essential and various ideas dealing with language attitude related to sociolinguistics are meaningful both in theoretical and practical purposes of researches in sociolinguistics and language learning. These are all, of course, relatively needed to relate the studies on Sociolinguistics with other relevant fields of studies. In Unit 1, however, the focus of discussion and exercises are mainly limited on the concepts and ideas on language attitude in sociolinguistics.

A. THE SOCIAL VIEW OF LANGUAGE IN MODERN LINGUISTICS.

It has been already known that sociolinguists who have worked with people from different cultural backgrounds are very aware of the amount of cultural baggage that we all carry around us. Linguists, especially sociolinguists, argue that all speakers of a language can talk each other and pretty much understand each other. Yet, no two speakers speak exactly alike; they speak differently as the results of the difference of age, sex, social situation, and where and when the language was learned. These differences are reflected in word choices (diction), the pronunciation of words, and grammatical rules used. Like individuals, different groups of people who speak the same language speak it differently (see Fromkin et.al. 2011:430). These are all the sociolinguistic realities which lead us to know that modern linguistics has also great interest on the social differences of language in real uses.

Stern (1994:123 – 124) mentions that in principle, linguistics is concerned with all languages and every aspect of language. The linguist makes no value judgments about languages. A 'local' vernacular which has few native speakers may be of no less interest to the investigations – it may even be more so – than a world language. Then, the linguists also recognize and accept without value judgment, the existence of language varieties, such as regional dialects and social dialects (sociolects). In this case, modern linguists see language based on social view point. Linguistics acknowledges the cases as the social fact that a certain dialect may be treated by society as a standard form, for example, standard British English, standard North American English) or disregard as prestigious by some members of a society.

The interest of the linguist can be focused, without condescension or condemnation, on non-prestigious as well as prestigious language varieties.

The social view of language in modern linguistics have been leading linguistics to macro-linguistics concerning with language and society; it is the sociolinguistics. In this connection, (Stern, 1994:124) it is worth noting that linguists in recent decades have become more and more interested in the language of people who, by a rigid conception of a standard language, do not talk properly: the language of small children and foreigners. The study of child language, for instance, has therefore a linguistic interest quite apart from its psychological interest as the development of speech in infancy. In the same way the 'mixed' languages of former European colonies, pidgins and creoles, such as in Jamaican Creole based on English or Haitian Creole based on French, have been studied with the same interest as can be studied standard French or English.

According Stern (1994:125) (and see also Wolfson, 1989), since about 1970, a language variety that has been examined as a language system with its own rules and characteristics is the variety that second language learners develop. Such studies are usually referred to as 'inter-language' studies or the study of 'learner languages' which have been becoming popular in sociolinguistics. Another relevant language variety that has lately also been examined is the language use which native speakers adopt when talking to babies and to foreigners: 'baby talk' and 'foreigner talk' are characterized by certain simplifications of language that may have universal features (Ferguson quoted by Stern, 1994). It is highly believed that the social view of language in modern linguistics gets interest in social variations involving in language. Different situations, interests, occupations, or social roles demand different uses of language. A number of concepts are employed in linguistics – especially in that branch of linguistics which relates the study of language to the study of society, sociolinguistics – to indicate these functional variations and choices within one language: style, register, domain, and code.

Quoted sociolinguists such as Joos, Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens, Stern (1994:125) argue ideas about style, register, code-switching and others which are common in social views of language. *Styles*, for instance, have been classified from 'high' to 'low' on five-point scale: frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate. *Register* refers to varieties of a language according to differences in uses demanded by specific *social situations*, such as advertising, church service, political journalism, shopping, or academic

discussion. Linguists have also observed that different topics, for example, nuclear physics, detective stories, or knitting, impose characteristic uses of language; accordingly attempts have been made to identify the language appropriate to different domains of fields of discourse. Accordingly, a native speaker is of course at home in various styles, registers, or domains. Collectively, the different varieties of language may be looked upon as different codes; in analogy to bilingualism it is reasonable to describe native speakers who master more than one such code as 'bicodal' or 'multicodal'. According to function and situation, the native speaker will intuitively engage in *code-switching*. The 'foreigner talk' or 'baby talk' that has just been mentioned can be regarded as a 'code' we use in the right circumstances.

The linguists' interest on language varieties in social uses has not only increased the researches on sociolinguistics as linguistic science, but it has been becoming new impression on applied linguistics such as in language teaching. Stern (1994:126), among the others, says that the recognition of relatively distinct linguistic varieties has brought about in language pedagogy many attempts to make a deliberate choice of a variety of language which is most relevant to particular groups of learners. The so-called LSP (language for special purposes: for example, English for Special/Specific Purposes, English for Science and Technology, English for Academic Purposes) is in part an application of this view of language varieties. It means that the social view of language has increasingly become field of studies in modern theories of macro-linguistics.

Since the early of 1970s, new approaches began to develop which, under various labels and with techniques of enquiry, attempted to relate the study of language to the external reality and to the language user's psychological situation. Such new fields of study were initiated from the mid-sixties included sociolinguistics, pragmatics, ethnomethodology, and the ethnography of speaking. All of these new fields connect the study of language with the speaker-hearer, the context, and the topic. For some linguists this wider view of language became linguistics in its new guise. They argued language cannot be studied any more in isolation from the user and the context. For others, this social orientation of language study constituted new sub-fields of the study of language somewhere between linguistics and anthropology and sociology which can best be treated under the headings of sociolinguistics or pragmatics (see Stern, 1994:147).

We may see now that social view of language has treated language as a part of social phenomena which develops by the speakers in line with their socio-cultural development. Such view point gives significant contribution to the theories of modern linguistics and to language teaching. Indirectly, the studies of language in social contexts bring about particular issues concerning with language attitude. The language attitude is the psychological phenomena which relate to social contexts of language uses. In accordance with this, we can simply state that the social view of language may have something to do with the concepts of language attitude and language teaching.

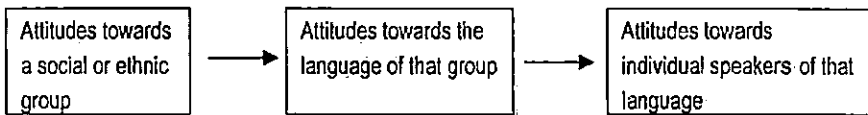
B. LANGUAGE ATTITUDE: A BRIEF REVIEW

Further analyses on social function of language lead us to seriously see the ideas argued by Giles et al., as quoted by Appel and Muysken (1988:11). According to him, language is not only an instrument for the communication of messages. This becomes especially clear in multilingual communities where various groups have their own language: e.g. the Flemish in Belgium, the Gujeraties in India, or Malay in Indonesia. With its language a group distinguishes itself. The cultural norms and values of group are transmitted by its language. Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language, and members of the out-group are excluded from its internal transactions. Therefore, it is a common assumption in sociolinguistics – an assumption which is validated by many personal observations and research data – that languages carry social meanings or social connotation. If a language has social meaning, people will evaluate it in relation to the social status of its users, including speakers' attitude toward the given language(s).

Appel and Muysken (1988:12) also say that everything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group's identity. Although there are no fixed criteria, a group is considered to be an ethnic group with a specific ethnic identity when it is sufficiently distinct from other groups. This idea refers to the phenomena of natural relationship between language and ethnicity which have highly attracted linguists' attention recently. A lot of researches have been conducted so far to explore and describe how language and ethnicity have particular relationships. The phenomena of language and ethnicity bring about group identity and language attitude possessed by the members of a speech community.

Related to language attitudes, let's seriously see the ideas argued by Appel and Muysken (1988). They state that the fact that languages are not only objective, socially neutral instruments for conveying meaning, but are linked up with the identities of the social or ethnic groups has consequences for the social evaluation of, and the attitudes towards languages. We may say briefly that if there is a strong relation between language and identity, this relation should find its expression in the attitudes of individuals towards these languages and their users. This is one of basic ideas which constitute the issue of language attitude which have been becoming interesting topics of studies in sociolinguistics.

Appel and Muysken (1988:16) explain that the underlying assumption is that in a society social (or ethnic) groups have certain attitudes towards each other, relating to their differing social positions. These attitudes affect attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterizing these groups such as language, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the groups. This chain can be represented in the following figure.



Appel and Muysken (1988), based on Fasol's, also mention that there are two theoretical approaches that can be used to study the language attitude. The first one is *the behaviourist view*, according to which attitude must be studied by observing the responses to certain languages, i.e. to their use in actual interactions. The second one is *the mentalist view* which considers attitudes as an internal, mental state, which gives rise to certain forms of behaviour. It can be described as 'an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response'.

Nearly all researchers in the field of language attitudes adhere to this latter view, although it poses serious research problems because internal, mental states cannot be directly observed, but have to be inferred from behaviour or from self-reported data which are often of questionable validity. In the mentalist approach, the following two methods are most commonly used for investigating language attitudes. The first one is called *the matched-guise technique*. It was developed in Canada by Lambert and his associates in

the late 1950s and early 60s. In the basic set-up of a matched guise (*mg*) experiment, tape-recordings are made of a number of perfectly bilingual speakers reading the same passage of prose in both of their languages. The order of the recorded fragments is randomized, i.e. first speaker A in English, then speaker B in French, speaker C in English, speaker A in French, speaker D in French, etc. (see Appel and Muysken, 1988:16).

Subjects whose language attitudes are being studied listen to these recordings under the impression that each speaker has been recorded once. The subjects (or judges) evaluate and rate the personality characteristics of the speakers, mostly on so-called semantic differential scale. These scales have opposite extremes of certain traits at either end, and a number of blank spaces in between: the points of the scale. Examples of frequently used traits are: intelligent/dull; friendly/unfriendly; successfully/unsuccessfully; kind/cruel; aggressive/timid; trustworthy/un-reliable. The subjects will not recognize two fragments as being read by the same speaker, and differences in reactions to the two fragments will reveal underlying language attitudes (Appel and Muysken, 1988:17).

Based on several previous related studies, Appel and Muysken (1988: 17 – 18) mention that the second technique is that of the questionnaire, containing various types of questions on language and language use. Questions may be open or close. Questionnaires with closed questions may also employ the semantic differential items, or multiple-choice items. As it has been stated above, most researches on language attitudes follow the mentalist perspective. A central problem in this field is that mental states have to be inferred from a certain kind of behavior. Language-attitude studies have become a central part of sociolinguistics and the results of language-attitude studies contribute to our understanding of the relation between language and identity. In studies of the language attitudes of children, it was found that at the age of 10 they generally do not yet have the cultural stereotypes prevailing among adults, and that above 10 they seem to acquire these stereotypes and begin to exhibit negative evaluations of speakers of a minority language.

The general explanation for the results of language-attitude studies rests on the assumption that languages (or linguistic varieties) are objectively comparable, grammatically and logically, but that the differences in subjective evaluation of speech fragments is caused by the differences in social positions of ethno-linguistic groups. Although speakers of non-prestige

languages generally receive lower ratings in attitude studies than speakers of prestige languages, a distinction must be made between the ratings on different personality traits, especially when the rating is done by members of the non-prestige social groups themselves. Commonly, members of non-prestige social groups or linguistic minorities seem acutely aware of the fact that certain languages, i.e. non-prestige languages or minority languages do not have a function in gaining upward social mobility (see Appel and Muysken, 1988:20).

Language attitude, in fact, is the phenomena of psychological condition given by speakers to their own language or to other languages which are partially based on behaviourist and/or mentalist properties. Such psychological sense and judgment deal with socio-cultural condition in which the languages are used. The attitude toward languages can be addressed to any language or varieties of languages that may lead someone have scales of judgment. Good or positive attitudes addressed toward a language may bring the language to have "high prestige" in a speech community, and vice versa. Therefore, the studies on language attitudes are necessarily and needed in the programs of language policy and language planning, including in the academic programs of language teaching. The motivation to have and to decide national and international language(s) can be derived from the studies of language attitude, then.

To end this part, it is on the right way to pay attention to McGroarty's which is based on Gardner's and Lambert's (see McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:5). According to her, much early work in the study of language attitude traces both basic conceptualization and form of measurement to the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972), psychologists interested in the language attitudes of Anglophone and French. Gardner has continued this line of inquiry and built it into a comprehensive model of second language acquisition in school settings, and his definitions continue to influence current work. In this frame of reference, *attitude* has cognitive, affective, and connotative components (i.e., it involves beliefs, emotional reactions, and behavioural tendencies related to the object of the attitude) and consists, in broad terms, of an underlying psychological predisposition to act or evaluate behaviour in a certain way. Attitude is thus linked to a person's values and beliefs and promotes or discourages the choices made in all realms of activity, whether academic or informal. In this framework, *motivation* refers to the combination of desire and effort made to achieve a

goal; it links the individual's rationale for any activity such as language learning with the range of behaviours and degree of effort employed in achieving goals.

In addition to motivation, attitude toward languages closely relates to language ideology and awareness, as well. Kristiansen (in Wodak et.al. (eds.), 2011:265) states that general overview of sociolinguistics as a discipline normally group attitudes and ideology with the application (language planning, politics, education, etc.), or with the types of topics (language contact, choice, multilingualism, etc.) that characterize the sociology of language. As we have already known so far, the sociology of language (macro-sociolinguistics) studies the social contexts of language in relation to socio-cultural features of the speech community. In this case, language attitude, as the phenomena of speakers' psychological judgements, relate to social properties, as well. Thus, it is reasonable to say that the studies and discussion on language attitude have been recently becoming the challenging issues in sociolinguistics.

C. THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDE IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

It is necessary for us to know that the intrinsic relationship of language and culture is widely recognized and the ways in which the patterning of communicative behavior and that of other cultural systems interrelate are of interest both to the development of general theories of communication and to the description and analysis of communication within specific speech communities. Although there is some controversy regarding the extent to which language shapes and controls the thinking of its speakers or merely reflects their world view, there is little doubt that there is a correlation between at least the vocabulary of a language and the beliefs, values, and needs present in the culture of its native speakers (Saville-Troike in McKay and Horberger (eds.), 1996:360). The ideas are mostly derived from linguistic relativity theory and Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which are common in Sociolinguistics and Anthropological Linguistics.

The studies of language attitudes have been conducted by researchers by applying particular methods and techniques which were suitable with the topics and problems had. In addition to those mentioned in previous part, the *mg-study* (*matched-guise technique*) was replicated in many different language contact situation. For example, Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yeni-

Komshian (1965) investigated the attitudes of Arab-Israeli and Jewish-Israeli adolescents toward Hebrew and Arabic. The judges turned out to rate the representatives of their own group more favorably than the representatives of the other group. For instance, both the Arab and the Jewish listeners judged their own language group as more reliable, better looking, friendlier, and the like. In an *mg*-experiment on the language attitudes of black South African students towards English and Afrikaans (Vorster and Proctor, 1976) highly significant differences were found between the English and the Afrikaans guises. The English guises were expected to be much better looking, to have a higher-status job, to be more likeable, more sociable and kinder. Vorster and Proctor assume that the English stereotype is of a 'nice' person, whereas there are some indications that the Afrikaans stereotype is of a 'physically strong' person (see Appel and Muysken, 1988:18).

The others, Carranza and Ryan (1975) (see also Appel and Muysken, 1988) did precisely the method in their study of the language attitudes of Chicano and Anglo adolescents in Chicago. The Chicano students had learned Spanish at home, and the Anglo students in high school foreign-language classes. Both groups had to rate the personalities of 16 speakers on a tape. Four speakers used English in a home context, four Spanish in a home context, four English in a school context, and four Spanish in a school context. The researchers did not use the matched-guise technique. Each speaker was recorded in his mother tongue, which made the passages as close to standard or 'normal' as possible. In general, the study informs that English was rated higher than Spanish. But Spanish was more favorably judged in the home context than in the school context. Contrary to the expectations of the researchers, there were no differences between the two groups of students in this respect. According to Carranza and Ryan these results show that listeners take the appropriateness of the language variety for a particular situation into account in their judgments, but this conclusion seems only to be partially supported by the findings of the study.

Appel and Muyske (1988) mention also another similar research done by Bentahila (1983) in a completely different context. In the research, Bentahila studied the attitudes among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. Three languages were involved: Classical Arabic, Moroccan-Arabic (the 'standard' vernacular in Morocco), and French (a compulsory subject in primary schools, and used in many scientific, commercial, and technical contexts). From the answers to a questionnaire Bentahila concluded that classical Arabic was judged as the richest and most beautiful of the three languages,

and French was considered the most modern and useful for studies. Bentahila furthermore conducted a matched-guise experiment in which three speakers participated: two of them spoke 'High Moroccan French' (which is very close to that of a native French speaker) and one was French with a strong Moroccan accent in addition to Arabic. The first two were rated much higher than the third one in their French guises (in comparison with their Moroccan-Arabic guises) on traits related to status of education. French pronounced with a heavy Moroccan accent did not rate significantly differently from Moroccan-Arabic, i.e., accented French was not strongly associated with prestige and sophistication.

A research carried out by Giles et al. in 1979 (see in Appel and Muysken, 1988:19) about language attitude in Canada and Wales. In the study, two hypotheses were constructed: the inherent value hypothesis (one variety is better or more beautiful than the other) and the imposed norm hypothesis (one variety is considered to be better or more beautiful because it is spoken by the group with most prestige or status). Giles and his colleagues found support for the second hypothesis: a dialect which was judged negatively by speakers for the community where it was used, in the case French Canadian in Canada, did not receive low rating from non-users in Wales. Commenting the result of research, Edwards (1982) says, 'we are on a fairly safe footing if we consider that evaluations of language varieties – dialects and accents – do not reflect either linguistic or aesthetic quality per se, but rather are expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties.

Researches and specific studies dealing with language attitudes can be addressed to particular languages and their varieties, including sub-divisions of any codes used in certain groups of people. It is common that the attitudes toward languages and any forms of codes used as verbal communication tools can be observed and explored by means of particular methods and techniques. The judgements expressed by speakers as the reflection of their attitudes toward certain language(s) and/or code(s) may be also addressed to language teaching, language planning, language policy, and their specific specifications (see further McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996). The data, information, and findings of the researches are useful for the theoretical ideas and practical application on many aspects of sociolinguistics. It is sure that the studies on language attitudes in sociolinguistics may give meaningful data and information for the values and uses of language phenomena in socio-cultural contexts and uses.

Based on relevant references recently, we may state that the modern theories of sociolinguistics have been increasing in many aspects of social contexts of language naturally used in certain speech communities. The studies on language attitudes in the frames of sociolinguistics are commonly related to the psychological and normative aspects possessed by individual speakers which may collectively accumulated in groups of people in the speech community. The researches need the understanding of psychological features and humanistic properties of groups of people toward their own language and/or to other languages. In many forms of the researches, sociolinguists were in serious attempts to see the speakers' perspectives on particular languages, and then they drew the conclusions and figure out the practical-operational applications of the research findings. As it has been already mentioned above, the research findings and conclusions about language attitudes are highly useful in the programs of language policy, language planning, and language teaching-learning, including other socio-cultural policies which use language as the main medium.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

What are the ideas of social view of language in modern linguistic theories?

Exercise 2

Why do you think that the ideas of social view toward language can be assigned as the basis for the birth of sociolinguistics?

Exercise 3

What are the reasons to say that the social view of language is essential to the development of modern linguistic theories?

Exercise 4

In modern linguistics, it seems that the studies of macro-linguistics, such as sociolinguistics, have been becoming attractive topics of discussion and research problems. Why are they so?

Exercise 5

The basic ideas and concepts of language attitudes are derived from psychological condition of speakers which are related to social features of speakers. How do you support this statement?

Exercise 6

How can you relate the concept of language attitude to sociology of language or macro-sociolinguistics?

Exercise 7

How do you argue that language attitude have relationship with language ideology and motivation of language learning?

Exercise 8

Why do you think that the discussion on language attitudes is not the case of absolute scales, but it is just a kind of tendency which shows the psychological judgements on language status and social position?

Exercise 9

The research problems related to language attitudes commonly involve the theories of psychology and psycholinguistics. Why are they so?

Exercise 10

What are the examples of research problems dealing with language attitudes?

Exercise 11

Why do you think that the results of researches on language attitudes are useful for language teaching and learning?

Exercise 12

What are the relations of language attitudes to language policy and language planning?

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

At least, there are three ideas of social view of language in modern linguistic theories, namely: (i) language is social phenomena; (ii) language functions as a communication tool if all forms and grammatical features relate to socio-

cultural rules used in a particular speech community; and (iii) language develops and changes alongside socio-cultural changes of speakers.

Exercise 2

The birth of sociolinguistics was originally backed to the awareness of linguists to the facts that language is not only forms and “rigid” grammatical rules. Linguists began realizing that language forms and grammatical rules do not have communicative senses and they cannot communicatively function in social life without relating to socio-cultural features conventionally possessed by members of a speech community.

Exercise 3

The social view of language is essential to the development of modern linguistic theories, because:

- 1) traditional linguistic theories which were more oriented on formal features of language in the micro-linguistic scope have been criticized by modern linguists, especially by sociolinguists. In fact, language forms and grammatical rules cannot communicatively function without socio-cultural contexts;
- 2) the serious attention and scientific exploration towards the social features influencing the language uses have proved that linguistics need one more field, namely sociolinguistics;
- 3) the socio-cultural views towards language have been challenging linguists to study such phenomena so that the social view of language becomes essential to the development of modern linguistic theories.

Exercise 4

Yes, it seems that the studies of macro-linguistics, such as sociolinguistics, have been becoming attractive topics of discussion and research problems. The facts are, at least, caused by:

1. the topic areas are broader and much more interesting and challenging;
2. language is humanistic phenomena, so that language can be seen from many sides of human life;
3. macro-linguistics lead linguists to enlarge and develop language analyses into socio-cultural properties of human beings.

Exercise 5

The language attitudes are not the conditions or scales indicating pure social properties in language, but they are derived from personal-cognitive and internal mood of speakers. That is why language attitudes can be said as socio-psychological features of speakers.

Exercise 6

Actually, the concepts and ideas of language attitudes belong to psychological matters. However, all speakers cannot avoid the socio-cultural factors in using language in real life. Consequently, the concepts of language attitudes in sociolinguistics are the reflection of speakers' internal-mental conditions on certain languages and the social status of language in a speech community.

Exercise 7

Language attitudes, in fact, are the phenomena of psychological condition given by speakers to their own language or to other languages which are partially based on behaviourist and/or mentalist properties. Such psychological sense and judgement deal with socio-cultural condition in which the languages are used. In accordance with this, language attitudes relate to ideology and motivation of language learning, as well. Positive/high attitude towards a language may lead people to have certain ideology and motivation to learn the language.

Exercise 8

The discussion on language attitudes is not the case of absolute scales, because they are all the tendency of emotional matters; they cannot be converted into mathematical or absolute numbers.

Exercise 9

The research problems related to language attitudes commonly involve the theories of psychology and psycholinguistics because they are not merely the socio-cultural properties of language but the psychological and psycholinguistic ones.

Exercise 10

The examples of research problems dealing with language attitudes are:

1. What are the academic consequences of positive attitudes toward English to the EFL learning at Senior High Schools in Padang?
2. What do EFL teachers do to persuade learners in order to have positive attitudes towards English?
3. How do EFL teachers persuade the learners to have positive attitudes toward English?

Exercise 11

The results of researches on language attitudes are useful for the success of language teaching and learning, because the data and information gained can be used to determine the relevant programs and preparing learning materials. Accordingly, the language programs and learning materials for students having negative attitudes towards a learnt language will be different from those who have positive attitudes.

Exercise 12

The relations of language attitudes to language policy and language planning are:

- 1) Language policy determines and influences language attitudes;
- 2) Language planning and language policy can be governmentally decided based on information and data of speakers' attitudes towards particular languages;
- 3) The language attitudes can be assigned as one of political foundations to have language policy and language planning in one country.



SUMMARY

The social view of language in modern linguistics have been leading linguistics to macro-linguistics concerning with language and society; it is the sociolinguistics. It is highly believed that the social view of language in modern linguistics gets interest in social variations involving in language. Different situations, interests, occupations, or social roles demand different uses of language. A number of concepts are employed in linguistics – especially in that branch of linguistics which relates the study of language to the study of society, sociolinguistics – to indicate these functional variations and choices within one language: style, register, domain, and code. *Styles* have been classified from 'high' to

'low' on five-point scale: frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate. *Register* refers to varieties of a language according to differences in uses demanded by specific *social situations*, such as advertising, church service, political journalism, shopping, or academic discussion. A native speaker is of course at home in various styles, registers, or domains. Collectively, the different varieties of language may be looked upon as different codes; in analogy to bilingualism it is reasonable to describe native speakers who master more than one such code as 'bicodal' or 'multicodal'.

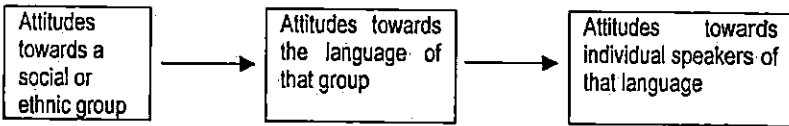
The linguists' interest on language varieties in social uses has not only increased the researches on sociolinguistics as linguistic science, but it has been becoming new impression on applied linguistics such as in language teaching. Since the early of 1970s, new approaches began to develop which, under various labels and with techniques of enquiry, attempted to relate the study of language to the external reality and to the language user's psychological situation. Such new fields of study were initiated from the mid-sixties included sociolinguistics, pragmatics, ethnomethodology, and the ethnography of speaking. All of these new fields connect the study of language with the speaker-hearer, the context, and the topic. For some linguists this wider view of language became linguistics in its new guise. They argued language cannot be studied any more in isolation from the user and the context. For others, this social orientation of language study constituted new sub-fields of the study of language somewhere between linguistics and anthropology and sociology which can best be treated under the headings of sociolinguistics or pragmatics.

Language is not only an instrument for the communication of messages. This becomes especially clear in multilingual communities where various groups have their own language: e.g. the Flemish in Belgium, the Gujeraties in India, or Malay in Indonesia. With its language a group distinguishes itself. The cultural norms and values of group are transmitted by its language. Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language, and members of the out-group are excluded from its internal transactions. Therefore, it is a common assumption in sociolinguistics – an assumption which is validated by many personal observations and research data – that languages carry social meanings or social connotation. If a language has social meaning, people will evaluate it in relation to the social status of its users, including speakers' attitude toward the given language(s).

Everything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group's identity. Although there are no fixed criteria, a group is considered to be an ethnic group with a specific ethnic identity when it is

sufficiently distinct from other groups. This idea refers to the phenomena of natural relationship between language and ethnicity which have 'highly attracted linguists' attention recently. A lot of researches have been conducted so far to explore and describe how language and ethnicity have particular relationships. The phenomena of language and ethnicity bring about group identity and language attitude possessed by the members of a speech community. Languages are not only objective, socially neutral instruments for conveying meaning, but are linked up with the identities of the social or ethnic groups has consequences for the social evaluation of, and the attitudes towards languages. We may say briefly that if there is a strong relation between language and identity, this relation should find its expression in the attitudes of individuals towards these languages and their users. This is one of basic ideas which constitute the issue of language attitude which have been becoming interesting topics of studies in sociolinguistics.

The underlying assumption is that in a society social (or ethnic) groups have certain attitudes towards each other, relating to their differing social positions. These attitudes affect attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterizing these groups such as language, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the groups. This chain can be represented in the following figure.



The studies of language attitudes have been conducted by researchers by applying particular methods and techniques which were suitable with the topics and problems had. Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yeni-Komshian (1965) investigated the attitudes of Arab-Israeli and Jewish-Israeli adolescents toward Hebrew and Arabic. Carranza and Ryan (1975) did precisely the method in their study of the language attitudes of Chicano and Anglo adolescents in Chicago. Another similar research was done by Bentahila (1983) in a completely different context. In the research, Bentahila studied the attitudes among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. Three languages were involved: Classical Arabic, Moroccan-Arabic (the 'standard' vernacular in Morocco), and French (a compulsory subject in primary schools, and used in many scientific, commercial, and technical contexts). A research carried out by Giles et al. in 1979 was about language attitude in Canada and Wales.

Researches and specific studies dealing with language attitudes can be addressed to particular languages and their varieties, including subdivisions of any codes used in certain groups of people. It is common that the attitudes toward languages and any forms of codes used as verbal communication tools can be observed and explored by means of particular methods and techniques.



FORMATIVE TEST 1 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) Why do you think that more linguists tend to study the language phenomena based on the social view in modern linguistics?
- 2) The social view of language, sociolinguistics, may lead linguists to seriously study the phenomena of language attitudes. Why do you think so?
- 3) What are the basic ideas of language attitudes?
- 4) How do the studies on language attitudes give meaningful contributions to language policy and language planning?
- 5) Why do you think that the studies on language attitudes mostly use the psychological scales and judgments?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.

Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Attitude toward Local, National, and Foreign Language

The “general views” on language attitudes in sociolinguistics have just discussed in unit 1. In this unit, we are coming to more specific topics dealing with language attitudes, the attitude toward local, national, and foreign language. This topic is also central in Sociolinguistics, especially in the topic of language attitudes. The term *attitude*, in fact, is not linguistics’, but it belongs to psychology or pedagogy. In the development of modern theories of sociolinguistics, the social view toward language has been coming to the socio-psychological properties of language which are the bases for the studies of language attitudes. The speakers’ attitudes toward languages may be referred to the first language (L1), the second language (L2), and foreign language (FL). The first language(s) can be assigned as mother tongues or local languages (especially in multilingual societies). In accordance with this, it can be said that the topics concerning with attitude toward local, national, and foreign language based on sociolinguistic perspectives are essential to know.

In real life, speakers and people in given speech communities naturally have psychological senses and personal perceptions toward such languages, including to their L1. As it has been known so far, language cannot be separated from humans, society, and culture. Since language is also humanistic phenomena, it has close relations to psychological and personal properties of the speakers. In daily life, we can easily see that people tend to use and speak in language(s) or code(s) they prefer to. Those are of course influenced by the socio-cultural factors and psychological senses of the speakers. Those facts are interesting and challenging for sociolinguists both in micro and macro-scopes of sociolinguistics. Thus, the main aim of learning this unit is that you know and understand the ideas, theories, and the practical uses of language attitudes toward local, national, and foreign languages. In this unit, however, the focus of discussion is more theoretical foundations rather than practical ones. To have systematic explanation and discussion, this unit is divided into three parts, namely: (i) *attitude toward local language*; (ii) *attitude toward national language*; and (iii) *attitude*

toward foreign language. These three sub-topics are expected informing you the ideas, theories, and the application of attitudes toward local, national, and foreign languages.

As it has been already known, sociolinguistics is the study of linguistic, social, and cultural factors in human communication (see Wolfson, 1989:1). The scope of sociolinguistic studies implies that language relates to society and culture in the language is naturally used. Based on this, sociolinguistics investigates how a language functions and used by its speakers as the main instrument of communication. Within the ideas, however, language has also relationships with psychological and humanistic judgement by which the speakers select and use certain languages or codes. The discussion leads us know the phenomena of language attitudes which may involve in the uses of language in societies. Therefore, it is on the right ideas now to discuss the phenomena of language attitudes among people in natural life.

Recent references on sociolinguistics tell us that the discussion and researches dealing with language attitude have been becoming more popular in sociolinguistics. It can be understood that the scientific studies on language does not only focus on grammatical rules and prescriptive uses, but they have to be addressed to communicative functions and attitudes toward languages. By the ways, language should be understood as series of grammatical-functional rules and psychological perspectives so that it can socio-culturally function as a medium of communication. Thus, as the students of sociolinguistics, we need to see further how a language functionally works in such a way that it is also influenced by non-linguistic factors as relatively appear in communication events. Now, please come to the following parts and understand the ideas well!

A. ATTITUDE TOWARD LOCAL LANGUAGE

The attitudes toward local language have something to do with language and ethnicity because attitude and ethnicity are naturally derived from socio-psychological factors in speech communities. Appel and Muysken (1988:12), among the others, mention that everything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group's identity. Although there are no fixed criteria, a group is considered to be an ethnic group with a specific ethnic identity when it is sufficiently distinct from other groups. For instance, sailors certainly constitute a group, but they would not qualify as an ethnic

group. The group of Spanish-speaking people living in the USA and coming from Mexico (often called Chicanos) on the other hand, definitely constitutes an ethnic group. They have their own native language, and such a group is therefore often called an 'ethno-linguistic group'. Based on the conventional ideas of language and ethnicity, the speakers' attitudes toward their native language relatively grow up.

Many scholars have tried to define the concept of ethnicity. According to Fishman (1977) (see Appel and Muysken, 1988:12), we must take three dimensions into account when we think of ethnicity. The most important dimension is termed *paternity*: ethnicity is in part, but not its core, experienced as an inherited constellation acquired from one's parents as they acquired it from theirs, and so on back further and further, *ad infinitum*. In this way ethnicity is liked up with a feeling of continuity. The second dimension is that of *patrimony*, i.e., the legacy of collectivity – defining behaviors and views: pedagogic patterns, music, clothes, sexual behavior, and special occupations etc., which are somehow inherited from earlier generations. Then, *phenomenology* is the third dimension, and it refers to the meaning people attach to their paternity (their descent as members of a collectivity) and to their (ethnic) legacy. Phenomenology has to do with the subjective attitudes of people toward their membership of a potential ethnic group.

In various studies on the relation between language and ethnicity which lead to language attitudes, researchers demonstrated many interesting phenomena. Mercer et. al. (1979), for instance, studied a group of bilingual Gujarati and English-speaking students in Leicester. The students were either themselves immigrants or the first generation offspring of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent or East Africa. With respect to identity, Mercer et.al could distinguish three groups: those who identified themselves as Indian, those who identified themselves as British, and those with a 'mixed' British – Indian identity, favouring a synthesis of British and Indian elements. Members of the Indian identity group were most positively oriented towards the use and maintenance of Gujarati, they also emphasized most strongly the function of Gujarati for maintaining links with their Indian homeland and cultural heritage. Those choosing a British identity showed the least positive attitude toward Gujarati, and 'mixed' group also in this respect had an in-between attitude (see Appel and Muysken, 1988:13).

Based on the studies of language attitudes, speakers of English were in general assigned higher ratings than speakers of Spanish, but the difference was smaller for solidarity scale than for status scales. A striking example of this differential attitude can be found in work done on Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in Peru, where it was found that the rating for Quechua (compared to Spanish) were higher on social or affective criteria like ugly/pretty, weak/strong, and kind/unkind, while Spanish received higher ratings on traits like low class/high class and educated/uneducated. Members of non-prestige social groups or linguistic minorities seem acutely aware of the fact that certain languages, i.e., non-prestige language or minority languages do not have a function in gaining upward social mobility. Spanish in America, French in Canada, Moroccan-Arabic in Morocco, or Quechua in Peru therefore are not associated with academic schooling, economic success, etc. That speakers of minority languages exhibit a negative attitude towards their own language in many respects, does not imply that they do not attach any importance to it. The language may be highly valued for social, subjective reasons, especially by speakers from the younger generation in migration contexts or generally by people who feel a certain pride in minority culture. This form of *language loyalty* reflects the close relations between the language and the social identity of ethno-linguistic groups. Nevertheless there is not a one-to-one relation between identity and language. A distinct social, cultural, or ethnic identity does not always have a distinct language as counterpart, while groups with distinct languages may have largely overlapping identities. Furthermore, identities and languages are not monolithic wholes but are clearly differentiated, heterogeneous, and variable (Appel and Muysken, 1988:20).

The results of sociolinguistic researches dealing with language attitudes to local or native languages tell us that the attitudes toward local languages are related to language identity, ethnicity, and language loyalty. Generally, positive and high/better attitudes may be address to ethnicity, local, and high-prestige languages or varieties. High-prestige and ethnic languages have the highest scales of attitudes compared with the others. In this case, the attitudes toward local languages are more natural and conventional rather than the attitudes toward national and foreign languages. The naturalness of language attitudes for local and native languages is highly supported by socio-cultural factors possessed by the L1. We may state on this occasion that native speakers relatively have high and positive attitudes toward their local languages or mother tongues.

According to Holmes (2013:410 - 411), in addition to socio-cultural factors, attitudes to language are also strongly influenced by social and political factors. Language varieties have indexing properties which all members of the community are aware of. Language planners must take account of attitudes when they select a suitable language for development as an official or national language. Attitudes to pidgins and creoles, for instance, present major impediments to their promotion and acceptance as official languages, or for use in schools. In many 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 or defacement of English road signs illustrate the strength of people's feelings about the place of English in Wales. It is also the facts that language attitudes are very sensitive to social and political changes. In this case, the changes or language attitudes depend on the social and political changes in a nation or in a certain speech community. Then, language attitudes can have a great influence in areas of education. In accordance with this, the teaching-learning processes of bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia have been relatively successful as this language is the national language and one identity of Indonesian.

In a country or nation where local languages are culturally and governmentally maintained, the attitudes toward the local languages are high and positive. Moreover, if the local languages have socio-cultural prestige and the native speakers have high loyalty, the attitudes toward the languages are supposedly higher. In other side, the attitudes toward local languages may decrease and even become lesser and least if the socio-cultural prestige and political issues become lesser and lesser. Even though the attitudes toward local and first language are more natural and conventional, the scales of positive attitudes may come to negative ones if the socio-cultural prestige and political status change into the negative positions. The language loyalty of native speakers and political supports are essential to have positive attitudes toward local languages.

B. ATTITUDE TOWARD NATIONAL LANGUAGE

In addition to language classification as L1, L2, and FL, the languages can be also classified based on the wider communication function. The classifications are standard language, regional language, national language, official language, modern language, and classical language. In simple way,

we can say that a foreign language is subjectively 'a language which is not my L1', or objectively 'a language which has no legal status within the national boundaries. If it is so, what is a national language? According to Holmes (2013:102), in sociolinguistics, the distinction between a national language and an official language is generally made along the effective-referential dimensions, or more precisely in this context, the ideological-instrumental dimension. A national language is the language of a political, cultural, and social unit. It is generally developed and used as a symbol of national unity. Its functions are to identify the nation and unite its people. In accordance with this, a national language has political-national power as a medium of communication inter-ethnic and local languages. We may also state in this point that a national language has high prestige and legal-formal status used as national communication in a nation or in a national-state country. Bahasa Indonesia, for instance, is a national language in Indonesia.

An official language, on the other hand, 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 (Holmes, 2013:103). People in Indonesia are lucky that they have bahasa Indonesia which functions as both national and official language. As a national language, bahasa Indonesia play important role to unite people in multilingual societies which originally speak in more than 700 local languages. As an official language, we know that bahasa Indonesia is formally and legally used for governmental affairs and for educational language. It has been already proved so far that bahasa Indonesia has been becoming one of many other national identities.

Not surprisingly, (see Holmes, 2013:103), governments do not always recognize the distinctions made by sociolinguists. They use the terms 'official' and 'national' to suit their political ends, as the Paraguayan case; it is the case of Guarani and Spanish. The Paraguayan situation changed again in 1992, when Guarani was granted official status alongside Spanish. So Paraguay now has two official languages and one national language, Guarani. The same pattern is found in multilingual Tanzania with one national language, Swahili, but two official languages, Swahili and English. Similarly, in Vanuatu, the national language is Bislama, a Pacific creole, and it is also an official language alongside French and English, the languages of the previous colonial administrators. It is also the facts that many countries make no distinction between a national language and an official language. In

countries which regard themselves as monolingual nations, the same language serves both purposes. In multilingual societies, in other side, all kinds of permutations have been used in order to satisfy both political and social goals on the one hand, and more practical and utilitarian needs on the other.

Based on the results of sociolinguistic studies on language status in many nations, Holmes (2013:103) adds that in multilingual countries, such as in Indonesia, Tanzania, India, etc., 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 establishes nation, for instance, as in the case of Swahili in Tanzania, Hebrew in Israel, Malay in Malaysia, bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia. Where this national language cannot serve all the internal and external functions of governmental business, however, it has been necessary to identify one or more official languages as well. So, French is an official language in many countries, such as the Ivory Coast and Chad, where France was previously a colonial power, and Arabic is an official language in Israel alongside Hebrew.

In multilingual countries, according to Holmes (2013:107), the significance of political power in the choice of national language is particularly clear. There over one hundred languages spoken in the Philippines. When they gained independence in 1946, Filipino was declared as the national language. Linguistically, it was so closely based on Tagalog, however, the ethnic language of one particular group, that it has never been unanimously accepted. Tagalog has around twelve million native speakers, but Cebuana, for example, has over ten million speakers, and Ilocano, another indigenous language, over five million speakers. The choice of Tagalog reflected the political and economic power of its speakers who were concentrated in the area which included the capital, Manila. Its rebelling as Filipino was an attempt to help it gain acceptance more widely, but resentment at the advantages it gives to a particular ethnic group is still keenly felt. In Indonesia, by contrast, the government did not select the language of the political and social elite, the Javanese, as the national language. Instead, they developed and standardized a variety of Malay which was widely used in Indonesia as a trade language. Since Javanese has a complex linguistically marked politeness system based on assessments of relative spread of bahasa Indonesia owes a great deal to the fact that is a very useful neutral linguistic choice in many situations.

Now, let's see the examples of language attitudes toward national languages. In Indonesia, language attitudes toward bahasa Indonesia as the national language is relatively high and positive. Most people originally speak in more than 700 local languages highly appreciate and accept bahasa Indonesia as their national language and as one of national identities. Bahasa Indonesia has powerful status and political properties as the national and official language. Government affairs and educational-scientific transformation regularly operated in bahasa Indonesia. The government, linguists, and teachers mostly accept that bahasa Indonesia is in high status for the medium of communication. Such important factors support bahasa Indonesia to have high prestige and significant roles as the main instrument of verbal communication. Therefore, it is not strange that people's language attitudes to bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia is relatively high and positive. Even in recent years, there is a tendency that bahasa Indonesia has been becoming hegemony language among local languages.

As mentioned by Holmes (2013:109), the role of Swahili in unifying the people of Tanzania to work for independence guaranteed it prestige and positive attitude. The charisma of Nyerere (one of primary leaders in Tanzania) himself carried over to the language he used extensively in his speeches and his political writings. He used it in domain where formerly English had been used exclusively – he translated Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice* into Swahili – and this too increased its status. People have often seen the success of Swahili as the national language in Tanzania as due to its 'neutral' status – it is not identified with a particular tribe. But its widespread acceptance was also due to the fact that Tanzania developed a strong loyalty towards the language which united them in working toward *uhuru* (lexically 'freedom').

Holmes (2013:110) also states that the story of the acceptance of Swahili as the national language of Tanzania is therefore an interesting one. Swahili serves as a lingua franca in a country with hundreds of different tribal vernaculars. It provides an economical solution to the problem to which language to use for local administration and primary education. It provides a culturally acceptable symbol of unity. Linguistic diversity can seem problematic to those working for political unification. It is potentially divisive. Swahili has provided a very convenient compromise in Tanzania. But finally, it is important to remember that the story of how Swahili became the national language of Tanzania might be told rather differently by a group whose tribal vernacular was a competing lingua franca.

We may say that the positive and high attitudes toward national language given by people in many countries depend on linguistic and non-linguistic factors. The simple-unification of grammatical elements, and elegant-moderate uses and communicative functions of the language are the important linguistic factors which make a national language have high prestige and status. The political, emotional, and socio-cultural factors are the components of increasing the national language can be accepted by people in a country as the national language; the language may have high prestige and status. Those properties and factors possessed by a language lead people to have high-positive attitudes toward the national language.

C. ATTITUDE TOWARDS FOREIGN LANGUAGE

A foreign language (FL) is simply a language which is learnt and mastered after someone has had and used L1 and L2 (see Stern, 1994). Attitudes toward (a) foreign language(s), as they are given by speakers of L1 and L2, depend on linguistic and non-linguistic factors, as well. Political supports and high socio-cultural prestige of a foreign language are the main factors which make people have high-positive attitudes toward language. Therefore, the social-psychological judgements on the foreign language determine the degree (scales) of attitudes toward the language. In general viewpoint, the attitudes toward foreign language depend on complex social-psychological factors; in nature.

According to Stern (1994:237), an important aspect of the complex sociology of speech communities is the intellectual and emotional response of the members of the society to the languages and varieties in their social environment. It is part of the native speaker's communicative competence to be able to distinguish his first language and from other languages and to identify different language varieties. Different languages and language varieties are not only identified but they are often associated with deep-rooted emotional responses in which thoughts, feelings, stereotypes and prejudices about people, social, ethnic and religious groupings, and political entities are strongly associated with different languages or varieties of language. Feelings about languages can run high, and if languages or varieties of language become an issue of language policy or educational policy they can lead to language conflicts.

Then, social attitudes towards languages and speech communities, including one's own, and the language perceptions of members of speech communities have been studied by social psychologists for several decades (see Stern, 1994). The work which explored cultural and language stereotypes is a continuation of studies on prejudice and personality which in the forties had culminated in the *Authoritarian Personality*. In accordance with language attitudes towards foreign languages, in the seventies another group of social psychologists at the university of Bristol round Giles expanded this research on language prejudice. All these studies have documented that individuals have strong feelings about their own language or language variety and relate it cognitively and affectively to other languages or other language varieties. For example, d'Anglejan and Tucker (1974) (in Stern, 1994:237) investigated the reactions of French Canadian students, teachers, and workers from three regions of Quebec to the French speech variations in Quebec. This group of subjects perceived weaknesses in the Quebec speech forms compared to what they regarded as more desirable form of European French. While this study reflects the peculiar situation of French in Canada, and certain attitudes of French native speakers to their own judgements about ways of speaking form part of the language situation in any speech community.

Schumann (in Stern, 1994:237) has developed a theory, the 'acculturation' model, to explain the differences in social perceptions between groups and individuals who are prepared to learn a second language (and/or foreign language), and those who are unwilling or unable to do so. According Schumann, it all depends on how the groups view each other and their languages. Thus, higher status group will tend not to learn the languages of lower status groups. For example, during the days of British Empire, Britons in India or Africa did not intend to learn the languages of India and Africa. In other words, the pattern of social dominance is likely to influence the willingness to learn a second language. A minority language group which views itself as subordinate group tends to adopt one of three integration strategies. If it gives up its own life style and values, as some immigrant groups do, the group is likely to learn the language well ('assimilation'). If it rejects the culture of the dominant group, language learning is unlikely to occur ('rejection'). If the group takes a positive view of its own culture and an equally positive view of the target group, second language acquisition is likely to vary ('adaptation'). In a study among Francophone university

students, learning English in Quebec, major predictors of proficiency were the degree of contact with the Anglophone community and the students' perceived threat to the group identity or fear of assimilation.

In addition to political supports, socio-cultural prestige, language status, and educational goals closely relate to attitudes towards a foreign language. If a foreign language has high political status, the language may have high prestige. English, as a foreign language in Indonesia, has high status as an international language and it is also the language for education in the world. Thus, (the standard) English has higher overt and covert prestige compared to other foreign languages. In this case, most people in Indonesia may have positive attitude toward English, especially to the standard variety. In many countries, people have high and positive attitudes towards English as a foreign language. Standard English has a legacy of overt prestige which make it has high prestige seen from many aspects. Moreover, English is also the educational language in modern era.

As in many languages, the variety of a foreign language which is assigned as the standard one is regarded by people as a prestigious one; it has high prestige. In this module, we see EFL in Indonesia as the example. Among many other foreign languages, Standard English is a high prestigious language to which people have positive attitudes. As it has been mentioned above, Holmes (2013:416) explains that standard English has an enormous legacy of overt prestige. It has been regarded as a symbol of British nationhood. 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 eighteenth century was that English was 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.

Furthermore, Holmes (2013) mentions that while there is general agreement on the inferior status of vernacular dialects (whatever their covert value as solidarity markers), many people are surprised to find that standard accents of English are so highly regarded by those who don't use them. This is clearly illustrated by reactions to receptive pronunciation (RP) in England. 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 weak, more independent, adventurous and more feminine than non-RP speakers. This, incidentally, provides another good reason for the fact that women tend to use more prestige forms than men. Women are more positively evaluated by others when they use such forms. In New Zealand, recordings of women with 'broad' New Zealand accents were evaluated very negatively.

Even outside Britain (see Holmes, 2013), RP is still an overtly admired model in many countries where English is used, such as Singapore and New Zealand. While attitudes towards local varieties vary, RP often has a guaranteed place among acceptable prestige forms. The robustness of such attitudes is remarkable. School inspectors visiting New Zealand from Britain in the 1880s 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. The school inspectors' reports became correspondingly less admiring and more critical. 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 New Zealand teenagers in the 1980s and 1990s rated RP more highly than any New Zealand accent (though interestingly, 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 again, the social basis of these attitudes is very clear. Though there are many notable exceptions, including Prime Ministers David Lange, Helen Clark and John Key, it is still the case for most New Zealanders 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. It should be said that there have always been a few New Zealanders 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 accents generally score more highly on characteristics such as friendliness and sense of humor, and other dimensions which measure solidarity or social attractiveness (Holmes, 2013).

We may say that the attitudes towards foreign language(s) depend on the degree of prestige and status of the language. If a foreign language has international label and high political status in a country – as the first, the second or foreign language – the attitudes towards the language is positive. In this case, if the status of a foreign language is as a second language, the attitudes towards the language are higher or more positive than as a foreign language. Actually, English is a foreign language in Indonesia, but the attitudes towards the foreign language is positive. This condition is relatively caused by the case that English is an international language. Thus, the attitudes towards foreign languages are determined by language policy and other socio-cultural factors involved in the language.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

Why do you think that most local languages have native speakers with positive attitudes toward the languages in multilingual speech communities?

Exercise 2

The attitudes toward local languages are more natural and conventional rather than the attitudes toward L2 or FL. Why do you think so?

Exercise 3

How do you prove that attitudes toward local languages depend on ethnicity and history?

Exercise 4

Why do you think that the scales of language attitudes toward local languages can be lower if there is language hegemony of national or foreign languages?

Exercise 5

In many aspects, a national language is closely similar to an official language. How can you differentiate between a national language and an official language, then?

Exercise 6

The attitudes toward national languages can be positive, moderate, or negative. What are the linguistic factors making a national language high prestige, so that people have positive attitudes toward the language?

Exercise 7

The political-governmental and historical factors play important roles to select and to decide a national language in a national state. Why do you think so?

Exercise 8

Why do you think that Bahasa Indonesia has successfully functioned as the national language in Indonesia so far?

Exercise 9

Why do you think that people's attitudes towards English as a foreign language in many countries are relatively positive?

Exercise 10

What are the factors promoting a foreign language has high prestige in a particular country so that people have positive attitudes towards the language?

Exercise 11

The attitudes towards a foreign language may have something to do with language learning and development of technology in the world. Why are they so?

Exercise 12

The language attitudes towards foreign languages cannot be separated from linguistic and non-linguistic factors. What does this statement mean?

Key to Exercises

Exercise 1

Because, most native speakers of local languages in multilingual societies have historical, heritage, and socio-cultural intimacy with their mother tongue.

Exercise 2

Because, the attitudes toward local languages naturally grow up and maintain alongside the socio-cultural development of the native speakers in which the local language is originally used.

Exercise 3

Let's see Javanese and Minangkabaunese for instance! Most native speakers of these local languages have high and positive attitudes. They have local and lingual identity on their mother tongue. Such high-positive attitudes are naturally caused by other related socio-cultural factors. Among the others, ethnicity and historical background of society support the attitude towards the local languages.

Exercise 4

The hegemony of a national and/or foreign language (international language) may reduce the uses and scales of prestige on local languages. That is why the scales of language attitudes towards local languages can gradually decrease. For example, the uses and prestige of minority local languages in Indonesia have been becoming lower recently as the result of hegemony of Bahasa Indonesia and English.

Exercise 5

A national language is the language of a political, cultural, and social unit. It is generally developed and used as a symbol of national unity. Its functions are to identify the nation and unite its people. In accordance with this, a national language has political-national power as a medium of communication inter-ethnic and local languages. A national language has high prestige and legal-formal status used as national communication in a nation or in a national-state country. Bahasa Indonesia, for instance, is a national language in Indonesia. An official language, on the other hand, 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. People in Indonesia are lucky that they have bahasa Indonesia which functions as both national and official language.

Exercise 6

The linguistic factors making a national language has high prestige and people have positive attitudes towards the national language are:

- 1) It was previously a lingua franca or at least a language which is derived from a lingua franca in the region;
- 2) It has metropolitan vocabulary, simple-standardized grammar, and “neutral” diglossia in uses;
- 3) It is relatively supported and accepted by most speech community.

Exercise 7

Because, the government decisions have political power to unite different speech communities and historical background of the language has meaningful and powerful “strength” to support the national declarations.

Exercise 8

Because, Bahasa Indonesia has relatively had the following properties:

- 1) It was previously a lingua franca or at least a language which is derived from a lingua franca in the region;
- 2) It has cosmopolitan vocabulary, simple-standardized grammar, and “neutral” diglossia in uses;
- 3) It is relatively supported and accepted by most speech community;
- 4) It has historical and genetic background which may unite the various speech communities in the country.

Exercise 9

People in many countries have positive attitudes toward English, although it is just a foreign language, because:

- 1) English is one of international languages;
- 2) English is a language which have been standardized in many linguistic aspects;
- 3) English has spread over all the world as the consequence of colonization and international trading;
- 4) English has political and economic power, particularly after 2nd war world.

Exercise 10

The factors which promote a foreign language has high prestige in a particular country are:

1. It is an international language;
2. It has standardized-neutral grammar and international educational uses;
3. It is a language used in technological information;
4. It has cosmopolitan vocabulary and receptive pronunciation;
5. It is broadly used in many aspects of human life.

Exercise 11

The attitudes toward a foreign language may have something to do with language learning and development of technology, because the success of language learning partly depends on the attitudes towards the learnt possessed by learners, parents, teachers, and government. In addition, the development of technology may increase the uses of an international language which lead people to have positive attitudes.

Exercise 12

The language attitudes towards foreign languages cannot be separated from linguistic and non-linguistic factors. It means that both linguistic and non-linguistic factors influence and work together to determine the scales of language attitudes of people.

**SUMMARY**

The attitudes toward local language have something to do with language and ethnicity because attitude and ethnicity are naturally derived from socio-psychological factors in speech communities. A group is considered to be an ethnic group with a specific ethnic identity when it is sufficiently distinct from other groups. Based on the conventional ideas of language and ethnicity, the speakers' attitudes toward their native language relatively grow up. Many scholars have tried to define the concept of ethnicity. We must take three dimensions into account when we think of ethnicity. The most important dimension is termed *paternity*: ethnicity is in part, but not its core, experienced as an inherited constellation acquired from one's parents as they acquired it from theirs, and so on back further and further, *ad infinitum*. In this way ethnicity is liked up with a feeling of continuity. The second dimension

is that of *patrimony*, i.e., the legacy of collectivity – defining behaviors and views: pedagogic patterns, music, clothes, sexual behavior, and special occupations etc., which are somehow inherited from earlier generations. Then, *phenomenology* is the third dimension, and it refers to the meaning people attach to their paternity (their descent as members of a collectivity) and to their (ethnic) legacy. Phenomenology has to do with the subjective attitudes of people toward their membership of a potential ethnic group.

The results of sociolinguistic researches dealing with language attitudes to local or native languages tell us that the attitudes toward local languages are related to language identity, ethnicity, and language loyalty. Generally, positive and high/better attitudes may be addressed to ethnicity, local, and high-prestige languages or varieties. High-prestige and ethnic languages have the highest scales of attitudes compared with the others. In this case, the attitudes toward local languages are more natural and conventional rather than the attitudes toward national and foreign languages. The naturalness of language attitudes for local and native languages is highly supported by socio-cultural factors possessed by the L1. We may state on this occasion that native speakers relatively have high and positive attitudes toward their local languages or mother tongues.

In addition to language classification as L1, L2, and FL, the languages can be also classified based on the wider communication function. The classifications are standard language, regional language, national language, official language, modern language, and classical language. In simple way, we can say that a foreign language is subjectively 'a language which is not my L1', or objectively 'a language which has no legal status within the national boundaries. A national language is the language of a political, cultural, and social unit. It is generally developed and used as a symbol of national unity. Its functions are to identify the nation and unite its people. An official language, on the other hand, 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. Not surprisingly, governments do not always recognize the distinctions made by sociolinguists. They use the terms 'official' and 'national' to suit their political ends, as the Paraguayan case; it is the case of Guarani and Spanish.

A foreign language (FL) is simply a language which is learnt and mastered after someone has had and used L1 and L2. Attitudes toward (a) foreign language(s), as they are given by speakers of L1 and L2, depend on linguistic and non-linguistic factors, as well. Political

supports and high socio-cultural prestige of a foreign language are the main factors which make people have high-positive attitudes toward language. Therefore, the social-psychological judgements on the foreign language determine the degree (scales) of attitudes toward the language. In general viewpoint, the attitudes toward foreign language depend on complex social-psychological factors, in nature.

We may say that the attitudes towards foreign language(s) depend on the degree of prestige and status of the language. If a foreign language has international label and high political status in a country – as the first, the second or foreign language – the attitudes towards the language is positive. In this case, if the status of a foreign language is as a second language, the attitudes towards the language are higher or more positive than as a foreign language. Actually, English is a foreign language in Indonesia, but the attitudes towards the foreign language is positive. This condition is relatively caused by the case that English is an international language. Thus, the attitudes towards foreign languages are determined by language policy and other socio-cultural factors involved in the language.



FORMATIVE TEST 2 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) Why do you think that most speakers have positive attitudes towards their local languages (L1)?
- 2) What are the main factors promoting a national language has positive attitudes among the people of multilingual societies in a country?
- 3) Why do you think that language loyalty and ethnic history have important roles to make people have positive attitudes towards a local language?
- 4) What makes Bahasa Indonesia has been becoming successful national language in Indonesia?
- 5) How can you define the concept of language attitudes?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

The Implication of Language Attitude in EFL Teaching

Dear students! This is unit 3 of Module 3. In this unit, we are learning the implication of language attitudes, as we have just learned in previous units, in EFL teaching. We have known that language teachers can be said to regard themselves as practical people and not as theorists (see Stern, 1994:23). Even some language teachers are not seriously aware of linguistic theories, but it should be understood that the linguistic theories can be simply placed as the thought underlying language teaching. Almost all of the results of linguistic studies are useful for the programs of language teaching and learning. Thus, the studies and results of researches on language attitudes are meaningful for the success of language teaching and learning, then. Based on the idea, it is necessary to understand and take the implication of language attitudes in EFL teaching, like in Indonesia.

In addition, it also useful for us to pay attention to Wolfson's comments related to sociolinguistics and language teaching in general view point. Wolfson (1989:53) states that from the point of view of language teaching in general and of TESOL in particular, the implications of what has been said are many-faceted. The ability of a second/foreign language learner to interact successfully in a foreign speech community depends on the extent of his or her communicative competence, of which rules of speaking are an important aspect. In addition, their success is also determined by the attitudes toward the language learnt, including the attitudes towards English as foreign language. The sociolinguistic-psychological properties are essential to know in order to plan and to program the EFL teaching and learning well. Language teaching-learning needs sociolinguistic information and data so that the materials presented in the classroom may build and develop learners' communicative competence and their success, as well.

In general viewpoint, the discussion on the implication of language attitude in EFL teaching may contribute to both teachers and learners as a part of foundation in programming EFL teaching and to increase the motivation of learners. In Unit 3, we are going to discuss the implication of language attitudes in EFL teaching. In this unit, the topics of discussion will

be around the theoretical information and possible practical uses of research results on language attitudes into EFL teaching, particularly in Indonesia settings. The topic areas discussed in this unit are still in theoretical view and followed by practical uses which are applicable in EFL teaching. It is certain that you have been already known, EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia have specific characteristics because most learners have had their local languages as the first language.

In order to have systematic presentation and discussion, this unit is divided into two sub-units, namely: (i) *Language Attitude and Language Teaching*; and (ii) *The Implication of Language Attitude in EFL Teaching*. The study of language in its social context refers to sociolinguistics. It does not mean, however, that the social contexts stand without any relation to other contexts. In the study of language attitudes, the social contexts are studied in psychological properties of speakers. In this part, our discussion will be more theoretical ideas which relate to sociolinguistics in language teaching. The discussion may help learners and teachers to know the social features of language which are closed to psychological properties. The information is necessary for EFL learners in Indonesia. In order to have better understanding and critical argumentation on certain topics of discussion, you are highly suggested to read other relevant references as noted in this module or you may find other relevant sources. Then, it is highly advisable to add your references and may find further relevant references in manual library or in electronic facilities. It is also expected that you seriously learn in details the information and examples which are relevant to this topic. It is also necessary to tell that you may go to the next module if you have had "good" passing grade in each exercise and/or test given to you in this module. Study seriously and good luck!

A. LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

It is essential to keep in mind that the study of language in its social context starts from the assumption that speech varies within a speech community. It is the business of linguistics to account for these and to study the rules of the variations as normal phenomena of language use (Stern, 1994:219). According to Labov (in Stern, 1994), a sociolinguistic variable is a linguistic feature which can be systematically related to some non-linguistic feature in the social context: the speaker, the addressee, the audience, or the

setting. Thus, some features of language involving in communication are in systematic relationships in some ways.

In relation to language teaching, psychological features and pedagogical items are highly involved. Language attitude can be simply seen as the psychological conditions of learners in learning a language. The information related to psychological condition of learners is relevant to be considered by teachers and other decision makers in order to suit programs and learning material with learners' psychological condition. This is helpful to build and increase learners' motivation in following teaching-learning activities. Teachers and learners may be in "equal situation" for many activities.

It is obvious that taking into account the many social and regional variations of language use makes the description of a language an even more complex task than if they are disregarded. The language teacher faces a similar problem when he asks himself whether to teach a language as it is spoken or whether he should confine his teaching to an idealized 'standard' variety. In the latter case the task is simplified but the student may find that no native speaker uses the language quite the way he was taught: the student is not sensitized to the differences among groups of speakers and to the social significance of these differences. Language in social context is closer to real life, but variations make the teaching-learning task more complex. The effect of this trend in sociolinguistics is a socially more differentiated description of linguistics: a phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicology in which the distinctions in the use of language by different groups in society and by individuals in different situation are not rubbed out (Stern, 1994:220).

The language attitudes toward the learnt language, say EFL, give partial effects to the language teaching, as well. According to Stern (1994:289), beside linguistic and social perspectives, language teaching theories are also developed based on the individual language learner and the processes of language learning; these are relevant to the perspective of psychology. Psychological ideas and psychological terms are pervasive in present-day thought, and it is therefore not surprising to find that language teaching theories and practices are permeated by psychological thinking which can be traced to various branches of psychology and to different schools thought.

Stern (1994:237) also argues that an important aspect of the complex sociology of speech communities is the intellectual and emotional response to the members of the society to the languages and varieties in their social environment. Actually, it is part of the native speakers' communicative

competence to be able to distinguish his first language from all other languages and to identify different language varieties. Different languages and language varieties are not only identified but they are often associated with deep-rooted emotional responses in which thoughts, feelings, stereotypes, and prejudices about people, social, ethnic and religious groupings, and political entities are strongly associated with different languages or varieties of a language. Feeling about languages can run high, and if languages or varieties of a language become an issue of language policy or educational policy they can lead to language conflict.

Many psychological aspects can be related to the theories and the application of language teaching in classroom activities. Among the others, language attitudes and motivation are often learned by researchers as the part of psychological factors of language learning and teaching. In this sense, language attitudes give theoretical and practical contributions to build learners' motivation in learning and teachers' programs in teaching a language. Those can be related to affective and personality factors of learners in learning a language. According to Stern (1994:375 – 377), a more systematic investigation of affective and personality factors in language learning has interested researchers since the early fifties. In more recent work of Gardner's, the analyses have been applied to the attitudes and motivations of English-speaking high school students learning French as a second language in Anglophone settings in Canada. Other prominent studies on attitudes to the language learning of children in schools have been made by the research team of the National Foundation for Educational Research in Britain. The main attitudes and motives investigated by the previous studies have been similar:

1. Attitudes towards the community and people who speak the target language, or 'group specific attitudes' – to use Gardner's term, for example:
 - I would like to go to France.
 - I would like to get to know some French people.
 - The French way of life seems crude when compared to ours.
2. Attitudes toward learning the language concerned, for example,
 - Learning French is a waste of time.
 - The more I get to know French people, the more I would like to learn their language.

3. Attitudes towards languages and learning in general, for example,
I would like to speak many languages.
I am not interested in learning foreign languages.

We can see that language attitudes toward language give certain items that can be academically considered in programming the language learning, including in EFL teaching.

The ideas of language attitudes which affect the language teaching and learning can be addressed also to the theories of psychology of learning. In accordance with this, Stern (1994:304) explains that the interest in learning phenomena largely arose from the wish on the part of psychologists to show that the new science had practical applications. The study of learning has obviously relevance to education, including of course in the language teaching and learning. This argument can be based on the sense that learning is also of importance to general and theoretical psychology, because the psychologists are particularly interested in the interplay of stability and change in man, and learning is commonly a general concept which refers to the modifications and adaptations of organism to their environment. Learning is much more broadly conceived in psychology than in common parlance. A part of psychology of learning is that how learners cognitively percept the language learnt which lead them to have language attitudes.

That language teaching and learning have particular relations to language attitudes is obvious. The phenomena can be seen from socio-cultural and psychological factors of language involving in language teaching. Thus, the information and facts concerning with language attitudes can be academically consumed for constructing the appropriate programs and teaching materials of language teaching. Stern (1994:277), related to language attitudes and language teaching, says that students frequently come to language learning with positive or negative attitudes towards the language learnt derived from the society in which they live, and these attitudes in turn influence their motivation to learn the L2 and/or FL.

In almost all of language teaching programs, positive attitudes about language and language learning may be as much the result of success as the cause. Furthermore, students with positive general attitudes may not be particularly successful if these attitudes are not linked with effective strategies that enable them to take advantage of instructional opportunities presented to them. In addition, students are affected by the attitudes and

examples of their peers, teachers, and parents, with respect to language study, and by social institutional language policies as reflected in, for example, required courses of language study, L1, L2, or FL, in schools. The status of language in a society, whether native or second/foreign language, further shapes the social climate for language study. Attitudes and motivation affect learners and teachers in ways that, though perhaps powerful, are often unconscious; thus it is difficult to identify their influence readily or unambiguously.

The attitudes towards language (L1, L2, and FL) relatively have significant influences to language teaching. In the programs of language learning, the attitudes do not only come from students, but also come from parents, society, language policy, and public attitudes. They are all necessary to decide the programs and learning materials at formal schools. Therefore, it can be argued that language attitudes have significant contributions to the programs of formal language teaching and learning. Learners' attitudes are not only the only factor influencing the success of language learning, but attitudes of parents and language policy also influence the success of language learning. McGroarty (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:26), in this point say that language policies, or the official and institutional practices related to language and language instruction, embody and shape attitudes towards language. They affect several aspects of language education, including decisions related to the time allotted for language instruction, to the language and language varieties chosen as models and media for instruction, to the choice of materials, and to teacher certification, to name just a few.

B. THE IMPLICATION OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDE IN EFL TEACHING

Linguistics and language teaching are not in opposition; they are actually in the same path in having better exploration and practical operations. It is necessary to see again what Stern (1994) says about linguistics and language teaching. According to him, as soon as we try to learn a language, we come up against the most fundamental questions about the nature of language. Linguistics constitutes the most systematic study of language at our disposal. It would be unreasonable for language teaching theory to disregard what linguistics has to say about language. The idea tells us that language teaching needs to know and apply what linguists say about language. Thus, it is a right

argument to state that the results of sociolinguistic studies dealing with language attitudes can be related to language teaching.

Then, Stern (1994:122) also says that linguistics is a theoretical science. It formulates explanations which are designed to account for the phenomena of language. Here is an obvious difference between a language teacher and a linguist. The language educator is concerned with the teaching of a particular language, for example, French, English, or Chinese, or some aspect of the language, for example, reading in English. The main concern of teachers is usually not language in general, although teaching a particular language offers good opportunities for making observations on the nature of language. In practical operations of language teaching, however, language teachers cannot avoid the principal ideas about language used by speakers in natural ways.

Educators, including language teachers, who want to gain a better grasp of the many influences of attitudes and motivation on language teaching need to understand the multiple and sometimes conflicting facets of these influences in order to see how they contribute to the processes and results of language instruction (McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:4). McGroarty adds that like sociolinguistic researches in general, studies of attitudes in educational settings have moved from studies of the effect of discrete linguistic features to consideration of larger units of discourse as the shape and reflect the actions, interactions, and reactions of participants, including teachers, students, and parents. In accordance with this, the implication of language attitudes in EFL teaching can be in the forms of providing information about language attitudes of learners, teachers, parents, and also language policy; language teaching should consider the attitudes towards EFL possessed by learners, teachers, and parents.

Learners of English as L2 and FL are in different situation compared with the speakers of English as L1. Their level of comprehension of the standard or any dialect is influenced by amount of exposure to the language. As learners increase in second language proficiency, typically but not always after ever-longer periods of residence in an environment in which the second/foreign language is widely used, they become more knowledgeable about and sensitive to dialectal and contextual variation in language. It is also important to know that the attitudes of parents reflect personal histories, including their responses to the wider cultural themes framing their own experiences (see McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996). It

seems that the scales of language attitudes of learners, parents, and teachers tell us how the attitudes towards language influence the programs and progress of EFL teaching. High and positive attitudes towards English possessed by learners, parents, and teachers become part of foundation for the success of EFL teaching.

Language policies in education also influence the attitudes toward English and EFL teaching. As the status of English as a foreign language in Indonesia, for instance, parents' and students' attitudes toward English is not as high or positive as their attitudes towards bahasa Indonesia or their local languages. In relation to this idea, language policies in education are not, however, merely manifestation of attitudes toward language or toward speakers of a particular language or language variety. The attitudes toward language and language instruction held by elite groups in a society are particularly influential in determining educational policies. American legislators, for instance, control the resources for education. The attitudes towards English, in America, determine the levels of language learning, maintenance, and retention; they all depend on general political preference, relative costs or perceived benefits of any language intervention, regional royalties, and salience of language issues to their home constituencies (McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996). The general political orientations, including the "assumptive worlds" of policymakers and the symbolic referents of a policy, must be considered in understanding approaches to language and language education.

Now, let's see the general implications of language attitudes in EFL teaching as we can summarize from McGroarty's as written in McKay and Hornberger (eds.) (1996). Information, data, and conclusion based on sociolinguistic researches dealing with language attitudes can be addressed to EFL teaching, as well. The followings are the main implications of language attitudes in EFL teaching.

1. *Promoting individual, classroom, and schoolwide motivation.* Motivation, which can be defined as a desire to learn plus a willingness to expend effort in doing so, affects mastery in many subjects, not only language, and in the field of educational psychology abounds in discussions of motivation. Though much early research on language attitudes and motivation was purely descriptive and does not warrant direct pedagogical application, the accumulating research findings do offer guidance. First, it is wise for teachers not to base their work on

priory assumptions about student interests, individual predilections, motivation, and background without making efforts to discover the many possible factors which shape motivation in the specific situation in which they work. The growing and more differentiated body of research on language learning motivation has revealed that there is no single model that accounts for all cases of language learning; consequently, there is no universal prescription for improving student and teacher attitudes or increasing student motivation. Acquisition of literacy skills in a native language remains a great focus of concern for educators virtually everywhere, and it is an area where student attitude and motivation play a very important though not always immediately obvious role. Weighing the importance of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation in acquisition of literacy and other complex symbol systems, the educational psychologist Csikszentmihalyi (1990) observes that both types of motivation are required to induce people to learn.

2. *Discovering the language relevant for instruction.* What forms of language and literacy are relevant in the lives of students and their parents? This question has multiple answers that depend on different instructional settings, and this is one of the main challenges to language educators: to discover what functions and forms of language and which language varieties matter in the communities in which they work, in terms of both present activities and future aspirations, providing detailed, accurate, and specific answers is one way to create a learning environment that enhances motivation. Many recent commentators offer educators useful guidelines for gathering information about the varieties and functions of language that figure in home, community, and school settings. Such information, often gathered by the students themselves, can become a resource in efforts to expand the understanding and active mastery of additional language varieties, and it can increase the language awareness of teachers as well as their students. Indeed, trained language teachers, even more than teachers of other subjects, can focus their professional knowledge of linguistics and current model of reciprocal language. Pedagogy on increasing the language awareness of everyone in their classrooms, including themselves, thereby expanding the recognition and control of the variety of pedagogical norms appropriate for their students.

The fact that multiple standards exist is a crucial insight for teachers and students of language, and it suggests that teaching materials and practices ought to make them explicit. Further, students developing bilingual capabilities will need to know about the norms governing oral and written models in each of their languages. Even if students aim for production abilities in one national standard, such as Canadian or Australian English, they may find it useful to recognize variants of pronunciation, grammar, lexicon, or discourse style characteristic of other standards. On a more abstract level, learning that the very notion of standards is a socially constructed one and that language users create and modify forms of language according to contexts of use can be a signal insight for students and teachers. Moreover, this approach allows them to connect the study and development of language with achievement of power and prestige in the social spheres in which they participate.

3. *Expanding opportunities to use multiple forms of language.* The intimate connection between language and social identity means that learners need the chance to build social identities which include the mastery of a socially effective range of the oral and literate behaviours. This is a great challenge to educational systems and to norms of classroom discourse, which often provide only an idealized (and reductionist) view of language forms worthy of emulation and restrict student participation in frequency and format to faint echoes of teacher's voice.

Studies of classroom discourse have repeatedly shown that language classrooms, whether second or native language settings, severely constrain the oral and literate range of language behaviours in which students are required or allowed to participate. In addition, investigations of instructional practices such as group work, first developed to expand participation opportunities, have shown that preexisting attitudes regarding status and capability influence participation in groups; students perceived to have low levels of relevant academic skills are often left out of group interactions, thus further limiting their access to knowledge. This research, considered in conjunction with the research on language-specific attitude and motivation considered in this chapter, suggests that, to improve both student attitude and motivation, teachers need to recognize a wide variety of language behaviours and to be able to distinguish dialectal variation, whether regional or social, from errors in

speech behavior. Teachers must also realize that their own and their students' preexisting attitudes towards language skills and literacy abilities will affect student participation, and they must find ways to recognize multiple abilities and use them as a springboard in developing better language and literacy skills. Teachers must create in their classrooms a range of participation opportunities so that students can experience a wide variety of language forms and functions, oral and literate, including those that will provide for success in the public arena in their societies.

Recent educational research conducted in and out of classrooms offers numerous specific suggestions for accomplishing these aims. Much recent work in native language literacy growth indicates that developing multiple opportunities for readers at different skill levels to interact around text in both reading and writing expands students' literacy capabilities. Optimal styles of interaction must be discovered for each classroom; here again, there is no foolproof recipe for conducting a class, but language teachers can draw on their awareness of discourse patterns to see how best to adapt classroom presentation and discussion techniques to their students.

4. *Influencing language policy.* At the local school or district level, individual teachers interested in promoting better language instruction can sometimes affect decisions through their participation in informal or formally designed committees charge with developing curriculum or making recommendations related to instructional practice, materials, or assessment. Effective participation in the policy process demands a proactive rather than reactive stance' teacher must contribute at the time of policy formulation and not wait until implementation or evaluation if they want to help determine pedagogical directions.

The ideas and argumentations presented above give information and facts that language attitudes pedagogically relate to language teaching, including in EFL teaching. In a country with multilingual societies in which English is a foreign language, the language attitudes towards English and towards national and local languages completely mix in individual speakers. The learners of course need to determine the priority of positive attitudes to

which they give to. In this case, language policy and governmental-formal instructions in having national decisions are really necessary. This is the responsibility of school-principals and teachers of language in formal or non-formal schools.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

What are the reasons to say that the language teaching needs data and information based on studies on language attitudes?

Exercise 2

How can you prove that language teaching and learning, whether it is as the first, the second, or a foreign language, should pay attention to learners' attitudes and language policy?

Exercise 3

What should the teachers of EFL in Indonesia do with the learners' attitudes and language policy in order to have successful language teaching programs?

Exercise 4

It is highly believed that the language attitudes are essential to construct the relevant programs and appropriate learning materials of language teaching. What should the learners and teachers do with the status of English as a foreign language?

Exercise 5

Why do you think that the EFL teaching and learning needs to accommodate the findings, data, and information of sociolinguistic researches dealing with language attitudes?

Exercise 6

What are the educational contributions of language attitudes to EFL teaching and learning, particularly in Indonesia?

Exercise 7

How do the findings of studies on language attitudes based on sociolinguistic viewpoints affect the success of EFL teaching programs?

Exercise 8

It is hard to build and to develop the EFL learners' communicative competence in a country with multilingual societies without involving the ideas and information related to learners' and parents' attitudes towards English. Why do you think so?

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

Because, the success of the programs of language teaching and learning partly depends on language attitudes possessed by learners, parents, and governments towards the language learnt.

Exercise 2

The teaching of Bahasa Indonesia or English in different areas in Indonesia, for instance, is not the same in all aspects. The facts are partially caused by the social and psychological conditions of learners with different language background and governmental policies. Therefore, the programs and operations of language teaching and learning should pay attention to learners' attitude and language policy.

Exercise 3

In order to have successful language teaching programs, the teachers of EFL in Indonesia need to persuade learners in order to have positive attitude towards English as an international language. In addition, the language policy stating that English as a foreign language can be re-argued so that English can be learned at elementary schools or at informal institutions to have a large amount of using English in academic settings.

Exercise 4

If it is possible, the status of English as a foreign language can be formally promoted as a second language. If the status cannot be promoted, the teachers are highly suggested to find and uses appropriate methods and techniques of teaching in classroom practices.

Exercise 5

The EFL teaching and learning needs to accommodate the findings, data, and information about language attitudes because the attitudes towards English have significant contributions to learners' and parents' motivation to learn English. Positive attitudes towards English will increase motivation in learning language.

Exercise 6

The educational contributions of language attitudes to EFL teaching and learning, particularly in Indonesia, are: (i) motivation to learn; (ii) strategies to understand the different grammatical features; (iii) group works and peer correction on assignments.

Exercise 7

The findings about language attitudes will be helpful in determining learning materials and increasing learning motivation.

Exercise 8

Because, it is highly believed that the learners' and parents' psychological condition is all essential to support learners' practical activities in classrooms.

**SUMMARY**

In relation to language teaching, psychological features and pedagogical items are highly involved. Language attitude can be simply seen as the psychological conditions of learners in learning a language. The information related to psychological condition of learners is relevant to be considered by teachers and other decision makers in order to suit programs and learning material with learners' psychological condition. This is helpful to build and increase learners' motivation in following teaching-learning activities. Teachers and learners may be in "equal situation" for many activities.

Language in social context is closer to real life, but variations make the teaching-learning task more complex. The effect of this trend in sociolinguistics is a socially more differentiated description of linguistics: a phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicology in which the distinctions in the use of language by different groups in society and

by individuals in different situation are not rubbed out. The language attitudes toward the learnt language, say EFL, give partial effects to the language teaching, as well. Beside linguistic and social perspectives, language teaching theories are also developed based on the individual language learner and the processes of language learning; these are relevant to the perspective of psychology. Psychological ideas and psychological terms are pervasive in present-day thought, and it is therefore not surprising to find that language teaching theories and practices are permeated by psychological thinking which can be traced to various branches of psychology and to different schools thought.

Many psychological aspects can be related to the theories and the application of language teaching in classroom activities. Among the others, language attitudes and motivation are often learned by researchers as the part of psychological factors of language learning and teaching. In this sense, language attitudes give theoretical and practical contributions to build learners' motivation in learning and teachers' programs in teaching a language. The ideas of language attitudes which affect the language teaching and learning can be addressed also to the theories of psychology of learning. The study of learning has obviously relevance to education, including of course in the language teaching and learning. This argument can be based on the sense that learning is also of importance to general and theoretical psychology, because the psychologists are particularly interested in the interplay of stability and change in man, and learning is commonly a general concept which refers to the modifications and adaptations of organism to their environment.

Educators, including language teachers, who want to gain a better grasp of the many influences of attitudes and motivation on language teaching need to understand the multiple and sometimes conflicting facets of these influences in order to see how they contribute to the processes and results of language instruction. It seems that the scales of language attitudes of learners, parents, and teachers tell us how the attitudes towards language influence the programs and progress of EFL teaching. High and positive attitudes towards English possessed by learners, parents, and teachers become part of foundation for the success of EFL teaching. Language policies in education also influence the attitudes toward English and EFL teaching.



FORMATIVE TEST 3

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the educational contributions of the studies on language attitudes towards the success of EFL teaching?
- 2) What are the practical implications of language attitudes toward the success of EFL in multilingual societies, like in Indonesia?
- 3) What should the EFL teachers do in classrooms in order that the students have high motivation to learn and to communicate in English well?
- 4) Why do you think that the language attitudes have essential implication in EFL teaching?
- 5) How do you believe that successful learners of EFL need to have positive attitudes towards English and high motivation to communicate in the foreign language?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next module.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) Because, more linguists in modern linguistics highly believed that language forms and grammatical features communicatively functions if they are related to social features of speech communities.
- 2) In this case, language attitudes influence and determine the language uses and language learning in real life.
- 3) The basic ideas of language attitudes are: (i) language attitude is psychological phenomena which have significant relation to language uses in society; (ii) language attitude determine and influence the language choice and language learning; (iii) language attitude may give different perceptions towards languages.
- 4) The studies on language attitudes give meaningful contributions to language policy and language planning by means of:
 - a. providing data and relevant information to government before deciding the items of language policy and practical operations of language planning;
 - b. giving inputs and suggestions to government and language teaching methodologists in national programs and curriculum of language teaching;
 - c. providing information and academic suggestion related to language attitudes to learners and parents in order that they have high motivation to learn one particular language.
- 5) Because, the matters of language attitudes are more qualitative properties rather than quantitative ones.

Formative Test 2

- 1) Because, most local languages have ethnic and historical properties in given speech communities.
- 2) The main factors facilitating and promoting a national language has positive attitudes are:
 - a. it was a lingua franca or derived from lingua franca in the region;
 - b. it has powerful political, ethnic, and historical identities;
 - c. it is proudly accepted by most people from various speech communities.

- 3) Because, language loyalty and ethnic history of a language are psychological and emotional powerful.
- 4) Bahasa Indonesia has some powerful characteristics, among the others are:
 - a. it was a lingua franca or derived from lingua franca in the region;
 - b. it has powerful political, ethnic, and historical identities;
 - c. it is proudly accepted by most people from various speech communities;
 - d. it has been in the processes of standardization in grammatical aspects;
 - e. it is spoken and used by hundreds million of people.
- 5) Language attitude is the psychological and emotional perceptions possessed by speakers towards language.

Formative Test 3

- 1) The educational contributions of the studies of language attitudes to EFL teaching are: (i) the data and information given by the studies may academically build and develop learners' motivation and participation; (ii) the learners of EFL will know that to learn English they have to have high motivation and positive attitudes towards the language; (iii) the learners and teacher will have shared responsibility in having EFL learning programs appropriately.
- 2) The practical effects of language attitudes studies towards the success of EFL in multilingual societies, like in Indonesia are: (i) the language attitude studies may come to detailed and accurate information about learners' and parents' attitudes towards English and language teaching may effectively make use of the detailed data and information; (ii) the operational works in collecting the data may lead linguists and practitioners in language teaching to inform real matters and conditions in certain speech communities, and language teaching may be informed such facts.
- 3) The EFL teachers should inform, introduce, bring, and persuade learners in order to have high motivation and positive attitudes towards English. In addition, such information should be involved appropriately in the learning materials based on relevant levels of students.

- 4) The language attitudes have essential implication in EFL teaching because the scales or judgements towards the language learnt may influence the motivation and willingness to study the foreign language.
- 5) It is highly believed that the successful learners of EFL need to have positive attitudes towards English and to have motivation speak and communicate in the language due to the following reasons:
 - a. positive attitudes towards English lead learners to have high motivation in learning and to communicate in the language;
 - b. positive attitudes may bring significant spirit and emotional eagerness to learn and to communicate in the language;
 - c. to communicate in English needs motivation and positive attitude towards the language learnt;
 - d. understanding and comprehension the language need psychological supports and emotional stability which can be derived from language attitudes, then.

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Language, Gender, Age, and Their Implication in EFL Teaching

Prof. Dr. Jufrizal, M. Hum.



INTRODUCTION

Dear students! Now we are coming to Module 4 talking about language, gender, age, and their implication in EFL teaching. This module is the continuation of the previous ones. It mainly deals with the phenomena of natural relationship between language, gender, and age and what their implications in EFL teaching are. In this module, the materials and discussion are more on the pedagogical application and implication of sociolinguistic theories to EFL teaching. Therefore, the theories of sociolinguistics are presented as the basis to see further their implication in language teaching, especially EFL teaching in Indonesia. In order to have systematic-academic contents concerning with this main topic, presentation and discussion of learning materials are divided into three units, namely: (i) language and gender; (ii) language and age; and (iii) their implication in EFL teaching. These units, of course, belong to the theories and findings on sociolinguistics in nature.

As a brief view point, the materials of learning discussed in Module 4 include the phenomena of language and gender based on sociolinguistic perspectives, the phenomena of language and age as the social facts, and what the pedagogical and academic implication of the discussion in EFL teaching and learning, particularly in Indonesia. The facts in real societies show that language variations and uses are naturally influenced by gender and age of speakers. Therefore, language forms and uses in daily life communication have to consider speakers' gender and age. In this case, it is necessary for the teachers and learners of EFL in Indonesia to pay attention to gender and age in communication, moreover with native speakers. The teacher of English should introduce how gender and age are involved in language systems and uses. Then, the learners have to know that gender and

age are the humanistic and social factors influence language uses and communicative practices in daily life. Accordingly, we are possible to formulate and to have specific ideas and argumentations derived from the theories that the sociolinguistic features may have meaningful implication to EFL teaching. The implications in EFL teaching and learning may be argued as the pedagogical and practical contributions of sociolinguistic theories to the concepts and application of language teaching.

After finishing this module, you are kindly expected to be able to:

1. mention and argumentatively criticize the theories of relationship between language and gender as a part sociolinguistic studies;
2. formulate and state ideas and opinions on relationship between language and gender by using your own words;
3. mention and argumentatively criticize the theories and phenomena of relationship between language and age;
4. formulate ideas and opinions on relationships between language and age based on sociolinguistic points of view;
5. search and to collect data, information, and linguistic facts dealing with relationship between language, gender, and age;
6. formulate definition and state the implication of the relationships between language, gender, and age in EFL teaching.

To achieve the learning objectives academically, the presentation and explanation of learning materials, including the exercises of this module are elaborated in three units, as well. Unit 1 is about language and gender which is highly aimed at achieving objectives 1 and 2. Unit 2 deals with language and age of the users which leads you to successfully come to objectives 3 and 4. Then, Unit 3 is talking about the implication of language, gender, age, in EFL teaching and learning which leads you to have knowledge and inspiration to full fill objectives 5 and 6. Please keep in your mind that the general objective of Module 4 is to serve you to be able to understand and have argumentations on the nature and phenomena of relationships between language, gender, and age, and their implication in language teaching, particularly on EFL teaching and learning.

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, reading activities and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are kindly suggested to do in order that you learn this module successfully.

1. Please read and learn the materials and explanation in each unit carefully!
2. Then, read also the related references and information by means of independent learning and reading!
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have academic discussion in groups or in pairs!
4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, please read the materials again or you may have comparative discussion with your partners.
5. Do exercises well and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided!

All right students, it is believe that you do your best in learning this module.

UNIT 1

Language and Gender

Welcome to Unit 1 of Module 4 which mainly deals with the nature and phenomena of the relationships between language and gender. As you have already known, Sociolinguistics belongs to macro-linguistics, the study of language phenomena in relations with other related phenomena outside of language. There are many non-linguistic features and properties which are naturally involved in language as a complex system of human communication. Gender is one of humanistic-social features which contribute to languages over the world. Thus, the studies on the phenomena of language and gender may have something to do with language teaching and learning, including in EFL teaching and learning.

For learners and researchers, particularly those who are the beginners, the discussion on language and gender are useful to have further researches in various speech communities. In other side, for teachers and learners of language, including teachers and learners of EFL, the discussion on language and gender are possibly helpful to have teaching and learning programs which are suitable with language as communication tool. Different societies and speech communities may have linguistic features and language uses related to gender. Therefore, the learners of language should have knowledge concerning with language and gender in order that they are able to communicate well. Various information about the relationship between language and gender in real speech communities are meaningful both in theoretical and practical purposes. These are all, of course, relatively needed to relate the studies on Sociolinguistics with other relevant fields of studies, such as with language teaching and learning. In Unit 1, however, we only focus on the discussion and exercises concerning with how language and gender naturally relate each other.

A. LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL PHENOMENA

Language, in nature, is social phenomena; human languages cannot be separated from other social variables. Human beings speak particular languages as they are naturally used in their speech community. As it has been mentioned in module 1, the term speech community (see Hudson,

2001:24) is widely used by sociolinguists to refer to a community based on language. In this simple idea, community may refer to group of people who live together in one area and have social agreements as their shared socio-cultural identities. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that languages belong to societies although the languages are spoken by individual speakers. It implies that a language is “inside” a society; language and society are in closed interrelationship, in fact.

Before we closely come to the discussion on the relationship between language and gender, it is helpful to see again the concepts of speech community as a way to understand language as social phenomena. According to Hudson (2001:24), the study of speech communities has therefore interested linguists for some time, at least since L. Bloomfield wrote a chapter on speech community in his book *Language* (1933: chapter 3). Although in some cases the definitions of speech community are still “questioned”, the term speech community is ‘central’ in Sociolinguistics, especially in the discussion of relationship between language and society. The understanding on the concepts of speech community leads us to know more how language naturally exists as social phenomena.

Lyons (1970), as quoted by Hudson (2001:24), states that the speech community is all the people who use a given language (or dialect). Based on this simple definition, speech communities may overlap (where there are bilingual individuals) and need not have any social or cultural unity. Thus, it is possible to delimit speech communities in this sense only to the extent that it is possible to delimit languages and dialects without referring to the community that speaks them. Hudson (2001) adds that a more complex definition is given by Hockett (1958). According to Hockett (1958): “each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language”. In this definition, the criterion of communication within the community is added, so that if two communities both spoke the same language but had no contact with each other at all, they would count as different speech communities.

In the studies of sociolinguistics, there are some other definitions of speech community. Those definitions may be formulated by the sociolinguists based on different viewpoints. On this occasion, let’s see one more definition proposed by Gumperz (1968) in order to have further idea on speech community (more definitions can be seen in Hudson, 2001). Gumperz

wrote: “the speech community; any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use”. This definition does not require that there should be just one language per speech community. The effect of putting emphasis on communication and interaction, as in this definition, is that different speech communities will tend not to overlap much, in contrast with the earlier definitions where overlap automatically results from bilingualism (see Hudson, 2001:25).

The definitions of speech community above reflect that there are systematic relationships between language and society, language as social phenomena. Related to our focus in this unit, let's see further the inter-relationship between language and society showing that language as social phenomena. Wardhaugh (2010:9 – 10), among the others, states that we must acknowledge that a language is essentially a set of items, what Hudson (1996) calls ‘linguistic items’, such entities as sounds, words, grammatical structures, and so on. It is these items, their status, and their arrangements that language theorists such as Chomsky concern themselves with. On the other hand, social theorists, particularly sociolinguists, attempt to understand how societies are structured and how people manage to live together. To do so, they use such concepts as ‘identity’, ‘power’, ‘class’, ‘status’, ‘solidarity’, ‘accommodation’, ‘face’, ‘gender’, ‘politeness’, etc. In relation with these, the sociolinguists seriously learn the relationship of these sociological terms with language. Thus, it is highly believed that language has close relationship with society. It tells us the concept of language as social phenomena.

The relationships between language and society implying that language is a social phenomenon have been becoming a main topic of discussion in sociolinguistic studies. Wardhaugh (2010:10 – 12) argues that there are several possible relationships between language and society. One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behavior. The evidence for this relationship is that the *age-grading* phenomenon whereby young children speak differently from older children and, in turn, children speak differently from mature adults; studies which show that the varieties of language that speakers use reflect such matters as their regional, social, or ethnic origin and possibly even their gender; and other studies which show that particular ways of speaking, choices of words, and even rules for conversing are in fact highly determined by certain social requirements.

A second possible relationship is directly opposed to the first; linguistic structure and/or behavior may either influence or determine social structure. This is the view that is behind the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the claims of Bernstein, and many of those who argue that languages rather than speakers of these languages can be 'sexist'. Then, a third possible relationship is that the influence is bi-directional; language and society may influence each other. One variant of this approach is that this influence is dialectical in nature, a Marxist view put forward by Dittmar (1976) who argues that 'speech behavior and social behavior are in a state of constant interaction'. It is becoming more reasonable to say that language is a social phenomenon.

Furthermore, a fourth possibility is to assume that there is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of the other. A variant of this possibility would be to say that, although there might be some such relationship, present attempts to characterize it are essentially premature, given what we know about both language and society. In accordance with the possible relationships between language and society may lead us to have basic understanding that language and society cannot be sharply separated since they are in systematic and natural interrelationship. This is important to support the idea that Sociolinguistics concerns with the relationships of language to society in various viewpoints. We may highly argue that language is a social phenomenon.

In order to have better understanding and further exploration on the relationships between language and society reflecting language as social phenomena, it is essential to pay attention and do the following exercises. Please answer and/or give responses to the following items of exercises argumentatively. It is highly expected that your answers and/or response are described in your own words and supported by relevant examples. The answers/responses given may be in different ideas, argumentations, and examples, but the key to answers given in this module can be consulted, then. After that, you may come and learn the next sub-topic as in B.

B. LANGUAGE, SEX, AND GENDER

Sociolinguistic researches on gender and sex started in the early 1970s. Specifically, two domains of language behavior were investigated at that time:

speech behavior of men and women on the phonological level, and the interaction behavior (conversational styles) between women and men in discourse. Studies of gender-specific variation are often contradictory, depending on the author's implicit assumptions about sex and gender, the methodology, the samples used, etc. Thus, it is alright to see Eckert's and McConnell-Ginet's statements saying that women's language has been said to reflect their (our) conservatism, prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurture, emotional expressivity, connectedness, sensitivity to others, solidarity. And men's language is heard as evincing their toughness, lack of affect, competitiveness, independence, competence, hierarchy, control (see Wodak and Benke in Coulmas (ed.), 1997). On this point, the studies and discussion concerning with language, sex, and gender are relatively becoming more popular in recent years.

Then, how do language, sex, and gender relate and influence each other? It is believed that they are naturally related each other. Accordingly, it is necessary to see particular relationships between language, sex, and gender. Related to this topic, let's see what Wardhaugh (2010) explains about the three variables frequently discussed in sociolinguistics. According to him, a major topic in sociolinguistics is the connection between the structures, vocabularies, and ways of using particular languages and the social roles of the men and women who speak these languages. Do the men and the women who speak a particular language use it in different ways? More closely, may it be possible to describe a particular language as "sexist" or should we reserve such a description for those who use the language?

Referring to the specific questions concerning with language, sex, and gender may become challenging and interesting topics of studies in modern sociolinguistics. Before we come to more specific issues in the relationship among language, sex, and gender, it is necessary to have a close look at the relationship and difference between sex and gender. Wardhaugh (2010:333) states that he had used the term "*language and sex*" before he used "*language and gender*" in his recent book. He argues that the term "*language and sex*", not "*language and gender*" was previously preferred since the term gender was a technical term in linguistics and many of the issues dealt with in the chapter focused on claims about "sexism". However, the current vogue is to use *gender* rather than *sex* as the cover word for the various topics discussed. Therefore, the term *gender* is preferred rather than *sex* in the discussion of men's and women's language.

In general viewpoint, sex and gender can be assigned as the same; they simply refer to man and woman, or to male and female, or masculine and femininity. That is why most people think that sex and gender are not different. Scientific and technical understanding on sex and gender, however, tell us that they are not really same. Wardhaugh (2010) in this case mentions that technically sex is to a very large extent biologically determined whereas gender is a social construct involving the whole gamut of genetic, psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females. Therefore, we can say that sex is more on biological dichotomy or differences, while gender is socio-cultural and psychological ones.

Let's see further the differences between sex and gender as they are used in scientific areas or in sociolinguistics. Following British sociologist Giddens's, Wodak and Benke (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:128 – 129) mention that *sex* is defined as biological or anatomical differences between men and women, whereas *gender* concerns with the psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females. On the basis of these definitions, it seems relatively easy to distinguish between the two categories as the terms used in sociolinguistics, although they are sometimes used interchangeable for specific cases in society. For example, infants are normally designed as female at birth, even if chromosomally male, tend to develop female gender identity, and vice versa. In accordance with this, it seems that gender is more appropriately used to see the differences between men's and women's language rather than sex.

Furthermore, quoting Wodak's, Elsewhere's, and Cameron, some ideas about sex and gender are summed up by Wardhaugh (2010:134):

1. *Gender* is not a pool of attributes "possessed by a person, but something a person does.
2. What it means to be a woman or to be a man (also) changes from one generation to the next and varies between different racial, ethnic, and religious groups, as well as for members of different social classes; gender must be learned anew in each generation.
3. *Sex* is a word used in connection with the biological characteristics that mark humans and other animals as either male or female, whereas gender refers to the cultural traits and behaviors deemed appropriate for men or women by a particular society.
4. Gender is also something we cannot avoid; it is part of the way in which societies are ordered around us, with each society doing that ordering differently. Gender is a key component of identity.

Based on these ideas, the sociolinguistic studies are more the relationships and interactions between language and gender. Although in some references such phenomena are discussed under the term *language and sex*, but in this module we use *language and gender* to refer to language and sex, as well.

In addition, Foley (1997:286) gives more ideas about cultural construction of gender. According to him, the sexual contrast in physique between male and female is an obvious one in all human societies; it is a biological given; if sex is a biological fact, then gender is a cultural construction. In line with this, the notions of gender daily inform cultural behavior in the understandings we bring to social relationships and in turn are constructed by our practices in these relationships; in short, our habitus is engendered. Although the categories of gender are culturally constructed and hence their content is variable across cultures, one aspect of this opposition which does seem extremely widespread is the fact of greater status or prestige granted to the masculine. The ideas tell that gender is naturally constructed by cultures as language does. It can be summed up that gender is both socially and culturally constructed in human life.

The differences between men's language and women's have been reported by observers based on researches in various societies. Wardhaugh (2010:335) mentions that numerous observers in sociolinguistic studies talking about language and gender have described women's speech as being different from that of men. It has been reported that men's speech usually provides the norms against which women's speech is judged. Then, any view too that women's speech is trivial, gossip-laden, corrupt, illogical, idle, euphemism, or deficient is highly suspect; nor is it necessarily more precise, cultivated, or stylish – or even less profane – than men's speech. However, such claim is not highly supported by cross-cultural data; the claim may be just partial cases among the others.

Linguistic literature and phonological differences between the speech of men and women have been also noted in a variety of languages. Male and female Caribs have been reported to speak different languages, the result of a long-ago conquest in which a group of invading Carib-speaking men killed the local Arawak-speaking men and mated with the Arawak women. In Gros Ventre, an Amerindian language of the northeast United States, women have palatalized velar stops where men have palatalized dental stops, e.g. female *kjatsa* 'bread' and male *djatsa*. When a female speaker of Gros Ventre quotes

a male, she attributes female pronunciations to him, and when a male quotes a female, he attributes male pronunciation to her. Moreover, any male use of female pronunciation is likely regarded as a sign of effeminacy (see Wardhaugh, 2010:336).

Based on cross-cultural studies and findings, sociolinguists generally claim that men's language and speeches are different from women's in various features. In setting out a list of what is called 'sociolinguistic universal tendencies', Holmes (in Wardhaugh, 2010:342) offers some testable claims, namely:

1. women and men develop different patterns of language use;
2. women tend to focus on the affective functions of an interaction more often than men do;
3. women tend to use linguistic devices that stress solidarity more often than men do;
4. women tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase solidarity, while (especially in formal contexts) men tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase their power and status;
5. women are stylistically more flexible than men.

To sum up, language and gender are in natural interaction and they make men and women speak differently. The differences are not only in linguistic features, but in socio-cultural and psychological ones, as well. You can check closely that the differences between men's speech and women's are linguistically and psychologically different. In this case, humans use everything around them – and language is just a thing in that sense – to create differences among themselves. The phenomena of gender finding in language are not the matters of synthetic, but they are natural. To tell the truth, all humans know that men and women speak differently.

C. GENDER AS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIABLE

In linguistic studies, as a matter of fact, linguists need to see the linguistic variables involved in the studies. In accordance with this, quoting Wardhaugh (1992), Wodak and Benke in Coulmas (ed.) (1997:130) state that bearing traditional methodologies in sociolinguistics in mind, a linguistic variable is a linguistic item which has identifiable variants. Wardhaugh distinguishes between two kinds of linguistic variables, variants (features)

which are distinct, like [p], [e], and [n] in pen, and quantitative variants, whose differences are measured on a continuum, like in the continuum of [a] ... [a:]. Traditionally, such linguistic variables are then correlated with social categories, like sex (gender), age, social class, ethnicity, etc., taken out of their respective contexts and without problematizing the meaning of these social categories. The linguistic variables can be assigned as the features which determine the linguistic forms, meanings, function, and values.

Gender is linguistically assigned as a sociolinguistic variable since it give particular effects and contribution to the social uses of language in its speech community. Wodak and Benke (see Coulmas (ed.), 1997:130 – 131) summarize the theories in linguistic gender research based on findings of researches in the relationships between language and gender. According to them, early studies on language and gender usually considered the language or speech behavior of women in terms of a deficiency model, that is, they considered the speech behavior of men as stronger, more prestigious, and more desirable. The female style, seen as a sign of subordination and self-denial, was to be rejected. Then, in the second phase, the strengths of the styles more commonly used by women were observed and sometimes over-generalized. Concepts arose such as WOMEN'S STYLE (=good) and MEN'S STYLE (=bad). For example, the "female" style was described as being cooperative, the male in contrast as being competitive. Differences within one gender were neglected, the sexes were equated with the respective gender, and a unitary model served as the basis for investigation.

In the second decade of linguistic gender studies, research in linguistics, sociology, anthropology, and communication sciences investigated subtle differences in the speech behavior of men and women, resulting in a situational ranking of the sexes. The category of gender played an important role in conversation and was different in every situational context. But once again, these context specificities were inadequately discussed in many studies. Issues of power and dominance were of great relevance. The deficit theory was thus replaced by the dominance theory. Although these studies were still based on a unitary model of gender, they were more context-sensitive and took the power structures of society into consideration.

In the next phase, emphasis was put on research on gender socialization. There is an extensive literature showing that boys and girls learn different verbal and nonverbal skills in their mainly same-sex children's and peer groups. These skills remain relevant for adults in many situations. The debate

within gender studies was more and more mistakenly reduced to rather simple questions: Do men interrupt women more often than vice versa? Do men dominate topics of conversations? Are women hypercorrect? Do all women use more standard language than men? Since the contexts in which men more often distinctly interrupted women were hardly specified, for example, the debate was and is reduced to general pro or con questions, instead of being concerned with tracing context-specific power relations (see Wodak and Benke in Coulmas (ed.), 1997).

Moreover, Wodak and Benke (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:132) mention that the investigation of gender-specific language variation started in the 1960s with the sociophonological surveys of Labov, especially his study on Martha's Vineyard and his New York study. In the study, Labov considered sex as one factor among many influencing the variation of language behavior. To explain the sociophonological variation he used the sociological concept of "prestige", emphasizing language attitudes as a causal factor in choosing a certain lect right from the beginning. In the following decades, most work within sociophonology employed the Labovian framework; deviating and critical approaches remained unnoticed. Then, a qualitatively new approach was presented in 1980s by Milroy and Milroy. Their orientation towards the micro-sociology of language usage, concentrating on social networks, paralleled new developments in other branches of linguistic interest – in discourse analysis, the ethnography of speaking, etc. – and pointed to the importance of context sensitivity.

Based on research reports and findings of studies on gender as a sociolinguistic variable, the followings are the summaries of the most important points (Wodak and Benke in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:140 – 141).

1. There is a tendency for unwarranted generalizations of individual research findings from "some women" to "all women" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992);
2. Like all signs, a specific sociophonological variable can be polyfunctional. Hitherto most explanations seem to make use of a monofunctional concept of the social dimension of a linguistic variable;
3. Language variation is a part of a more complex system of symbols. In explanations the signifying function of language variables has to be connected with the overall picture of societal structures;
4. Using "sex" as a social variable reduces a complex social phenomenon in a misleading way. "Gender is always joined with real people's

- complex forms of participation in the communities to which they belong" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992);
5. The methodology used is in itself sexist. On all the indexes, men usually have higher scores than women. In quantitative studies, the factorial design is usually set up in such a way that men score higher than women on the observation measures taken;
 6. The male language is regarded as the language norm. Female language is treated as a deviation. Studies are often concerned with the particular deviating nature of women. Men's language behavior remains underreported (Cameron, 1990);
 7. Survey studies in the Labovian tradition neglect contextual influences;
 8. Network studies and similar approaches are often based on too small a sample and therefore do not allow for generalizations over the whole group under investigation, or for the language behavior of men and women as such;
 9. The distinction between gender and sex is often ignored.

It is assumed in some countries, the interrelationships between language and gender are relatively close in which the grammatical categories reflect gender. German, Arabic, Latin, Spanish, are the examples of languages which belong to gender-oriented languages. In such languages, grammatical features tell the phenomena of gender. Some other languages are not relatively close to gender. Bahasa Indonesia, Minangkabaunese, Javanese, and many other languages which belong to Malay language family are the examples of such languages. In these languages, gender is not highly related to grammatical features. In general, however, all languages in the world have something to do gender as one of sociolinguistic variables; there is no language which is free from gender orientation.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

Human beings live in societies, and each society naturally develop socio-cultural features as their cultures. Among the others, there must be systematic interrelationships between language and society implying language as social phenomena. How can you prove that there is natural inter-relationship between language and society?

Exercise 2

Human beings live in one particular society. Therefore, humans being need languages as a main tool of communication. How can you argumentatively prove that many language features are influenced by social factors?

Exercise 3

As we know, the members of a society naturally speak in one language with several mutual-intelligibility dialects as a speech community. The speakers communicate in their own language by following social rules conventionally used in the speech communities. Why do you think that when people are speaking and using language verbally, they reflect also social features of their speech community?

Exercise 4

How can you state your own argumentative ideas to argue that language is social phenomena?

Exercise 5

We have already known that language has close relationships with sex and/or gender. In this case, sex and gender may have conceptual relationships and differences. How are they related each other and different?

Exercise 6

What are the examples of language phenomena showing that language features are more close to gender rather than to sex?

Exercise 7

The understanding on sociolinguistic phenomena and conceptual ideas on gender may be essential to formulate argumentative idea on the relationship between language and gender. Please formulate your own idea telling that relationship between language and gender!

Exercise 8

The language phenomena, in fact, can be studied in the nature of relationships between language and gender. Why do you think that the sociolinguistic features are naturally influenced by the concepts of gender?

Exercise 9

Sociolinguistics, as it does work on languages in social contexts, uses gender as one of sociolinguistic variables. How does gender come to a sociolinguistic variable?

Exercise 10

How do you believe that gender naturally gives particular effects to language features and uses?

Exercise 11

Why do you think that the studies on gender as one sociolinguistic variable arose various findings and conclusions in sociolinguistic studies?

Exercise 12

Please formulate your own conclusions stating that gender can be reasonably assigned as one of sociolinguistic variables!

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

In our daily life, we have particular codes and languages to communicate with our partners. We have our own languages because we have internal and physical ability to produce the language forms in ourselves. In addition, the language uses depend on external factors where we naturally live in, the society. In other words, we live in particular speech communities. The societies in which we live determine the communicative meanings and functions of languages. It is common in daily communication that lexical meanings are not functional anymore in certain situations and conditions because of the influence of social contexts. In other side, human languages determine also the social constructions such as how specific terms are followed by the members of a speech community in social actions.

Exercise 2

In bahasa Indonesia, there are many words referring to Indonesian behaviors and social actions which are specific to its speakers, i.e. gotong-royong, ijo royo-royo, rumah adat, pondok, gubuk, upacara, dendang, gamelan, etc. Such Indonesian words and their meanings are not naturally found in English.

Then, Bahasa Indonesia and most local languages in Nusantara belong to tenseless languages, while English belongs to tenseness languages. Such grammatical features are influenced by the socio-cultural differences between Indonesian and English speakers. In Indonesia, there is no high-different season causing different ways of life and social actions. It is assumed that the conditions influence the language features in the case of grammar. In English, however, its speech community faces four main different seasons by which they think specific things about time. Consequently, English has specific grammatical features indicating different tenses in clausal constructions

Exercise 3

That a language has grammatical features and rules are not questioned anymore. The use of language, however, cannot ideally follow the forms and grammatical structures for all places of language uses. The use of greetings and calling names in English are not the same with those of Indonesia. Good morning is a greeting in English, and *ke mana pak* 'where are you going sir' is a greeting in bahasa Indonesia. In this case, greeting in English refers to time, but greeting in Bahasa Indonesia uses someone's affairs or goals. So that, when people are speaking and using language verbally, they reflect the social features of speech community.

Exercise 4

Language is functional and communicatively used in social interactions by the members of speech community. Language may not be optimally functioned as the communication tool in communication events if there is no social acceptance, then.

Exercise 5

Both *sex* and *gender* may refer to feminism and masculine; they are commonly known by human beings all over the world. In more specific understanding, however, the term *sex* is more on biological and anatomical features of creatures. In this concept, female gives birth, but male cannot give birth. *Gender*, in other sense, is the socio-cultural constructions and senses which do not have something to do with birth or sexual organs. Therefore, the term *gender* is more appropriate to use in sociolinguistic studies rather than *sex*.

Exercise 6

As it has been recently mentioned, in sociolinguistic studies, the term gender is more suitably used rather than sex. Language styles and accents, for examples, can be assigned as male or female in the senses of dictions or intonations. They are not about biological or anatomical matters. Another example is the semantic-pragmatic constructions of utterances. Male's and female's utterances are different dealing with semantic-pragmatic constructions. The differences are understood as gender differences, not as sexual ones.

Exercise 7

Language forms, uses, styles, and communicative constructions can be obviously differentiated based on the users, whether they are male or female. It can be argued as well that language and gender are in close interrelationship in human life.

Exercise 8

The sociolinguistic features are those of features which involve in social uses of language in society. Language, as a matter of fact, is social features and phenomena. Gender, in fact, is also the socio-cultural constructions and senses. Therefore, sociolinguistic features are naturally influenced by the concepts of gender.

Exercise 9

In the sense that both language and gender are social phenomena, it is reasonable to state that gender can be assigned as a sociolinguistic variable.

Exercise 10

The facts showing that gender naturally gives particular effects to language features and uses can be seen in the cases of dictions, language styles, intonations, meaning constructions, and politeness strategies.

Exercise 11

The gender, as socio-cultural constructions built by members of one particular society, is various from one culture to the others. Cultural features and behaviors are various cross-culturally. Such facts, of course, arise various findings and conclusions in sociolinguistic studies, although in some cases there are universal and similar findings.

Exercise 12

The senses of gender in various societies are different and those differences make language features are various as well. To avoid gender in sociolinguistic studies may cause limited results of research findings. To have better results on sociolinguistic studies, the phenomena of gender should be included. In accordance with this; it is reasonable to say that gender is one of sociolinguistic variables.



SUMMARY

The relationships between language and society imply that language is a social phenomenon. There are several possible relationships between language and society. One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behavior. A second possible relationship is directly opposed to the first; linguistic structure and/or behavior may either influence or determine social structure. In accordance with the possible relationships between language and society may lead us to have basic understanding that language and society cannot be sharply separated since they are in systematic and natural interrelationship.

In general viewpoint, sex and gender can be assigned as the same; they simply refer to man and woman, or to male and female, or masculine and feminism. That is why most people think that sex and gender are not different. Technically, sex is to a very large extent biologically determined whereas gender is a social construct involving the whole gamut of genetic, psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females. Therefore, we can say that sex is more on biological dichotomy or differences, while gender is socio-cultural and psychological ones. In accordance with this, it seems that gender is more appropriately used to see the differences between men's and women's language rather than sex.

In linguistic studies, as a matter of fact, linguists need to see the linguistic variables involved in the studies. Bearing traditional methodologies in sociolinguistics in mind, a linguistic variable is a linguistic item which has identifiable variants. Wardhaugh, for example, distinguishes between two kinds of linguistic variables, variants (features) which are distinct, like [p], [e], and [n] in pen, and quantitative variants, whose differences are measured on a continuum, like in the continuum of [a] ... [a:]. Traditionally, such linguistic variables are then correlated with social categories, like sex (gender),

age, social class, ethnicity, etc., taken out of their respective contexts and without problematizing the meaning of these social categories. The linguistic variables can be assigned as the features which determine the linguistic forms, meanings, function, and values.

Gender is linguistically assigned as a sociolinguistic variable since it give particular effects and contribution to the social uses of language in its speech community. Early studies on language and gender usually considered the language or speech behavior of women in terms of a deficiency model, that is, they considered the speech behavior of men as stronger, more prestigious, and more desirable. The female style, seen as a sign of subordination and self-denial, was to be rejected. Then, in the second phase, the strengths of the styles more commonly used by women were observed and sometimes over-generalized. Concepts arose such as WOMEN'S STYLE (=good) and MEN'S STYLE (=bad). For example, the "female" style was described as being cooperative, the male in contrast as being competitive. Differences within one gender were neglected, the sexes were equated with the respective gender, and a unitary model served as the basis for investigation.



FORMATIVE TEST 1 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the examples proving that there are interrelationships between language and gender/sex?
- 2) In accordance with the facts that language is in closed relationship with society, all languages have their own speech community with cultural items related to gender. How can you argue that gender is more on culture and society rather than biological feature?
- 3) What are the similarities and differences between sex and gender?
- 4) How can you prove that human languages relate to the concepts of gender?
- 5) What are the pedagogic reasons to say that language education (language learning) needs to consider the sociolinguistic data and information concerning with sex and/or gender?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Language and Age

In Unit 1, we learned and discussed the phenomena of language and gender as the sociolinguistic variables. Now, let's continue to discuss the interrelationship between language and age. In addition to gender, language forms and uses have close relationships with age. We can see in daily life, children's language is different from adults' showed by various forms and features. The main aim of learning this unit is that you know and understand how language relates to age and how they are in significant interrelationships. Actually, topics of discussion presented in this unit are closely related to those presented in unit 1. It can be said that the topics of discussion are the further elaboration and explanation of sociolinguistic variables which influence the forms and uses of language in society. To have systematic explanation and discussion, this unit is divided into three parts, namely *age as a sociolinguistic variable*, *researches on language and age*, and *linguistic life course*. You can see that as a sociolinguistic variable, age plays important roles in individual's language and social communication in real speech community.

In some cases, the interrelationships between language and age are in the intervention of language and gender. However, it is obvious that language and age have specific sociolinguistic features when people are speaking. When children are speaking, they are mostly happy and lack of "serious loading". Meanwhile, adults speak more seriously and they need reasonable argumentations to convince someone else for particular purposes. Socio-cultural factors should be considered in verbal communication by adults in order that they are involved in the "laws" of the speech community where they live. Let's pay serious attention to the following discussion and don't forget to add your references and do exercises well.

A. AGE AS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIABLE

It has been mentioned in the previous module, sociolinguistics is derived from linguistic studies in relation to sociological features. Sociolinguists attempt to know how and why the linguistic features bring about social structures and characteristics of speech communities. In other words, it can

be said that sociolinguistics is the study of language phenomena in order to see the social characteristics of speech communities. Among the others, aging is central to human experience. It is the achievement of physical and social capacities and skills, a continual unfolding of the individual's participation in the world, construction of personal history, and movement through the history of the community and of society. If *aging* is movement through time, *age* is a person's place at a given time in relation to the social order: a stage, a condition, a place in history. Age and aging are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage, and/or an experience of history (see Eckert in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:151). In accordance with this, it is reasonable to say that age can be involved as a variable in sociolinguistic studies.

Eckert (see Coulmas (ed.), 1997:151) further adds that the study of age in relation to language, particularly the study of sociolinguistic variation, lies at the intersection of life stage and history. The individual speaker of age cohort of speakers at any given moment represents simultaneously a place in history and a life stage. Age stratification of linguistic variables, then, can reflect change in the speech of the community as it moves through time (*historical change*), and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (*age grading*). Much of the work that focuses on age in the field of variation concerns the disambiguation of age-stratified data, determining when change in apparent time, or time as reflected in age, is a reflection of historical change in real time and when it represents age grading. On the other hand, historical change will inevitably be reflected in age stratification. But for change in apparent time to regularly reflect change in real time, the speech of an age group would have to correspond in a predictable way to the state of the language at some fixed life stage. This means that the individual's linguistic system would have to remain relatively stable throughout life, or any changes in the linguistic system during the life course would have to be regular and predictable. Yet progress through the life course involves changes in family status, gender relations, employment status, social networks, place of residence, community participation, institutional participation, engagement in the marketplace – all of which have implications for patterns of variation. It is unlikely that speakers pass through all the identity changes of a lifetime without making any changes in their use of sociolinguistic variables.

Based on Eckert's, age (and aging) affects the language forms and uses in particular speech community. Characteristic of linguistic features used by people with different ages are relatively different in fact. Therefore, age is one of sociolinguistic variables that should be considered in the studies of language in society. Age as a sociolinguistic variable does not stand alone in following the linguistic features of social communication. Other social variables, such as places, housing, education, gender, cultures, etc., frequently work hand in hand with age to support the communicative and social functions of language.

The phenomena of age as a sociolinguistic variable may relate to the sociolinguistic development of humans. Based on Chamber's and Hockett's, Hudson (2001:14 – 15) explains that the sociolinguistic development of children can be continued to adulthood. According to him, although we may assume that each speaker has a unique experience of language, and on this basis develops a unique grammar, a number of generalizations can be made about the stages through which people may be expected to pass in their sociolinguistic development. The first generalization concerns the linguistic models which the child follows. For many children, the pattern is as follows: first parents, then peers, then adults. The following is a very rough summary which obviously ignores a lot of important subtleties and details.

1. **Babyhood.** The models are parents and other carers, who use 'baby-talk';
2. **Childhood.** The models are other children of the same age or somewhat older, and if these children speak differently from the parents, the children's model generally is the one which is actually adopted. At this stage children are extremely conservative in their language; their main concern seems to be the same as the older children (with some attempts to imitate teenagers as well). This leads to what is called 'AGE-GRADING', a pattern of use in which linguistic items are used by people of a particular age, who then stop using it when they grow older.
3. **Adolescence.** The models now are other adolescents, but the foundations of language have already been laid – for most people it is too late to learn a new language or dialect perfectly. This is the stage at which children prepare to be the next generation of adults. Unlike children, adolescents aim to be different from all previous adolescents, which give rise to the constantly changing picture of teenage slang.
4. **Adulthood.** Our models are the adults, with current adolescents as a potential source of inspiration (or offence). Work, parenthood and social activities bring us into contact with other adults who offer competing models which we may either avoid or copy.

In accordance with the children's language development, it is not questioned anymore that language development naturally occurs along the time of humans' life with various forms of differences in each stage. The humans' language development involves linguistic and social aspects of language in particular speech communities. The stages of age determine the forms and uses of language in specific features. Therefore, it is reasonable to assign that age as one of sociolinguistic variables. One variable that should be considered and studied in sociolinguistics is the age; how language and age (and aging) socio-culturally influence each other. Language acquisition and language learning, based on related theories and reports, are determined by age as well (see further Stern, 1994; Brown, 2001). Thus, it is necessary for language teachers to suit their teaching-learning processes and materials with learners' age and maturity.

Aging has not yet been explicitly studied as a sociolinguistic variable; rather, we have had to rely so far on patchy knowledge of particular life stages. Filling in the picture will require attention to events in the age spans that we have thought of as uninterrupted (e.g., middle age), and to the experience of life stages that are remote from our own (e.g., childhood and old age). In both cases, some of our assumptions may be part of the social construction of aging, and as social scientists we need to question those assumptions at the outset (see Eckert in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:167). Now, it is more obvious that age is one of sociolinguistic variables which need to learn in details, then.

B. RESEARCHES ON LANGUAGE AND AGE

Community studies of variation frequently show that increasing age correlates with increasing conservatism in speech. With just the evidence from apparent time, it is ambiguous whether the language patters of the community are changing over the years or whether the speakers are becoming more conservative as they age – or both. Without evidence in real time, there is no way of establishing whether or not age-stratified patterns of variation actually reflect change in progress (Eckert in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:152). It seems that the correspondence of language and age has been mostly studied in community studies such as in sociology, anthropology, or psychology. Such relationship between language and age is appropriately studied in sociolinguistics since it studies the phenomena of language in

society and in speakers' conditions as the members of speech community. Although this statement is still debatable, we may argue that it is true that age is one of sociolinguistic variables.

Eckert (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:152) further mentions that several kinds of evidence have been called upon to provide real-time evidence: A number of studies have sought to approach real time by combining data on variation in apparent time with general sources on earlier stages of the language. Sources such as old recordings (Kemp and Yaeger-Dror, 1991), geographical evidence (Eckert, 1980), and historical accounts (Labov, 1972) of dialects under study have been used to contextualize contemporary data, and to establish the possibility that current age differences represent a continuation of an ongoing change process. Then, the validity and interpretability of evidence in real time depends on the extent to which the samples representing different time periods are comparable. The replication of community studies at some time distance are obviously the best sources for evidence in real time. Such studies are still relatively rare, but the lengthening history of the study of variation, particularly since Labov's 1966 New York City study, is beginning to produce replications. Two kinds of re-study of the same community are possible: studies of age cohorts as they pass through time, and studies of life stages as they are occupied by successive age cohorts. Studies in real time can also either follow the same individuals (panel study) or they can collect samples of comparable but different individual at successive points in time (trend study). A trend study with an age-graded sample is the only kind that can unequivocally show change in progress as it shows successive cohorts at each life stage. A panel study is the only kind that can unequivocally show change in the individual lifetime, as it sees the same people at different life stages. Trend studies, however, can yield convincing evidence of both kinds of change.

Some other researches (studies) on language and age are briefly exposed by Eckert (see Coulmas (ed.), 1997:153). Most community studies of change in real time have been trend studies, such as Hermann (1929) in Charmey, Cedergren (1984) in Panama, Fowler (1986) in New York, and Trudgill (1988) in Norwich. Those studies confirm that many, but not all, age-stratified variables represent change in progress. Gauchat (1905) found apparent time evidence of five changes in Charmey. Over 20 years later, Hermann (1929) revisited Charmey and compared the speech of 40 speakers with Gauchet's evidence. From these comparisons, Hermann found evidence

of change for four of the five changes in apparent time reported by Gauchat. Bailey and others (1991) compared late apparent data from the Phonological Survey of Texas, gathered in the late 1980s, with the data from the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (Pederson et al., 1986), and gathered in the mid-1970s. While this study covered a wider geographical area and hence cannot be considered a re-study of a community, it targeted the apparent time data in the later sample were confirmed by differences between the two samples. Trudgill (1988), revisiting Norwich at 20 years' remove, found that variants occurring only in the speech of young people at the earlier time had caught on as changes and were spreading through the earlier age groups.

In addition, Eckert (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997) mentions that other studies in apparent time have found evidence not only of historical change, but of age grading. Cedergren (1984), in her trend study of Panama City, compared two age-graded samples with a time depth of 20 years. In a comparison of equivalent age-graded samples at two points in history, differences due to change in real time are reflected in differences between successive cohorts at the same age, while differences due to age grading are reflected in differences within cohorts between the two times. Cedergren's data show a clear increase in the lenition of /c/ between successive cohorts at the same age, indicating a progress of change across the community. At the same time, in the middle aged groups (roughly 30 to 70 years of age), the speakers increased their use of lenition over the 20 years between studies. Thus, the same change that affected the community as a whole affected the speech of individuals in their lifetimes, showing that adult speakers can be active participants in sound change.

In similar form of study, Paunonen (1994) (see Eckert in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:154) separated men and women in a study that combined a trend study and a panel study, comparing three age cohorts, at two different points in time, of men and women who were young, middle-aged, and old in 1970 and 1990. One change examined in this study, the replacement of synthetic with analytic possessive constructions, showed change across cohorts but little change in the speech of individuals. The other, however, the reversal of a normative insertion of /d/, showed both community and individual change, both of which showed important gender effects. The trend study showed that women in general were mirroring less normative through time. The panel study found older women mirroring this trend within their own lives: those who were middle-aged in the 1970s were less normative in the 1990s, when

they were old. Paunonen's finding that gender interacts with age in most likely not unusual particularly, perhaps, in times of change in gender norms and practices. Labov (1994) has emphasized that uncovering patterns of change requires isolating segments of the community that participate differently in change. It has been established that women commonly lead in sound change, as do the upper working and lower middle classes. The progress of sound change can best be traced by separating these groups out in age stratifications. Studies that separate age stratification by class and by gender have shown that grossly combined age figures can mask specific group effects. If speakers are combined in age groups without attention to such effect, what might look like an overall age difference could actually be more specifically located. Studies like these are crucial to our understanding of variation over the life course (see Eckert in Coulmas (ed.), 1997).

The researches on age and language mentioned above are just few examples of more relevant sociolinguistic studies. It can be argued again that age is one important sociolinguistic variable that may be various across societies and cultures, as well. Moreover, it cannot be avoided either that the relation between age and other social factors will also differ across cultures. Age systems do not affect people identically across the board. For example, the restriction of age sets in age-set society to males, while women's age is treated more fluidly, no doubt could also have implications for interactions between gender and age in variation. Indeed, gender is quite explicitly constructed partially in its interactions with age. Certain landmarks, such as coming of age across societies, are gender-specific, and family, legal, and institutional status are commonly different for males and females. (Eckert in Coulmas (ed.), 1997).

In our current life, in fact, it is highly possible to study the sociolinguistic relationships between language and age. There are many possible forms and focuses of studies related to language and age in your own societies or in particular speech communities. The sociolinguistic studies may be more challenging and interesting if they are addressed to unique societies and to isolated group of people. The comparative studies and cross-cultural studies are also the possible researches on the relationships between language and age. You may come to in depth studies on your native language and society to see how language and age are in natural interrelationships. Such studies are relevant also for having sociological and anthropological studies in line with sociolinguistic ones.

C. LINGUISTIC LIFE COURSE

Linguistic life course is the term used by sociolinguists to refer to the linguistic conditions and language development commonly followed by people in normal life. In this case, sociolinguists study and expose the particular speakers' linguistic conditions and development based on certain criteria and viewpoints. It is believed that the normal linguistic life course can be seen based on age and maturity. Therefore, humans' language development depends much on age and maturity. Such conditions are challenging to study in order to know how age plays important role in language development.

Eckert (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:158 – 159) states that some areas of language and variation development are better documented than others. Much more is known about fine age differences in the early years than in the later years, and in fact, less is known about age-related patterns of variation the farther we move along in the life course. Thought about the relation between variation and age centers around a set of life stages that are “native categories” in US culture, and commonly used as explanations for people's behavior: childhood (which includes pre-adolescence), adolescence (more finely divided into early adolescence and adolescence), adulthood (which is more finely divided into early adulthood and middle age), and old age, which is interestingly enough viewed separately from adulthood. Only adulthood is seen as a life stage that is independent of the care and support of adults, and it is not surprising that independence is an important issue for both adolescents and the elderly.

Based on some relevant researches, Eckert (see Coulmas (ed.), 1997) adds that the local community as the home of vernacular is another site for the development of resources for variation. While in the larger scheme of things the local vernacular marketplace exists in opposition to the global, standard marketplace, there is more going on in either marketplace than simple opposition to each other. The vernacular of one local community may live not only in opposition to the standard, but to surrounding vernaculars. Then, an important focus on children is what aspects of identity are tied up with variation as it develops, and how socioeconomic concerns come to play a role.

Let's continue to see some features based on research results on the linguistic life course of childhood. Eckert as seen in Coulmas (ed.) (1997)

notes that quantitative research on variation in the early years childhood is quite recent. Roberts' works with 3-year-olds in Philadelphia, for example, has shown that children's language at this early age is inherently variable, much the same as the speech of the older people that serve as their models. This work has shown that 3-year-olds show variation in their use of both stable sociolinguistic variables and in their use of patterns of local variation representing change in progress. There is also a good deal of evidence indicating that certain patterns cannot be learned after a fairly young age. Payne's work in the Philadelphia suburb King of Prussia, showed that children moving in from a different dialect area before the age of 8 to 9 picked up simple local vowel shifts. Payne's conclusion was that while children may be able to add lower-level rules until adolescence, they cannot restructure their grammars readily.

Based on related research results, linguistic life course for childhood mainly develops and works in the level of sound systems of oral production in their mother tongues. Simple-basic grammar and the ability to restructure the language production gradually develop along the end of childhood age. Such linguistic condition can be understood that at the age of childhood children mostly focus on oral production in the level of sound systems. Children are not in the linguistic position of building better grammar on their language; in the series of psycholinguistic studies, linguists claim that children language begins from the simple to more complex systems of sounds, lexicon, and phrases. Then, before they come to pre-teenager, children begin to have simple to more complete grammar in their first language.

The linguistic life course in adolescence period shows further development of language systems. Human beings continuously build and construct their "standard" grammar by which they communicate in daily life. Eckert (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:162) states that adolescence as a life stage is specific to industrial society and the modern era. Of particular significance for sociolinguistics is that during adolescence, people who are in fact becoming adult are normatively denied adults roles, and isolated from the adult sphere in institutions of secondary education. In the US, for example, children anticipate entrance into secondary school with a mixture of eagerness and trepidation. They see this new life stages as bringing greater freedom and new opportunities on the one hand, and making new social demands on the other. Kids do not all feel equally well prepared for this new

environment, and status differences begin already in elementary school around this preparedness.

A common argument can be stated that adolescence is the focus of development of the social use of the vernacular. In general, it is seen as the time when linguistic change from below is advanced. Adolescence lead the entire age spectrum in sound change and in the general use of vernacular variables, and this lead is attributed to adolescents' engagement in constructing identities in opposition to – or at least independently of – their elders. As the official transition from childhood to adolescence, adolescence is a time when children are expected to become serious about their adult occupations. It is therefore a time of transition from their parents' social sphere to one that they construct for themselves. Adolescence social structure and social practice are parts of this process of construction (see Eckert in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:163).

In the adolescence period, the linguistic life course comes to the use of language in society; it is language in speech community. Such linguistic condition can be related to the normal case that adolescents need to involve into social life and socio-cultural communication. Those who are not in the position as a part of their social life cannot actively participate in a lot of forms of communication. In reality, adolescents cannot be far from the language used in their speech community. Therefore, the sociolinguistic aspects of language uses are naturally constructed by human beings in the adolescence age.

If the adolescence is the life stage in which speakers push the envelope of variation, conservatism is said to set in during adulthood. Relevant research results from many places show that adults have regularly been shown to be more conservative in their use of variables than younger age groups. This conservatism has been attributed to the pressure for use of standard language in the workplace. While increased conservatism has been the main linguistic change attributed to adults, there is also evidence from studies in real time that this is certainly not universal. Although it is commonly found as the general phenomena, in some countries and nations, however, the conservatism may come early or lately (see further Eckert in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:164). Thus, the linguistic life course among adulthood age groups can be assigned as the stabilization of language development; it is the language forms which are relatively stable.

Eckert (as in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:165) adds that although in general adulthood has emerged as a vast wasteland in the study of variation. In sharp contrast to the year-by-year studies of children and adolescents, adults have been treated as a more or less homogenous age mass. There have been no studies that attempted to substitute etic age categories, such as decades, with major life transitions such as family status, job status, or retirement. Indeed, although it has been claimed that people relax their conservatism somewhat after retirement, this has not been explicitly examined.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

How can you prove that children's language is different from teenagers' and adults'?

Exercise 2

Why do think that age can be assigned as a sociolinguistic variable?

Exercise 3

How can language forms and uses be naturally influenced by age stages of its speakers?

Exercise 4

What are the examples of childhood language (in your own language(s)) that are commonly heard when they are asking for money or meals?

Exercise 5

It is believed that the results of studies on the relationships between language and age can give significant information to language teaching and learning, including to EFL learning. How is it so?

Exercise 6

What are the examples of sociolinguistic studies that can be conducted to see the interrelationships between language and age?

Exercise 7

Let's come to specific language or speech community! What are the examples showing that language and age are in natural interrelationships?

Exercise 8

Why do you think that the studies on linguistic phenomena in the relationships between language and age need sociological and/or anthropological theories?

Exercise 9

It is highly believed that language, gender, and age are close relationships. Do people acquire and/or learn languages differently in different periods? Please support your ideas by using examples!

Exercise 10

Do you believe the statement saying that human beings acquire and/or learn languages as long as their lives? Don't forget to support your answer by giving examples!

Exercise 11

The term "*linguistic life course*" may refer to any linguistic competence and performance possessed by human beings in their normal lives. How can you argue that this statement is reasonably accepted or rejected?

Exercise 12

It is also possible to claim that "*linguistic life course*" is not only relevant to sociolinguistic properties, but also for language forms and meanings. What is your opinion about this claim?

Key to Exercises

Exercise 1

It is obvious that children' language is different from teenager's and adults'. The main characteristics of children language are (very) simple, dominated by imperative constructions, no metaphorical expressions, and in lexical meanings. Teenagers relatively begin to construct more complete constructions, metaphorical expressions, create more creative dictions,

moderate styles, and specific slangs, as well. Meanwhile, adults' language is more stable, full-complete constructions, and metaphorical expressions.

Exercise 2

Because language forms, meanings, and constructions are much more influenced by age and maturity.

Exercise 3

The language forms and uses are naturally influenced by age stages. Such phenomena occur in line with maturity and psychological conditions of language users. The facts for this case are relevant with the answers of exercise 2 above.

Exercise 4

Let's have examples in bahasa Indonesia:

- *Ma, li we tu.* 'Mom, (I) want to buy the cakes'
- *Kak, ndak ada di rumah.* 'Elder sister, (she) is not at home'
- *Ke pasar pak, minta uang ya.* '(I will go) to the market, give me money please!'

Exercise 5

Language forms and uses of EFL learnt by in Indonesia, for examples, are not in natural settings, in fact. So that, most expressions are not real conditions. Having such kinds of sociolinguistic realities, a lot of information and data about relationships between language and age are needed in EFL classrooms and in learning materials. Those will help EFL learners know the nature of relationships between language and age, then.

Exercise 6

The examples of sociolinguistic studies that can be conducted to see the interrelationships between language and age are:

- Language styles and age differences in school environments in Padang;
- Language variations among teenagers in Jakarta;
- A comparative study on dictions between young people of senior high schools and universities in West-Sumatera;
- A study on language variations used by children, adolescents, and adults;

- The stability of language constructions used by adults in daily conversations.
- Language change and loyalty of adults in Javanese
- The grammatical features used by children and adults in making statements.

Exercise 7

Let's see a speech community of Minangkabaunese in Padang. School teenagers frequently use borrowing words in the forms of adoption in a conversation. In this case, they tend to show that they are educated speakers. Meanwhile, adults and old speakers of Minangkabaunese commonly use borrowing words in the form of adaptation. It seems that they want to "proclaim" that they have high language loyalty and stability of language performance.

Exercise 8

The studies on linguistic phenomena in the relationships between language and age need sociological and/or anthropological theories. It is caused by the facts that language and age belong to sociological and cultural phenomena.

Exercise 9

Yes, they are. Children are better in acquiring and learning imperative sentences. They have better memorization for new vocabulary and practice pronunciation. Teenagers and adolescents are good in learning formulas and rules of complex sentences. Adults, however, are good in understand complex meanings and metaphorical expressions.

Exercise 10

Yes, but human beings acquire and/or learn language in different progress. Children acquire and learn language more progressively than teenagers. Adults learn a new language more slowly than adolescents.

Exercise 11

That is right. The term is acceptable because it is the facts that human beings are naturally able to build and develop their language mastery and capacity along their life.

Exercise 12

Yes it is. The term *linguistic life course* is also relevant to see the condition and development of language forms and meanings along their life.



SUMMARY

Sociolinguists attempt to know how and why the linguistic features bring about social structures and characteristics of speech communities. Among the others, aging is central to human experience. It is the achievement of physical and social capacities and skills, a continual unfolding of the individual's participation in the world, construction of personal history, and movement through the history of the community and of society. If *aging* is movement through time, *age* is a person's place at a given time in relation to the social order: a stage, a condition, a place in history. Age and aging are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage, and/or an experience of history. In accordance with this, it is reasonable to say that age can be involved as a variable in sociolinguistic studies.

Based on Eckert's, age (and aging) affects the language forms and uses in particular speech community. Characteristic of linguistic features used by people with different ages are relatively different in fact. Therefore, age is one of sociolinguistic variables that should be considered in the studies of language in society. Age as a sociolinguistic variable does not stand alone in following the linguistic features of social communication. Other social variables, such as places, housing, education, gender, cultures, etc., frequently work hand in hand with age to support the communicative and social functions of language.

For many people, the pattern is as follows: first parents, then peers, then adults. The following is a very rough summary which obviously ignores a lot of important subtleties and details: babyhood, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. In accordance with the children's language development, it is not questioned anymore that language development naturally occurs along the time of humans' life with various forms of differences in each stage. The humans' language development involves linguistic and social aspects of language in particular speech communities. The stages of age determine the forms and uses of language in specific features. Therefore, it is reasonable to assign that age as one of sociolinguistic variables. It is also necessary for language teachers to suit their teaching-learning processes and materials with learners' age and maturity.

The researches on the relationship between age and language tell that age is one important sociolinguistic variable that may be various across societies and cultures, as well. Moreover, it cannot be avoided either that the relation between age and other social factors will also differ across cultures. Age systems do not affect people identically across the board. Indeed, gender is quite explicitly constructed partially in its interactions with age. In our current life, in fact, it is highly possible to study the sociolinguistic relationships between language and age. There are many possible forms and focuses of studies related to language and age in your own societies or in particular speech communities. The sociolinguistic studies may be more challenging and interesting if they are addressed to unique societies and to isolated group of people. The comparative studies and cross-cultural studies are also the possible researches on the relationships between language and age. You may come to in depth studies on your native language and society to see how language and age are in natural interrelationships.

Linguistic life course is the term used by sociolinguists to refer to the linguistic conditions and language development commonly followed by people in normal life. In this case, sociolinguists study and expose the particular speakers' linguistic conditions and development based on certain criteria and viewpoints. It is believed that the normal linguistic life course can be seen based on age and maturity. Therefore, humans' language development depends much on age and maturity. Such conditions are challenging to study in order to know how age plays important role in language development. Based on some relevant researches, it can be simply stated that the local community as the home of vernacular is another site for the development of resources for variation. While in the larger scheme of things the local vernacular marketplace exists in opposition to the global, standard marketplace, there is more going on in either marketplace than simple opposition to each other.



FORMATIVE TEST 2 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the examples proving that humans' languages are the social phenomena?
- 2) In accordance with the facts that language is social phenomena, what make gender and age are implicitly involved inside language?

- 3) What does '*language in thought and in society*' mean?
- 4) What does '*linguistic life course*' mean?
- 5) What are the practical examples to support that language acquisition and learning naturally occur in different quantity and quality as long as human's life?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

Language, Gender, Age, and Their Implication to EFL Teaching

In Unit 2, we have just discussed how language, gender, and age are in close interrelationship in human life. Language forms, meaning, function, and value are much influenced by gender and age of speakers. The phenomena can be easily found in almost all communication events. As speakers of particular languages, you need to consider and give special attention to gender and age, unless the communication may be less communicative. Now we are in Unit 3: Language, gender and their implication to EFL teaching. In this unit, we are going to see how the relationship between language, gender, and age may have educational implication to the teaching of English as a foreign language. The topic areas discussed in this unit are more on theoretical and practical issues dealing with how the sociolinguistic theories and data are needed in EFL classroom activities. In other words, this unit contains particular ideas and explanation by the EFL teaching might be successful. As it has been already known, EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia have specific characteristics as the learners had spoken in their various local languages as first language. Thus, the EFL teaching and learning in multilingual societies as in Indonesia need sociolinguistic information and data in practical classrooms of the foreign language.

The presentation, explanation, and discussion of this topic are divided into two sub-units, namely: *Gender and Social Interaction* and *Gender and age in Language Learning and Teaching*. The information, explanation, and argumentation presented in this unit are both theoretical and practical ones. In order to have better understanding and critical argumentation on this topic, you are highly suggested to read further information derived from references as noted in this module or you may find further relevant references in manual library or in electronic facilities. It is also expected that you seriously learn in details the information and examples to have better understanding. You should not go to next module before having "good" passing grade in each exercise and/or test given to you. Do not be lazy to study hard and good luck!

A. GENDER AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

As the intellectual creatures, there are many ways of having social interactions created by human beings. Having communication by means of language is a facultative way of social interaction. Since language has interrelationship with gender, the social interaction through language cannot be separated from gender as a sociolinguistic variable. It is one of main reasons why sociolinguists are interested to study the linguistic phenomena dealing with gender and social interaction. Pavlidou (in Wodak et.al. (eds.), 2011:412) mentions that research on language and gender has now been carried out for almost of 40 years, and has produced a huge body of literature, including some outstanding introductions to the subject. Such a development is not unique to this particular field of inquiry; rather it goes hand in hand with and reflects shifts in paradigms within linguistics and women's/gender studies, as well as in the ways in which 'gender' and 'interaction' are conceptualized. Gender has been a familiar notion in the study of language – in contrast to other scientific fields – albeit with varying senses. Dating back to the fifth century BC, 'grammatical gender' in Indo-European languages has been associated with 'natural gender', i.e. the sex of animate beings denoted by those words. The contact of Europeans with languages and cultures in colonized countries, as well as later ethnographic work, gave rise to reports about 'women's languages': language varieties that diverged from the 'norm' (i.e. men's speech) and which were used exclusively or preferentially by women. In modern linguistics, it was sociolinguistics – in its variationist version – that introduced 'sex' as an independent variable which, along with class, age and style, is correlated with the manifestation of specific linguistic variables to describe variation and explaining change in language. We can see that social interaction by means of language naturally influenced by gender and age, as well.

Pavlidou (in Wodak et.al. (eds.), 2011:413) argues that talking about gender (including age) and interaction is weaving narrative threads related to each of these topics as well as the broader areas they arose in, and telling a story that can be told in different ways, even if the same constituents are used and the same goals are pursued. Pavlidou, for example, discusses the findings on gender and (social) interaction, particularly the interaction by means of language, through sub-headings that reflect different stances on how gender relates to interaction; (i) *gendering interaction* which looks into constraints,

linguistic as well as more broadly social, that gender the interactional scene before interactants even make their entrance; (ii) *gendered interaction* which focuses on research which associates with certain interactional features with specific gender; and (iii) *constructing gender in interaction* which turns to the making of gendered selves and gendered others in interaction – in other words, on how gender is actually ‘done’. In accordance with these, it can be said that gender (including age, as well) is grammatically and practically involved in social interaction, moreover in verbal interaction.

By ‘gendering interaction’, Pavlidou (in Wodak et.al (eds.), 2011) means the linguistic and socio-cultural constraints that inform interaction and which are invested with dominant gender ideologies. Based on the relevant studies’ reports, some of the constraints gendering interaction are structural: they result from broader social and institutional arrangements that create, maintain and reinforce gender differences. Structural constraints entail, among other things, differential access for men and women to positions, activities, spaces, etc., in society, and to the kind of discourses associated with them, including talk and silence, speech genres/events/acts. Moreover, the linguistic tools that we have at our disposal encode gender stereotypes and ideologies, and restrict accordingly the choice in communication. At the same time, the groups we operate in have certain stereotypical conceptions about how men, women, gays, lesbians, etc., communicate and normative expectations about how they should communicate.

Logically, the gendering interaction concerning with the social-linguistic interactions is commonly followed by the age and maturity of participants. It is obviously viewed that the communicative events occurred in particular moments mostly involves gender and age. Therefore, gender and age determine the forms and structures of language components as in conversations and specific speech events. You may seriously check and see again in your speech community how gendering interaction corresponds to age in the use of language as a social interaction. We highly believe as well that the success of communication depends on gendering interaction and considering age; speaking to a child will be different from speaking to adolescents and/or to adults.

Then, research on ‘gendered interaction’, as summed up by Pavlidou (see Wodak et.al. (eds.), 2011:417 – 418), was a direct follow-up to Lakoff’s (1975) observations on the characteristics of women’s linguistic behavior, as contrasted to men’s, and culminated in Tannen’s (1990) publication on the

roots of miscommunication between women and men. Relevant previous researches dealing with 'gendered interaction' tell that the most prominent instantiation of the first generalization, however, is to be found in 'the work women do' to keep interaction going. Commonly, women tend 'to use linguistic devices that stress solidarity' more often than men do. Furthermore, women have been found to employ further linguistic items that signal closeness and solidarity. In a broader framework, all these features in women's behavior are considered to be tokens of positive politeness, and make up the conversational style, variously described as 'cooperative' or 'affiliative' that have been attributed to women.

Quoting a lot of research reports, Pavlidou (in Wodak et.al. (eds.), 2011) mentions that men, on the other hand, 'tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase their power and status', especially in formal contexts. This generalization is based on evidence from research on two phenomena that have been mainly associated with dominance in interaction – namely, the amount of talk and interruptions. Closely to the sociolinguistic tradition in the Labovian paradigm, there is also generalization with respect to the indexing of status: 'women use more standard forms than men from the same social group in the same social context (see Holmes, 1998). Supporting evidence is provided not only by classical social dialect research studying language variation across different social groups in a given society, but also by subsequent approaches focusing on variation within one social group.

Gendered interaction, so far, has been more on language and gender interrelationship in the uses of language as a social interaction. Sociolinguists, in other side, also believe that age may give essential roles in verbal communication. Speakers speak as they are in particular periods of age and maturity. This is the proof that age is one of sociolinguistic variables which has important role in social interaction and communication. You can have close attention to speech events and communication interaction that gender and age are gendered interaction, the sociolinguistic phenomena associating with certain interactional features and specific gender. The generalizations based on those various researches are not the absolute one; in some other speech communities, the gendered interaction features may be different. In Minangkabaunese society, for example, women's languages are more dominant than men's in certain cases. Such conditions are in line with the matrilineal society in Minangkabaunese.

Related to constructing gender in interaction, language – more accurately, language use – features in this context in two important ways. The first has to do with the question of how language can signify gender. For example, all languages provide in their system for lexical gender, and many, additionally, for grammatical gender. A second way in which language use is involved in producing gender is stylistic differentiation. Eckert (2008), among the others, states that style involves distinguishing oneself through clothing, articulation, ways of speaking, etc., from a given social landscape. Eckert understands a stylistic move as a kind of bricolage whereby ‘linguistic resources come to be associated with particular salient social meanings, to be combined with other meanings – or exaggerated and tweaked to slightly modify these meanings, leading to social reproduction or social change. Consequently, it is through such practices that gender hierarchies develop in interaction and through which the gender order is maintained or challenged (see Pavlidou in Wodak et.al. (eds.), 2011).

To sum up, it can be said that gendering interaction also necessitates an analysis of normative expectations and stereotypical beliefs related to gendered categories. Such analyses usually rely on etiquette manual for appropriate behavior, proverbs, ‘great men’s’ sayings, literary works, etc.. Gendered interaction is a direct consequence of complying with or orienting oneself to norms and expectations concerning preferred gender behavior, and of course of accepting being categorized in a certain gender class in the first place on the basis of opposition to and exclusion of the other gender classes. Then, the constructing gender in interaction involves the strategic employment of language (and other semiotic means) by participants in interaction in order to position themselves in relation to available gender categories and to do or perform gender – exclusively, fluidly, crossing-over, ‘with anxiety and pleasure’, and so on (see further Pavlidou in Wodak e.al. (eds.), 2011).

The gender (and also age) is the sociolinguistic variables which attract linguists’ attention to study how language as the main tool of social interaction is being influenced at the time of communicative events. As it has been discussed in previous units, language forms, meanings, functions, and value, as well are in specific interactions with gender and age (or maturity). Social interaction by means of language is essential in human society. The importance of verbal interaction is not only useful to have social contacts, but also it is necessary in building life development, education, enculturation,

and other social factors. It is assumed that language used by human beings today are much influenced by gender and age since they cannot be separated from humanistic features. You may deeply come to your speech community in order to see that language as a tool of social interaction involves the cases of gender and age.

B. GENDER AND AGE IN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

It has been frequently mentioned that the ability of individuals to communicate through language is both a unique and a universal human quality. The human capacity to think symbolically and to interpret and produce sounds makes it possible to create a language system as a main tool of communication. Human culture, social behavior, and thinking would not exist without language. On the other hand, communication would be meaningless in the absence of thinking. Language and thinking are so closely connected that it is hard to discuss one without the other, for speech can serve thought and thought can be revealed in speech. (see Verhoeven in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:389 – 390). It can be argued, in accordance with this, as well that the language learning and teaching need thought and the ability to see further points of life and the maturity of having creativity. That is why gender and age are necessarily included in deciding the programs of language teaching and learning.

Language learning (and teaching) is naturally initiated by language acquisition and first learning of communicative competence since the time of humans' birth. Quoting Foster's (1990), Verhoeven (see Coulmas (ed.), 1997:390) states that with respect to the development of communicative competence in children, it is clear that children must not only acquire a repertoire of linguistic devices, but also a repertoire of sociolinguistic devices marking distinct registers. Besides linguistic competence, the social roles associated with language use in varying contexts must be acquired, as well. In relation to language teaching and learning, the concepts of communicative competence are highly relevant. In the context of language teaching, Canale and Swain (1980) (see Verhoeven in Coulmas (ed.), 1997) define communicative competence as: "a synthesis of knowledge of basic grammatical principles, knowledge of how language is used in social settings to perform communicative functions, and knowledge of how utterances and

communicative functions can be combined according to the principles of discourse. According to them, communicative competence is composed of four competencies: grammatical competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, and sociolinguistic competence.

In more specific points, grammatical competence covers the mastery of phonological rules, lexical items, morphosyntactic rules, and rules of sentence formation. Discourse competence refers to the knowledge of rules regarding the cohesion and coherence of various types of discourse. Strategic competence involves the mastery of verbal and nonverbal strategies to compensate for breakdowns and to enhance the effectiveness of communication. Sociolinguistic competence is related to the mastery of socio-cultural conventions within varying social contexts. This type of competence involves rules that are sensitive to various factors, such as the context and topic of discourse, and the social status, sex (gender), and age of participants. These factors account for stylistic differences or varying registers of speech (Verhoeven in Coulmas (ed.), 1997; and see also Brown, 2001:68).

Based on the ideas of sociolinguistic competence, gender (sex) and age of participants are essential to consider in having the success of language teaching and learning, moreover in the teaching and learning of a foreign language, such as EFL teaching-learning in Indonesia. Why the EFL teaching and learning need to seriously consider the gender and age? The first answer to this question is that gender and age are the sociolinguistic variables which are mostly involved in the social interactions and verbal communications. As it has been mentioned above, men's language is not the same with women's, and children's language are different from adolescence's and adults'; language is different in the relation to gender and age. This important point should be pedagogically and practically brought into the EFL classrooms. Secondly, language teaching and learning, including EFL teaching and learning, should be programmed and arranged based on appropriate academic-pedagogical principles. The formal and successful language teaching and learning cannot be in good operation if there are no clear teaching-learning principles.

According to Brown (2001:54 – 70), the core of language pedagogy; the foundational principles that make up our collective approach to language teaching must be based on: (i) cognitive principles; (ii) affective principles; and (iii) linguistic principles. These principles specifically consist of twelve

overarching principles of second language learning, namely: automaticity, meaningful learning, the application of reward, intrinsic motivation, strategic investment (these are under the affective principles); language ego, self-confidence, risk-taking, language-culture connection (these are all under the affective principles); and the native language effects, interlanguage, communicative competence (these are the components of linguistic principles. It is believed that these principles are operational also for foreign language teaching and learning in academic classrooms. For our topic, the linguistic principles are highly relevant to relate to phenomena of gender and age as the sociolinguistic variables.

It is important to recognize that in English there are no categorical grammatical differences which depend upon the gender of speaker or the addressee. Since the linguistic system of English makes no such gender-based distinctions, any differences which are found can be explained only by examining social norms or expectations. Sexism in language is not truly systematic in English but is rather a reflection of the social attitudes of speakers, both male and female. In the current literature on language and gender, the investigation into sexism in language takes as its central theme the fact that females are either excluded from mention in English (the "he/man" problem) or given disparaging treatment not accorded to men. In some cases, however, *he* may refer to both man (male) and women (female) (see Wolfson, 1989:164 – 165).

The points showing that language and gender are in close relationships, it necessary to have a look at some of the issues and findings with the implication for second/foreign language teaching and learning. Wolfson (1989) explains that having had a look at some of the issues and findings connected with the subject of language and sex, it is the now the position to ask where all this leads us with regard to the teaching of English to nonnative speakers. With respect to sexism, the message is clear enough. Nonnative speakers need to know which terms to avoid and which are acceptable, and the teacher, whether male or female, can serve as an excellent model and guide here. As newcomers to American society, nonnative speakers should be made aware of the controversy concerning issues of sexism in language. Such forms as *Ms* and *Chair*, for instance, need to be taught and discussed. Students need to learn that society is changing in its view of women and that many of these changes are manifested in nonsexist language use. Obviously, nonnative speakers from other cultures will have their own sets of values

regarding men's and women's speech as well as other aspects of social behavior. It is not the right or the obligation of teachers to try to change these cultural values; rather, what is needed is that students learn the important of these issues in American culture and the ways in which it is manifested in language.

Wolfson (1989:185 – 186) furthermore adds that teachers and curriculum writers need to be aware of sexist language usage and also of sexist bias in the materials they select for use in the classroom. The monitoring of classroom materials for bias toward sexism as well as racism and other linguistic manifestations of prejudice is very much the responsibility of teachers and administrators. Since English classes for nonnative speakers held in English-speaking countries are not normally homogenous with respect to sex, the problem of how to provide adequate input is a difficult one. As long as we assume that at least some sex differences in language are, in fact, genuine, neither male nor female teachers can hope to serve as perfect models for all their students. From the point of view of the study of speech behavior in America society, it seems clear that sex (gender) as a sociolinguistic variable must be taken much more seriously than it has been so far. In addition, the analysis of speech acts gives us some insight into the forms native speakers use and the rules for their use, but unless sex of speaker and addressee is investigated seriously and systematically, we are likely to obscure some of the most important socio-cultural patterns of speech behavior among native speakers of English and, therefore, to produce descriptions that are lacking critical information regarding rules of speaking needed by nonnative speakers.

Having contents of EFL learning in respect to gender (sexism), age is another sociolinguistic variable which should be involve in. School-age learners are the formal-academic participants in most levels of teaching and learning EFL. Thus, teaching across age levels are other sociolinguistic variables which need serious attention in the programs and materials of EFL learning. Each of these considerations is, in operational classrooms, essential to incorporate into the choices of techniques, lesson organization, and supporting materials. Let's see a brief review of teaching and learning EFL in respect to teaching across age levels, as theoretically exposed by Brown (2001).

As it has been explained by Brown (2001:86 – 93), teaching across age levels concerning with language, including EFL, cannot go too far from the

main age levels of human life, children, teenagers, and adults. Popular tradition would have you believe that children are effortless second and foreign language learners and far superior to adults in their eventual success. On both counts, some qualifications are in order. First, children's widespread success in acquiring second (and foreign) languages belies a tremendous subconscious *effort* devoted to the task. Children exercise a good deal of both cognitive and affective effort in order to internalize both native and second (or foreign) languages. The difference between children and adults lies primarily in the contrast between the child's spontaneous, peripheral attention to language forms and the adult's overt, focal awareness of and attention to those forms. Second, adults are not necessarily less successful in their efforts. Studies have shown that adults, in fact, can be superior in a number of aspects of acquisition. They can learn and retain a larger vocabulary. They can utilize various deductive and abstract processes to shortcut the learning of grammatical and other linguistic concepts. And, in classroom learning, their superior intellect usually helps them to learn faster than a child. So, while children's fluency and naturalness are often the envy of adults struggling with second and foreign languages, the context of classroom instruction may introduce some difficulties to children learning a second language. Third, the popular claim fails to differentiate very young children (say four to six years old) from pre-pubescent children (twelve to thirteen) and the whole range of ages in between. It should be a right point to say that teaching ESL and EFL to school-age children, therefore, is not merely a matter of setting them loose on a plethora of authentic language tasks in the classroom. To successfully teach children a second and/or foreign language requires specific skills and intuitions that differ from those appropriate for adult teaching.

Based on the pedagogical and academic cases on teaching languages to children, Brown (2001) practically proposes five categories which may help give some practical approaches to teaching children. The first one is intellectual development. Since children are still in an intellectual stage of "concrete operation", we need to remember their limitations. Rules, explanations, and other even slightly abstract talk about language must be approached with extreme caution. Children are centered on the here and now, on the functional purposes of language. They have little appreciation for our adult notions of "correctness", and they certainly cannot grasp the metalanguage we use to describe and explain linguistic concepts. The second

one is attention span. One of the salient differences between adults and children is attention span. Since language lessons can at times be difficult for children, so teacher's job is to make them interesting, lively, and fun. The third one is sensory input. Children need to have all five senses stimulated, so the teacher's activities should strive to go well beyond the visual and auditory modes that we feel are usually sufficient for a classroom. The fourth one is affective factors. Children are often innovative in language forms but still have a great many inhibitions. They are extremely sensitive, especially to peers. Children are in many ways much more fragile than adults. Their egos are still being shaped, and therefore the slightest nuances of communication can be negatively interpreted. Consequently, teachers need to help them to overcome such potential barriers to learning. The last one is authentic, meaningful language. Children are focused on what this new language can actually be used for here and now. They are less willing to put up with language that does not hold immediate rewards for them.

Now let's see teaching language to adults. According to Brown (2001), adults have superior cognitive abilities that can render them more successful in certain classroom endeavors. Their need for sensory input can rely a little more on their imaginations. There are some more points that can be exposed related to teaching and learning language to adults. Adults are more able to handle abstract rules and concepts. Adults have longer attention spans for material that may not be intrinsically interesting to them. Then, sensory input need not always be quite as varied with adults, but one of the secrets of lively adult classes is their appeal to multiple senses. Adults often bring a modicum of general self-confidence (global self-esteem) into a classroom. The last one is that adults are better able to understand a context-reduced segment of language.

Brown (2001) also mentions some points of language teaching and learning in respect to age of teen. The "terrible teens" are an age of transition, confusion, self-consciousness, growing, and changing bodies and minds. Teens are in between children and adulthood, and therefore a very special set of considerations applies to teaching them. Some more specific thoughts are worth verbalizing, even if in the form of simple reminders, namely:

1. intellectual capacity adds abstract operational thought around the age of twelve. Therefore, some sophisticated intellectual processing is increasingly possible;
2. attention spans are lengthening as a result of intellectual maturation;

3. varieties of sensory input are still important;
4. factors surrounding ego, self-image, and self-esteem are at their pinnacle;
5. secondary school students are of course becoming increasingly adult-like in their ability to make those occasional diversions from the "here and now" nature of immediate communicative contexts to dwell on a grammar point or vocabulary items.

Based on the ideas concerning with gender and age to the implication of language teaching and learning, we can obviously assume that the sociolinguistic variables, gender and age, should be academically considered and included in the programs of language teaching and learning. That learning and understanding the grammatical features and language forms are fundamentally needed in the programs of language learning and teaching are not debatable anymore. The inclusion of sociolinguistic variables, such as gender and age, however, is also an essential need. The need for having and considering gender and age in the teaching and learning EFL for multilingual societies, as in Indonesia, become a necessity and obligation in order that the learners are able to communicate in the foreign language successfully.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

In real life, social interaction can occur in many ways. Among the others, language is a main instrument of social interaction. How do you prove that this idea is right?

Exercise 2

How do gender and age involve in social interactions, particularly by means of language?

Exercise 3

Social interaction by means of language can be assigned as intellectual way of communication. That is why animals cannot do such intellectual interaction. Why do you think so?

Exercise 4

What are the examples showing that language, gender, and age work together in complex systems?

Exercise 5

Language teaching and learning are not simply to inform the forms and grammatical uses of the learnt language. Ideally, however, the programs of language teaching and learning need to consider the gender and ages of learners. Why do you think that such sociolinguistic variables are even more necessary to be included in EFL teaching and learning?

Exercise 6

There many aspects of gender and age which are important to include in EFL teaching and learning. What are the examples of the aspects?

Exercise 7

How can you prove that learners' gender and ages influence the practical activities of EFL classroom interactions?

Exercise 8

It is highly necessary to state that gender and age, as the sociolinguistic variables, should be involved in planning and designing the programs of EFL teaching and learning in multilingual societies like in Indonesia. How can you support the statement?

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

Human beings are able to create and develop various ways of having communication verbally and non-verbally. Naturally, animals and plants also have instruments of communications. In fact, however, animals' ways of communication do not develop well. It is different from humans' communication tools which develop better and effective. A tremendous and sophisticated tool of human communication tool is language. Language is facultative and intellectual way of communication developed by human beings. Language is a dynamic and flexible system of communication in social interactions.

Exercise 2

Language features and uses are composed of linguistic forms, meaning properties, and socio-cultural values, including gender and age. Those aspects relate to socio-cultural factors in which language is originally used. Therefore, gender and age are partially involved in social interactions, particularly by means of language.

Exercise 3

Human beings are intellectual creatures. They have capability to create and develop ways of life, including language. Such fortunate condition enables them to create and develop language as an instrument of verbal communication. The ability to develop language is not possessed by animals.

Exercise 4

Linguistic features and systems of verbal communication by means of language are complexly composed of many socio-cultural features. Among the others, gender and age are systematically involved in communicative events. For example, we can obviously see the characteristic of man's language and woman's language. In addition, speaking to children is different from speaking to adults, and so on.

Exercise 5

Because verbal communication through language cannot be successful without the understanding on language uses in society and how to use the language in social contexts. Such information should be talked to EFL learners in classroom. The information will help the learners to have successful communication in the learnt language. Moreover, most learners of EFL in Indonesia do not know the sociolinguistic conditions in reality.

Exercise 6

The examples of the gender and age aspects to be included into EFL teaching and learning are: (i) the comparison of linguistic features commonly used by man and women; (ii) characteristics of dictions used by man and woman in conversation; (iii) characteristics of children's, adolescents', and adults' language.

Exercise 7

Classroom activities at elementary schools are dominated by oral practices and mechanical drills because they are in the period of childhood language learning. In adolescent and adult classroom activities, memorization of rules and the understanding of abstract features of language are commonly found. In addition, female's classrooms are not in high noisy compared with male's classrooms. Such different condition is relatively caused different maturity, age, and gender of learners.

Exercise 8

The planning and designing of EFL teaching and learning, which include the curriculum, learning materials, evaluation, and assessments, need information of sociolinguistic studies related to gender and age due to the case that the sociolinguistic variables are frequently involved in using language.



SUMMARY

Human culture, social behavior, and thinking would not exist without language. Then, communication would be meaningless in the absence of thinking. Language and thinking are so closely connected that it is hard to discuss one without the other, for speech can serve thought and thought can be revealed speech. It can be argued that the language learning and teaching need thought and the ability to see further points of life and the maturity of having creativity. That is why gender and age are necessarily included in deciding the programs of language teaching and learning.

Language learning (and teaching) is naturally initiated by language acquisition and first learning of communicative competence since the time of humans' birth. Besides linguistic competence, the social roles associated with language use in varying contexts must be acquired, as well. In relation to language teaching and learning, the concepts of communicative competence are highly relevant. Communicative competence is a synthesis of knowledge of basic grammatical principles, knowledge of how language is used in social settings to perform communicative functions, and knowledge of how utterances and communicative functions can be combined according to the principles of discourse. The communicative competence is composed of four competencies: grammatical competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, and sociolinguistic competence. The grammatical

competence covers the mastery of phonological rules, lexical items, morphosyntactic rules, and rules of sentence formation. Discourse competence refers to the knowledge of rules regarding the cohesion and coherence of various types of discourse. Strategic competence involves the mastery of verbal and nonverbal strategies to compensate for breakdowns and to enhance the effectiveness of communication. Sociolinguistic competence is related to the mastery of socio-cultural conventions within varying social contexts. This type of competence involves rules that are sensitive to various factors, such as the context and topic of discourse, and the social status, sex (gender), and age of participants. These factors account for stylistic differences or varying registers of speech.

Teachers and curriculum writers need to be aware of sexist language usage and also of sexist bias in the materials they select for use in the classroom. The monitoring of classroom materials for bias toward sexism as well as racism and other linguistic manifestations of prejudice is very much the responsibility of teachers and administrators. Since English classes for nonnative speakers held in English-speaking countries are not normally homogenous with respect to sex, the problem of how to provide adequate input is a difficult one. As long as we assume that at least some sex differences in language are, in fact, genuine, neither male nor female teachers can hope to serve as perfect models for all their students. Having contents of EFL learning in respect to gender (sexism), age is another sociolinguistic variable which should be involve in. School-age learners are the formal-academic participants in most levels of teaching and learning EFL.



FORMATIVE TEST 3

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the sociolinguistic reasons to state that gender and age are the important sociolinguistic variable to bring into the EFL teaching and learning?
- 2) How can you argue that communicative competence needs the understanding on the relationships between language, gender and age?
- 3) How can you practically bring the phenomena of gender and age into EFL classrooms?
- 4) Why do you think that curriculum and teaching materials of EFL need to include the sociolinguistic variables such as gender and age?

- 5) What are the pedagogical reasons to say that EFL teaching and learning need sociolinguistic information about gender and age?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next module.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) (i) Man speaks differently with woman does; (ii) Linguistic features commonly used by man are not the same with woman uses; (iii) Politeness strategies used by women are different from those used by men.
- 2) Gender is not the case of biological and anatomical feature. If we are talking about female in linguistics, for instance, it is nothing to do with giving a birth or vice versa.
- 3) The similarities between sex and gender are: (i) they are in the sense of male and female; (ii) they are in the sense of humans' behaviors. The differences between sex and gender are: (i) sex is biological and anatomical dichotomy, while gender is socio-cultural dichotomy; (ii) sex is about specific organs, but gender is about sense and attitude.
- 4) Human language in all levels and uses do not directly refer to biological and anatomical categories, but they are all socio-cultural ones. Thus, human languages relate to the concepts of gender rather than those of sex.
- 5) In pedagogical aspects, learning materials and practices should be relevant to learners' psychological developments and academic goals. In this case, information about language and gender is highly necessary to build and develop learners' communicative competence in learning a language, including EFL.

Formative Test 2

- 1) In our daily life, it is not questioned anymore that the language functions are more as social factors rather than individual ones. If we are speaking, the meanings and understanding are addressed to the understanding of partners. It means that language is social phenomena.
- 2) Socio-cultural constructions and values make gender and age implicitly involved inside language.
- 3) Language is both in human's mind and thought and in societies' perceptions and judgments.
- 4) The concepts of how human beings acquire and learn language along their life.

- 5) Children are more progressive and happily acquire and learn new languages, but more adolescents and adults may have less motivation in learning a new language.

Formative Test 3

- 1) The complex-systematic interrelationships between language, gender, and age naturally occur in all speech communities. Therefore, in learning a language, including EFL, how gender and age are involved in language should be academically introduced to the students. It will be helpful for the learners in having better communicative competence.
- 2) The communicative competence is crucial for EFL learners to build and develop in order to have better language mastery and successful communication in many settings. The understanding on how language relates to gender and age will help learners to communicate contextually. Thus, the understanding on relationship between language, gender, and age is necessary to build communicative competence.
- 3) Teachers of EFL may use authentic materials in which the conversations show the phenomena of gender and age in language. It is also possible to create cross-culture understanding materials showing that gender and age are involved in languages.
- 4) For the advanced level, in particular, the curriculum, learning materials, and evaluation need information about gender and age inside language. If the learners do not know the phenomena, they will use the language in monotonous ways or out of social contexts. Of course, such condition may give negative effects to language mastery.
- 5) As it has been mentioned so far, language teaching and learning need information concerning with language, gender, and age. Pedagogically, the learners should be informed the phenomena in order that they will have knowledge and inspiration that may help them in having communication in real activities. It teachers' responsibility to bring the information into their classrooms.

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Language Maintenance and Language Shift

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INTRODUCTION

Dear students! Now we are coming to module 5 talking about language maintenance and language shift, and their implication in EFL teaching. Language maintenance and shift are both outcomes of the dynamics of language communities. A language community is endlessly recreated, as the grammar and lexicon that embody knowledge of the language are reconstituted in each new generation of learners. Some imperfections or innovations occur in this learning process, which give rise to language change. And some knowledge of language difference is built into the process: learners sense the differences in language as used by those more distant to them; and they come to experience their own particular code as a badge of their identity, or of membership in their own community. A language is maintained if speakers effectively pass it on to the next generation. This transmission may fail because speakers do not use it sufficiently in the learners' presence; or because the learners themselves, for some reason, do not choose to make use of it, but get their language from some other source (Ostler, 2011: 315). Meanwhile, language is shifted when a marked mismatch in power relations between the groups of speech community occurs, whereby the disfavoured language loses ground (Musk, 2006: 67)

There are three major sections to discuss in this unit. The first major section is about the issue of language maintenance in terms of its definition, minority language maintenance, and language revival. The second major section deals with language shift in terms of its definition, factors causing language shift, and language death and language loss. The third major section is to discuss the Implication of Language Maintenance and Shift in EFL Teaching.

After finishing this module, you are expected to be able to:

1. mention and argumentatively criticize the theories of language maintenance as a part of sociolinguistic studies;
2. explain the factors influencing language maintenance;
3. mention and critically agree the theories of language shifts;
4. explain the factors causing language shift;
5. search and collect data, information, and linguistic facts dealing with language maintenance and language shift;
6. explain the implication of language maintenance and shift in EFL teaching.

To achieve these objectives systematically, the materials of this module are presented respectively as follow:

1. Unit 1 : Language Maintenance
2. Unit 2 : Language Shift
3. Unit 3 : Language Maintenance and Shift in EFL Teaching

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, reading activities and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are kindly suggested to do in order that you learn this module successfully.

1. Please read and learn the materials and explanation in each unit carefully!
2. Then, read also the related references and information by means of independent learning and reading!
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have academic discussion in groups or in pairs!
4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, please read the materials again or you may have comparative discussion with your partners.
5. Do exercises well and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided!

All right students, it is believe that you do your best in learning this module.

UNIT 1

Language Maintenance

The study of language maintenance is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other. In other words, language maintenance occurs when the speakers in certain community are either bilingual or multilingual.

A. DEFINITIONS OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Language maintenance is the neutral or positive counterpart of language shift (later discussed in the next sub-chapter) or attrition. As with language shift and attrition, language maintenance can occur at the group and individual level, although it usually refers to processes at the group and intergenerational level (Hulsen, 2000: 5). The term language maintenance is therefore frequently used in conjunction with language shift. A number of models have been developed to explain the differences that exist between ethnic groups in the way they behave in language contact situations. Many scholars interested in language maintenance and shift have addressed the issue why some migrant or ethnic minority communities give up their language in favour of the L2, while others are able to maintain it for generations (Fishman, 1966, 1988; Kloss, 1966; Haugen, 1953; Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977).

Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap (2009: 245) define language maintenance as “the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language”. Ostler (2011: 316) says that language maintenance can be considered as the survival of a language in a situation where it might be expected to be endangered. These two definitions lead to a question “How language maintenance or survival can be secured?”. In relation to this question, Fishman (1997: 87) points out, the issue of how language maintenance is to be secured is curiously difficult to characterize, since its practical content depends crucially on the kind of threat that a language is facing, or its degree of advancement. Likewise, it is difficult to advise people on how to keep healthy, without knowing where

they live, how old they are, etc. But nonetheless, there are some guidelines on nutrition, hygiene, exercise, etc. which conduce to a healthy life anywhere. Fishman's comments are still unable to accommodate how language maintenance can be secured; however, through his illustration, we can have a little direction to how it is secured.

In response to the nature of language maintenance, Ostler (2011: 317-318) proposes three generalizations about language maintenance. The first generalization concerns timing. Naïve populations can easily underestimate the degree of threat there is to the survival of their language: adults tend to focus on the use made of the language among their peers and elders, and fail to notice that the next generation's linguistic behavior, or linguistic loyalties, are changing. This leads to the common observation that the perception of a problem in language maintenance comes one generation too late to address it.

The second generalization concerns effective means to maintain a language. In the absence of effective isolation (i.e. given that language contact is inevitable), success can only be achieved through a dynamic, interactive response to the presence of other languages: not to deny their presence, attractions, and likely utility to members of the endangered language community, but to work out a mode of coexistence which focuses on the value of the traditional language, the clear problems in perpetuating it, and the plausible – and perhaps non-traditional – means that may be needed to go on using it. Purism – the refusal to accept mixtures of the old language with new influences – is a natural, defensive reaction by traditional speakers, but it is usually counterproductive in modern conditions. To take an analogy with epidemiology, we have to develop antibodies to the influence of an outside language, not subject it to antibiotics.

The third generalization concerns long-term realism. Language maintenance is not a problem for a single generation, a single campaign to be fought, and either won or lost. Where languages coexist, it is a struggle that will continue indefinitely into the future. As shown in the British Isles by English and its Celtic neighbors, principally Welsh and Gaelic, different eras will find different (temporary) resolutions.

B. THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

As one can expect, there is a close relationship between the retention of the heritage language and one's achievement. The proficiency of the first language is considered to be beneficial for individuals and for the society. As declared by Krashen (2000: 8), the knowledge of the heritage language is

helpful in promoting the cognitive development. The outcome would be better accomplishment in school and at work. According to a survey conducted by Lee (2002: 219), the results revealed that students who had a greater awareness of and interest in developing biculturalism had superior grade point average than their counterparts who had less interest in their heritage. The correlation was very statistically significant. Based on the school scores, Lee discovers that the students who accept the acculturation process, adapting to the dominant group while maintaining their own heritage language and culture, have better scholastic performance to those who prefer the integration process and who adopt the language and values of the target culture (Lee, 2002: 218). The Grade Point Average (GPA) increases from 2.98 to 3.81 as the number of affirmative responses increases.

Other than the success in school, the heritage language competence is advantageous on the job market as well in the way that the bilinguals usually have slightly higher occupational status than those monolinguals (Krashen, 1998: 9). Furthermore, the first language preservation provides people more confidence, higher ambition, and even better English competence in many cases. It is also desirable for the society "in terms of business, diplomacy and national security" (Krashen, 2000: 8). The reason is that the speakers of the ethnic language can serve as natural resources in promoting the trade globally since the US economy relies on the language abilities of the bilinguals to sell products to countries that use other languages (Krashen, 1998: 7). In consequence, the maintenance of Chinese competence is valuable as China is a highly populated country, and thus there is a huge trade market that requires professionals who know Chinese language skills. In addition, the development of the heritage language encourages a positive view of multiculturalism, and helps to resolve the conflicting feelings of one's own identity, which is known as "Ethnic Identity Incorporation" (Krashen, 2000: 8). Moreover, the maintenance of the ethnic language is considered to be very essential since people need this competence to communicate with the family members and with other people of the heritage language community as well. Therefore, having a common language helps to keep a closer bond between people.

Besides, Quang (2011) says that maintaining the child's first language helps the child value his or her culture and sacred heritage from their ancestors, which contributes to a positive self-concept. It is the language that makes human beings distinction from animal and among themselves (Baker, 2008; Bokhorst-Heng, 1999). Some people think that language is their

identity, their culture, and their traditional values, which are handed down from their parents, and ancestors. They have to keep this sacred heritage unblemished and handed down to their children, children's children. If they lose their language, they will lose themselves in terms of honor, hope, self esteem, and self pride.

In addition, maintaining native language is important for keeping social relationship. When the native language is not maintained, important links to family and other community members may be lost. By encouraging native language use, parents can prepare the child to interact with the native language community, both in their home country and overseas. The question is in case all of them are bilinguals and they can use second language to communicate in every domain, they can link with all community members with the second language, do they need to speak their mother tongue? For social connection reason they may say no, but for maintaining identity reason, if they are proud of their traditional values, they do not want to change, they must say yes. That is why Cham indigenous in Pangduranga area in Vietnam, Choctaw in Mississippi can have kept bilingual status, their mother tongue with national language, until now (Crawford, 1996).

Another importance of maintaining native language is related to people's intellectual factor. Immigrant students need uninterrupted intellectual development. When students who are not yet fluent in English switch to using only English, they are functioning at an intellectual level below their age. Interrupting intellectual development in this manner is likely to result in academic failure. However, when parents and children speak the language they know best with one another, they are both working at their actual level of intellectual maturity (Cummins, 1994). If we look at the individual's intellectual maturity as an endless process, the switching in English education earlier than needed just delays the process for a moment. With the English, they own a most powerful tool for not only accessing in huge knowledge and information resources.

C. MAINTAINING MINORITY LANGUAGE

Language maintenance is the protection and promotion of the first or native language in an individual or within a speech community, particularly among language minorities. Yet languages have no existence without people, the process of language maintenance involves different levels, individuals,

community, nation, and linguists (through bilingual education, and language planning, for example), (Baker 2006; Pakir, 1994). Minority languages can be the languages of indigenous groups or of immigrants, which constantly cope with pressures of assimilation and replacement of the dominant language.

In addition, maintaining minority language is closely related to maintaining endangered language, a language that may soon vanish, ceasing to be used as a vehicle of communication, perhaps even disappearing completely from human history. This may not always be true since an endangered language is not necessarily a minority language, and not every minority language is necessarily endangered (Derhemi, 2002: 151). But there is a high probability that with time a neglected minority language will become endangered.

At a time when it is estimated that “80% of the world’s 6,000 or so living languages will die within the next century” (Crystal 1997b: 17), when language endangerment is increasingly seen as a topic that primarily concerns linguists (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 23), and with the increase in the last decade of the number of international organisations formed to record endangered languages (Crystal 1997b: 18) and to regulate and promote the linguistic rights of language communities, it is natural that there is a great interest in the field by sociolinguists, policy-makers and analysts.

Several studies show that language used by minority community has been marginalized by larger groups of community. McKinnie and Priestly (2004: 24) conducted a study of the linguistic minority community in Carinthia, Austria. They note that the Slovene/German bilingual community is in a similar sociolinguistic situation to many other minority groups. For example, they have been socially and politically marginalised; they tend to use the community language in limited domains, and tend to have a low appreciation of the status of their language. The Subject Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (SEVQ) was used by Gogonas (2009: 107) who found that Albanian children living in Greece tend to shift to Greek as their linguistic competence in Albanian is declining; he found that they wish to distance themselves from this stigmatised language and that their parents, although holding language maintenance as an ideal, did not take drastic measures to counteract this.

In addition, Maurais and Morris (2003: 148) note that for Mexican-Americans, language shift towards English has still occurred more slowly

than for non-Hispanic migrant groups. Special factors favouring language maintenance in this instance include a continuing influx of native Spanish-speakers from Mexico to the USA, geographical concentration of immigrants in tightly knit communities, most of which are close to the Mexican border and support received from the Mexican government in recent years.

Furthermore, Yagmur, de Bot and Korzilius (1999: 53), in a study of language attrition rates among the Turkish community in Australia, point out that although Australian policies are in favour of language maintenance, language attrition is a widespread phenomenon in many ethnolinguistic groups in Australia. Meanwhile, Holmes (1997: 19) says that while New Zealand has no explicit national policy in relation to community languages, the initiatives that have been endorsed (including Aotearoa, support for the Samoan language) indicate support for language maintenance for minority group children.

These studies show that the social status and prestige of endangered minority languages (EMLs), one of the most important forces in the process of attrition and maintenance, depend on a complex set of economic and cultural factors, reflecting the power relations among the communities of speakers involved. In order to assess symbolic indicators of dominance and control, it is important to investigate the functional aspects of the language and its use in different registers and domains. The tendencies for change in functional roles in bilingual and diglossic situations are very important in the process of reversing language shift and revitalization of an endangered language. The linguistic attitudes of the community members are also an important parameter. These attitudes are historical and cultural constructions and relate directly to the prestige of EMLs. The sociocultural and ethnic context, as well as sociolinguistic indicators of language use and attitudes of the speakers, have been at the center of research on endangered languages in the last twenty years (Derhemi, 2002: 152).

There are certain social factors which seem to wholesale language shift for a minority language group, at least for a time. The first main factor contributing to language maintenance is a family. It is argued to be a primary environment for acquiring native language and passing it over generations (Rohani, Choi, Amjad, Burnett, & Colahan, 2005). Similarly, Clyne and Kipp (1999) note that home has often been cited as a key element in language maintenance – if a language is not maintained in the home domain, then it cannot be maintained elsewhere. Since language spoken within the family is

tied to its cultural self-identity, it is often parents who make a decision on whether to teach their mother tongue to their children, or not (Fishman, 1991). As children attend school, they are exposed to the majority language as the media of instruction. As the result, they may become more assimilated into a majority language and society. Furthermore, they may start feeling less positive towards their mother tongue and use it less. Therefore, if true language maintenance is going to occur, the language must be incorporated into the home life. Otherwise, it may lead to language loss (with the possibility of language revitalization later in life) or language death (Rohani et al., 2005).

If families from a minority group live near each other and see each other frequently, this also helps them maintain their language. Members of the Greek community in Wellington, New Zealand, for instance, belong to a common church, the Greek Orthodox church, where Greek is used. They have established shops where they sell foodstuffs imported from Greece and where they use Greek to each other. There are Indian and Pakistani communities in Britain who have established the same kind of communities within cities, and you can often hear Panjabi or Gujerati spoken in their shops. In the USA, Chinese people who live in the Chinatown areas of big cities are much more likely to maintain a Chinese dialect as their mother tongue through to the third generation than those who move outside the Chinatown area (Holmes, 2013: 65).

Holmes adds that 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. Polynesian migrants from the islands of Niue, Tokelau, Tonga and Samoa arrive in New Zealand regularly. New Zealand Polynesians provide them with hospitality, and the new arrivals provide new linguistic input for the New Zealand communities. The prospect of regular trips back 'home' provides a similar motivation to maintain fluency for many groups. Samoan men in New Zealand, for instance, often expect to return home to take up family and community responsibilities at a later stage in their lives. Greek migrants also see a trip back to Greece as a high priority for themselves and their children. Most Greek New Zealanders regard a trip back to Greece as essential at some point in their lives, and many young Greek girls take the trip with the express aim of securing a good Greek husband. Clearly this provides a very strong incentive to maintain proficiency in Greek.

Although the pressures to shift are strong, members of a minority community can take active steps to protect its language. If we consider the influence of social factors such as participants and setting, for instance, on language choice, it is clear that social factors may help resist the influence of economic pressures. Where the normal family organisation for an ethnic group is the extended family with grandparents and unmarried relatives living in the same house as the nuclear family, for example, there is good reason to continue using the minority language at home. Similarly, groups which discourage intermarriage, such as the Greek and the Chinese communities, contribute to language maintenance in this way. Marriage to a majority group member is the quickest way of ensuring shift to the majority group language for the children.

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 language maintenance. Tongan people in New Zealand attend church services in Tongan. Heritage language programmes in Canada use the minority language in school for part of each day in order to maintain the languages of groups such as Canadian Ukrainians and Canadian Germans. In Wales, bilingual education is available throughout the education system in many areas. In such cases the community has taken steps to try to maintain their language, though the continued influx of English speakers to Wales means that Welsh will never be 'safe'.

The use of minority language in education, religion, the media or administration may assist attempts to booster its position (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap, 2000). But for minority groups this can only be done at a great cost. In Schrauf's (1999) study of the mother tongue maintenance in North America, settlement patterns and religious practice were identified as one of the most important in predicting language retention. Of all the related variables, Schrauf (1999) argued that religious practice was a considerable factor in minority language maintenance well into the third generation. Other social factors, such as education and class, determine, to a large degree, the level of exposure to other languages, and therefore the likelihood of shift (Grenier, 1984; Pendakur, 1990). Fishman (1966, 1980) points out that various institutions, such as language schools, libraries, print and broadcast media, religious congregations, social clubs and ethnic restaurants and shops, serve to ensure retention of minority language within an ethno-linguistic community. Additionally, Mackey (2004) notes the significant positive

impact of providing television and radio broadcasting in minority language, use of it as a language of computer software, and as a language of wired and satellite networks on language maintenance at present

In addition to the use of minority language at schools and places of worship, minority language can also be maintained by increasing its status in the community (Mesthrie et al., 2000). For instance, Mukherjee undertook a study of maintenance patterns of Panjabi and Bengali in Delhi. His findings showed that Bengali is retained in more domains than Panjabi. An important discovery of this study was that Bengalis assign their language a higher status than Hindi, a dominant language in Delhi. In contrast, Panjabi in its ethnic community in Delhi has a lower literary and cultural status than Hindi (Mesthrie et al., 2000: 257-258).

Institutional support generally makes the difference between success and failure in maintaining a minority group language. Education, law and administration, religion and the media are crucial domains from this point of view. The minority group which can mobilise these institutions to support language maintenance has some chance of succeeding. When the government of a country is committed to maintaining or reviving a language, it is possible to legislate for its use in all these domains, as happened in Israel with Hebrew. When Wales achieved self-government in 1999, the Welsh National Assembly made Welsh a compulsory subject in school for children up to the age of 16 (Holmes, 2013: 67).

In addition, Lachapelle (1988) studied immigrating patterns and state policy in Canada and has noticed that language maintenance is affected by changes in immigration policy. Another example illustrating the influence of political factors on language retention comes from the political situation in India in 1947. As a consequence of the country partition, Sindhi Hindus fled from the Sind, which became part of Pakistan, to India. They spoke Sindhi at home but had to adopt local languages in order to survive in a new environment. This process resulted in language shift leading to language loss among the Sindhis (Bayer, 2005). One more example of political influences on language shift is found in many African countries, where the official languages were often determined by their former colonialists. Colonial education systems were instrument in establishing the colonial language as a powerful tool in pursuing political, economic and cultural goals of the colonial governments. Those languages consequently almost entirely replaced African tribal languages (Léglise and Migge, 2007).

Another important factor in minority language maintenance is economic factor, depending on whether the community members see any financial benefits in learning the minority language (Holmes, 2001). The speakers of the minority language must be able to ensure that using their language can provide jobs for people through which they can earn their living. For example, by learning the minority language, people can become research assistants for every one who wants to do a research on a certain minority language.

Migration also plays an important role in language use of minority language groups. The presence and entrance of new immigrants who have the same minority language serves to retain its life (Pendakur, 1990). Related components are age at immigration and years since immigrating. Age at immigration is important because those who immigrated as children are more likely to shift to the majority language once they are exposed to it at school and later in professional life (Pendakur, 1990; Grenier, 1984). For example, in the study of Mennonite immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Germany, Daller (2005) reports that although all immigrants he interviewed consider German to be their main language of use, those who immigrated at the age of 45 or older view Plautdietsch as their second language; those who immigrated at the age of 25-44 use it occasionally; whereas the youngest immigrants (aged 15-24) have only passive knowledge of this variety. Pendakur (1990) also points out that the starting year of immigration is an important factor, because it indicates potential assimilation and, therefore, language shift.

Spatial concentration of the linguistic group affects language use opportunity. For example, if the population is dispersed, and contacts between group members are rather infrequent, its members are less likely to retain a minority language (Grenier, 1984). On the other hand, if the community is concentrated in one place and is relatively isolated, there are few contacts with other groups, and therefore the chance of language retention is enhanced (Pendakur, 1990). For instance, the communities in New Zealand where Maori has survived are rather inaccessible, populated almost entirely by Maoris. In these communities before television broadcasting became widespread, schooling was the only domain where English (dominant language) was commonly in use. Maori, on the contrary, was used in everyday interactions, at church, in the shops, for community meetings and in the pub (Holmes, 2001). Thus, the degree of closure or self-

sufficiency in a minority community is an indication of how much the minority language can be used, and the degree to which it can meet life functions (Fishman, 1980). If, for instance, a member of a minority group can shop, go to the doctor and access other services in the language of his or her choice, there is less need to shift to the majority language. Additionally, resistance to language shift tends to last longer in rural than in urban areas. This is explained by the fact that rural groups are isolated from cities where majority language prevails, and they can meet most of their social needs using their ethnic (minority) language (Holmes, 2001). Williamson and Van Eerde (1980), for instance, in their study of Gaelic, Friulan, and Rhaetoroman language maintenance, found out that people of rural rather than urban origin are more likely to retain their minority mother tongue. This could be partly explained by the fact that those who grew up in an urban environment have more need (and opportunity) to communicate in a majority language (Lieberson, Dalto, and Johnston, 1975).

D. LANGUAGE REVIVAL

Sometimes a community becomes aware that its language is in danger of disappearing and takes deliberate steps to revitalise it. Attempts have been made in Ireland, Wales and Scotland, for example, to preserve the indigenous languages, and in New Zealand steps are being taken to attempt to reverse language shift and revitalise Maori. 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. Hebrew was revived in Israel after being effectively dead for nearly 1700 years. It had survived only for prayers and reading sacred texts (much as Latin was used in Catholic services until the 1960s) and that was all. Yet strong feelings of nationalism led to determined efforts by Israeli adults to use it to children, and as a result it has been successfully revived (Holmes, 2013: 67).

Language Revival is the creation of a living language community where such a community has ceased to exist. Over the past two decades, language revitalization has become increasingly visible to the public eye as many communities try to reverse the steady erosion of their heritage language. Linguists and language activists, however, have not paid as much attention to

the idea of bringing back a language after the language has already died. The data on language endangerment indicates that many Native American languages are moving from a language revitalization scenario to a language revival scenario (Montgomery-Anderson 2008: 23). It is therefore time to discuss the distinct methods and processes involved in language revival.

In order to determine what exactly *revival* means, it is first necessary to define the terms *living language* and *dead language*. In order to arrive at adequate definitions for these terms, we must first examine what it means to be fluent in a language and whether or not this is that same as being a native speaker of a language. We can classify any language in any speaker's linguistic inventory as either the speaker's first language or as an acquired, or second language. This first language - also called the native tongue or mother tongue - is the L1. All other languages that are not a native language for the speaker is referred to as an L2. Knowledge of an L2 language can run the gamut from a few memorized words all the way to near-native fluency. Some might use the terms *proficient speaker* or *fluent speaker* to refer to a given speaker's knowledge of a language. Although these terms can be hard to define precisely, for our purposes we can say that proficiency is limited to a good communicative command of a second language (Montgomery-Anderson 2008).

The term *fluent speaker*, however, could refer to an L1 or an L2 speaker. Crystal (2001) defines fluency as "smooth, rapid, effortless, accurate use of language". It is important to note, however, that the term *fluent speaker* is not synonymous with the term *native speaker*. A native speaker will be a fluent speaker, but a fluent speaker will not always be a native speaker. Let us take a college student from Korea who majors in Indonesian and then spends a year in an intensive immersion program in Jakarta as an example. Such experience can produce a fluent speaker but will not, by definition of the term itself, produce a native Indonesian speaker. Our hypothetical foreign exchange student could conceivably speak and write Indonesian with near-native fluency, yet would not be able to produce puns, slang terms or poems. A native speaker is able to play and create with the language, whereas a merely fluent speaker would have a mastery of the language while at the same time not being able to create with it. This distinction will be important when we examine the difference between a dead language and a living language.

On a larger scale, a living language is a language that children are acquiring as their native language, whereas an endangered/dying language is a language that children are no longer acquiring as their native language. An extinct or dead language no longer has any native speakers. Keeping in mind the above definitions, we can see that a dead language can have fluent speakers and/or proficient speakers. For example, we can find many priests and scholars in the Vatican who have a superb command of Latin and who even speak it among themselves. None of these speakers, however, learned Latin as their first language. In like fashion, enthusiasts of dead Celtic languages (i.e. Cornish and Manx) have made these languages into *hobby languages* but, as of the date of this writing, there have been no children who speak Cornish or Manx as their first language.

Krauss (1996) created the most commonly used classification of the language level of endangerment. His system classifies languages on a scale from "Category A" - languages actively learned by the majority of children - to "Category E" - languages that are extinct. The determining factor in the classification is who speaks the language as an LI language. In Category A, children are LI speakers. In category B the parental generation is the youngest generation speaking the language as a mother tongue, while in category C only grandparents have retained the LI language. Category D languages are, for practical purposes, quite similar to extinct languages: "Category D languages are those spoken only by a few of the very oldest people. These elders often do not have the chance to talk much to each other. The language may be completely out of use, or it may be only remembered, so not quite extinct". A category D language is technically alive, yet the loss of speakers has already very much altered the language. The extinct languages are found in category E.

In response to category A, B, C, D, and E, Montgomery-Anderson (2008) uses the term *language revival* to refer to, a) languages that are extinct and, b) languages in such a serious stage of obsolescence that the community no longer uses them as a living tool of communication. *Language revitalization* is what happens when a community realizes that their language is losing speakers and decides to focus its resources on teaching a new generation the heritage language. In *language revival*, on the other hand, the community language is already dead. In other words, all the knowledge of the language is contained in archives or remembered by a few remaining LI speakers.

E. A MODEL FOR LANGUAGE REVIVAL

Montgomery-Anderson (2008) proposes some models for language revival: (i) creating archives, (ii) creating L2 speakers/teachers, and (iii) creating native speakers. The first step in language revival is gathering and preparing our database of the language, "creating archives". Databases come in two varieties: human and recorded. Table 5.1 lists the possibilities of available material. Keep in mind that various combinations of these categories can exist as well. A question mark indicates that the possibility of revival is ambitious and/or dependent on the quality, quantity and accessibility of those materials. We can base our goals for language revival on the quality of material we have to work with.

Table 5.1
Material Availability and Language Revival Goals

Quality of Available Material	Language Revival Goals
A few elderly speakers, but no real language community. Speakers have strong knowledge of language along with repertoire of various verbal arts (poems, stories, songs, etc.)	Native Speakers Fluent Speakers Proficient Speakers Symbolic Speakers
Elderly speakers with passive or semi-forgotten knowledge. Knowledge of verbal arts is small or non-existent.	Native Speakers (?) Fluent Speakers Proficient Speakers Symbolic Speakers
Video, audio, and written archives	Native Speakers (?) Fluent Speakers (?) Proficient Speakers Symbolic Speakers
Audio and written archives	Native Speakers (?) Fluent Speakers (?) Proficient Speakers (?) Symbolic Speakers
Written archives	Native Speakers (?) Fluent Speakers (?) Proficient Speakers (?) Symbolic Speakers
Word lists	Symbolic Speakers

The second stage of our model involves creating a generation of new teachers. These new teachers will probably be the same individuals involved in language documentation and these first two stages may occur simultaneously. California, for example, has more seriously moribund languages than any other region of North America. Because there are so few speakers, the solution has been to team individual speakers with learners in what has become known as the Master-Apprentice Program. To date adult learners have had the opportunity to acquire twenty different languages. The basic model of this program is to match a fluent elder with a younger learner in situations which emphasize oral learning in real-life situations, often performing traditional tasks or skills. No English is allowed. The program directors encourage students to record sessions, both for their own use as well as a means to add to the linguistic archive of the language. An important idea behind the program is to bridge the generation gap that has resulted from rapid and traumatic cultural change.

These new speakers, however, will not become fluent speakers, even after years of involvement with the program. Hinton (2001) offers a realistic assessment of the expected results of such a program. The desired results of the program is that by the end of three years, the apprentices will be at least conversationally proficient in their language, and ready to be language teachers to other people. However, never could we expect an apprentice to be so fluent as to equal the ability of the master.

The Master-Apprentice program is making wonderful gains in keeping knowledge of the language alive; nevertheless, it is apparent that with only this knowledge the language will still die. The Master-Apprentice program, in and of itself, does not assure language survival in the true sense. A living language needs to have fluent speakers; in order for this to happen, children must learn the language as their primary language. Because those involved in the program are already adults, they could become highly proficient in the language, but not fluent. Perhaps we should view the Master-Apprentice program as preparation for a period of "language hibernation". After the last native speaker dies, the language will technically be dead, although there will be individuals with knowledge and even proficiency in the language. Unfortunately, proficiency does not make a living language: a living language requires speakers to imagine and dream in it, to create with it and create new meanings for it. In other words, it requires *fluent* speakers.

The hibernation model associated with the Master-Apprentice program remains, however, the language revival situation with the greatest chance of success. A second type of language revival situation exists where the language has already been dead for many years; if the community is lucky, there will be documents available for study and possible language revival. In the worst case scenario, the language has died out with no documentation and is entirely and irrevocably extinct. Unfortunately, such a situation is the case for the majority of extinct American Indian languages. For those communities with documentation available, there is the possibility to reconstruct the language from records, learn it and pass it on to children. In such a case the period of hibernation will be greater, the learners/speakers less proficient and the transformation of the language into a new form even more profound.

Technology is providing the means for these new L2 speakers to learn from the elders as well as keep in contact with each other. Certain language communities are making use of the telephone to communicate with elders over great distances. Montgomery-Anderson (2008) states that in Alaska a group of students have been learning by phone to speak Deg Xinag, the language of the Deg Hit'an (Ingalik Athabaskan). The Deg Hit'an are Athabaskan peoples of Western Central Alaska who live near the meeting of the Innoko and Yukon Rivers. There is only a handful of elderly Deg Xinag speakers and the learners are geographically too far spread apart to make it practical to get together face-to-face. The University of Alaska, Interior Campus McGrath Center, organized a one-credit distance delivery class to make it possible to speak with the elders telephonically. Although these learning conditions, according to Taff (1997), were far from ideal, the telephone did allow a learning situation to exist where it would not have otherwise been possible. These learners are using the telephone to create a virtual speech community. Not only can learners interact with elders located far away, but different learners in other areas as well can all participate in the same call-in lesson. Moreover, the creation of these communities creates a sense of solidarity among community members and gives the language a real presence in the modern world.

Another contribution of technology in language revival is internet. The Internet is becoming a powerful resource for those interested in the general problems and methodologies surrounding language revival. Indigenous groups can now have a presence on the web that is easy to locate where they

can post information about the language as well as lesson plans. For example, the Miami nation has decided to revive their language, extinct since the mid-twentieth century, and has created a web site (<http://www.nyaamiaproject.com/>) that contains basic greetings and phrases as well as information about revival projects. Part of Montgomery-Anderson's (2008) reasoning for grouping Category D languages with extinct languages is that the few elderly speakers of the category language have no framework in which to use the language. Buszard-Welcher (2001) suggests that the Web can be used to create a virtual speech community, "a constructed immersion where members of the speech community meet, interact, and communicate in the native language".

She points out that the Internet can help to reverse the negative effects of television, a medium that "invades" the home and imposes outside linguistic dominance. Moreover, she adds, the Internet is different from television. Television is an oneway information flow from the network to a passive home audience. The Internet is not one-way, nor is it passive. People receive information, but they create and send it too. The Web is a very social place that encourages participation and community building. The Internet is thus becoming essential in creating a virtual domain from the language where one had not existed before.

In addition, Crystal (2000: 142) believes there are currently at least 500 languages with an Internet presence. He points out that the Web circumvents the normally prohibitive costs associated with traditional communication media like radio and television. He says that only the "better-off languages could afford to make routine use of these media. But with the Internet, everyone is equal. The cost of a Web page is the same, whether the contributor is writing in English, Spanish, Welsh, or Navajo. It is perfectly possible for a minority language to make its presence felt on the Internet. What is significant, of course, is that the Net provides an identity which is no longer linked to a geographical location. People can maintain a linguistic diversity with their relatives, friends, and colleagues, wherever they may be in the world.

Besides, the Internet has allowed numerous groups interested in language revival and revitalization to make available resources and information that would have been otherwise difficult and time-consuming to locate. Just a few examples would include the Indigenous Language Institute for the Preservation of the Languages of the Americas

(<http://www.indigenous-language.org>), the Foundation for Endangered Languages (<http://www.ogmios.org/1810.htm>) or the Linguistic Society of America (<http://www.lsadc.org/>). Montgomery-Anderson's (2008: 37) mentions his personal example of the power of the Internet in language revival:

I learned about the California language Mutsun through surfing the web, contacted the linguists working on it via email and received emails from them containing, as attachments, the Mutsun dictionary and workbook that they have been developing. Furthermore, the library at my University has on microfilm the Harrington notes on Mutsun that have been transferred from aluminum disc. Thus I have all the linguistic documentation available on Mutsun at my disposal and can work on materials for a California language without ever visiting that state.

The last method as proposed by Montgomery-Anderson's (2008) is "creating native speakers". If language revivalists complete the first two steps, and if the community supports the necessary commitment, an immersion style environment can be created to teach the language to the next generation. Given our definitions of a living language and our stated goals for language revival, this is the only manner in which to revive a language.

A true language revival means that committed adult learners will take their knowledge and create a learning environment for children. Once there are enough adults who know the language there will be the possibility of creating school and/ or home environments to pass on the language to children. Children can learn a language fluently from non-fluent speakers, but there needs to be other children to interact with as well as adults with a high level of commitment. To understand this dedication, try to imagine bringing up your children in a language you are not fluent in yourself. Such a learning environment did take place in the 60's when a group of eleven families in Belfast, Northern Ireland, decided to raise their children as Irish speakers. These parents were themselves not fluent in Irish and were living in a city of monolingual English speakers. The level of dedication was such that not only did the children acquire the language, but the group as a whole precipitated a shift in the local area towards Irish. Maguire in Montgomery-Anderson's (2008: 38) points out the high degree of motivation necessary for the success of this program. He states that community members were motivated by the recognition that the creation of a socially cohesive speech community was necessary if they were to have any chance of bringing up Irish-speaking families in Belfast. The project proved successful. Not only did the

community of eleven families survive the pressures of being rooted in an English speaking community.

In addition, it exerted a significant impact upon the surrounding neighborhoods, contributing to a wider shift towards bilingualism. Furthermore, the Shaw's road community inspired other community enterprises throughout the North, particularly in the area of Irish medium education. Of course, Irish in this situation was not a dead language; it had only lost fluent speakers on a local level. Unfortunately, for the Indigenous communities we are examining, there is no "homeland" where there is still a pool of native speakers. The responsibility for the future vitality of the language rests entirely on their shoulders.

Because the children will be learning from non-fluent speakers, the children will have to take the simpler proficiency-level language they are learning and transform it into a more complex fluency-level language, a process that could involve a profound transformation of the language itself. This process is similar to the transformation of a Pidgin into a Creole. A pidgin is a language that two or more distinct language communities create when trying to interact with one another.

Because the goals are limited and practical (trade, for example) and the speakers of the pidgin already have an LI, the pidgin will necessarily have a simplified rule structure and limited power of expression. If children acquire this language as their first language, however, they will expand it and make it more complex because it will be their primary means of comprehending reality and expressing themselves. Pinker (1994: 33) discusses this process:

... the linguist Derek Bickerton has presented evidence that in many cases a pidgin can be transmuted into a full complex language in one fell swoop: all it takes is for a group of children to be exposed to the pidgin at the age when they acquire their mother tongue. Not content to reproduce the fragmentary word strings, the children injected grammatical complexity where none existed before, resulting in a brand-new, richly expressive languages. The language that results when children make a pidgin their native tongue is called a Creole.

The distinguishing feature of a pidgin is that it has no native speakers; Creoles, on the other hand, are pidgins that children learn as their first language and turn into "real" languages. The language turns into something new through the creolization process.

At this point we can perceive a possible positive outcome for the survival, revival and perpetuation of Native American languages. Children,

of course, are the ultimate target learners in order for the native language to revive. The adults are learning the language in order to pass it on to the children; in a certain sense it is "too late" for the adult learners. Children, on the other hand, will acquire as their native language the language around them. In language revival the language that the adult learners are re-learning will be a pidgin language in the sense that it will be, linguistically speaking, and a simpler language. As non-fluent speakers they will know all of the language that there is to know, so the language will be necessarily less complex than a "natural" language with fluent native speakers. If the adults teach the simplified "pidginized" form of the language to their children and allow the children to interact with each other in the language, the children will naturally turn the language into a complex, full-blooded natural human language. This process of pidginization and creolization is a process that many Native American languages have undergone under intense pressure from European languages.

Goodfellow and Alfred (2002: 213) point out that this same regenerative power of language can offer new life to language communities who are willing to accept such a transformation:

What often happens is that they learn Native vocabulary but maintain English grammatical structures and phonological distinctions. Are they speaking the Native language? Are they speaking English? Or are they speaking a "mixed" language? Pidgins, Creoles, and mixed languages are examples of how new languages develop over time through language contact. Perhaps the Native languages as spoken by young people can be regarded as types of pidgin languages. If we look at language learning in this way and realize that all languages change over time due to various influences, perhaps we can be more accepting of the way that Native languages are spoken today and encourage young people to continue speaking the language, in whatever form.

It would be a cliché to say that children are necessary to revive a language and to keep it alive for the future. As it turns out, children (not the adult learners and the linguists) are also the essential component for *reconstructing* the language.

In conclusion, language revival offers the chance to turn language death into a process of skipping a generation (or two or three) and not permanent extinction. Many of these communities do not really think that their language will die out; hopefully, many will take the opportunity to bring back the old (new?) language once they realize the immensity of language loss. Fishman

(1996: 81) eloquently describes the essential role that language plays in Indigenous culture:

The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. What would be left? When you are talking about the language, most of what you are talking about is the culture. That is, you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and the human reality that you are talking about.

Regardless of the difficulties, the rebirth of a language not only is a workable alternative to permanent extinction but also could be the way in which many Indigenous languages will be able to survive in the future. The language revival model could become a progressively more relevant approach for increasingly endangered language communities. It appears probable that many Indigenous languages in danger of extinction will in fact die out. A language revival program, however, offers these languages the chance to transform themselves and live again.



EXERCISE

- 1) How do you define language maintenance? And how is it related to bilingualism and multilingualism?
- 2) Explain the three generalizations about language maintenance proposed by Ostler (2011: 317-318)!
- 3) Based on Maurais and Morris's (2003) research, why do Mexican-Americans successfully maintain their native language?
- 4) Explain the role of education and religion in maintaining a minority group language!
- 5) Explain the Krauss' (1996) classification of the language level of endangerment!?

Key to Exercise

- 1) Language maintenance can be defined as the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language. Language maintenance can also be defined as the survival of a language in a situation where it might be expected to be endangered. Language maintenance can occur at the group and individual level, although it usually refers to processes at the group and intergenerational level.
- 2) The three generalizations about language maintenance proposed by Ostler (2011: 317-318) are:
 - a. The first generalization concerns timing. Naïve populations can easily underestimate the degree of threat there is to the survival of their language: adults tend to focus on the use made of the language among their peers and elders, and fail to notice that the next generation's linguistic behavior, or linguistic loyalties, are changing.
 - b. The second generalization concerns effective means to maintain a language. In the absence of effective isolation (i.e. given that language contact is inevitable), success can only be achieved through a dynamic, interactive response to the presence of other languages: not to deny their presence, attractions, and likely utility to members of the endangered language community, but to work out a mode of coexistence which focuses on the value of the traditional language, the clear problems in perpetuating it, and the plausible – and perhaps non-traditional – means that may be needed to go on using it.
 - c. The third generalization concerns long-term realism. Language maintenance is not a problem for a single generation, a single campaign to be fought, and either won or lost. Where languages coexist, it is a struggle that will continue indefinitely into the future. As shown in the British Isles by English and its Celtic neighbors, principally Welsh and Gaelic, different eras will find different (temporary) resolutions.
- 3) Because there is a continuing influx of native Spanish-speakers from Mexico to the USA. Besides, geographical concentration of immigrants is in tightly knit communities, most of which are close to the Mexican

border. In addition they receive support from the Mexican government in recent years.

- 4) Education is a primary need of every citizen as it guarantees success in their life. Besides, the advance of a country depends on its level of education. So, when a minority group language is used as the classroom language – the language used by teachers in delivering the lesson materials to the students, the students will certainly be familiar with that language and use it in classroom interaction. Heritage language programmes in Canada use the minority language in school for part of each day in order to maintain the languages of groups such as Canadian Ukrainians and Canadian Germans. Similarly, when a minority group language is used in the place of worship, those who are present in that place will certainly use that language. For example, Tongan people in New Zealand attend church services in Tongan even though Tongan is a minority language.
- 5) His system classifies languages on a scale from “Category A” - languages actively learned by the majority of children - to “Category E” - languages that are extinct. The determining factor in the classification is who speaks the language as an LI language. In Category A, children are LI speakers. In category B the parental generation is the youngest generation speaking the language as a mother tongue, while in category C only grandparents have retained the LI language. Category D languages are, for practical purposes, quite similar to extinct languages: “Category D languages are those spoken only by a few of the very oldest people. These elders often do not have the chance to talk much to each other. The language may be completely out of use, or it may be only remembered, so not quite extinct”. A category D language is technically alive, yet the loss of speakers has already very much altered the language. The extinct languages are found in category E.



SUMMARY

A language is maintained if speakers effectively pass it on to the next generation, and the survival of a language occurs in a situation where language might be expected to be endangered. The study of language maintenance is closely related to minority communities that tend to give up their language in favour of the more powerful and

prestigious language. Therefore, language maintenance could be like a competition, i.e. the competition between a language with small number of speakers and a regionally and socially more powerful language. Several studies show that language used by minority community has been marginalized by larger groups of community (Gogonas, 2009; Holmes; 1997; Maurais and Morris, 2003; McKinnie and Priestly, 2004; Yagmur et al., 1999).

There are several factors contributing to language maintenance. The first factor is a family because it is a primary environment for acquiring native language and passing it over generations; consequently, the next generations will be able to use their native language. Second, a regular meeting with people coming from the same homeland will keep the need for using the language alive. Third, by using the local language as the language used at schools, this will maintain the students to keep using their local language. Fourth, when the government of a country is committed to maintaining or reviving a language, it is possible to legislate for its use in all these domains, as happened in Israel with Hebrew. Fifth, when the government of a country is committed to maintaining or reviving a language, it is possible to legislate for its use in all these domains, as happened in Israel with Hebrew. Sixth, minority language can also be maintained by increasing its status in the community. Finally, the presence and entrance of new immigrants who have the same minority language serves to retain its life.

Language maintenance is also closely related to language revival, the creation of a living language community where such a community has ceased to exist. There are some models of language revival that have been created by linguists, and the best model is proposed by Montgomery-Anderson (2008). His model can be summarized in three steps: (i) creating archives, (ii) creating L2 speakers/teachers, and (iii) creating native speakers. In addition, the use of technology also plays an important role in language revival. Certain language communities are making use of the telephone to communicate with elders over great distances. Another contribution of technology in language revival is internet. The Internet is becoming a powerful resource for those interested in the general problems and methodologies surrounding language revival. To sum up, language revival offers the chance to turn language death into a process of skipping a generation (or two or three) and not permanent extinction.



FORMATIVE TEST 1

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What is Fishman's (1997) view of how language maintenance or survival can be secured?
- 2) Explain the relationship between endangered language and a minority language! And how are they related to the issue of language maintenance?
- 3) Explain several factors contributing to language maintenance!
- 4) What is language revival? And how is it different from language maintenance?
- 5) Explain the Montgomery-Anderson's (2008) models for language revival!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Language Shift

A. DEFINITIONS OF LANGUAGE SHIFT

Language shift can simply be defined as the end result of individuals, consciously or otherwise, gravitating towards a new language or one already within their repertoire to perform the functions usually reserved for their mother tongues. The term 'language shift' was first used by Uriel Weinreich (1968: 68) to denote the change from the 'habitual use of one language to that of another'. According to Fasold (1984: 213), "Language shift simply means that a community gives up a language completely in favour of another one. The members of the community, when the shift has taken place, have collectively chosen a new language where an old one used to be used". In addition, Edwards (1994: 102) identifies "language shift" as moving completely from one language variety to another (i.e., without retaining the first in some bidialectal or bilingual accommodation). This means that language shift can be understood as moving from bilingualism or multilingualism to monolingualism, i.e. the result of language shifting.

In the last half-century, there have been substantial efforts to capture the essential variables that bring about language maintenance or language shift. What has to be noted is that there is obviously no magic formula for guaranteeing language maintenance or for predicting a shift, as "different factors combine in different ways in each social context, and the results are rarely predictable" (Holmes 2013: 70). In relation to Holmes' unpredictability, Fishman (1991: 87) says that the result of language shifting seems to be based on the assumption that the language used in high-prestige domains is naturally so attractive that will replace the language used in lesser-prestige domains. This is supported by Musk (2006: 67) and Appel and Muysken (1987: 33). They view language shift as a transition, i.e. the abandonment of one language for another more advantageous or prestigious one. The main point emphasized by Fishman, Musk, and Appel and Muysken is that language shift is predictable, determined by which language serves as the more and less prestigious or powerful language used in a certain community.

Musk's definition is in line with Fishman' (2000: 87) view of language shift "Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s)". In order to account for what lies behind "the predominant drift of social forces" as mentioned above, Fishman (2000: 85) suggests "circumstances of rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones". Fishman's idea of rapid change in language shift is partially related to Crystal (1997: 215) who defines language shift as "the gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another". At the same tone, Appel and Muysken (1987: 41) say that language shift may come about slowly and go on for several generations, but especially in changing social situations it may be a rather fast process. However, the fast process of language shift, according to Appel and Muysken, is often the case for immigrant groups. They provide general pattern for language shift in immigrant groups as follows. The first generation (born in the country of origin) is bilingual, but the minority language is clearly dominant, the second generation is bilingual and either of the two languages might be strongest, the third generation is bilingual with the majority language dominating, and the fourth generation only has command of the majority language. This is only a general pattern, and the picture for specific immigrant groups is, obviously, different.

Language shift has been a research topic within linguistics for approximately half a century, but a clear and universal definition seems to be lacking. However, there are three issues that frequently come up in discussions of language shift (Weinreich, 1968; Mackey, 2000; Sasse, 1992; and Clyne, 2003). The first is "changing patterns of language use". This is based on the idea that there is a pattern of which language variety people use in what situations ("domains", Fishman 1972b: 247-8). In a language shift, there is a change in the allocation of varieties to domains. In traditional accounts of language shift by Fishman (1972a: 79-88), for example, it is seen as a very neat domain-by-domain shift, so that the abandoned language is gradually replaced by the target language. In reality, there are issues like code-switching and code-mixing that mean that the shift is not as neat as described by Fishman, but it is still possible to use a catch-all phrase like "changing patterns of language use".

The second issue is the idea that language shift happens in a speech community. Language shift can, of course, be studied psycholinguistically at the level of the individual speaker, but for sociolinguistic studies it only becomes interesting once the shift happens community-wide, cf. the distinction between speaker innovation and language change by Labov (1972: 277).

The third and final issue is that language shift happens in a situation of language contact. If a community is to shift language, they need to have a language available to them to shift to; in other words, there needs to be language contact. The way language shift is to be understood in the context of this paper, then, is as gradually changing patterns of language use in a speech community in a language contact situation.

B. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO LANGUAGE SHIFT

Kloss (1966) was one of the first to present a list of factors contributing towards the maintenance of a language, including ethnolinguistic enclaves, religious insulation, and the economic value and status of languages. He notes that exogamy is frequently a clear-cut factor for promoting a shift. One of the strongest determinants for language shift is economic, i.e. upward mobility (Dorian, 1981; Gal, 1979; and Holmes, 2001).

Obtaining work is the obvious economic reason for shifting to a majority language. For example, in countries where English is an official or majority language, people would rather learn English than a minority language in order to get better jobs. In addition, Thomson (1990) argues that the fact that Gaelic speakers from Scottish Highlands in search of work went to English-speaking areas in the XIX century was a key factor in the language's eventual decline. The social and economic goals of people in the community are also very important in terms of the speed of language shifts. Rapid shift occurs when people are willing to merge into a society where knowledge of the majority language is crucial for economic success. Thus, young and upwardly mobile people are most likely to shift fast (Holmes, 2001).

Fasold (1984: 217) gives a summary of factors that cause a shift based on many different studies: he cites among others migration, industrialization and other economic changes, the higher prestige of the language being shifted to, urbanization, and a smaller population of speakers of the language being shifted from. Janik (1996) states that language shift or maintenance is

determined by a combination of factors such as cultural core values, the extent of inter-marriage, the degree of cultural similarity with the dominant group, local recognition and institutional support.

There is also a number of demographic factors, such as size, age, gender distribution of the ethno-linguistic group, migration patterns, spatial concentration, endogamy, etc., that affect the degree and rate of shift that particular minority language group experiences (Pendakur, 1990). Demographic factors are also important in accounting for the speed of language shift (Holmes, 2001). Lieberson (1980) notes the role of age as a correlate of linguistic maintenance: Different age groups shift at different rates. Grenier (1984), for example, claims that few shifts occurred during childhood and after age of thirty-five. Children seem to have lower rates of shift because they are not exposed to the majority language as much as older age groups, whereas those older than thirty-five tend to have made their language choice, having either previously shifted or retained minority language. However, simultaneously, "the survival of a language is generally a product of how well it is passed on to and accepted by the children of a particular language group" (Pendakur, 1990: 5).

Pendakur (1990: 6) argues that "the role of gender in explaining language usage is somewhat contentious". Thus, Grenier (1984) suggests that females are more conservative than males in terms of language maintenance, because "men spend more time outside the home and are therefore more exposed to the dominant language" (Grenier, 1984: 540). Nevertheless, Williamson and Van Eerde (1980, p. 62) note that "men are more oriented toward the minority language", because they choose to live in their home region, whereas women often have to follow their husbands and learn their language (usually the dominant one). Females would also shift faster to the majority language because they, as mothers, are closer to children and have to communicate with them in the dominant language, which is acquired by children through the system of education (Williamson & Van Eerde, 1980). More recent studies also argue that females shift to majority language faster than males. For instance, Smith-Hefner (2003) argues that young educated Javanese women are leading the shift toward the use of Indonesian, whereas men prefer retaining traditional Javanese language. However, neither point is well supported by experimental data because "on the one hand, more women are working outside the home than in previous decades, and on the other, there is no proof that language loyalty and choice of living area are necessarily related" (Pendakur, 1990: 6).

In addition to the above-mentioned causes, there is yet another important factor promoting language shift: language policy. Briefly, language policy is an outcome of language planning whereby the government makes conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties (Nambiar, 2011: 116). In the case of multilingual societies, the government allocates functions to particular languages within the society (Tollefson, 1991). A country's language policy is usually manifested in its choice of the national language, the official language, the media of education and so forth. One of the conditions for language shift to occur is that the spreading language must allow access to power and resources, and this is basically achieved through the educational process. Paulston (1994: 17) declares that the "major social institution which favours language shift is without doubt public schooling." School language and other government pressures are also among the factors cited by Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977) and Gal (1979).

In countries like England, Australia, New Zealand and the USA, the school is one of the first domains in which children of migrant families meet English. They may have watched English TV programmes 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. For many children of migrants, English soon becomes the normal language for talking to other children – including their brothers and sisters. Because her grandparents knew little English, Maniben continued to use mainly Gujerati at home, even though she had learned English at school and used it more and more at work. In many families, however, English gradually infiltrates the home through the children. Children discuss school and friends in English with each other, and gradually their parents begin to use English to them too, especially if they are working in jobs where they use English (Holmes, 2013: 54).

Besides the educational field, the language used in other government agencies is also of importance in that institutional (governmental) support of a language can be essential in spreading or maintaining a language (Beer and Jacob, 1985; Dressler, 1982; Fasold, 1984; Fishman, 1991; Lewis, 1982). As Fasold (1984: 253) rightly points out, "The language that governments use for legislative debate and the language in which laws are written and government documents are issued, are also means that can be used to promote a selected language or language variety".

The factor of language policy in language shift can also be found in Nambiar's (2007) research on language shift involving the Malayalees, a subgroup of Indians living in Malaysia. The Malayalees originate from Kerala, South India and their mother tongue is Malayalam, a Dravidian language very similar to Tamil. Nambiar found a number of factors that have contributed to the shift away from Malayalam, such as socioeconomic mobility, the role of parents, the lack of status for Malayalam in Malaysia and the lack of institutional support. Clearly the last two are related to the language policy practiced in Malaysia.

Similarly, Prabhakaran (1998) attributes the main causes for language shift in the Indian Andhra community in South Africa to the dominant official status of English as well as the government's language policy. There can be no doubt that lack of government support is a significant contributory factor for language shift eventually leading to language endangerment, and that it is more marked in some societies than in others. In discussing the endangered status of the Amazigh language in Morocco, Yamina (2008) argues that government support would go a long way toward ensuring the survival of Amazigh.

C. LANGUAGE DEATH AND LANGUAGE LOSS

1. Language Death

The phrase 'language death' sounds as stark and final as any other in which that word makes its unwelcome appearance. And it has similar implications and resonances. To say that a language is dead is like saying that a person is dead. It could be no other way – for languages have no existence without people. A language dies when nobody speaks it anymore (Crystal, 2000: 1). In other words, language death occurs when a language loses its last native speaker. Language death can go on for years (in fact, a hundred years in the case of the Yukaghir language), when upon proclaiming a language 'almost dead', every subsequent fieldwork team expecting to register its final death finds a small group of speakers still 'in office' (Gulida, 2010: 392).

If you are the last speaker of a language, your language – viewed as a tool of communication – is already dead. For a language is really alive only as long as there is someone to speak it to. When you are the only one left, your knowledge of your language is like a repository, or archive, of your people's spoken linguistic past. If the language has never been written down,

or recorded on tape – and there are still many which have not – it is all there is. But, unlike the normal idea of an archive, which continues to exist long after the archivist is dead, the moment the last speaker of an unwritten or unrecorded language dies, the archive disappears forever. When a language dies which has never been recorded in some way, it is as if it has never been.

A language is often declared to be dead even before the last native speaker of the language has died. If there are only a few elderly speakers of a language remaining, and they no longer use that language for communication, then the language is effectively dead. A language that has reached such a reduced stage of use is generally considered moribund (Crystal, 2000: viii). Once a language is no longer a native language – that is, if no children are being socialised into it as their primary language – the process of transmission is ended and the language itself will not survive past the current generation. This is rarely a sudden event, but a slow process of each generation learning less and less of the language, until its use is relegated to the domain of traditional use, such as in poetry and song. Typically the transmission of the language from adults to children becomes more and more restricted, to the final setting that adults speaking the language will raise children who never acquire fluency.

How many languages are at the point of death? How many are endangered? A survey published in February 1999 by the US Summer Institute of Linguistics established that there were 51 languages with only one speaker left – 28 of them in Australia. There are almost 500 languages in the world with fewer than 100 speakers; 1,500 with fewer than 1,000 speakers; more than 3,000 with fewer than 10,000 speakers; and a staggering 5,000 languages with fewer than 100,000 speakers. In fact, 96 percent of the world's languages are spoken by only 4 percent of its people. Half of the world's languages are likely to die in the next century. Unless we do something to reverse this trend, we will lose the cultural and linguistic diversity which is so essential to human development (Crystal, 1999: 56).

Sargent (2008) reported that language death has accelerated to a current rate of 2 languages lost per month. As last speakers die, carrying their languages to their graves, repositories of information and understanding that took thousands of years to gather... gone. From a probable peak of 20,000 we are already down to only 6 or 7 thousand extinct languages. Experts estimate that of these, 3,000 more will become extinct in the next 30 years, further gutting the storehouse of human knowledge.

Sargent's idea support Krauss (1992), who predicts that as many as 95% of the world's estimated 6000 languages will be lost at the end of 20th century, and that of the remaining 5% half of these will fall under just two language families (Indo-European and Niger-Congo), linguists seem to have embarked on an accelerated effort to document, catalogue, revitalize and maintain moribund languages. Although much of this work had already been ongoing, in the last fifteen years the topic has gained in international notoriety, leading to numerous reports in the popular press on the future of endangered languages (such as Wilford, 2007, among others), many of them following the release of *The Linguists*, a film featuring two linguists (K. David Harrison and Greg Anderson) in what one magazine described as their "around-the-world race to make audio recordings of dying languages, giving us a glimpse of how technology can promote language diversity" (Kaufman, 2009).

In addition, Lewis and Simons (2010) formulated the level describing the global situation of language status under the name of Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). The level is presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2
Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons, 2010)

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within official administrative subdivisions of a nation.	Safe

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
3	Wider Communication	The language is widely used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.	Safe
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous oral use and this is reinforced by sustainable transmission of literacy in the language in formal education.	Safe
5	Developing	The language is vigorous and is being used in written form in parts of the community though literacy is not yet sustainable.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and the situation is sustainable.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is still used orally within all generations but there is a significant threat to sustainability because at least one of the conditions for sustainable oral use is lacking.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves but they do not normally transmit it to their children.	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are elderly and have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	There are no fully proficient speakers, but some symbolic use remains as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

By using Table 1, Lewis and Simons (2010) describe global distribution of languages by EGIDS level as in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3
Global distribution of languages by EGIDS level

EGIDS Level	Languages	Percent
0 (International)	6	0.1%
1 (National)	98	1.3%
2 (Provincial)	70	0.9%
3 (Wider communication)	166	2.2%
4 (Educational)	342	4.6%
5 (Developing)	1,534	20.5%
6a (Vigorous)	2,503	33.5%
6b (Threatened)	1,024	13.7%
7 (Shifting)	456	6.1%
8a (Moribund)	286	3.8%
8b (Nearly extinct)	431	5.8%
9 (Dormant)	187	2.5%
10 (Extinct)	377	5.0%
Total	7,480	100.0%

Based on Table 1 and Table 2, the number of languages in the world is 7,480 languages with different level of status, where 4719 languages (63.1%) are safe and 2761 languages (36.9%) are in danger. The distribution of the global language situation is different from one part to other parts of the world. The latest statistics of language death reported by Simons and Lewis (2013) shows that more than 75% of the languages that were in use in 1950 are now extinct or moribund in Australia, Canada, and the United States. On the other hand, less than 10% of languages are extinct or moribund in sub-Saharan Africa.

2. Language Loss

While language death is mainly related to a language losing its last native speaker, language loss is related to the individual losing the ability to use the language. According to Oxford (1982:160), "language loss" means the loss or deterioration of competence in one's first language or second language. In its simplest form, loss occurs when a minority group member cannot do the things with the minority language he used to be able to do. He used to be able to discuss soccer with his friends, or give a lecture on a scientific subject, or read a newspaper without the aid of a dictionary, and now he encounters difficulty doing these things. Some of the proficiency he used to have is no longer accessible.

The researcher who wants to study the changes in this language user's proficiency is faced with the problem of deciding whether the linguistic facts that are observed can be related to language loss or not. There are a number of methodological problems which are not easily solved. It is, for example, seldom possible to establish beyond doubt the proficiency of the language user before the start of language loss. Since language loss seems to be a slow process, longitudinal research is almost always excluded: the necessary time interval between measures is much larger than most research initiatives can afford to take into account. And the language situation from which the language user originated is seldom described in such detail as to allow the researcher to confidently reconstruct that proficiency. To make matters worse, some language users acquire a variety of their language which is already marked by the language loss of a preceding generation. In these cases one would not only need a description of the original linguistic situation, but also an understanding of the loss process itself, in order to establish what can be considered loss by an individual (for a discussion of these methodological problems, see Jaspaert, Kroon and Van Hout, 1986).

In spite of these methodological obstacles, language loss has attracted the attention of many researchers (see Lambert and Freed, 1982; Weltens, De Bot and Van Els, 1986). No doubt the growing popularity of this field is related to the relevance for many areas of research of the facts that are dealt with. These facts relate to what is being lost as well as to how and why this happens. The "what" question refers to the issue of linguistic description. If loss is an inherently structured process, it must be possible to categorize linguistically the elements that are lost. The "how" and "why" questions refer to the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic explanation of the structure that emerges from the description. If language loss is to be understood, it must be possible not only to describe which linguistic elements will be affected, but also why those elements will be affected and others will not, and how the process of loss will affect these elements.

From a psycholinguistic point of view, the pattern language loss takes may offer insights into the structure of the linguistic system. In much the same way as language acquisition is believed to be governed by general principles of language and language ability, patterns of language loss are believed to offer a similar view of language, be it from the other end. Although language loss is no longer seen as a mirror process of acquisition, it cannot be denied that the explanation for systemacity in both fields raises similar types of questions: the universality of the process, the role of interlinguistic versus intralinguistic factors in the explanation of the process, the degree to which competence and/or performance is involved. The great hope of researchers in individual language loss is no doubt that this line of research will increase substantially our understanding of how the human mind deals with language (Fase, Jaspaert and Kroon, 1992: 9).

In another sense, language loss research relates closely to research in language variation and language change. Language loss is a clear case of change in progress, resulting in as clear a case of language variation (Gal, 1979). The structure and the mechanisms of language loss can be expected to have clear links to the structure and mechanisms of pidginization and creolization (Gonzo and Saltarelli, 1983), to the emergence of loans, to processes of informal standardization. These fields, which have most often been approached from a group perspective, have an individual side to them which must resemble language loss in many ways. In all these cases of language change a number of individuals have traded one way of referring to reality for another. The questions what is affected by the changes and why are central to all these fields.

Language loss is also closely related to research on language shift. It is obvious that both processes are linked together: if individuals lose the ability to use their own language, they will automatically shift towards other means of expression. And as language shift proceeds, the lack of opportunity to use the language will cause erosion of the language proficiency involved. In this sense loss of proficiency can also be studied as an indicator of language shift. In this case, it is no longer the change in the individual's linguistic system that is the key concern. The focus of interest shifts towards some sort of collective notion of proficiency present within a community. From this point of view, it becomes relatively unimportant which individual processes have caused the present state of proficiency. Reduction of individual proficiency, failure by some members to fully acquire the language, and social changes resulting in the obsolescing of part of the proficiency do not need to be set apart any longer. Very often, this line of research does not deal with the ability to use selected elements of language structure, but measures the ability to do certain things with certain languages (Fase et al., 1992: 10).

All in all, whereas language death should appeal more to researchers interested in the way language is object and subject of social processes, language loss is much more a linguist's matter. Both fields, however, capture the interest of all who want to understand what man does to language and what language does to man, whenever the organic bond between the two is threatened.

a. *Factors in Language Loss*

In any given situation, language loss is the result of the complex interplay of many different factors, both external and internal to the speech community. In his theory of language death, Sasse (1992) lists a number of external factors that lead to language loss including cultural, historical, economic and political forces. He argues that these forces in turn have an effect on how a speech community behaves, creating internal conditions which shift patterns of language use towards a majority language or foster negative attitudes towards the minority language which disfavour its use. In all situations, however, a key factor in language loss is the failure of parents to transmit the language to their children, and for Sasse the interruption of language transmission is the first phase of language loss. Interrupted transmission leads to a lack of proficiency on the part of the younger generation, who then adopt the majority language as their home language and

the language of child-rearing, resulting in the ultimate demise of the minority language.

Although the cessation of transmission is a key step in the process of language loss, few studies have examined the reasons underlying parents' decisions not to teach the minority language to their children. One of the causes most frequently cited in the literature is the low prestige attached to a minority language. Minority languages are frequently associated with traditional cultures and older ways of life that are being displaced by modern, more technologically advanced societies; this, in turn, leads to psychological associations of the minority language with lower standards of living and the poverty that often comes with the economic exclusion of members of indigenous cultures by the larger industrialized societies that surround them. These socio-economic and/or sociopsychological pressures frequently lead to the development of a negative attitude towards the language and to doubts on the part of speakers about the usefulness of language loyalty (Sasse, 1992).

Meanwhile, Jones (1996), in a case study of Breton speakers in Plougastel-Daoulas, Brittany, found that many of her consultants did not consider Breton to be of any practical use and therefore saw no need for their children to learn it, preferring instead that they learn French or even English. She suggests that "the focal point of the commune has changed from the world within to the world outside and for the most part, the attractions of the latter outweigh those of the former" (Jones, 1996: 65). In her case study of the Mayan community, Mazapa, Garzon (1992) also found that parents were concerned with their children's ability to be successful in the outside world and believed that teaching the minority language would hinder their children's ability to learn Spanish and do well in school. In her opinion, these internal factors were more influential than external factors such as the socio-economic dominance of the majority language speakers, government policies that encouraged the assimilation of indigenous communities, and the prohibition of the minority language in schools.

In many cases, the net result of such socio-political and economic influences and of the internal psychological pressures they create is a deliberate decision by parents not to speak the minority language with their children, even if they themselves are imperfect speakers of the majority language. In Plougastel-Daoulas and in Mazapa, there were no official policies prohibiting the use of Breton and Tekiteko by parents in their homes, but in both cases parents opted not to do so, at least with their children –

although in the former case, many parents did use Breton at home with other family members: over 80% of them spoke Breton predominantly to members of the family who were older than themselves (e.g. grandparents and their own parents), and half of them used it with their siblings. However, only 20% of Breton-speaking parents spoke it with their children and a mere 10% of speakers used Breton with their grandchildren (Jones, 1996). This was true despite the fact that standard Breton is taught in the schools, meaning that, as Jones notes, “for the under twenties, it is the school, rather than the home, which is ensuring the intergenerational maintenance of Breton” (Jones, 1996: 60). The disadvantage of parent not using the language with their children is that children then have nowhere to practice the Breton they learn in school, so in many ways the teaching of Breton is futile for the maintenance of the language as long as it is not supported by the parents. The decision of parents to speak or not to speak the minority language to their children is crucial for that language’s survival. Even government policies that favour the maintenance of the minority language, as in the case of Plougastel-Daoulas, are not sufficient if parents voluntarily choose not to speak it with their children. It is to this deliberate choice of parents to “kill off” their language that we apply the term “linguistic suicide” (Beck and Lam, 2008; Denison, 1977).

In addition, Carol (2009) mentions three factors that are viewed as the causes of the language loss. The first one that needs to be taken into account is the family reason. According to Fillmore (2000: 203), the proficiency in the heritage language starts to fade away “between the second and the third generations” since the immigrant parents would have less opportunities to use the ethnic language and impart it to their offspring. As a result, in many cases, the third generation starts to lose their ability in the first language despite the fact that their grandparents and/or their parents are fluent speakers of the native language.

The second factor that leads to the loss of the heritage language (HL) is a child’s own aspiration to assimilate into the American society, and thus refuses to learn the first language. Krashen (2000: 6) says that some language minority group members go through a stage in which the desire to integrate into the target culture is so strong that there is apathy toward or even rejection of the heritage culture.

The factor that leads to language loss is the negative feedback from other native language speakers as claimed by Krashen (2000: 7), “Some imperfect

HL speakers (often a younger sibling) report that their efforts to speak the heritage language are met with correction and even ridiculed by more competent HL speakers, a reaction that discourages the use of the HL, and thus results in less input, and even less competent". These instances clearly show how important the affective factors are in determining a person's choice of the language.

Furthermore, Fillmore (2000: 208) says that there are both internal and external factors that lead to the loss of the native language. The internal force for this choice is the preference for social acceptance and conformity to the dominant group, and the necessity to communicate with those members. On the other hand, the external pressure comes from the sociopolitical reason in that the society opposes against differences, divergence, and aliens. As a result, many immigrant children try to be transformed, and they only want to use the target language instead of the heritage language, because they do not want to be isolated from the mainstream culture but to be part of the dominant group. This has been stated by an immigrant in bilingual education, the acquisition of English, and the retention and loss of Spanish, "I certainly didn't want to be thought of as Japanese-American. I was American, pure and simple. I was proud that I didn't know Japanese and English was my sole tongue" (Tse, 1998: 21).

b. Impacts of Language Loss

Once the loss of the heritage language competence persists, it will turn out to bring negative impacts in many perspectives. Fillmore (2000) took the case of Kai-Fong, a five-year old child of Chen's family (Chinese immigrants living in the United States), as the example to reveal the impacts of language loss. According to Fillmore (2000), the loss of the first language would increase alienation of the children from their family members. For instance, Kai-Fong refuses to use his home language, Cantonese, once he has learned a little English. "When grandmother spoke to him, he either ignored her or would mutter a response in English that she did not understand. When pushed, he would simply stop speaking....The more the adults scolded, the more sullen and angry Kai-Fong became" (Fillmore, 2000: 205). This reaction is referred to as "ethnic ambivalence or ethnic evasion", meaning the unwillingness to learn the ethnic language, but choose to assimilate into the dominant culture (Krashen, 2000: 6). It could happen even when the child still has difficulties with the English skills as in Kai-Fong's situation.

In addition to Kai-Fong, there are other language minority children having such conflicting feelings, one of them expresses this emotion by claiming: "If I had friends over, I purposefully spoke English to my parents. Normally, we only spoke Chinese at home. Because of the presence of a non-Chinese, I used to purposefully speak English" (Tse, 1998: 21). As a result, the rejection of using heritage language creates communication problems between the grown-ups and the youngsters, and finally in family relations as mentioned by Fillmore (2000, p. 205), "The adults do not understand the children, and the children do not understand the adults. Father, mother, and grandmother do not feel they know the children, and they do not know what is happening in their lives". This family separation in language most likely leads to an even greater problem since the family is considered to be very essential in offering children the basic needs that the school would not be able to provide (Fillmore, 2000, p. 206). For example, the awareness of the children's own ethnic identities and their own origins; a sense of belonging; a recognition of the relationship between the important others/events and themselves; the skills to solve problems; and understanding of their own duties to the society, the family, and themselves should all be inculcated by the parents (Fillmore, 2000: 206). Since these responsibilities lie heavily on the family, the parents would have a hard time to communicate with their children without a common language.

The loss of the ethnic language thus creates a greater generation gap and breaks the intimacy between the parents and the children. The potential risk here is the deterioration of trust and understanding to one another within the family and the loss of parental authority. Other than the family relations, another great concern here is regarding to the maintenance of the children's own sense of worth and their own cultural identities while they attempt to assimilate into the American society (Fillmore, 2000, p. 207).



EXERCISE

To check your understanding of this first activity, answer all the questions below.

- 1) How do you define language shift? And how is it related to language maintenance?

- 2) There are three issues that frequently come up in discussions of language shift, and one of them is “changing patterns of language use”. Explain what you know about this issue!
- 3) One of the strongest determinants for language shift is economic, i.e. upward mobility (Dorian, 1981; Gal, 1979; and Holmes, 2001). Prove that economy is one of the strongest factors for language shift!
- 4) Is it possible to say that language dies even though it still has its native speaker?
- 5) Explain the factors of language loss!

Key to Exercise

- 1) Language shift can simply be defined as the end result of individuals, consciously or otherwise, gravitating towards a new language or one already within their repertoire to perform the functions usually reserved for their mother tongues. The term ‘language shift’ was first used by Uriel Weinreich (1968: 68) to denote the change from the ‘habitual use of one language to that of another’. Both language shift and maintenance occur in bilingual or multilingual communities, and are both outcomes of the dynamics of language communities. A language is maintained if speakers effectively pass it on to the next generation. This transmission may fail because speakers do not use it sufficiently in the learners’ presence; or because the learners themselves, for some reason, do not choose to make use of it, but get their language from some other source. Meanwhile, language is shifted when a marked mismatch in power relations between the groups of speech community occurs, whereby the disfavoured language loses ground.
- 2) Changing patterns of language use is based on the idea that there is a pattern of which language variety people use in what situations (“domains”). In a language shift, there is a change in the allocation of varieties to domains. In traditional accounts of language shift, for example, it is seen as a very neat domain-by-domain shift, so that the abandoned language is gradually replaced by the target language. In reality, there are issues like code-switching and code-mixing that mean that the shift is not as neat as described by Fishman, but it is still possible to use a catch-all phrase like “changing patterns of language use”.

- 3) Economic factor plays a very important role in the occurrence of language shift. Obtaining work is the obvious economic reason for learning a majority language. For example, in countries where English is an official or majority language, people would rather learn English than a minority language in order to get better jobs. In addition, the fact that Gaelic speakers from Scottish Highlands in search of work went to English-speaking areas in the XIX century is also a key factor in the language's eventual decline. The social and economic goals of people in the community are also very important in terms of the speed of language shifts. Rapid shift occurs when people are willing to merge into a society where knowledge of the majority language is crucial for economic success.
- 4) Yes. If you are the last speaker of a language, your language – viewed as a tool of communication – is already dead. For a language is really alive only as long as there is someone to speak it to. When you are the only one left, your knowledge of your language is like a repository, or archive, of your people's spoken linguistic past. A language is often declared to be dead even before the last native speaker of the language has died. If there are only a few elderly speakers of a language remaining, and they no longer use that language for communication, then the language is effectively dead. A language that has reached such a reduced stage of use is generally considered moribund.
- 5) Language loss can be caused by both external and internal factors. The external factors that lead to language loss including cultural, historical, economic and sociopolitical political forces. Meanwhile, the internal factors of language loss include failure of parents to transmit the language to their children, negative attitude towards the language, preference for social acceptance and conformity to the dominant group, and the necessity to communicate with those members.



SUMMARY

The term 'language shift' was first used by Uriel Weinreich (1968: 68) to denote the change from the 'habitual use of one language to that of another'. Language shift simply means that a community gives up a language completely in favour of another one. Language shift can be understood as a complete moving from bilingualism or multilingualism

to monolingualism, i.e. the result of language shifting. The result of language shifting seems to be based on the assumption that the language used in high-prestige domains is naturally so attractive that will replace the language used in lesser-prestige domains.

Several experts have concluded some factors of language shift.

1. Kloss (1966) lists such factors contributing towards the maintenance of a language as ethnolinguistic enclaves, religious insulation, and the economic value and status of languages.
2. Fasold (1984) summarizes the factors that cause a language are migration, industrialization and other economic changes, the higher prestige of the language being shifted to, urbanization, and a smaller population of speakers of the language being shifted from.
3. Janik (1996) states that language shift is caused by several factors such as cultural core values, the extent of inter-marriage, the degree of cultural similarity with the dominant group, local recognition and institutional support.
4. Pendakur (1990) proposes demographic factors as the leading factors to language shift. Those factors include size, age, gender distribution of the ethno-linguistic group, migration patterns, spatial concentration, and endogamy.

Language shift can cause language death. A language dies when nobody speaks it any more. In other words, language death occurs when a language loses its last native speaker. Once a language is no longer a native language – that is, if no children are being socialised into it as their primary language – the process of transmission is ended and the language itself will not survive past the current generation. However, it does not happen in short time; instead, language death can go on for years. It is a slow process in which less and less generation learn that language, until its use is relegated to the domain of traditional use of language, such as in poetry and song.

In 1999, US Summer Institute of Linguistics reported that there were 51 languages with only one speaker left – 28 of them in Australia. There are almost 500 languages in the world with fewer than 100 speakers; 1,500 with fewer than 1,000 speakers; more than 3,000 with fewer than 10,000 speakers; and a staggering 5,000 languages with fewer than 100,000 speakers. In 2010, among 7,480 languages in the world, 4719 of them (63.1%) are safe and 2761 of them (36.9%) are in danger. However, the distribution of the global language situation is different from one part to other parts of the world. In 2013, the latest statistics of language death reported that more than 75% of the languages that were in use in 1950 are now extinct or moribund in Australia, Canada, and the

United States. On the other hand, less than 10% of languages are extinct or moribund in sub-Saharan Africa.

Another cause of language is language loss. While language death is mainly related to a language losing its last native speaker, language loss is related to the individual losing the ability to use the language. In its simplest form, loss occurs when a minority group member cannot do the things with the minority language he used to be able to do. The structure and the mechanisms of language loss can be expected to have clear links to the structure and mechanisms of pidginization and creolization. To sum up, whereas language death should appeal more to researchers interested in the way language is object and subject of social processes, language loss is much more a linguist's matter.



FORMATIVE TEST 2

Answer the following questions.

- 1) Explain the example of how language shift occurs!
- 2) Why does language shift occur?
- 3) The effects of language shift are language death and language loss. What is language death? And how is it different from language loss?
- 4) Explain the process of how language dies!
- 5) Explain the impacts of language loss!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.

Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

Implication of Language Maintenance and Shift in EFL Teaching

IMPLICATION OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT IN EFL TEACHING

The use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) has become a truly global phenomenon. In addition to being a language of instruction in countries where English is an official language or language of wider communication, English is being promoted as a medium of instruction by governments or individual educational institutions at all levels of education in contexts as diverse as Armenia (Pavlenko, 2008), Japan (Butler, 2007), Korea (Lee, 2009) and Saudi Arabia (Al-Jarf, 2008), to name a few. The rise of English is especially noticeable in European universities, which are both competing for students worldwide and working to increase student and teacher mobility through international and inter-university agreements including the Bologna Process (Kerlkaan, Moreira, & Boersma, 2008; Phillipson, 2006). Currently, there are over 2,000 university programs Europe-wide identified as being taught in English (Labi, 2011)

Recent research at multiple levels of education has revealed through surveys and qualitative methods that the majority of teachers and students see both the importance of developing English and supporting that development with the use of native languages in EFL classes (Al-Nofaie, 2010; Kang, 2008; Kim & Petraki, 2009; Nazary, 2008; Schweers, 1999; Tang, 2002). The main reasons respondents support or implement the use of L1 in the EFL classroom are: 1) to explain difficult concepts or other concepts that students do not understand; 2) to explain grammar or for other metalinguistic uses; and 3) classroom management or discipline.

When English is the medium of instruction rather than studied as a foreign language, on the other hand, the research focus tends to shift from demonstrating the effectiveness of the L1 in such a setting to presenting more nuanced desires or efforts to balance the use of English and native languages in educational settings. Al-Jarf (2008) conducted a survey of 470 female students at a university in Saudi Arabia, where English has been competing

with Arabic as a medium of instruction. She found that 82% of students surveyed believe Arabic is more appropriate for teaching Islamic studies, history, Arabic literature and education, whereas English is more appropriate for medicine, pharmacy, engineering, science, nursing, and computer science. Giliomee & Schlemmer (2006) conducted a survey of parents' attitudes towards EMI at public schools and universities in South Africa. The majority of parents reported an acceptance of the practical value of English, but Afrikaans-speaking parents wanted their children's right to study in Afrikaans preserved. Indian-speaking parents also worried about the maintenance of cultural heritage and ethnic identity in this context. Kerlkaan et al. (2008) conducted interviews with administrators, professors, and staff at a university in Portugal. They found that the rector emphasized the importance of internationalization while keeping local connections, and implemented language policy as a set of guidelines for teachers rather than with an iron fist. Members of the foreign language department viewed the issue of language at their university in a more complex way, recognizing the need for English while being sensitive to the cultural value of Portuguese and foreign languages other than English. In ethnographic research at the classroom level, Hult (2007) reported that Swedish teachers found ways to navigate around official policy and to treat multilingualism as a resource.

In addition, Tarnopolsky and Goodman (2012) found that learning or using foreign language in the classroom interaction is not intended to shift from L1 to the L2. Even they say that the use of L1 makes learning easier and faster, not damaging or slowing down the process of L2 acquisition. They propose two reasons for justifiably using students' L1 in EFL and EMI classes at the university in Eastern Ukraine. First, limited use of L1 facilitates students' understanding of the target language structure and communication in it, as well as the target culture and content matter of the subjects being learned. It helps to check that understanding, to make students realize inter-language and intercultural similarities and differences more clearly; it even may accelerate and improve the target language acquisition if it is not overused. Second, limited, occasional, and fragmentary recourse to the mother tongue of all those who work in the dominantly monolingual classroom lightens the psychological burden for a while, allowing a return to communication in the target language feeling a little rested from it. This burden includes both the extra effort required to speak, read, write and listen in a foreign language, and the artificiality of communicating in a target

language which is imposed on them (or that they willingly and consciously impose on themselves).

Research shows that there are important educational advantages in being bilingual particularly when bilingual learners also become biliterate, or literate in two languages. The more your bilingual learners can use both their languages in curriculum learning, the better. The two languages support each other and are interdependent, and bilingual speakers have some cognitive advantages over those who know only one language (Cummins, 1981).

Students who learn English and continue to develop their native language have higher academic achievement in later years than do students who learn English at the expense of their first language. This maybe right because those who still link with their mother tongue community, have strong motivation, and desire of learning, and doing something to help their community to develop and progress (Cummins, 1994).

Children's knowledge and skills transfer across languages from the mother tongue they have learned in the home to the school language. From the point of view of children's development of concepts and thinking skills, the two languages are interdependent. Transfer across languages can be two-way: when the mother tongue is promoted in school (e.g. in a bilingual education program), the concepts, language, and literacy skills that children are learning in the majority language can transfer to the home language. In short, both languages nurture each other when the educational environment permits children access to both languages (Collier, 1995; Cummins, 2000; Baker, 2006).

Practically, bilingual children perform better in school when the school effectively provides teaching-learning the mother tongue and, where appropriate, develops literacy in that language. By contrast, when children are encouraged to decline their mother tongue and, consequently, its development disintegrates, their personal and conceptual foundation for learning is impaired (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Research findings have validated that, while maintaining bilingualism, academic, literacy, concepts, and knowledge linguistic skills transfer rather easily across languages (Baker, 2006; Lanauze and Snow, 1989). Recently, ample research has confirmed that mother tongue promotion in the school helps develop both the mother tongue and children's abilities in the majority school language even if languages use different alphabetic system (Goldenberg, 2008; Cummins, 2001). Actually, when bilinguals are learning

and reach fluency in second or other languages, the knowledge and skills can easily transfer across languages.



EXERCISE

To check your understanding of this first activity, answer all the questions below.

- 1) What's your opinion about the issue of "the use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) has become a truly global phenomenon"?
- 2) If you teach English grammar to EFL learners, in what part of teaching session are you going to use L1?
- 3) How do you manage the balance between the use of L1 and EFL in the classroom, whereas the purpose of EFL classroom is to make the students able to speak English fluently?
- 4) Prove that learning or using foreign language in the classroom interaction is not intended to shift from L1 to the L2!
- 5) What are the teachers' efforts in order to make bilingual or multilingual children perform better in school?

Key to Exercise

- 1) The issue of "the use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) has become a truly global phenomenon" is not always true. The main purpose of teaching is to facilitate the students' understanding towards the materials being delivered. The students in EFL classroom do not always have to be given explanation in English since some concepts need deep understanding, and the use of L1 will certainly be more appropriate as the medium to ensure their understanding. However, it does not mean that the teacher has to use L1 all the time because this will mean that he/she is not teaching EFL students. A teacher can use English for simple instructions such as checking students' attendance, checking student's understanding, and some other additional explanations.
- 2) Free answer.
- 3) As a teacher of EFL students, I must be able to facilitate the students' understanding and their ability in using English. I will use English for all common instructions in whatever subject I am teaching. I will only use

- Indonesian language only when the material seems to be hard to understand when delivered in English for its high-specialized vocabulary or terminology. Even though I use English more frequently, I also have to ensure the students that using their L1 is not less prestigious. Rather, I have to instill their pride of using their L1.
- 4) Learning or using foreign language in the classroom interaction is not intended to shift from L1 to the L2. Even the use of L1 makes learning easier and faster, not damaging or slowing down the process of L2 acquisition. There are two reasons for justifiably using students' L1 in EFL and EMI classes. First, limited use of L1 facilitates students' understanding of the target language structure and communication in it, as well as the target culture and content matter of the subjects being learned. It helps to check that understanding, to make students realize inter-language and intercultural similarities and differences more clearly; it even may accelerate and improve the target language acquisition if it is not overused. Second, limited, occasional, and fragmentary recourse to the mother tongue of all those who work in the dominantly monolingual classroom lightens the psychological burden for a while, allowing a return to communication in the target language feeling a little rested from it.
 - 5) Bilingual children perform better in school when the school effectively provides teaching-learning the mother tongue and, where appropriate, develops literacy in the foreign language. By contrast, when children are encouraged to decline their mother tongue and, consequently, its development disintegrates, their personal and conceptual foundation for learning is impaired. In other words, a teacher should realize that the purpose of teaching is to facilitate students' understanding, and the language serves as a medium to achieve that objective.



SUMMARY

Recent research at multiple levels of education has revealed through surveys and qualitative methods that the majority of teachers and students see both the importance of developing English and supporting that development with the use of native languages in EFL classes. The main reasons respondents support or implement the use of L1 in the EFL classroom are: 1) to explain difficult concepts or other concepts that

students do not understand; 2) to explain grammar or for other metalinguistic uses; and 3) classroom management or discipline. This idea implies that L1 should be maintained in the EFL classroom since the EFL students will have deeper understanding towards the materials when delivered in their L1. The use of L1 and EFL should run together in the classroom.



FORMATIVE TEST 3 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) If you teach English grammar to EFL learners, are you going to maintain your L1 or shift to English?
- 2) In the EFL classroom, what subjects should be better explained in L1 rather than EFL?
- 3) What are the parents' attitudes towards EMI at public schools and universities in South Africa? Explain!
- 4) What are the advantages of being a bilingual or multilingual student?
- 5) Explain that two languages are interdependent in the EFL classroom!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next module.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't

		mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) Securing language maintenance needs the understanding of the aspects or factors contributing to language maintenance itself because different factors need different treatment. Similarly, it is difficult to advise people on how to keep healthy, without knowing where they live, how old they are, etc.
- 2) An endangered language is not necessarily a minority language, and not every minority language is necessarily endangered. In other words, not all minority languages must always be endangered because languages spoken by majority people can be endangered depending on whether their speakers show their great effort to maintain their language.
- 3) The first factor is a family because is a primary environment for acquiring native language and passing it over generations; consequently, the next generations will be able to use their native language. Second, a regular meeting with people coming from the same homeland will keep the need for using the language alive. Third, by using the local language as the language used at schools, this will maintain the students to keep using their local language. Fourth, when the government of a country is committed to maintaining, or reviving a language, it is possible to legislate for its use in all these domains, as happened in Israel with Hebrew. Fifth, when the government of a country is committed to maintaining or reviving a language, it is possible to legislate for its use in all these domains, as happened in Israel with Hebrew. Sixth, minority language can also be maintained by increasing its status in the community. Finally, the presence and entrance of new immigrants who have the same minority language serves to retain its life.
- 4) Language revival is the creation of a living language community where such a community has ceased to exist. In other words, it makes the dead language alive. Meanwhile, language maintenance is maintaining the language that is still alive even though that language is going to extinct. If language revival makes the absence of certain language become present, language maintenance keep language that is still present.
- 5) The first stage in language revival according to Montgomery-Anderson's (2008) model is gathering and preparing the database of the language, creating archives, The database. The second stage of this model involves

creating a generation of new teachers. These new teachers will probably be the same individuals involved in language documentation and these first two stages may occur simultaneously. An important idea behind the program is to bridge the generation gap that has resulted from rapid and traumatic cultural change. The last stage in this model is creating native speakers. If language revivalists complete the first two steps, and if the community supports the necessary commitment, an immersion style environment can be created to teach the language to the next generation.

Formative Test 2.

- 1) In countries like England, Australia, New Zealand and the USA, the school is one of the first domains in which children of migrant families meet English. They may have watched English TV programmes 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. For many children of migrants, English soon becomes the normal language for talking to other children – including their brothers and sisters. Because her grandparents knew little English, Maniben continued to use mainly Gujarati at home, even though she had learned English at school and used it more and more at work. In many families, however, English gradually infiltrates the home through the children. Children discuss school and friends in English with each other, and gradually their parents begin to use English to them too, especially if they are working in jobs where they use English.
- 2) Language shift occurs because of several factors including ethnolinguistic enclaves, religious insulation, the economic value and status of languages, migration, industrialization, language policy, education, and institutional support.
- 3) Language death is a language that is not spoken anymore. A language dies when nobody speaks it anymore. In other words, language death occurs when a language loses its last native speaker. While language death is mainly related to a language losing its last native speaker, language loss is related to the individual losing the ability to use the language. In its simplest form, loss occurs when a minority group member cannot do the things with the minority language he used to be able to do.

- 4) Once a language is no longer a native language – that is, if no children are being socialised into it as their primary language – the process of transmission is ended and the language itself will not survive past the current generation. This is rarely a sudden event, but a slow process of each generation learning less and less of the language, until its use is relegated to the domain of traditional use, such as in poetry and song. Typically the transmission of the language from adults to children becomes more and more restricted, to the final setting that adults speaking the language will raise children who never acquire fluency.
- 5) The loss of the first language would increase alienation of the children from their family members. Besides, the the children would not learn the ethnic language, but choose to assimilate into the dominant culture. In addition, the loss of the ethnic language thus creates a greater generation gap and breaks the intimacy between the parents and the children. The potential risk here is the deterioration of trust and understanding to one another within the family and the loss of parental authority.

Formative Test 3

- 1) Free answer.
- 2) The subjects that should be better explained in L1 rather than EFL are the ones belonging to social sciences such as history, religion concept, and civic education. In teaching history, for example, the EFL students will find it easy to catch the material when delivered in their L1 since they are familiar with most of terminology used. On the other hand, when English is used, sometimes the translation does not make any sense to the students resulting in a failure of teaching and learning process.
- 3) Based on the survey of parents' attitudes towards EMI at public schools and universities in South Africa, the majority of parents reported an acceptance of the practical value of English, but Afrikaans-speaking parents wanted their children's right to study in Afrikaans preserved. Indian-speaking parents also worried about the maintenance of cultural heritage and ethnic identity in this context.
- 4) The more your bilingual learners can use both their languages in curriculum learning, the better. The two languages support each other and are interdependent, and bilingual speakers have some cognitive advantages over those who know only one language. Students who learn English and continue to develop their native language have higher

academic achievement in later years than do students who learn English at the expense of their first language. This maybe right because those who still link with their mother tongue community, have strong motivation, and desire of learning, and doing something to help their community to develop and progress.

- 5) That two languages are interdependent means transfer across languages can be two-way: when the mother tongue is promoted in school (e.g. in a bilingual education program), the concepts, language, and literacy skills that children are learning in the majority language can transfer to the home language. In short, both languages nurture each other when the educational environment permits children access to both languages.

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Bilingualism and Multilingualism

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INTRODUCTION

Congratulation! You have finished Module 5. You are going to study Module 6. This module deals with bilingualism and multilingualism. Due to its broad coverage, the materials and discussion of bilingualism and multilingualism cannot be easily packed into one module. Thus, we need to limit our discussion on the main issues related to the key concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism, multilingual discourse, and bilingual and multilingual education.

After finishing this module, you are expected to be able to:

1. provide your own definitions of monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism;
2. explain and provide some examples of the key concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism;
3. explain and critically argue some factors causing multilingualism;
4. explain and provide some examples metaphorical and situational code-switching;
5. explain and critically argue the accommodation theory and markedness model;
6. explain and provide some examples of bilingual/multilingual education;
7. explain and critically argue the framework of bilingual and multilingual education.

To achieve these objectives systematically, the materials of this module are presented respectively as follow:

1. Unit 1: The Basic Concepts of Bilingualism and Multilingualism
2. Unit 2: Multilingual Discourse
3. Unit 3: Bilingual and Multilingual Education

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, reading activities and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are kindly suggested to do in order to learn this module successfully.

1. Please read carefully the materials and explanation in each unit.
2. Then, read further related references and information by means of independent learning and reading.
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have discussion in groups or in pairs.
4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, read the materials again and you may have comparative discussion with your partners.
5. Do all the exercises and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided!

All right students, do your best and good luck!

UNIT 1

The Basic Concepts of Bilingualism and Multilingualism

A. DEFINITIONS OF BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM

One of the phenomena that need attention in discussing bilingualism and multilingualism is monolingualism. Suggested by its word part, monolingualism refers to the ability to use only a single language code. Perhaps for a few countries, this situation is considered usual; it is considered remarkable when one individual is able to speak using more than one language. However, for most of countries nowadays, bilingual or multilingual individuals may appear more usual. This is supported by the fact that nowadays there are between 5,000 and 7,000 languages in the world. Besides, there are also thousands of dialects used by people all over the world. Even, sometimes, it is difficult to know the exact number of languages because the distinction between a language and a dialect is not always clear. In fact languages are not isolated entities and in many cases there are no clear boundaries between them, it is rather a continuum that extends along a geographical area.

So many languages and dialects used by people bear the term “diversity” of language, and this becomes the object study of linguists, especially sociolinguists, anthropologists, and ethnologists. Linguistic diversity has been defined in a broad sense as the “range of variations exhibited by human languages”. Gorter, Cenoz, Nunes, Riganti, Onofri, Puzzo, and Sachdeva (2008: 2) consider that there are 6,912 languages in the world today, but some of the languages included are just considered varieties or dialects in other accounts. The distribution of the languages in the different continents shows that there are important differences. Table 6.1 below shows the distribution of languages by area of origin.

Table 6.1
Distribution of languages by area of origin
(Gorter et al., 2008: 3)

Continent	Languages	
	Count	Percent
Africa	2,092	30.3%
Americas	1,002	14.5%
Asia	2,269	32.8%
Europe	239	3.5%
Pacific	1,310	19.0%
Total	6,912	100.0%

Table 6.1 shows that Africa and Asia have a much larger number of languages than Europe. Most of the world's languages are spoken in a broad area on either side of the Equator - in South-east Asia, India, Africa, and South America. The languages included in this table are living languages with speakers who have these languages as a first language and languages are only counted once as their country of origin even if they are spoken in more than one country.

The diversity of languages in the world and the different vitality of the languages has important implications for individuals and societies. As there are between 5,000 and 7,000 languages in the world and only about 200 independent states, thus bilingualism or multilingualism is indeed a very common phenomenon. Besides, it would be difficult to find a country which is completely monolingual because bilingualism or multilingualism is the necessity not the rule. As Edwards (1994: 1) points out that to be bilingual or multilingual is not the aberration (supposed by many people in Europe and North America who speak a "big" language); it is rather a normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority in the world today.

Multilingualism is traditionally used as an umbrella term that includes bilingualism (Mackey, 2000; Saville-Troike, 2006). Several experts, however, define bilingualism as the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation or the habitual use of two languages colloquially (Ellis, 1994; Fabbro, 1999; Myers-Scotton, 2006), whereas multilingualism is the ability to use three or more languages, either separately or in various degrees of code-mixing (Kemp, 2009). A bilingual is the person who is able to speak two languages equally well, whereas a multilingual person is described as the person able to speak or use many

languages. Following these definitions, Lasagabaster (2015:14) arrives at two main conclusions. Firstly, it can be concluded that bilingualism refers to two languages and multilingualism to several or many languages. In fact, the dictionary includes an entry that leads the reader to “compare bilingual, monolingual” and the word “compare” implies that the terms “bilingual” and “multilingual” are not used as synonyms. Moreover, the Latin prefixes “bi” and “multi” literally mean “two” and “many” respectively, which would underpin the first conclusion. Secondly, the attention is drawn to the fact that whereas the bilingual person is supposed to speak or use both languages “equally well”, this adverbial phrase is obliterated in the case of the multilingual. One could also infer that it is quite habitual to speak two languages equally well, but that this is a much convoluted task when three or more languages are involved. This latter idea is closely linked to the concept of multicompetence (Cook, 2006).

It could be advocated that researchers should attempt to avoid using both bilingualism and multilingualism interchangeably, as this lack of precision may lead to misinterpretations of research data. A second reason to propose this distinction is based on empirical research. Those researchers (Aronin and Hufeisen, 2009; Cenoz, 2009; Dewaele, 2010; De Angelis, 2007; Jessner, 2006) who actively work on multilingualism have highlighted that there are significant differences between the acquisition of a second language and the acquisition of third or additional languages. De Angelis (2007), for example, provides abundant evidence illustrating the existing differences between L2 and multilingual acquisition. Jessner (2006: 13) happens to be very assertive and concludes that “nowadays it is known that learning a second language differs in many respects from learning a third language”. This conclusion is also valid for bilingual and multilingual education and both terms should preferably be distinguished.

The distinction between bilingualism and multilingualism is worthy identified; however, far more important is to discuss the level of competence in the two or more languages. The difference between ability in language and use of language is usually referred to as the difference between degree (proficiency or competence in a language) and function (use of two languages). An individual’s proficiency in each language will typically vary across the four language competences of speaking, listening, reading and writing. A person who understands a second or a third language well, in its spoken and/or written form, but does not speak or write it well is termed a

passive bilingual or multilingual, or is said to have receptive competence in a second and a third language. In contrast, a person who speaks and/or writes in both languages is termed an active bilingual or multilingual (Malmkjær, 2002:64).

Few bilinguals or multilinguals are equally competent in their languages, with one language often dominating another or other language(s). However, the dominant language can change across time, context and function. Bilinguals or multilinguals do not usually possess the same proficiency as monolingual speakers in either of their languages. Levels of proficiency in a language relate, in part, to which domains that language is used in (e.g. family, work, school, religion, mass media usage) and how often the language is used. Communicative competence in one of bilingual or multilingual's languages is usually stronger in some domains than in others. This partly explains why many bilinguals or multilinguals are not expert at interpretation and translation, as most do not have identical lexical knowledge in the languages.

B. MULTILINGUALISM AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

Widespread multilingualism is one form of language contact. Multilingualism has become a very broad phenomenon in today's society. Through globalization and the possibilities of travelling, migration, trade and the media, it has become much easier to get in touch with other people, cultures and, of course, languages. The situation, especially in multilingual societies, has changed over the last decades. Intercultural contact has shaped up to a very steady component of everyday life. Especially, the media have a big influence on language development. TV series and movies from abroad, the international music industry and social networking all have their effects on language learning. In times of intercultural communication, it is easier to acquire information from across the world through the internet. The economy and international trade are based on many different languages and make multilingualism inevitable.

Multilingualism as a social phenomenon is motivated by the fact that it is composed of several social factors. Some of them are: (i) historical or political movements such as imperialism or colonialism; (ii) increasing communications among different parts of the world and the need to be competent in languages of wider communication; (iii) social and cultural

identity and the interest for maintenance and revival of minority languages; (iv) education due to the inclusion of second and foreign languages as a part of the curriculum in many countries; and (v) religion movements that result in people moving to a new country (Gorter et al., 2008: 6).

As a social phenomenon, multilingualism is studied in several fields of social sciences, such as sociolinguistic, ethnolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, psycholinguistic, sociopsychological, and educational sciences. Under post-structuralist interpretations not only participants but also researchers are affected by their own developing and changing ideologies of multilingualism as they interact with the social and cultural contexts relevant to them. These ideologies influence participants in how they respond to researchers, and researchers in how they choose participants and methodologies, and interpret the data. Researchers' differing purposes in studying multilingualism mean that they investigate different research questions or hypotheses and use different methodologies to analyze the data.

In the global education, there are many more children throughout the world who have been and continue to be educated through a second or a later-acquired language, at least for some portion of their formal education, than there are children educated exclusively via the first language. In many parts of the world, bilingualism or multilingualism and innovative approaches to education that involve the use of two or more languages constitute the normal everyday experience (Dutcher, 1994). The results from published, longitudinal, and critical research undertaken in varied settings throughout the world indicate clearly that the development of multiple language proficiency is possible, and indeed that it is viewed as desirable by educators, policy-makers, and parents in many countries.

Fuller (2012), in her work in a German-English bilingual classroom in the urban center of Berlin, Germany, notes that many of the children speak two languages at home, sometimes German and English but in some cases English and Spanish, or German and Russian, Hindi, or Setswana. They consider it advantageous to master more languages, often claiming competence in languages to which they have had limited exposure. They also provide positive reinforcement to their classmates as speakers of Serbian, Romanian, or Farsi. This is, of course, not the case everywhere. Fuller notes that the Mexican-American children in her research in rural southern Illinois, USA, who also spoke indigenous languages from Mexico were often hesitant to admit this, and were sometimes teased for their association with these

languages. The status of these languages in Mexico was low and there was not a general sense of the value of linguistic diversity in the rural US community in which they lived. Thus while multilingualism can be found almost anywhere, it does not always have positive associations.

As a social creature, multilingual – a person with the ability in speaking several languages – may use a number of languages on account of many different social, cultural and economic reasons. They may live in a multilingual community, or overlapping bilingual communities, or be in contact with several monolingual communities. Their proficiency in each of their languages is likely to differ, and may fluctuate over time (Herdina and Jessner, 2002). Their languages may have different roles and functions, they may use them separately or code switch, and they are still described as multilingual whether they know three or seven languages (Kemp, 2009: 13). When they use their language in different roles and functions, they are said to be in diglossic situation.

C. DIGLOSSIA

My friend invited me to her party, and I knew she also invited one of our lecturers to attend her party. (In our culture, it is common to invite our teacher or lecturer to our party, especially the one who is friendly.) However, I could identify that she employed different vocabulary and structure while expressing her invitation as in (1) and (2).

- (1) *“Rusdi, datang ya ke pesta ultah ku minggu depan. Awas kalau nggak datang.”*
 (Rusdi, come to my birthday party next week. Don't miss it.)
“Oke, aku pasti datang.”
 (OK. I'll certainly be there.)
- (2) *“Apakah Bapak berkenan datang ke pesta ulang tahun saya minggu depan?”*
 (Sir, would you like to come to my birthday party next week?)
“Kalau saya sempat, saya akan datang.”
 (If I am free, I will come.)

From the illustration above, notice how invitation in (1) is delivered by employing a simple structure of Bahasa Indonesia. Besides, the invitation

also uses Indonesian slang words such as *ultah* (birthday), and *nggak* (no). Meanwhile, the invitation in (2) highlights the use of a grammatically accepted sentence, usually in formal context of conversation. This means that the vocabulary and the structure of the sentences are different when they are addressed to different persons. This phenomenon of language usage is known as diglossia.

The concept of diglossia was originally developed by Ferguson who defines diglossia as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson, 1959: 336).

Ferguson's use of the term "language" in diglossia definition has been revised by other experts saying that diglossia does not always exist at language level, but also at dialect level. Gumperz (1961, 1962, 1964a, 1964b, 1966) is primarily responsible for the current awareness that diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several "languages" but also in societies which are multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind. He has also done the lion's share of the work in providing the conceptual apparatus by means of which investigators of multilingual speech communities seek to discern the societal patterns that govern the use of one variety rather than another, particularly at the level of small group interaction. The examples in (1) and (2) show how diglossia involves different dialects of the same language. For this reason, Wardaugh and Fuller feel it safe to use the term code instead of dialect or language. They define diglossia as a term used to describe a situation in which there are two distinct codes showing clear functional separation; that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set (Wardaugh and Fuller, 2015: 90).

In addition, Wei (2013: 30) argues that diglossia is one of three typical cases of societal bilingualism and multilingualism. She defines diglossia as the coexistence of two (or more) languages at the community level but the

languages are used by sections of the society in a complementary way, i.e. one language having a higher status (a high variety "H" of language) than the other (a low variety "L" of language) and being used in certain functions and domains that are different from those in which the other language is used. It is important to remember that diglossia is a construct to describe the relationship between two or more languages; it is not a static state of language use (Ferguson, 1959; Hudson, 1992). Over time, the relationships between the different languages may change, due to various social factors, and the diglossic configuration can become highly complex. Examples of simple binary diglossia include Guarani vs. Spanish in Paraguay; double-overlapping diglossia of African vernacular vs. Swahili and Swahili vs. English in Tanzania; doublenested diglossia of Sanskrit vs. Hindi vs. Khalapur in India; linear polyglossic diglossia of English, Mandarin Chinese, Malay, Tamil, other Chinese, other Malay, other Indian languages in Singapore; and complex triglossia of standard French and Dutch vs. Belgian French and Belgian Dutch vs. local dialects (Walloon and Flemish) in the Belgian capital of Brussels (Wei, 2013: 31).

However, Ferguson's definition of diglossia needs to be revisited since it applies only to closely related varieties used in the same society. Myers-Scotton (2006: 80) offers two definitions of diglossia. First, everyone has the same L1 and acquires it in a home environment. But not everyone knows the second variety also in existence there; if they learn it at all, they learn it in school. Second, the two varieties are not used in the same situations. Allocation looks like this: If variety X is used in situation (or domain) A, then variety Y will not be used there. The second definition shares the same understanding with Ferguson's definition. However, the first definition implies that diglossia does not always happen in different situations.

Despite the additional understanding of diglossia, the term "different language in different context or situation" is always there whenever diglossia is defined. The classical example of diglossia can be taken from Ferguson's (1959) work in which he identifies four language situations which show the major characteristics of the diglossic phenomenon: Arabic, Swiss German, Haitian (French and Creole), and Greek. In each situation there are "H" and "L" varieties. Each variety has its own specialized functions, and each is viewed differently by those who are aware of both. In the Arabic situation the two varieties are used, Classical Arabic is considered as "H" variety, while other various regional colloquial varieties are "L" varieties. In Switzerland

they are Standard German (H) and Swiss German (L). In Haiti the varieties are Standard French (H) and Haitian Creole (L). In Greece they are the Katharévoussa (H) and Dhimotiki or Demotic (L), varieties of Greek. In each case the two varieties have coexisted for a long period, sometimes, as in the case of Arabic, for many centuries. Consequently, the phenomenon of diglossia is not ephemeral in nature; in fact, the opposite is true: it appears to be a persistent social and linguistic phenomenon.

A key defining characteristic of diglossia is that the two varieties are kept quite apart in their functions (Ferguson, 1959; Gumperz, 1962, 1964a; Hudson, 1992; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Wardaugh, 2006; Wardaugh and Fuller, 2015; Wei, 2013). One is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set of circumstances; and these circumstances, according to Wardaugh and Fuller (2015: 91) are called “domains”. For example, the H varieties may be used for delivering sermons and formal lectures, especially in a parliament or legislative body, for giving political speeches, for broadcasting the news on radio and television, and for writing poetry, fine literature, and editorials in newspapers. In contrast, the L varieties may be used in giving instructions to workers in low prestige occupations or to household servants, in conversation with familiars, in “soap operas” and popular programs on the radio, in captions on political cartoons in newspapers, and in “folk literature”. On occasion, a person may lecture in an H variety but answer questions about its contents or explain parts of it in an L variety so as to ensure understanding.

A person does not use an H variety in circumstances calling for an L variety, e.g., for addressing a servant; nor does he/she usually use an L variety when an H is called for, e.g., for writing a “serious” work of literature. He/she may indeed do the latter, but it may be a risky endeavor; it is the kind of thing that Chaucer did for the English of his day, and it requires a certain willingness, on the part of both the writer and others, to break away from a diglossic situation by extending the L variety into functions normally associated only with the H. For about three centuries after the Norman Conquest of 1066, English and Norman French coexisted in England in a diglossic situation with Norman French the H variety and English the L. However, gradually the L variety assumed more and more functions associated with the H so that by Chaucer’s time it had become possible to use the L variety for a major literary work.

Still about the difference between the H and L varieties, the H variety is the prestigious, powerful variety; the L variety lacks prestige and power. In fact, there may be so little prestige attached to the L variety that people may even deny that they know it although they may be observed to use it far more frequently than the H variety. Associated with this prestige valuation for the H variety, there is likely to be a strong feeling that the prestige is deserved because the H variety is more beautiful, logical, and expressive than the L variety. That is why it is deemed appropriate for literary use, for religious purposes, and so on. There may also be considerable and widespread resistance to translating certain books into the L variety, e.g., the Qur'an into one or other colloquial varieties of Arabic or the Bible into Haitian Creole or Demotic Greek.'

Another important difference between the H and L varieties is that all children learn the L variety. Some may concurrently learn the H variety, but many do not learn it at all; e.g., most Haitians have no knowledge at all of Standard French but all can speak some variety of Haitian Creole, although some, as I have said, may deny that they have this ability. The H variety is also likely to be learned in some kind of formal setting, e.g., in classrooms or as part of a religious or cultural indoctrination. To that extent, the H variety is "taught", whereas the L variety is "learned". Teaching requires the availability of grammars, dictionaries, standardized texts, and some widely accepted view about the nature of what is being taught and how it is most effectively to be taught. There are usually no comparable grammars, dictionaries, and standardized texts for the L variety, and any view of that variety is likely to be highly pejorative in nature. When such grammars and other aids do exist, they have in many cases been written by outsiders, e.g., 'foreign' linguists. They are also likely to be neither well known to the people whose linguistic usage they describe nor well received by those people, since such works are unlikely to support some of the myths that accompany diglossia, particularly the myth that the L variety lacks any kind of "grammar" (Wardhaugh, 2006: 91).

The L variety often shows a tendency to borrow learned words from the H variety, particularly when speakers try to use the L variety in more formal ways. The result is a certain admixture of H vocabulary into the L. On other occasions, though, there may be distinctly different pairs of words, i.e., doublets, in the H and L varieties to refer to very common objects and concepts. Since the domains of use of the two varieties do not intersect, there

will be an L word for use in L situations and an H word for use in H situations with no possibility of transferring the one to the other. So far as the pronunciation of the two varieties is concerned, the L system will often appear to be the more "basic". However, actual circumstances can vary. Whereas the two varieties of Greek have very similar sound systems, there is a considerable difference between Classical Arabic and the colloquial varieties and a still greater difference between High German and Swiss German.

In short, diglossia is a situation in which two varieties are used with clear distinctive functions. The H variety is used in formal situation (such as in sermon, lecture, etc.) and the L variety in informal situation (such as instruction to servants, conversation with friends, etc.). Related to the prestige, the H is regarded as superior to L in a number of respects: the H is considered more educated, more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts, etc. In the language acquisition, adults use L in speaking to children and children use L in speaking to one another because the actual learning of the H variety is chiefly accomplished by the means of formal education. Besides, the H has grammatical categories not present in the L and has an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which is much reduced or totally absent in the L. Furthermore, in the term of lexicon, H includes in its total lexicon technical terms and learned expressions which have no regular L equivalents, since the subjects involved are rarely if ever discussed in pure L. Meanwhile, L includes in its total lexicon popular expressions and the names of very homely objects or objects of very localized distribution which have no regular H equivalents, since the subjects involved are rarely if ever discussed in pure H.



EXERCISE

- 1) How do you define monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism? Explain!
- 2) Fill in the following table on the basis of your predictions about when H will be used and when L will be used in diglossic communities!

	H Variety	L Variety
Religion (sermon, prayers)		
Literature (novels, non-fiction)		
Newspaper (editorial)		
Broadcasting: TV news		
Education (written material, lectures)		
Education (lesson discussion)		
Broadcasting: radio		
Shopping		
Gossiping		

- 3) Explain how multilingualism becomes a social phenomena!
- 4) Mention several social factors causing multilingualism!
- 5) How do you define diglossia?

Key to Exercise

- 1) Monolingualism refers to the ability to use only a single language. Bilingualism is the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation or the habitual use of two languages colloquially. Multilingualism is the ability to use three or more languages. Nowadays, it is difficult to find a country which is completely monolingual because bilingualism or multilingualism is unremarkable necessity for the majority in the world today.
- 2) The use of H and L varieties

	H Variety	L Variety
Religion (sermon, prayers)	✓	
Literature (novels, non-fiction)	✓	
Newspaper (editorial)	✓	
Broadcasting: TV news	✓	
Education (written material, lectures)	✓	
Education (lesson discussion)		✓
Broadcasting: radio		✓
Shopping		✓
Gossiping		✓

- 3) Basically, multilingualism becomes a social phenomenon is caused by language contact. Through globalization and the possibilities of travelling, migration, trade and the media, it has become much easier to get in touch with other people, cultures and, of course, languages. Intercultural contact has shaped up to a very steady component of everyday life. Besides, the economy and international trade are based on many different languages and make multilingualism inevitable.
- 4) a. historical or political movements such as imperialism or colonialism
 b. increasing communications among different parts of the world and the need to be competent in languages of wider communication
 c. social and cultural identity and the interest for maintenance and revival of minority languages
 d. education due to the inclusion of second and foreign languages as a part of the curriculum in many countries
 e. religion movements that result in people moving to a new country
- 5) Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety. Besides, diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several "languages" but also in societies which are multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind.



SUMMARY

Suggested by its word part (bi-), bilingualism can be defined as the ability to use two languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation or the habitual use of two languages colloquially, and a person possessing this ability is called bilingual. Meanwhile, multilingualism can be defined as the ability to use three or more languages, either separately or in various degrees of code-mixing, and a person possessing this ability is called multilingual. The most important points to be discussed in defining bilingualism and multilingualism are about the competence and the acquisition process in both or all languages.

Multilingualism as a social phenomenon is motivated by several social factors, including (i) historical or political movements such as imperialism or colonialism; (ii) increasing communications among different parts of the world and the need to be competent in languages of wider communication; (iii) social and cultural identity and the interest for maintenance and revival of minority languages; (iv) education due to the inclusion of second and foreign languages as a part of the curriculum in many countries; and (v) religion movements that result in people moving to a new country. As long as it is a social phenomenon, multilingualism can be found almost anywhere in the world. Through globalization and the possibilities of travelling, migration, trade and the media, it has become much easier to get in touch with other people, cultures and, of course, languages.

People may use a number of languages they have for different roles and functions, they may use them separately or code switch. In the situation where they use their language in different roles and functions, they are said to be in diglossic situation. Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety. Nevertheless, diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several "languages" but also in societies which are multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind.

A key defining characteristic of diglossia is that the two varieties are kept quite apart in their functions. One is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set of circumstances; and these circumstances, called "domains". For example, the H varieties may be used for delivering sermons and formal lectures, especially in a parliament or legislative body, for giving political speeches, for broadcasting the news on radio and television, and for writing poetry, fine literature, and editorials in newspapers. In contrast, the L varieties may be used in giving instructions to workers in low prestige occupations or to household servants, in conversation with familiars, in "soap operas" and popular programs on the radio, in captions on political cartoons in newspapers, and in "folk literature".



FORMATIVE TEST 1 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) How can the following three dimensions be used to distinguish between H and L varieties in a diglossic speech community?
 - a. Formality
 - b. Social distance
 - c. Social status
- 2) Using the invitation in conversation provided in (1) and (2), summarize what you now know about the differences between H and L in diglossic communities!
 - a. How are they linguistically related? Are they distinct languages or varieties of the same language?
 - b. How are they used in the community?
 - c. Which is used for conversation with family and friends?
 - d. How is each variety learned?
 - e. Which has most prestige?
 - f. Which is codified in grammar books and dictionaries?
 - g. In which variety is literature usually written?
- 3) How do the media influence the existence of multilingualism?
- 4) If someone has ability in a language but does not use it, is he or she a bilingual?
- 5) Do multilinguals have the same or different proficiency and usage profiles as bilinguals?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Multilingual Discourse

A. METAPHORICAL AND SITUATIONAL CODE-SWITCHING

People who speak more than one language, or who have command over more than one variety of any language, are generally very sensitive to the differences in the vitality of the languages they use and they are equally aware that in some contexts one variety will serve their needs better than another. This may lead them to change the variety they use depending on where they are (Meyerhoff, 2006:115). So a speaker of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), for example, may know that when they are applying for a building permit to add an extension on their house, things may simply go a lot faster if they switch into Standard American English (or the regional White vernacular) when they are talking to the White clerk at City Hall. However, when they go home and are telling their neighbours about what kind of extension they are putting in, it may be more appropriate to use AAVE (Meyerhoff, 2006:116). This phenomenon of moving between distinct varieties is known as code switching.

Code switching has been defined in a number of ways by different researchers over time, depending on the point of view of their study. Sometimes the terminology overlaps and sometimes the terminology is used differently by different researchers. Code switching can be defined as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation" (Grosjean 1982:145). Gumperz (1982:59) defines code switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems". In addition, Myers-Scotton (1988:157) describes code switching as the use of two or more languages in the same conversation without a noticeable phonological assimilation from one variety to the other. In general, one can say that a prerequisite for code switching is a juxtaposition of elements from two codes (Winford 2003: 103). Apart from two or more alternating languages, the term code switching has also been used about different styles within the same language, for example formal and informal speech between monolinguals, but in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism it is used to refer to the alternate uses of two languages (Romaine 1995:170).

Several facts need to be considered in understanding code switching. First, code switching motivated by the identity and relationship between participants often expresses a move along the solidarity/social distance dimension. Notice Holmes' (2013: 35) example of the use of code switching in the conversation as in (3).

- (3) A: Well I'm glad I met you. OK?
 B: ándale pues [OK SWELL], and do come again. Mm?
 (Switch between Spanish and English)

Example in (3) illustrates a tag contributing to the construction of solidarity. However, switches can also distance a speaker from those they are talking to. In Pamaka, a village in Suriname, young people switch between their local community language, Pamaka, and Sranan Tongo, the language of Suriname urban centers. Pamaka is the usual language of interaction in the community, but young people often switch to Sranan Tongo to signal their sophistication and identification with modernity. In one conversation, two young women and a young man are discussing local music. While the women use Pamaka, their community language, the young man deliberately switches to Sranan Tongo and avoids Pamaka. His language switch distances him from the other participants, while also signaling his alignment with the urban western world.

Second, code switching may also indicate a change in the other dimensions such as the status relations between people or the formality of their interaction. The example in (3) has illustrated that different kinds of relationships are often expressed or actively constructed through the use of different varieties or codes. More formal relationships, which sometimes involve status differences too, such as doctor–patient or administrator–client, often involve the H variety or code: e.g. Bokmål in Hemnesberget, Spanish in Paraguay, standard Swahili in Bukavu. Friendly relationships involving minimal social distance, such as neighbour or friend, generally involve an L code: e.g. Ranamål in Hemnesberget, Guaraní in Paraguay, Indoubil, Kingwana or a tribal language such as Shi in Bukavu.

Blom and Gumperz (1972: 409) were among the first to theorize social functions of code switching. They identified two types – metaphorical and situational code-switching – and stated that “situational switching involves change in participants and/or strategies, metaphorical switching involves only a change in topical emphasis”. Thus, situational code switching refers to a

switch evoked by a change of the conversational context, i.e., the situation or a participant. Metaphorical code-switching can be understood as a rhetorical device in which the speakers employ the switch for communicative effect.

In addition, Wei (1998: 156) argues that situational switching, as the term implied, was triggered by a change in the situation. The underlying assumption was that only one of the co-available languages or language varieties was appropriate for a particular situation and that speakers needed to change their choice of language to keep up with the changes in situational factors in order to maintain that appropriateness. Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, referred to changes in the speaker's language choice when the situation remained the same. For the speaker to code-switch in this case was thought to convey special communicative intent. For the conversation participants (and analysts for that matter), however, the interpretation of the speaker's communicative intent in metaphorical code-switching depended on the association between a particular language or language variety and a particular situation which had been established in the case of situational switching.

Furthermore, Gumperz (1972: 82) introduced the concepts of 'we-code' and 'they-code', which refer to the bilingual communities' ethnic language and the dominant societies' language, respectively. This concept of 'we-code', associated with informal and in-group activities, and of 'they-code', associated with formal, out-group activities, has been used by researchers whose analyses "rest on naïve social theory which presents concepts such as agency, action, identity and social role as non-problematic" (Sebba and Wootton, 1998: 262). Gumperz had not intended this static identification and was misunderstood in that he conceptualized this linguistic group identity as symbolic, and not as a prediction of usage of either in- or out-group language. In the analysis of the data of this study, it will become clear how the reality of employing German (they-code) and English (we-code) are transversed.

To switch or not to switch is closely related to the speaker's self-decision. Speakers may conceptualize the relationship between location, addressee and in-group identity in different ways. Based on his research at the University of Hawai'i, Meyerhoff (2006: 117-118) draw a decision tree shown in Figure 6.1, representing the students said what comes in their mind when they try to decide whether to use Pidgin or Standard American English.

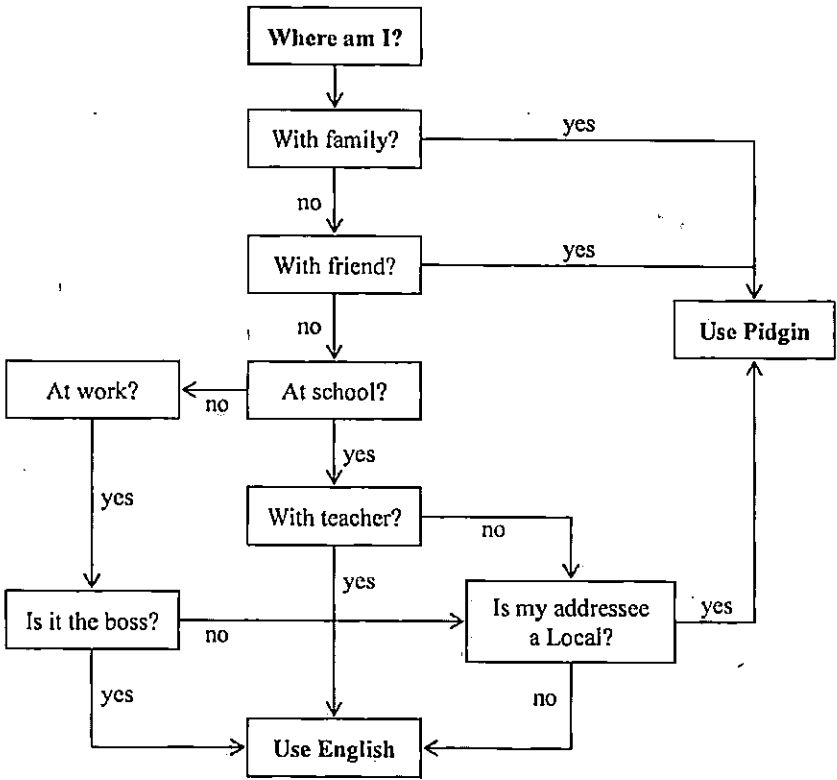


Figure 6.1

Decision tree for when to use Pidgin or Standard US English for six university students in Honolulu, Hawai'i (Meyerhoff, 2006: 118)

Each box in a decision tree marks a point where the students felt they would ask themselves a crucial question. If they answered 'yes' to that question, they would follow one path out from that box; if they answered 'no' they would follow another path from the box. Sometimes the domain and addressee factors pile up on each other and they felt that one decision follows another before they would come to a decision about which variety to use. At other times, the decision is simple, and a 'yes' answer would take them directly to the choice of one variety rather than another.

B. ACCOMMODATION AND AUDIENCE DESIGN

Accommodation Theory was developed by the social psychologist Howard Giles and his associates. Giles's Accommodation Theory grew out of matched guise tests conducted in the early 1970s to study evaluations of speakers of various British dialects. For example, Giles found that listeners rated a male speaker as having a higher socio-economic status when they heard the more "posh-accented" guise than when they heard the same speaker in his non-standard regional dialect guise. (In England and in the former British Empire, "posh" is associated with so-called RP pronunciation (and grammar), with RP standing for "received pronunciation".) Giles's associates and others went on to study differences in language with versions of the matched guise test. In many contexts, these studies show that standard-dialect speakers are rated higher on factors having to do with education and authority, while they are downgraded on traits relating to solidarity and integrity, in comparison with non-standard speakers (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 131).

The implicit assumption of this theory is that speakers are motivated to make changes in order to be evaluated more favorably by listeners. This notion gives rise to viewing such changes as accommodation or divergence (disaccommodation). Based on this notion, the principal meaning of Accommodation Theory becomes "Speakers tend to accommodate their speech to persons whom they like or whom they wish to be liked by, and they tend to diverge from those persons whom they do not like" (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 132).

Accommodation Theory is listener-centered or audience-centered. That is, speakers choose the way they talk with their audience foremost in mind. Accommodation is often referred to under this theory as "the reduction of linguistic dissimilarities" (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991). Wishing approval and therefore trying to build solidarity (or showing disapproval and no solidarity) is clearly a motive for changing one's speech. For example, Jeff Siegel points out that in Indian films, multiple mixing with different Hindi dialects, Punjabi, and other Indian languages happens very frequently in supposedly Hindi movies. In one film, the hero switches from the Hindi variety associated with Christians with his landlady to standard Hindi when he talks with his girlfriend. Siegel sees this as "an important marker of linguistic accommodation" (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 155).

But the theory can also cover switches to promote efficient communication or to achieve instrumental goals. For example, salespeople in bilingual settings who speak language X will often switch to Language Y if it is the language of the customer. They are not necessarily doing this to be liked, but rather because the customer has the power advantage. So we can see how either the solidarity or the power dimension can be salient when a speaker accommodates in different interactions, or even at the same time. In more recent writings, Giles (2001) emphasizes that speakers are not unidimensional: They wish to signal multiple identities and have multiple goals.

In addition, accommodation theory explains two kinds of behaviour: convergence and divergence behaviour. In convergence behaviour, one individual can try to induce another to judge him/her more favorably by reducing differences between the two. An individual may even be prepared to sacrifice something to gain social approval of some kind (e.g. shift in behavior to become more like the other). While in divergence behaviour, someone shows his/her desire to distance himself/herself from other interlocutors, the shift in behavior will be away from the behavior of another or others. For example, the behaviour of 'putting on airs and graces' in order to deliberately dissociate himself/herself from peers, or conversely using slang and nonstandard speech with someone who is speaking a formal, high-status variety (Wardaugh and Fuller, 2015: 98).

In responding to convergent behavior, Allan Bell has developed a theoretical framework related to Accommodation Theory that views variation in speech as "audience design" (Bell, 1984, 1997). He constructed the term 'audience design' and tried to establish its characteristics. This is a variationist version of speech accommodation theory; quantitative study of linguistic variables according to Labovian principles is taken as the norm. The model assumes that speakers adjust their speech primarily towards that of their audience in order to express solidarity or intimacy with them, or conversely away from their audience's speech in order to express distance.

Bell's framework made another helpful contribution to the way sociolinguists might apply principles of accommodation and convergence to sociolinguistic variation. This was to distinguish between several kinds of audience that a speaker might be thinking about. He suggested that a person we are directly talking to has the greatest impact on how we talk. This person is our 'addressee'. But we also have to take other listeners into account when we are speaking, and he proposed that we distinguish between 'auditors',

'overhearers' and 'eavesdroppers'. Each of these other kinds of listeners would have progressively less and less influence on the way we speak, as shown in Figure 6.2.

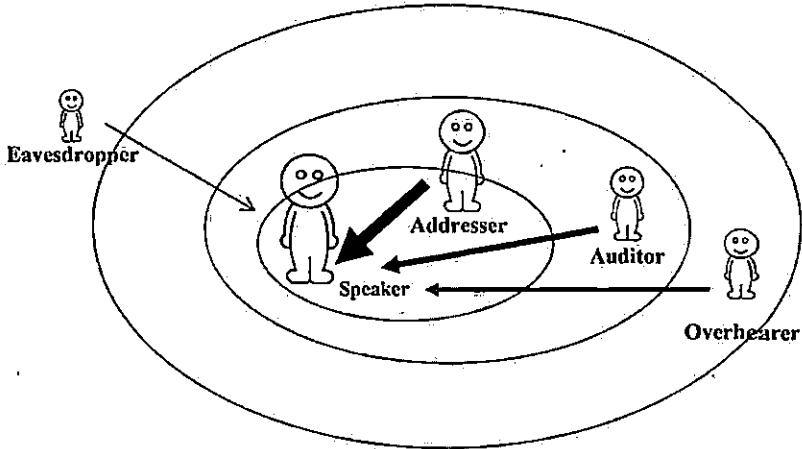


Figure 6.2

The strength of the effect of different interlocutors on a speaker's choice of variants and different styles (Meyerhoff, 2006: 43)

Bell proposed a system for distinguishing between these different kinds of addressee by using three criteria, whether someone is known, ratified or addressed as shown in Figure 6.2. An addressee is known to be part of the speech context, ratified (that is, the speaker acknowledges their presence in the speech context) and is addressed (that is, 'I'm talking to you'). If a teacher praises a student in front of the whole class she or he is communicating with both the student and the rest of the class (for whom the student is being held up as a model). Both the student and the class are the audience. The student is the addressee (known, ratified and addressed) and the rest of the classes are auditors (known and ratified, but not addressed). Furthermore, according to Bell (1984), audience design as a characteristic of the style of an individual's speech performance is based on the following basic principles:

The first principle is relation to addressee, i.e. style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people. The style is

orientated to people rather than to mechanisms or functions. It marks interpersonal and inter-group relations. It is interactive and active. The speaker's relation to the addressee is crucial in determining the appropriate style of speaking. Besides, it is also important to consider how well the speaker knows the addressee or how close the speaker feels to the addressee. Other social variables such as age, sex, social roles, and occupations are factors that play an important role in relation between the speaker and the addressee. Notice the example in (4).

- (4) a. Excuse me. Could I have a look at your photos, too, Mrs. Hall?
b. C'mon Tony, gizzalook, gizzalok.
(Holmes 2013: 240)

The example in (4) shows different age between the speaker and the addressee. The utterance in (4a) 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. Holmes (2013: 240) argues "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 do not know well, and more vernacular forms to their friends. In a study in Northern Ireland, for instance, people used more Standard English forms with an English stranger visiting their village than they did talking to a fellow villager.

This generalization holds across different languages. In Mombasa, a city in Kenya, the kind of Swahili that people use when talking to their friends is quite different from the variety they use to a Swahili-speaking visitor from outside the community. The same pattern has been reported from research in a range of different places, including Sweden and Hawai'i. The speaker's relationship to the addressee is crucial in determining the appropriate style of speaking. And again, "how well you know someone or how close you feel to them – relative social distance/solidarity" is one important dimension of social relationships.

The second principle is that style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups. The social evaluation of the group is transferred to the linguistic features associated with the group. So style derives from inter-group language variation by way of social evaluation. Evaluation of a linguistic variable and style-shift of that

variable are reciprocal. Evaluation is always associated with style-shift and style-shift with evaluation. Stylistic meaning therefore has a normative basis. A particular style is normally associated with a particular group or situation and therefore carries with it the flavor of these associations.

Macaulay (2009) gives some examples of English teenagers' slang which show that norms can and do change. His examples come from two studies, one conducted in 1997 and another one in 2003. In the 1997 study the working class adolescents used two non-traditional intensifiers *dead* and *pure* instead of *very*. Notice the sentences in (5) to (7).

- (5) I'd look dead funny without a fringe, wouldn't I?
- (6) This is dead embarrassing
- (7) I was standing pure close to him

But, in 2003, there is a new intensifier *heavy* that was apparently just beginning in 1997. Notice the sentences in (8) to (10).

- (8) He's no pure heavy sexy.
- (9) We think you're heavy cool man.
- (10) I'm going to heavy kill him anyway.

There is also a new term of approbation, *healthy* (= good looking), that is not found in the 1997 recordings as in (11) to (13).

- (11) This is healthy man = sit and talk about shit
- (12) He's pure healthy but he's a wee fandang
- (13) That's a healthy phone innit?

Another epithet that is used more frequently in the 2003 recordings is *mad* which can be used with both a positive and negative effect as in (14) to (17).

- (14) He got caught on a mad website.
- (15) I had a mad throat infection
- (16) They're doing all mad tests.
- (17) Harry bought a mad fitbaw man

The use of *pure*, *heavy*, *healthy* and *mad* shows that the Glasgow working-class adolescents have developed their own characteristic form of intensification. It is important to point out that once acquired, a particular style/register functions as a tacit emblem of group membership.

The third principle is that speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience. For instance, we may expect that any young person who wants to signal membership, affiliation to or solidarity with the community of Glasgow working-class adolescents will switch to their style of speaking in speech encounters involving representatives from this group.

The fourth principle is that style shift primarily occurs in response to a speaker's audience, i.e. a speaker shifts her style to be more like the person she is talking to. Put another way, a speaker tries to accommodate to his/ her conversational partner/ speech situation he finds in. According to Accommodation theory (Giles and Powesland, 1975), an individual can induce another to evaluate him more favourably by reducing dissimilarities between them employing for that purpose some converging strategies; or, conversely, a speaker may try to distance himself/herself from his/her conversational partner by means of some strategies of divergence. The process of speech accommodation operates on socio-psychological principles and may be considered as an effective instrument for rapport building, establishing social equilibrium among participants and gaining social approval. It is important to emphasize that Style is a responsive phenomenon. That is, response is a primary mode of style shift. Responsiveness to the audience is part of the active role of the speaker.

So, speakers construct a conversation not only verbally, they shape and adapt their conversation in a way that would show a close convergence of styles. In this sense speakers' styles of response are an essential and constitutive feature of communication; there is a natural link between stylistic and inter-personal differences. Notice the example provided by Holmes as in (18).

(18) A number of people who were learning Welsh were asked to help with a survey. In their separate booths in the language lab they were asked a number of questions by a PR-sounding English speaker. At one point this speaker arrogantly challenged the learners' reasons for trying to acquire Welsh which he called a "dying language which had a dismal future". In responding to this statement the learners generally broadened their Welsh accents. Some introduced Welsh words into their answers, while others used an aggressive tone. One woman did not reply for a while, and then she was heard conjugating Welsh verbs gently into the microphone (Holmes, 2013: 246).

Though the situation in which the example in (18) 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 the language, of the person addressing them. They disagreed with his sentiments and had no desire to accommodate to his speech.

The fifth principle is that audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual. Audience design which comprises – style-shift (colloquial/formal), choice of personal pronouns, address terms, politeness strategies, etc. – applies to all codes and repertoires including the switch from one code into another.

The sixth principle is that variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the 'social' dimension. This means that the same linguistic variables operate simultaneously across different social groups of people. Audience design is therefore a strategy by which speakers draw on the range of linguistic resources available in their speech community to respond to different kind of audiences.

The seventh principle is that speakers have the ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members, i.e. speakers accommodate their style to their hearers to win approval. This is also known as accommodation strategies.

The eighth principle is that style-shifting according to topic and setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings with typical audience members.

The ninth principle is that, as well as the responsive dimension of style, there is the initiative dimension, i.e. the style-shift itself can initiate a change in the situation rather than resulting from that change.

The tenth principle is that initiative style-shifts are in essence 'referee-design' by which the linguistic features associated with a reference group can be used to express identification with that group. Initiative style-shifts derive their force and direction of shift from their underlying association with classes of persons or groups. They focus on an often absent reference group (e.g. by adopting a non-native accent) rather than the present addressee. Referees are third persons not usually present at an interaction but possessing such salience for a speaker that they influence style even in their absence. Initiative style shift is essentially a redefinition by speakers of their own

identity in relation to their audience. The baseline from which initiative shifts operate is the style normally designed for a particular addressee. Referee design can involve a speaker shifting to identify more strongly with their own in-group, or to an out-group with which they wish to identify.

People initiate such stylistic shifts for a range of reasons. When we imitate our teacher to amuse our friends, or when we adopt a prestige accent to impress our boss, we are engaging in referee design. Television adverts sometimes include accents which are not those of their audience for special effects such as humor, or to borrow the accent's prestige in order to enhance the attractiveness of the product being promoted. In New Zealand, a Scottish or north of England accent is sometimes used to exploit the stereotype of the honest and straightforward bloke whose word can be trusted. New Zealand and Australian singers similarly draw on referee design when they adopt features of overseas singers' styles, such as US post-vocalic [r], or Cockney glottal stops. Presumably they believe this will enhance the appeal of their song for their audience, and hence boost their sales. Like metaphorical code-switching, with which it has much in common, referee design allows the speaker to exploit the symbolic function of language, and allude in an economical way to more than one set of values (Holmes, 2013: 247).

C. THE MARKEDNESS MODEL

Another model, covering some of the same ground as Communication Accommodation Theory, is the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993, 1998, 2006). As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, the accommodation model is primarily concerned with converging or diverging from the listener or a larger audience. In contrast, the Markedness Model is more centered on the notion that speakers make choices because of their own goals (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 158). In addition, the Markedness Model tries to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 159). Of course, they cannot ignore some consideration for listeners. After all, without listeners, there is no conversation. This model focuses initially on social motivations for code switching ("code" is just one of the cover terms for ways of speaking, so it can refer to separate languages, dialects, or styles).

According to Myers-Scotton (1998: 18), there is more than one way of speaking in almost every speech community. No community is without at least two different speech styles, and in many communities, more than one language, and often more than one dialect of each language, is spoken. All linguistic codes or varieties come to have social and psychological associations in the speech community in which they are used. Given these associations, the use of a particular code is viewed in terms of the marked versus the unmarked opposition with reference to the extent its use matches community expectations for the interaction type. In other words, what community norms would predict is unmarked; what community norms would not predict is marked (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 5).

The Markedness Model uses the marked versus unmarked distinction as a theoretical construct to explain the social and psychological motivations for making one code choice over another. According to the Markedness Model, speakers have a sense of markedness regarding the linguistic codes available for any interaction, and speakers select their code(s) based on the persona or/and the relationships which they wish to have in place. This sense of markedness is based on the so called "markedness metric", proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993: 79-80) to form part of a speaker's communicative competence. A critical point is that, while the metric is considered to be a universal cognitive structure, it underlies a very particular ability – the ability to assess the markedness of codes is only developed in reference to a specific community, and so one can speak of the markedness of a particular code choice only in reference to a specific context in a specific community (Myers-Scotton, 1993:80). Markedness has a normative basis within the community, and therefore speakers know the consequences of making marked or unmarked choices, and can assess the potential costs and rewards of alternative choices (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 75). A central premise of the Markedness Model is embodied in the so called "negotiation principle" (modeled after Grice's (1975) cooperative principle), according to which all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of speaker motivations (Myers-Scotton, 1993:113). The model says, "Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (Myers-Scotton, 1993:114).

Based on the negotiation principle, Myers-Scotton (1998:26) proposes several related maxims:

1. The Unmarked Choice Maxim: Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked rights and obligations set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that rights and obligations set.
2. The Marked Choice Maxim: Make a marked choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked rights and obligations set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new rights and obligations set as unmarked for the current exchange.
3. The Exploratory Choice Maxim: When an unmarked choice is not clear, use switching between speech varieties to make alternate exploratory choices as (alternate) candidates for the unmarked choice and thereby as an index of a rights and obligations set which you favor.
4. Deference Maxim: Switch to a code which expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by the circumstances.
5. Virtuosity Maxim: Switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present.

A central theoretical construct used by Myers-Scotton to distinguish levels of markedness of code choices is the rights and obligations (RO) set (1993, 1998). The RO set comprises rights and obligations upon which a speaker-hearer can base his/her expectations in a given interactional setting (Myers-Scotton 1998: 23). The RO set accounts for codes of behaviour and norms that are established and then maintained in social communities, and the unmarked RO set for a given interaction type originates from salient situational features, such as age, sex, occupation, socio-economic status, and ethnic group (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 24). Speaker-hearers use information from their experiences in daily interactions in their community, together with the markedness metric as a cognitive device, to arrive at readings of markedness. Firstly, they take the specific salient situational factors of a given community and interaction type into account and establish the perimeter of the unmarked RO set for a specific interaction setting. Secondly, they calculate the relative markedness of code choices to index the unmarked RO set (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 25).

The Markedness Model accounts for all instances of code switching as one of four complementary types, namely (i) unmarked code switching, (ii) sequential unmarked code switching, (iii) marked code switching, and (iv) exploratory code switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 114). Firstly, speakers

may engage in code switching as a sequence of unmarked choices in which codes are switched in order to index any change in the RO set (Myers-Scotton, 1993:114). Secondly, code switching itself may be the unmarked choice, for instance when code switching is the pattern which carries the desired communicative intention and indexes the expected RO set (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 117). Thirdly, a speaker may engage in code switching as the marked choice, whereby s/he is said to “disidentify” with the expected RO set, wishing to establish a new RO set as unmarked for a particular communicative exchange (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 131). Finally, code switching may function as an exploratory choice, such as when the speaker is unsure of what is expected or optimal, and wishes to find out which code choice will match his/her desired RO set (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 142).

D. MULTILINGUAL IDENTITIES

We live in a world where identity matters. It matters both as a concept, theoretically and as a contested fact of contemporary world (Gilroy, 1987:301). While the Markedness Model concerns itself with indexing particular role relationships for speakers, there is another approach which regards language choice as a means to construct social identities. Identity is a concept that connects individual and social spheres of life in societies (Lestinen, Petrucijova, and Spinthourakis, 2004: 1). An important aspect of this approach is that identities are not seen as fixed but as fluid, multiple, and culturally constructed. Identities might align with pre-existent categories such as gender, occupation, ethnicity, and so on, but should be thought of as being brought into being through the interaction with others.

Population changes influence, modify and mix the identities of people, providing opportunities for loosening ties with traditions and localities and promising more freedom of choice. Higher education teachers face the challenge of supporting the capacity of their students to develop identity with a clientele and colleagues who are increasingly overtly or latently multicultural and multilingual.

Individual identity arises from the execution of an individual’s social roles and functions within society. Identity is shaped in the process of changing personal relationships with others, to attain a structured personal integrity by self-identification and self-assessment, i.e. deciding what matters in one’s life and suppressing the nonessential. At the same time, being a

social phenomenon, our personal identity changes as part of a lifelong self-construction process.

The relation between human identity and culture can be both interconnection and interaction. Identity is a relatively stable element of objective cultural reality, and at the same time it is a defining element of subjective reality. Culture is not a mere embellishment of human nature, but a fundamental condition of human existence (Geertz, 1973). It is a vision of reality (a possible definition of culture) between an individual and the world. This vision guides, regulates, stimulates and co-ordinates human relations. Representatives of a culture share latent common elements of consciousness: systems of cognizance, symbols, values, patterns of behaviour, etc.

Awareness of 'self' is based on awareness of being part of a social/cultural group (ethnic, national, linguistic, etc.). Defining 'self' is to be aware of 'we', and to be accepted as 'us'. As individuals may see themselves as members of more than one group, identity may be contingent on the group identified with at a particular time (Spithourakis & Katsillis, 2003). Each identity has its own beliefs, expectations and behaviours, and is defined by reference to the norms of a particular group. Identification (i) with a group is one of the three basic ideas of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the other two being categorization (ii) and comparison (iii).

1. Identification from self-reflection and experience of interaction with surrounding social/cultural groups.
2. Categorization: created using racial, ethnic, religious, occupational and other existing social categories. Specific constructs based on historical experiences: cultural identity arises from the consciousness of a common, shared present and past.
3. Social comparison allows evaluation of our group by comparing it with others. We need 'otherness' to realize 'ourselves' and 'myself'.

Generally cultures tend to make comparisons that reflect positively on themselves, using dimensions favourable to their group as the basis for comparison (McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson, and Turner, 1994). This positive self-evaluation improves the group self-awareness, solidarity and integrity; besides, it also serves as the basis for positive and negative stereotypes (resulting in prejudices). In the past many collective cultural/social identities were constructed on the basis of ethnocentric social exclusion of 'otherness' (Lestinen et al., 2004: 3).

Furthermore, in the multicultural world, current conceptions of multiculturalism and post-modernism make identity a much more complex issue. Post-modern pluralism creates a place for liberty and innovation but also threatens integrity and entirety. Identity becomes multi-stage, case-to-case, and situational (Auge, 1994).

Other conceptions of identity – sliced identity, partial identity and multiple identity – also assume a potential contradiction of identities (Barker, 2000: 387). These identities change according to shifts in individual social status and roles, contact with various social groups and behaviour in varying social and cultural environments. Contemporary identity discourse commonly focuses on the increased importance and value of subjective identification factors such as emotional subjectivity: ‘I am whom I feel myself to be’.

Multicultural contexts also stress identity as inclusive, rather than exclusive. Cultivating inclusive identity is integral to the socialization role of education. Contact with another culture modifies cultural identity, consciously or unconsciously. Contemporary multiculturalism expects individuals to deal with cultural contacts and to face possible tensions between different worlds. Cultural contact should be seen as a source of enrichment, not of conflict.

Following Goldberg (1994), Guibernau and Rex (1997), and Taylor’s (1994) models, Lestinen et al. (2004: 5) formulate several models of multicultural society showing differing majority and minority relationships. The models are:

1. *The liberal multicultural model.* All are equal in law: society emphasizes the sameness (equality), the value and freedom of the individual. This social strategy stems from the individual, not the group, and the public sphere is neutral regarding ethnic and cultural differences. Culturally specific qualities are preserved at the private individual level.
2. *The pluralistic multicultural model.* This emphasizes cultural diversity. Individuals in various cultures preserve their specific cultural qualities; the public sphere considers their group identities. Those from the majority group are expected to be familiar with specific signs, ways of life and minority behavioural patterns; and those from minorities familiar with the dominant culture.
3. *The critical multicultural model.* Both individual and group specific qualities are considered changeable. They are dynamic, determined and adapted to meet current social conditions and needs. This form of co-

existence attempts to integrate different groups. The different ('non-dominant') identity is not a limit or barrier for participation in political, economic, cultural or other spheres of social life.

One problem in multicultural societies is the possible clash of the cultural and civic identities of their members. This confrontation is closely connected with the problem of cultural inclusion, or the lack of it.

In conclusion, multicultural/multilingual identities have become an integral part of our contemporary world. They are the result of our worlds' previous development and the ground from which to upgrade its multicultural quality based on non-violent co-existence, solidarity and respect for cultural diversity, which are considered a starting point for mutual enrichment of inter-cultural contact agents.



EXERCISE

To check your understanding of this first activity, answer all the questions below.

- 1) Explain the differences between metaphorical and situational code-switching!
- 2) Explain the concept of accommodation theory!
- 3) Explain the concept of audience design!
- 4) Explain the concept of markedness model!
- 5) Explain the concept of multilingual identity!

Key to Exercise

- 1) The differences between metaphorical and situational code-switching are:
 - a. Situational code switching involves change in participants and/or strategies, while metaphorical switching involves only a change in topical emphasis.
 - b. Situational code switching refers to a switch evoked by a change of the conversational context, i.e., the situation or a participant. Metaphorical code-switching can be understood as a rhetorical device in which the speakers employ the switch for communicative effect.

- 2) Accommodation Theory is listener-centered or audience-centered. That is, speakers choose the way they talk with their audience foremost in mind. Accommodation is often referred to under this theory as “the reduction of linguistic dissimilarities”. In addition, accommodation theory explains two kinds of behaviour: convergence and divergence behaviour. In convergence behaviour, one individual can try to induce another to judge him/her more favorably by reducing differences between the two. An individual may even be prepared to sacrifice something to gain social approval of some kind (e.g. shift in behavior to become more like the other). While in divergence behaviour, someone shows his/her desire to distance himself/herself from other interlocutors, the shift in behavior will be away from the behavior of another or others. For example, the behaviour of ‘putting on airs and graces’ in order to deliberately dissociate himself/herself from peers, or conversely using slang and nonstandard speech with someone who is speaking a formal, high-status variety.
- 3) Audience design is a variationist version of speech accommodation theory; quantitative study of linguistic variables according to Labovian principles is taken as the norm. The model assumes that speakers adjust their speech primarily towards that of their audience in order to express solidarity or intimacy with them, or conversely away from their audience’s speech in order to express distance.
- 4) Markedness Model is more centered on the notion that speakers make choices because of their own goals. In addition, the Markedness Model tries to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs. This model focuses initially on social motivations for code switching.
- 5) Identity is a concept that connects individual and social spheres of life in societies. An important aspect of this approach is that identities are not seen as fixed but as fluid, multiple, and culturally constructed. Identities might align with pre-existent categories such as gender, occupation, ethnicity, and so on, but should be thought of as being brought into being through the interaction with others.



SUMMARY

People who speak more than one language are generally very sensitive to the differences in the vitality of the languages they use and they are equally aware that in some contexts one variety will serve their needs better than another. This may lead them to change the variety they use depending on where they are. This phenomenon of moving between distinct varieties is known as code switching. Code switching can be defined as the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation without a noticeable phonological assimilation from one variety to the other. Code switching is either metaphorical or situational code-switching. Situational code switching involves change in participants and/or strategies, metaphorical switching involves only a change in topical emphasis. Thus, situational code switching refers to a switch evoked by a change of the conversational context, i.e., the situation or a participant; meanwhile, metaphorical code-switching can be understood as a rhetorical device in which the speakers employ the switch for communicative effect. To switch or not to switch is closely related to the speaker's self-decision. Speakers may conceptualize the relationship between location, addressee and in-group identity in different ways.

Another framework which has informed current ideas about language choice is accommodation theory, which was developed by the social psychologist Howard Giles and his associates. Accommodation Theory is listener-centered or audience-centered, i.e. speakers choose the way they talk with their audience foremost in mind. Accommodation is often referred to under this theory as "the reduction of linguistic dissimilarities". Accommodation theory explains two kinds of behaviour: convergence and divergence behaviour. In convergence behaviour, one individual can try to induce another to judge him/her more favorably by reducing differences between the two. An individual may even be prepared to sacrifice something to gain social approval of some kind. Meanwhile, in divergence behaviour, someone shows his/her desire to distance himself/herself from other interlocutors, the shift in behavior will be away from the behavior of another or others.

In responding to convergent behavior, Allan Bell has developed a theoretical framework related to Accommodation Theory that views variation in speech as "audience design". The model assumes that speakers adjust their speech primarily towards that of their audience in order to express solidarity or intimacy with them, or conversely away from their audience's speech in order to express distance. Audience

design as a characteristics of the style of an individual's speech performance is based on the ten basic principles: (i) relation to addressee, i.e. style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people; (ii) style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups; (iii) speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience; (iv) style shift primarily occurs in response to a speaker's audience, i.e. a speaker shifts her style to be more like the person she is talking to; (v) audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual; (vi) variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the 'social' dimension; (vii) speakers have the ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members; (viii) style-shifting according to topic and setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings with typical audience members; (ix) the initiative dimension, i.e. the style-shift itself can initiate a change in the situation rather than resulting from that change; and (x) initiative style-shifts are in essence 'referee-design' by which the linguistic features associated with a reference group can be used to express identification with that group.

Another model, covering some of the same ground as Communication Accommodation Theory, is the Markedness Model. Markedness Model is more centered on the notion that speakers make choices because of their own goals. In addition, the Markedness Model tries to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occur. A central premise of the Markedness Model is embodied in the so called "negotiation principle". Based on the negotiation principle, Myers-Scotton (1998: 26) proposes five related maxims: (i) The Unmarked Choice Maxim; (ii) The Marked Choice Maxim; (iii) The Exploratory Choice Maxim; (iv) Deference Maxim; and (v) Virtuosity Maxim.

While the Markedness Model concerns itself with indexing particular role relationships for speakers, there is another approach which regards language choice as a means to construct social identities. Identity is a concept that connects individual and social spheres of life in societies. Individual identity arises from the execution of an individual's social roles and functions within society. Identity is shaped in the process of changing personal relationships with others, to attain a structured personal integrity by self-identification and self-assessment, i.e. deciding what matters in one's life and suppressing the nonessential.



FORMATIVE TEST 2 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) When people switch from one code to another for reasons which can be clearly identified, it is sometimes called situational switching. If we knew the relevant situational or social factors in advance in such cases, we could usually predict the switches. Which code would you predict the speaker will switch from and which code will they switch to in the following situations and why?
- 2) Identify the linguistic features in the following example which signal that Robbie's father has switched code between his first and second utterance!
 Father : Tea's ready Robbie.
(Robbie ignores him and carries on skate-boarding.)
 Father : Mr. Robert Harris if you do not come in immediately there will be consequences which you will regret.
- 3) There are many different ways in which a person may accommodate to the speech of another. Make a list of as many features as you can think of!
- 4) Explain the ten principles of applying audience design!
- 5) Why do you think people might sometimes want to switch to their minority language when they move to a new country?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

Bilingual and Multilingual Education

A. DEFINITIONS AND PURPOSES

Bilingual and multilingual education refers to the use of two or more languages as mediums of instruction. In much of the specialized literature, the two types are subsumed under the term bilingual education. However, UNESCO adopted the term 'multilingual education' in 1999 in the General Conference Resolution 12 to refer to the use of at least three languages, L1, a regional or national language and an international language in education. The resolution supported the view that the requirements of global and national participation and the specific needs of particular, culturally and linguistically distinct communities can only be addressed by multilingual education. In regions where the language of the learner is not the official or national language of the country, bilingual and multilingual education can make mother tongue instruction possible while providing at the same time the acquisition of languages used in larger areas of the country and the world. This additive approach to bilingualism is different from the so called subtractive bilingualism which aims to move children on to a second language as a language of instruction (Ball, 2011: 21).

The current review examines research evidence that can inform policies on how best to support children's maintenance and developing competence in L1, through parent education, preschool and primary school programs, while they are also acquiring one or more additional languages; that is, mother tongue-based bi/multilingual education or developmental bilingual education.

Bilingual and multilingual programs are being implemented in countries around the globe - Somalia, Madagascar, Guinea Conakry, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Tanzania, China, Ethiopia, Guatemala, the Philippines, and South Africa, to name a few. Programs are also being documented and evaluated in Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and various countries within the European Union. The policy environments and cultural and family contexts of these initiatives vary widely, as do the program models and the resources to implement them. As research on this topic gains momentum, these innovations may yield fresh insights about the implications of different

educational choices, how best to deliver them, and the implications of different approaches for governments, funders, teachers, and children.

Theoretical understandings about bi/multilingual acquisition, along with different goals for children's language development, have provided the rationales to develop and test a range of language-in-education models. Numerous other factors influence program choices, including political agendas, costs, teacher training, standardized testing regimes, and so on. Table 6.2 describes the most common program models. Many variations exist in the delivery of each approach, such as the number of months spent in transition and the amount of time devoted to mother tongue maintenance. Also, as some scholars note, the approach that educators say they are using does not often match what they are actually doing (Cziko, 1992; Thomas and Collier, 2002). Finally, Benson (2009) notes that some approaches cannot properly be referred to as bilingual education. For example, submersion completely ignores children's first languages, and immersion may be monolingual, using a language that children do not speak at home.

Table 6.2
Approaches to bilingual education
(Ball, 2011: 21-22)

Mother tongue-based instruction
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The learning program is delivered entirely in children's L1.
Bilingual education ('two-way bilingual education')
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Use of two languages as media of instruction.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Also known as 'dual language instruction,' in which minority and majority language children are taught in both minority and majority languages.
Mother tongue-based bilingual education ('developmental bilingualism')
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> L1 is used as the primary medium of instruction for the whole of primary school while L2 is introduced as a subject of study in itself to prepare students for eventual transition to some academic subjects in L2.
Multilingual education
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Formal use of more than two languages in the curriculum.
Transitional bi/multilingual education (also called 'bridging')
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The objective is a planned transition from one language of instruction to another.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 'Short cut' or 'early exit' is a term given to programs that involve an abrupt transition to L2 instruction after only 2 or 3 years in school.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 'Late transition' or 'late exit' refers to a switch to L2 instruction after a child has become fully fluent academically in L1.

Maintenance bi/multilingual education
☑ After L2 has been introduced, both (or all) chosen languages are media of instruction. L1 instruction continues, often as a subject of study, to ensure ongoing support for children to become academically proficient in L1. This is also called 'additive bilingual education' because one or more languages are added but do not displace L1.
Immersion or foreign language instruction
☑ The entire education program is provided in a language that is new to the child.
Submersion (a.k.a. Sink or Swim)
☑ Where speakers of non-dominant languages have no choice but to receive education in languages they do not understand, the approach is commonly known as 'submersion' or 'sink or swim' (i.e., dominant language learning at the expense of L1). This approach promotes subtractive bilingualism: that is, L2 learning at the expense of L1.

Debates about bi/multilingual education models focus largely on the degree to which the child's L1 should be used in instruction of the curriculum. The other side of this debate concerns how and when in the continuum of schooling children should be expected to learn a second (or additional) language, and at what stage in the learning process children should be expected to receive academic instruction based in that second language. At one end of the continuum, the child is immersed in a language of instruction that is unknown to them. Some refer to this approach as 'submersion,' in the sense of 'sink or swim.' At the other end of the continuum, the primary language of instruction is the child's L1. Such programs give priority to helping children to become fully fluent and literate in L1 before shifting (if ever) to instruction in L2.

Some programs try to balance L1 and L2 exposure in a 'dual language model,' for example, teaching every other day in a given language, or having the class composed of approximately equal numbers of speakers of both languages to allow for peer teaching and modeling, didactic use of the language in curriculum instruction, and formal teaching of both languages as subjects.

Another model, which might be thought of as a 'transfer' approach, uses L1 as the medium of instruction, while also offering formal instruction in L2. Yet another model, which is a 'transition' or 'bridging' model, uses L1 as the initial medium of instruction, gradually introducing increasing amounts of instruction in L2, until L1 is phased out entirely. 'Maintenance' is another strategy which may be combined with bi/multilingual programs: children

receive formal instruction in L1 so that it continues to develop even after they are fully immersed in L2 as the medium of instruction.

B. THREE FRAMEWORKS OF BILINGUAL AND MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION

The purposes of bilingual and multilingual education programs are similarly diverse, ranging from development of advanced levels of proficiency and academic achievement in both target languages to the promotion of academic skills in a dominant language but not in the pupils' home language. Similarly, some programs aim to help learners develop knowledge about a particular cultural group in addition to their own, while others have as their primary orientation and mission the promotion of assimilation and acculturation of linguistically diverse learners into a mainstream or dominant culture. We note increasing interest in programs seeking to develop 'multilingual, culturally adept citizens who can prosper and contribute to our increasingly global society' (Gandara and Hopkins, 2010: 4). In this chapter we will look at examples of programs with a variety of goals and purposes.

We present here a three-part framework for understanding how education in multiple languages is commonly organized (Figure 6.3). Hall, Smith, and Wicaksono (2011: 178) begin by distinguishing between frames that are (1) language-based, (2) content-based and (3) context-based. These ways of looking at programs are not mutually exclusive, of course. To some extent, all programs must take into account the language and subject matter learning needs of their students, as well as the contextual features and constraints of the larger context in which they are based. We argue that much more can be learned about particular schools and programs by examining them from all three frames.

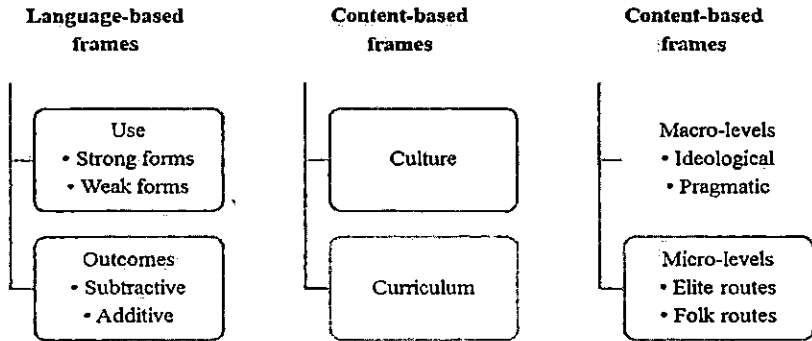


Figure 6.3

Three frameworks for understanding bilingual and multilingual education
(Hall et al., 2011: 178)

1. *Language-Based Program*

One key way of looking at bilingual and multilingual programs is in terms of language use and language outcomes. A clear example of a focus on use is the distinction between ‘strong’ forms – in which two or more languages are used systematically for academic purposes, including reading and writing in subject areas such as maths, science and history – and ‘weak’ forms, where the non-dominant languages are used sparingly, typically to clarify instructions or for interpersonal communication only (Baker, 2006). Despite its apparent simplicity, the strong-weak dichotomy reminds us to pay close attention to the manner in which and the extent to which bilingual and multilingual programs actually use each of the target languages. Asymmetry in the use of the dominant and non-dominant languages is problematic for many programs, and human, material and technological resources tend to be concentrated in the dominant language unless special steps are taken to address this imbalance. This is especially true for combinations that include a language of wider communication, such as English, French or Mandarin, with less prestigious or less widely spoken languages.

Achieving even a relative degree of symmetry between target languages is no simple task. Some of the reasons for this imbalance are economic; where appropriate materials exist in both languages, schools may lack the funds needed to purchase them, or they may wish to devote scant resources to other aspects of the curriculum, including instruction in the dominant

language. Where commercially prepared materials are unavailable, as is the case for many Indigenous and other non-dominant languages, local curriculum writers – typically classroom teachers or their bilingual assistants – must create them. Because opportunities to develop strong literacy skills in non-dominant languages are often scarce, a common problem for bilingual and multilingual programs is finding materials developers whose subject area knowledge is matched by strong literacy skills in the target language(s). Even in programs which ‘simply’ translate the curriculum from the dominant language into a minority language.

Perhaps the greatest potential barrier to symmetry can be found in attitudes towards one or both of the target languages or feelings about bilingualism and multilingualism, though these attitudes are changing over time. For example, when they began in the late 1930s, Welsh-medium schools were intended only for children of Welsh-speaking families; eventually they were opened to all children in Wales (Mejia, 2006). A similar shift in attitudes towards education in immigrant languages in Europe is evident in statements by the Council of Europe calling for multilingual education in immigrant communities and support for immigrants learning the language of the area where they live (Beacco and Byram, 2003).

In other contexts, speakers may be ambivalent about, or even outright opposed to, having children learn to read and write their heritage language. Members of some Indigenous communities, such as the Arhuaco in Colombia (Murillo, 2009) and Maori in New Zealand (Smith, 2006), express strong reservations about whether and how their home language should be used in schools. In other words, biliteracy may be viewed as appropriate and desirable for heritage language learners but not for others. Thus, any categorization and analysis of strong and weak programs needs to take into account contextual factors that are economic and attitudinal (ideological) in nature. This includes consideration of localized forms of diglossia in bilingual and multilingual communities that have developed shared beliefs and practices concerning the proper roles and functions each language should play (Fishman, 2000).

A second type of language-based frame concerns the linguistic outcomes of schooling in multiple languages. This perspective compels us to ask about the changes in pupils’ abilities to use their first and additional languages after completing a bilingual or multilingual program of study. Subtractive programs are those in which the student’s home language is not used at all as

a medium of instruction or its use is progressively diminished as early as the first year of school. Although students in such programs may learn new vocabulary, develop stronger reading and writing skills, and be introduced to new genres in the mother tongue, these gains are often the result of out-of-school-learning and experiences. In more extreme cases, where schools actively discourage or even ban the use of non-dominant languages outright, interpersonal and even intergenerational communication can suffer, with children eventually becoming unable or unwilling to communicate in the home language with older family members (Fillmore, 1991). Even in cases where students have two (or more) first languages, for example Hindi-, Gujarati- and English-speaking students in India enrolled in either English-medium or Vernacular-medium schools, there may be tension between the two languages as a result of how, in different contexts, either English or the Vernacular is emphasized and valued (Ramanathan, 2005).

In contrast, additive bilingual and multilingual programs aim to support and extend the student's home language and additional language(s) through the systematic and sustained use of both/all as languages of instruction. Such programs typically have as a goal that learners will leave the program as more fully developed speakers, readers and writers of their home language across a variety of genres, discourses and contexts. Thus, learners in additive programs are expected to add a new language without the expectation that they will give up their home language.

2. *Content-Based Program*

Although controversies about bilingual and multilingual education typically assume a language-based frame, in those contexts where schooling in multiple languages is more widely accepted, educators often emphasize the acquisition of academic content. In such cases, the languages of instruction are portrayed primarily as vehicles for intercultural communication and content learning rather than as the defining feature of the program, as reflected in statements by the Council of Europe (2007).

There is also growing awareness that the forms of knowledge that linguistically diverse learners bring to school are a valuable resource to be tapped in bilingual and multilingual programs. Implicit use of students' existing conceptual and content knowledge has been described as *de facto* bilingual education (Krashen, 1998), in recognition of the fact that students with a strong educational background in their first language are better able to

transfer or apply the conceptual knowledge developed through L1-medium education to learning in additional languages.

In content-based program, there are several common forms of bilingual and multilingual schooling or common program types in providing education in multiple languages. The program types of the content-based program include: (a) Submersion education; (b) Transitional bilingual education; (c) Maintenance bilingual education; (d) Immersion; (e) Community language teaching; and (f) Heritage language programs (Hall et al., 2011: 182-188).

a. Submersion education

Also known as sink-or-swim, submersion programs make little or no effort to acknowledge or accommodate the special needs of second language learners. Pupils are placed in classes with students who are native/proficient speakers of the dominant language, and their academic progress is evaluated using measures designed to assess the performance of native speakers and for comparison with the norms established for them. Whether the pupils' home languages are relatively recent arrivals (as in the case of children who have recently migrated across linguistic borders) or have been long present and historically undervalued (the case of most Indigenous and sign languages), submersion education remains the most common form of schooling for language minority students (García, 2009).

b. Transitional bilingual education

Transitional bilingual education programs, known in some contexts by the acronym TBE and in the UK as bilingual support (Martin-Jones and Saxena, 2003), feature the temporary use of the students' L1 or another regional language as an academic bridge to highly proficient users of the dominant language. Unlike submersion programs, transitional programs often feature at least some content instruction in the home language and may also include initial literacy instruction in the students' L1. An important factor in the organization of TBE programs is the length of time that students are permitted to study in their L1 before being moved into classes designed for native speakers of the dominant language. In many cases, this decision is based on political expediency rather than evidence from second language acquisition research. Thus, despite scholarly consensus that most students need at least seven years in order to fully develop academic language proficiency in English as a second language (Collier and Thomas, 2007),

some US states stipulate that students must be 'mainstreamed' into English-only instruction with native English-speaking classmates after a maximum of one year of native language or sheltered instruction. California, Arizona and Massachusetts, where such programs are labeled 'structured English immersion', are well-known examples. Variations on the TBE model are also known as 'early exit' or 'late exit', depending on the number of years of L1 instruction students receive before moving into monolingual instruction in the dominant language. Typically, emphasis is placed on literacy skills and achievement in the dominant language, and the development of academic skills in the students' L1 receives less attention.

c. Maintenance bilingual education

Maintenance bilingual education refers to upkeep of the non-dominant language. We know of few contemporary programs under this name, but the notion of pupils maintaining rather than being forced to 'forget what they know' by giving up their home languages contrasts sharply with the linguistic assimilation goals of the submersion and transitional models we have seen. It is also consistent with aims of the two-way immersion and community language teaching models. The maintenance bilingual education model is intended for immigrant pupils thought likely to return to their home countries and whose successful return would ideally include being able to participate in schools there. An early example of education for language maintenance was developed in the (now) very multilingual city of Miami when Cubans who fled their country in the early 1960s created private schools to provide Spanish language instruction so that their children would still be able to speak Spanish upon their planned return to schools in Cuba (Mackey and Beebe, 1977). Although history has proved otherwise in this case, maintenance of the home language remains a goal of programs serving the children of guest workers in numerous host countries around the world. Notable contemporary examples include the language conditions experienced by Turkish speakers in German schools and ethnic Japanese living in Brazil. Students of applied linguistics reading this book who are currently outside their home countries will be particularly aware of the difficulties that might face children who return 'home' after being schooled, primarily or exclusively, in a different language in their host country.

Whatever the conditions, key questions in such situations include what exactly is meant by 'maintenance' and who is responsible for helping pupils

achieve it. Generally speaking, the size of the student population matters, as does duration, that is, how long pupils are expected to remain in the host country.

d. Immersion

The term immersion refers to programs designed to teach content in the target language, but in a way that does not (intentionally) harm the learner's L1. The target language may be the dominant language or a minority language which has become economically viable and/or socially prestigious, as was the case of Spanish in Miami following the arrival of a large elite and highly educated Cuban population. Support for children's other languages is often available. Key variables in immersion programs include the language(s) of instruction and the home language(s) of the students, with one-way and two-way immersion programs being common variations.

Perhaps the best-known examples of one-way immersion are the French language programs for children of English-speaking homes first developed in Montreal in the early 1960s and now common across Canada (Heller, 2006). Studies of programs following this well-documented and influential model suggest that children from a majority language background can develop content knowledge (history, science, mathematics, etc.) in a second language to a degree comparable or superior to peers schooled exclusively in their L1, and that they do so with no apparent cost to academic development in the majority language. A primary attraction of such programs is, of course, that students typically develop much higher levels of L2 proficiency than are attained in traditional foreign language classrooms. Reading test scores and other measures of academic proficiency in English sometimes lag behind those of children schooled monolingually, but the delay seems to be temporary, with bilingually schooled children of dominant language backgrounds eventually 'catching up' with their monolingual peers on measures of achievement, such as reading and maths, even when tested in the dominant language.

e. Community language teaching

Recent immigration is also the driving force behind community language teaching (CLT). Not to be confused with Community Language Learning, a method of language instruction popular in adult foreign language teaching in the 1970s and 1980s, the term has been proposed to describe the growth of

immigrant language teaching in cities across Europe. CLT incorporates programs sometimes referred to as mother-tongue teaching and home language instruction, but has the advantage of accounting for the effects of language shift (e.g. not all pupils speak the same first language as their parents and older family members) and the inclusion of non-migrants (dominant language speakers) who want to study migrant languages (Extra and Yagmur, 2005). In Sheffield, in the UK, for example, some fifty languages are supported, with primary school languages including Somali, Arabic, Urdu, French, Spanish, Italian and German. The Multilingual Cities Project, a study of urban multilingualism and CLT in six large cities in EU member states (Göteborg, Hamburg, The Hague, Brussels, Lyon and Madrid), found that primary education was largely monolingually oriented and that CLT had higher status at the secondary level (but even here had to compete on the curriculum with more established and prestigious 'foreign languages'). Although the demand for CLT is growing, teacher training has not been able to meet it. A government report from the UK, for example, notes that in parts of England where community languages are widely taught in schools, no [training] courses are available. In 2006/07, there were only 35 trainees nationally studying to teach Arabic, Bengali, Japanese, Mandarin, Panjabi, Turkish, or Urdu with one of five initial teacher training providers. (Ofsted, 2008: 5).

f. Heritage language programs

Although they come in many different 'flavors' and forms, heritage language programs share the assumption that there is educational value in teaching students in and about the historic language(s) of their community. The specific purposes vary, from promoting oral fluency to foster intergenerational communication (between children and grandparents and other elders), to developing academic literacies as a motor for advanced biliteracy and university study. Across programs, pupils' linguistic background is valued and instruction is sensitive to the marginalization of local ways of speaking and writing. For example, the French heritage language programs developed in a collaboration between the French government and the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) in the USA have had to be rethought and extended with the arrival of thousands of Haitian refugees to Canada and the US following the 2010 earthquake.

Strong examples of heritage language programs have evolved in many places, although they are not always known locally by this name. Duff and Li (2009: 4) note that other names for heritage language programs include community, complementary, ancestral, ethnic, immigrant, minority, original, non-official and second/third languages. Pioneering sites include Hawaii and New Zealand, where advocates of Hawaiian and Maori as a medium of instruction have developed programs that cover all levels of education, from kindergarten to university (Reyhner and Lockhard, 2009). Indigenous groups in Canada and the US also draw on the concept of heritage language education in diverse attempts to revitalize community languages that are at risk of being lost. A condition facing many heritage language educators is the fact that their students' stronger academic language is often a dominant language or language of wider communication, particularly in the area of literacy. This has prompted calls for such programs to learn more about pupils' language learning aspirations and to structure heritage language learning to match them more closely (Callahan, 2010).

3. *Context-Based Program*

The third frame for considering bilingual and multilingual education is based on the nature of the contexts in which programs are designed, enacted and evaluated. This frame can be further divided into (a) macro-level context and (b) micro-level context.

a. *Macro-level contexts*

At the national level, ideological stance leads to considerable diversity in public and official attitudes to bilingual and multilingual education. Consider the following statement by Argentine-US scholar Maria Brisk, comparing perceptions of bilingual education in the US and in other nations:

Much of the debate on bilingual education [in the US] is wasteful, ironic, hypocritical, and regressive. It is wasteful because instead of directing attention directly to sound educational practices, it has led to advocating specific 'models' based solely on what language should be used for what purpose. It is ironic because most attacks on bilingual education arise from an unfounded fear that English will be neglected in the United States, whereas, in fact, the rest of the world fears the opposite; the attraction of English and interest in American cultures are seen by non-English speaking nations as a threat to their own languages and cultures. It is hypocritical because most opponents of using languages other than English for instruction also want to promote

foreign language requirements for high school graduation. Finally, it is regressive and xenophobic because the rest of the world considers ability in at least two languages to be the mark of a good education. (Brisk, 1998, p. 160)

We would take issue with the assessment that 'the rest of the world considers ability in . . . two languages to be the mark of a good education': historically, there has been considerable resistance to bilingual schooling by authorities in Britain and China (Feng, 2005), for example, and many primary schools in Europe still feature a 'monolingual habitus' (Extra and Yagmur, 2005). But the ideological imbroglio in the US contrasts sharply with more pragmatic approaches of other nations.

So, although national-level characterizations may have some value in their own contexts, in many instances they unhelpfully oversimplify the complexity of regional and local situations.

b. Micro-level contexts

Perhaps a more helpful way of thinking about the importance of context in bilingual and multilingual education is by examining conditions at more micro levels. Applied linguists can accomplish this by examining local conditions in which specific programs operate. To do this, we borrow Suzanne Romaine's distinction between elite and folk bilingualism in children. According to Romaine (1999: 61), much of what linguists know about the development of childhood bilingualism is based on studies of 'middle-class and relatively privileged populations', whereas much less is known about the more numerous cases of bilingual and multilingual development in 'folk' contexts. Adapting this distinction to our consideration of education, we find that, in elite contexts, bilingual and multilingual programs involve at least one major European language, or another language of wider communication such as Mandarin, and that such programs are commonly sought out by families who recognize the prestige of knowing multiple languages and who are able and willing to devote considerable financial and personal resources to raising bilingual or multilingual children.

In contrast, as Romaine points out, we know relatively little about how the majority of the world's children become bilingual or multilingual. In 'folk' contexts, including immigrant schools in Europe and North America and in Indigenous communities worldwide, children seldom enjoy the high levels of economic and educational resources common among their 'elite'

counterparts. Their home language is seldom the prestige language of the community and, in most cases, acquisition of the dominant language is regarded as a matter of economic survival rather than choice. The home languages of these young bilinguals are often underutilized and frequently ignored in school. Thus, 'bilingual' education becomes a subtractive process in which pupils may lose aspects of competence in one language while attempting to gain competence in another.

A word of caution is in order here. Rather than categories or labels to attach to specific programs, we believe the 'elite/folk' distinction is more useful for understanding the conditions in which programs develop and function, and in which pupils live and study. Elite conditions are generally associated with greater opportunities to complete more years of formal schooling and greater access to multimedia and internet technology (in and outside school). The world knowledge that results from these extra years at school and greater access to knowledge through digital technology is more likely to lead to success in learning environments in which academic performance in an additional language is required. In other words, it is not (a certain kind of) education that leads to academic success but the wider context in which bilingual and multilingual programs are situated.

C. THE IMPLICATION OF BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM IN EFL TEACHING

There is no doubt that Asia and Africa are the most multilingual continents, and English language usually appears as one of the languages learned as well as spoken there. In Indonesia, for example, English is one of the compulsory subjects learned in every level of education (from elementary school up to university level) as a foreign language. However, the application of bilingual and multilingual education in Indonesia has not achieved its purpose. One of the causes is that the distinction between bilingual and multilingual education seems unclear which, then, needs further elaboration. García (2009) defines bilingual education as the use of two or more languages in the instruction and assessment of learners, on the condition that the languages are used as a medium of instruction and not simply taught as an additional language. Cummins (2011: 161) also coincides in this definition and refers to the use of "two (or more) languages of instruction". Once again bilingual and multilingual programs are not distinguished.

Thus, schools in which English as a foreign language is only taught as a subject will not be regarded as bilingual models, as the results obtained in most parts of the world confirm that in these cases students' level of proficiency in the L2 leaves much to be desired. The objective of other programs (despite being preceded by the label bilingual) is not to develop proficiency in both languages. Cummins (2011), for example, underscores that during the last four decades transitional bilingual education in the United States has only been aimed at promoting students' English proficiency. This type of programs is encompassed in the so-called weak forms of education for bilingualism, as the actual language outcome is monolingualism. In contrast, strong forms of bilingual education such as immersion aim to produce bilingual and biliterate students (Baker, 2011).

Among strong forms of bilingual education, Fortune and Tedick (2008) distinguish three immersion models that have distinct features: (a) one-way foreign language immersion: this model serves a majority language group in the process of acquiring the same second language (e.g. Swedish immersion in Finland; in the United States, this model exists in 18 different languages); (b) two-way bilingual immersion; this model caters for speakers of the two languages of instruction who are in the process of acquiring the partner language (e.g. in the US Spanish = L1 and English = L1 students enrolled in the same class). This model is a good example of the current proliferation of labels, as it is also referred to as "two-way bilingual immersion", "two-way immersion", "dual language" and "dual language immersion"; and (c) indigenous language immersion: this model is dedicated to the cultural and linguistic revitalization for Native or Aboriginal groups around the world (e.g. Maori immersion in New Zealand). The common objective of these three models is additive bilingualism and biliteracy. Due to the different local needs, sociolinguistic contexts, status of the languages concerned and other idiosyncratic features, from an international perspective all these programs are usually included in a single "bilingual education" label. In any case, it has to be acknowledged that there is such variation in how these models are put into practice not only in the macro context (each country), but also in the micro context (each region/autonomous community/state/province) and even in the micro context (each specific school), that scholars are inevitably forced to fall back on working model definitions. Just a comparison of the definitions adopted at national level reveals very different situations and

illustrates the complexity of trying to provide definitions suitable to the various contexts where immersion is currently being implemented.

Based on the description elaborated above, it is recommended that multilingual competence should not be viewed as simply the sum total of several monolingual competencies; that is to say, the aim of multilingual education is not to approximate the ideal monolingual speaker-listener of traditional linguistic theory. Rather, a more realistic definition would refer to the unique set of communication skills needed by specific groups of multilingual learners as reflected in their day-to-day lives. In Indonesia, the students should not only be taught English as the subject at schools, but also as the medium of daily interactions among the students. In order to achieve this objective, there should be improvements in all sectors involved such as curriculum, textbooks, teaching methods, teaching strategies, etc.



EXERCISE

To check your understanding of this first activity, answer all the questions below.

- 1) What is your understanding of bilingual and multilingual education?
- 2) What are the purposes of bilingual and multilingual education?
- 3) Explain the three frameworks of bilingual and multilingual education!
- 4) What is the difference between macro-level context and micro-level context?
- 5) Explain the Fortune and Tedick's (2008) three immersion models!

Key to Exercise

- 1) Bilingual and multilingual education refers to the use of two or more languages as mediums of instruction. The term 'multilingual education' refers to the use of at least three languages, LI, a regional or national language and an international language in education. In regions where the language of the learner is not the official or national language of the country, bilingual and multilingual education can make mother tongue instruction possible while providing at the same time the acquisition of languages used in larger areas of the country and the world.

- 2) The purposes of bilingual and multilingual education programs are similarly diverse, ranging from development of advanced levels of proficiency and academic achievement in both target languages to the promotion of academic skills in a dominant language but not in the pupils' home language. Similarly, some programs aim to help learners develop knowledge about a particular cultural group in addition to their own, while others have as their primary orientation and mission the promotion of assimilation and acculturation of linguistically diverse learners into a mainstream or dominant culture.
- 3) The three frameworks of bilingual and multilingual education:
 - a. In language-based program, the focus of its application should be directed to the distinction between 'strong' forms – in which two or more languages are used systematically for academic purposes, including reading and writing in subject areas such as maths, science and history-and 'weak' forms, where the non-dominant languages are used sparingly, typically to clarify instructions or for interpersonal communication only.
 - b. In content-based program, the languages of instruction are portrayed primarily as vehicles for intercultural communication and content learning rather than as the defining feature of the program. In content-based program, there are several common forms of bilingual and multilingual schooling or common program types in providing education in multiple languages. The program types of the content-based program include: (a) Submersion education; (b) Transitional bilingual education; (c) Maintenance bilingual education; (d) Immersion; (e) Community language teaching; and (f) Heritage language programs.
 - c. Context-based program is a program considering bilingual and multilingual education is based on the nature of the contexts in which programs are designed, enacted and evaluated. The context-based program can be further divided into (a) macro--level context and (b) micro-level context.
- 4) a. Macro-level context refers to the context at the national level, ideological stance leads to considerable diversity in public and official attitudes to bilingual and multilingual education.

- b. Macro-level context refers to the context at the local level. The main idea of micro-level context is the understanding of the distinction between elite and folk bilingualism in children.
- 5) Fortune and Tedick's (2008) three immersion models are:
- One-way foreign language immersion: this model serves a majority language group in the process of acquiring the same second language (e.g. Swedish immersion in Finland; in the United States, this model exists in 18 different languages)
 - two-way bilingual immersion; this model caters for speakers of the two languages of instruction who are in the process of acquiring the partner language (e.g. in the US Spanish = L1 and English = L1 students enrolled in the same class). This model is a good example of the current proliferation of labels, as it is also referred to as "two-way bilingual immersion", "two-way immersion", "dual language" and "dual language immersion"
 - indigenous language immersion: this model is dedicated to the cultural and linguistic revitalization for Native or Aboriginal groups around the world.



SUMMARY

Bilingual and multilingual education refers to the use of two or more languages as mediums of instruction. In much of the specialized literature, the two types are subsumed under the term bilingual education. However, UNESCO adopted the term 'multilingual education' in 1999 in the General Conference Resolution 12 to refer to the use of at least three languages, L1, a regional or national language and an international language in education. The resolution supported the view that the requirements of global and national participation and the specific needs of particular, culturally and linguistically distinct communities can only be addressed by multilingual education. There are some programs designed to implement bilingual and multilingual education such as dual language model, transfer model, transition or bridging model, and maintenance model.

Hall, Smith, and Wicaksono (2011: 178) present three-part framework for understanding how education in multiple languages: (1) language-based, (2) content-based and (3) context-based. These ways of looking at programs are not mutually exclusive, of course. To some extent, all programs must take into account the language and subject

matter learning needs of their students, as well as the contextual features and constraints of the larger context in which they are based. A clear example of a focus on the use of language-based program is the distinction between 'strong' forms – in which two or more languages are used systematically for academic purposes, including reading and writing in subject areas such as maths, science and history-and 'weak' forms, where the non-dominant languages are used sparingly, typically to clarify instructions or for interpersonal communication only. In content-based program, the languages of instruction are portrayed primarily as vehicles for intercultural communication and content learning rather than as the defining feature of the program. In content-based program, there are several common forms of bilingual and multilingual schooling or common program types in providing education in multiple languages. The program types of the content-based program include: (a) Submersion education; (b) Transitional bilingual education; (c) Maintenance bilingual education; (d) Immersion; (e) Community language teaching; and (f) Heritage language programs. The context-based program is a program considering bilingual and multilingual education is based on the nature of the contexts in which programs are designed, enacted and evaluated. The context-based program can be further divided into (a) macro--level context and (b) micro-level context.

Multilingual competence should not be viewed as simply the sum total of several monolingual competencies; that is to say, the aim of multilingual education is not to approximate the ideal monolingual speaker-listener of traditional linguistic theory. Rather, a more realistic definition would refer to the unique set of communication skills needed by specific groups of multilingual learners as reflected in their day-to-day lives. In Indonesia, the students should not only be taught English as the subject at schools, but also as the medium of daily interactions among the students. In order to achieve this objective, there should be improvements in all sectors involved such as curriculum, textbooks, teaching methods, teaching strategies, etc.



FORMATIVE TEST 3 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) There are some programs designed to implement bilingual and multilingual education such as dual language model, transfer model, transition or bridging model, and maintenance model. Explain each of the models!

- 2) What is strong-weak dichotomy used for?
- 3) Explain the current debates concerning bilingual and multilingual education models!
- 4) Explain what you know about additive bilingual and multilingual programs!
- 5) What should be done in the application of bilingual or multilingual education in Indonesia?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next module.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1)
 - a. In terms of formality, H variety is used in formal settings such as in lecture; meanwhile, L variety is used in informal settings such as in family dinner.
 - b. In terms of social distance H variety is used between participants with high social distance in low solidarity contexts such as in broadcast political debate; meanwhile L variety is used between participants with low social distance in high solidarity contexts such as with friends in a coffee bar.
 - c. In terms of social status, H variety is used with people of high (er) status because of the domains in which it is used such as to the doctor in a medical examination; meanwhile, L variety is used with people of equal or low (er) status because of the domains in which it is used such as to a child in the shops.
- 2)
 - a. They are different varieties of the same language, i.e. Minangkabau language.
 - b. They are used in mutually exclusive situations. Where H is appropriate, L is not, and vice versa. H is used in more formal contexts and L in less formal contexts.
 - c. Only L is used for conversation with family and friends.
 - d. L is learned 'naturally' in the home. H is learned more formally – usually in school.
 - e. This is a tricky question. In the usual sense of prestige – i.e. high status – the answer is H. However, people are often more attached to L emotionally. When people have this kind of fondness for a variety, the variety is sometimes described as having 'covert prestige'
 - f. H is generally codified in grammar books and dictionaries.
 - g. Literature is usually written in H, but when the L variety begins to gain status people begin to use it to write in too.
- 3) The media have a big influence on multilingualism development. TV series and movies from abroad, the international music industry and social networking all have their effects on language learning. In times of intercultural communication, it is easier to acquire information from across the world through the internet. Internet is a cyber space through

which people can easily know, learn, and practice a variety of languages in the world.

- 4) Yes. A person who understands a second language well, in its spoken and/or written form, but does not speak or write it well is termed a passive bilingual, or is said to have receptive competence in a second language. In contrast, a person who speaks and/or writes in both languages is termed an active bilingual.
- 5) Multilinguals have the same proficiency in and usage profiles as bilinguals. Both multilinguals and bilinguals often have one of the languages as the dominant language in spite of the possibility of change occurring in the dominant language across time, context and function. The dominant language must not always be their first or native language, it is the language they are more comfortable with.

Formative Test 2

- 1) a. From colloquial Bahasa Indonesia to formal Bahasa Indonesia because colloquial bahasa Indonesia is the variety used for personal interactions while formal bahasa Indonesia is appropriate for official transactions.
b. From their Minangkabau language to bahasa Indonesia because the topic of Minangkabau food is appropriately discussed in Minangkabau language but the technical topic introduced is more easily discussed in bahasa Indonesia because they will buy the ingredients in the market, and bahasa Indonesia is the language commonly used in Jakarta.
- 2) The use of title and full name (Mr. Robert Harris) rather than affectionate nickname (Robbie). The very full and formal construction with a subordinate clause (if . . . immediately) preceding the main clause. The use of a distancing construction (there will be consequences which you will regret) rather than, say, the more familiar you'll be sorry. The use of relatively formal vocabulary (e.g. consequences, immediately rather than, say, right now, regret rather than be sorry).
- 3) People may converge or adapt their speed of speech, the length of their utterances, the frequency of their pauses, the grammatical patterns used, their vocabulary, the verbal fillers or pragmatic particles (such as *sort of*, *you know* and *you see*) that they use, their intonation and their voice pitch. People may also converge in their pronunciation of a wide variety

of different sounds. In text messaging and email communication, people may converge in style, e.g. omitting greetings and sign-offs and using shorthand spelling. There are many other possibilities too.

- 4) The ten principles of applying audience design are:
 - a. Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people. The style is orientated to people rather than to mechanisms or functions. It marks inter-personal and inter-group relations.
 - b. Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups. The social evaluation of the group is transferred to the linguistic features associated with the group. So style derives from inter-group language variation by way of social evaluation.
 - c. Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience. For instance, we may expect that any young person who wants to signal membership, affiliation to or solidarity with the community of Glasgow working-class adolescents will switch to their style of speaking in speech encounters involving representatives from this group.
 - d. Style shift primarily occurs in response to a speaker's audience, i.e. a speaker shifts her style to be more like the person she is talking to. Put another way, a speaker tries to accommodate to his/ her conversational partner/ speech situation he finds in.
 - e. Audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual. Audience design which comprises – style-shift (colloquial/formal), choice of personal pronouns, address terms, politeness strategies, etc. – applies to all codes and repertoires including the switch from one code into another.
 - f. Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the 'social' dimension. This means that the same linguistic variables operate simultaneously across different social groups of people.
 - g. Speakers have the ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members, i.e. speakers accommodate their style to their hearers to win approval.

- h. Style-shifting according to topic and setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings with typical audience members.
 - i. The initiative dimension, i.e., the style-shift itself can initiate a change in the situation rather than resulting from that change.
 - j. Initiative style-shifts are in essence 'referee-design' by which the linguistic features associated with a reference group can be used to express identification with that group. Initiative style-shifts derive their force and direction of shift from their underlying association with classes of persons or groups.
- 5) They want to show their ethnic identity because language is an important component of identity and culture for many groups. Maintaining their distinct identity and culture is usually important to a minority group member's self-esteem and this will affect the degree of success achieved in the society.

Formative Test 3

- 1) a. In dual language model, teaching every other day in a given language, or having the class composed of approximately equal numbers of speakers of both languages is allowed for peer teaching and modeling, didactic use of the language in curriculum instruction, and formal teaching of both languages as subjects.
- b. In transfer approach, L1 is used as the medium of instruction, while also offering formal instruction in L2.
- c. In transition or bridging model, L1 is used as the initial medium of instruction, gradually introducing increasing amounts of instruction in L2, until L1 is phased out entirely.
- d. In maintenance model, the strategy may be combined with bi/multilingual programs: children receive formal instruction in L1 so that it continues to develop even after they are fully immersed in L2 as the medium of instruction.
- 2) The strong-weak dichotomy reminds us to pay close attention to the manner in which and the extent to which bilingual and multilingual programs actually use each of the target languages. In 'strong' forms, two or more languages are used systematically for academic purposes, including reading and writing in subject areas such as maths, science and

- history. In 'weak' forms, the non-dominant languages are used sparingly, typically to clarify instructions or for interpersonal communication only.
- 3) The debates about bilingual and multilingual education models focus largely on the degree to which the child's L1 should be used in instruction of the curriculum. Besides, the debates also concern how and when in the continuum of schooling children should be expected to learn a second (or additional) language, and at what stage in the learning process children should be expected to receive academic instruction based in that second language.
 - 4) Additive bilingual and multilingual programs aim to support and extend the student's home language and additional language(s) through the systematic and sustained use of both/all as languages of instruction. Such programs typically have as a goal that learners will leave the program as more fully developed speakers, readers and writers of their home language across a variety of genres, discourses and contexts. Thus, learners in additive programs are expected to add a new language without the expectation that they will give up their home language.
 - 5) In Indonesia, the students should not only be taught English as the subject at schools, but also as the medium of daily interactions among the students. In order to achieve this objective, there should be improvements in all sectors involved such as curriculum, textbooks, teaching methods, teaching strategies, etc.

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Language Planning, Language Policy, and Their Implication in EFL Teaching

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INTRODUCTION

Dear students, Welcome to Module 7! In this module, we are talking about language planning, language policy, and their implication in EFL teaching. Language planning and language policy are the interesting topics commonly studied and discussed in the level of macro-linguistics. This module contains the concepts and information about language planning, language policy, and how those are necessary and applicable in EFL teaching. In this module, the materials and discussion consist of related theories of language planning and policy, and their pedagogical implication of in EFL teaching. The related theories presented in this module are aimed at having basic foundation dealing with language planning and policy which have been becoming ways of standardization and uniformity of using language formally. Such normative aims are highly needed for multilingual societies, like in Indonesia. In order to have systematic-academic contents concerning with this main topic, presentation and discussion of learning materials are divided into three units, namely: (i) language planning; (ii) language policy; and (iii) their implication in EFL teaching. The three units are orderly discussed in several sub-units in order that the relevant theories, information, and implication in EFL teaching can be useful for learners and governments in having administrative policy, strategies, and decision on language forms and uses.

In brief, the materials of learning and discussion in Module 7 include the concepts of language planning, language policy, and how such concepts have theoretical and academic implication in EFL teaching. In multilingual societies, like in Indonesia, language planning and policy are nationally needed. Although the concepts of language planning and policy are the governmental intervention and seem less natural, the uniformity of language

uses in formal situation and national unity can be maintained. Without the existence of language planning and policy, language shifts and changes cannot be controlled. The uncontrolled shifts and changes of languages may lead multilingual and bilingual speakers speak and use their languages as they want to. Such linguistic condition is not really expected in one particular nation or society in where there are many local languages. In addition, the ideas and concepts of language planning and policy can be enlarged to have language maintenance and standardization. For language learners and teachers, the information about language planning and policy is useful. Therefore, the topic of discussion in this module is theoretically, academically, and nationally useful, then.

In accordance with this, it is necessary for the teachers and learners of EFL in Indonesia to pay attention to the advantages and general aims of language planning and policy. In sociolinguistics subject, the teachers of EFL should introduce how language planning and policy are highly needed in Indonesia. In other side, the learners of sociolinguistics have to know that language planning and policy attract linguists' attention in the last two decades. Many researchers have conducted various researches and studies on language planning and policy in order to construct theories and appropriate applications of language planning and policy. We are also possible to formulate and to have specific ideas and argumentations on the concepts and application of the language planning and policy. The implications in EFL teaching and learning may be argued as the pedagogical and practical contributions of the sociolinguistic strategies to the concepts and application of language teaching.

After learning and finishing this module, you are kindly expected to be able to:

1. mention and argumentatively criticize the concepts and theories of language planning and policy based on sociolinguistic viewpoints;
2. formulate and state ideas and opinions on the concepts and application of language planning and policy by using your own words;
3. mention and argumentatively criticize the concepts, theories and uses of language planning and policy;
4. formulate ideas and opinions on relationships between language planning and language policy based on sociolinguistic points of view;
5. search and to collect data, information, and linguistic facts dealing with language planning and policy;

6. formulate definition and state the implication of language planning and policy in EFL teaching.

To achieve the learning objectives academically, the presentation and explanation of learning materials, including the exercises of this module are exposed in three units, as well. Unit 1 is about language planning and related sociolinguistic phenomena. Then, Unit 2 deals with language policy and relevant sociolinguistic phenomena. In unit 3, we are talking about the implication of language planning and policy in EFL teaching and learning which leads you to have knowledge and scientific inspiration. Please keep in mind that the general objective of Module 7 is to lead you understand and have argumentations on the nature and phenomena of language planning, language policy, and their implication in language teaching, particularly on EFL teaching and learning.

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, reading activities and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are kindly suggested to do in order that you learn this module successfully.

1. Please read and learn the materials and explanation in each unit carefully!
2. Then, read also the related references and information by means of independent learning and reading!
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have academic discussion in groups or in pairs!
4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, please read the materials again or you may have comparative discussion with your partners.
5. Do exercises well and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided!

All right students, it is assumedly believed that you will do your best in learning this module.

UNIT 1

Language Planning

Dear students, now we are coming to Unit 1 of Module 7 which mainly deals with the nature and concepts of language planning. As you have already known, all human languages change all time and have variations. People have intellectual ability to create and vary forms and ways of using languages. Consequently, there are great amount of language variations which may lead people to speak in “high” differences. In one side, that a language has many variations is natural; it is the fact that must not be questioned anymore. In other side, uncontrolled variations of a language may lead us to have serious problems of communication and uniformity of language use. Lack of language control can disturb the effectiveness of language as a social-official communication tool. In multilingual societies, uniformity and standard uses of a language are essential and needed in order to overcome communicative problems. In sociolinguistics, the study on how a language functions in a society becomes the central issue which can be seen from different viewpoints. Language planning is one concept in sociolinguistics dealing with how a language has “governmental” intervention to regulate the language status and uses.

For learners and researchers, particularly those who are the beginners, the discussion on language planning may give academic and scientific contributions. As learners, you will know and understand the principles, concepts, and functions of language planning in one particular country or state. In addition, the information can be used also to formulate the programs of language learning. Furthermore, language planning can be assumed as a way to maintain the legal status language decided by government or legal institutions. The discussion on language planning is also relevant to build and strengthen the status of one language in a particular speech community. In nature, the members of multilingual societies speak in different (local) languages; they need a shared-language that may relate them to other speech communities. Therefore, the language planning has important roles in serving the success of inter-ethnics and inter-cultural communication. Basic and various information and ideas about language planning are meaningful both in theoretical and practical purposes; then. These are all, of course, relatively needed to relate the studies on Sociolinguistics with other relevant fields of

studies, such as with language teaching and learning. In Unit 1, however, the focus of discussion and exercises are on language planning.

A. THE ISSUE AND KEY CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

It has been already known that language plays a crucial role in social interaction and is an all-important agent in the transmission of cultural and social values. Historically, it may be assumed that it is shaped by the same political, social, and cultural forces which produce the world's diverse civilizations and cultures. For example, the spread of the Roman empire throughout Europe between around B.C. 750 and 200 A.D. resulted in the birth of the Romance languages. Looking back at the situation, though, it stands out that the profound changes which took place resulted from choices, social, and linguistic factors. Broadly speaking, language planning requires such a sociolinguistic context where choices between alternatives can be made (see Daoust in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:436).

Language is natural; it develops and functions in its speech community naturally. However, the history of language development and uses tells us that the variations of language and great amount different linguistic features may lead to communication problems. Inter-ethnic and inter-cultural communication cannot run well if there is no sufficient guide or regulation in language uses. One way to overcome the communication problems is by applying the concepts of language planning. The numerous attempts that have been made to change a particular variety of a language, or a particular language, or some aspects of how either of these functions in society. Such changes are usually described as instances of language planning. According to Weinstein as quoted by Wardhaugh (2010:378), language planning is a government authorized, longterm, sustained, and conscious effort to alter a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:367 – 368) also state that attempts to change languages, in terms of either form or their function, are usually described as instances of *language planning*. Because the 'plan' involved in changing languages often (although by no means always) involve policy decisions, works on language planning is often intertwined with work on *language policy*, and this body of literature is frequently referred to as LPP (Language Policy and Planning). Hornberger (in Wardhaugh and Fuller,

2015) points out that the relationship between policy and planning is complex; planning does not always lead to policy or vice versa, rather they are intertwined processes. She concludes that LPP offers a unified conceptual rubric under which to pursue fuller understanding of the complexity of the policy-planning relationship and in turn its insertion in processes of social change. Further discussion of language policy will come to you in the next section.

Wardhaugh (2010:378) explains that the language planning may involve assessing resources, complex decision-making, the assignment of different functions to different languages or varieties of a language in a community, and the commitment of valuable resources. It can take a variety of forms and produce many different kinds of results, and it is also not without controversies. Language planning has become part of modern nation-building because a notice-able trend in the modern world is to make language and nation synonymous. Deutsch (1968) as quoted by Wardhaugh (2010) has documented the tremendous increase within Europe during the last thousand years in what he calls 'full-fledged national languages'. A millennium ago these numbered six: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Anglo-Saxon (i.e., Old-English), and Church Slavonic. By 1250 this number had increased to seventeen, a number that remained fairly stable until the beginning of the nineteenth century with, of course, changes in the actual languages, as Hebrew, Arabic, Low German, Catalan, and Norwegian either were submerged or became inactive, and languages like English, Dutch, Polish, Magyar (i.e., Hungarian), and Turkish replaced them in the inventory. In the nineteenth century the total number of fully fledged national languages increased to thirty. According to Deutsch (see Wardhaugh, 2010), it showed a further increase to fifty-three by 1937, and it has further increased since then. Each 'new' country wanted its own language, and language became a basic expression of nationalistic feeling, as in Finnish, Welsh, Norwegian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Irish, Breton, Basque, Georgian, and Hebrew. Consequently, governments have had to plan to develop or promote certain languages and sometimes to hinder or demote others, and a demand for 'language right' is often one of the first demands made by a discontented minority almost anywhere in the world.

Language planning is an attempt to interfere deliberately with a language or one of its varieties: it is human intervention into natural processes of language change, diffusion, and erosion. That attempt may focus on either its

status with regard to some other language or variety or its internal condition with a view to changing that condition, or on both of these since they are not mutually exclusive. The first focus results in *status planning*; the second results in *corpus planning* (see Wardhaugh, 2010:379; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015). Therefore, there are two types of language planning, status planning and corpus planning. These types of language planning should be equally included in the programs of governmental intervention of language uses and regulations.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:368 - 370) give comprehensible explanation about the two types of language planning, *status planning* and *corpus planning* (see also Wardhaugh, 2010). Accordingly, status planning changes the function of a language or a variety of a language and the right of those who use it. For example, when speakers of a minority language are denied the use of that language in educating their children, their language has no official status. Alternatively, when a government declares that henceforth two languages rather than one of these alone will be officially recognized in all functions, the newly recognized one has gained status. Status itself is relatively concept; it may also be improved or reduced by degrees. So far as languages and their varieties are concerned, status changes are nearly always very slow, are sometimes actively contested, and often leave strong residual feelings. They affect the rights of people to use their language in their daily lives and in their dealings with the state and its various agencies. Even relatively minor changes or proposals for changes can produce such effects, as the residents of many countries, for examples, Norway, Belgium, Canada, and India, as well aware.

Then, corpus planning (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015) seeks to develop a variety of a language, usually to standardize it, that is, to provide it with the means for serving every possible language function in society. Consequently, corpus planning may involve such matters as the development of an orthography, new sources of vocabulary, dictionary, and a literature, together with the deliberate cultivation of new uses so that the language may extend its use into such areas as government, education, and trade. Corpus planning has been particularly important in countries like Indonesia, Israel, Finland, India, Pakistan, and Papua New Guinea. Corpus and status planning often co-occur, for many planning decisions involve some combination of a change in status with internal change. For example, as one particular language in Papua New Guinea is developed, all other languages are affected, whether or not the effects are recognized officially.

In one side, it is theoretically regarded that the language planning is a sociolinguistic programs which is necessary to overcome communication problems. However, some sociolinguists argue that such intentional attempt is not natural; it is artificial works and modification of language features. In this case, Wardhaugh (2010:407) states that there is a paradox in language planning. Linguists are sometimes told that they save languages best by not acting at all; certainly they should do nothing to promote English in the world, or to standardize a language, or possibly to help in any kind of language planning anywhere. Yet, there is no assurance that they will save a single language by not acting. An alternative possibility is that intervention actually slows down decline and loss. However, there is really no hard evidence for either position. Each is essentially ideologically driven; if you believe this you do one thing and if you believe that you do another. We do well to remember that because we are involved in sociolinguistic matters, ideology is likely to be at least as potent a factor as scientific findings in determining any approach we may adopt. We will also have to confront issues of identity and power. It seems that we might be well advised to tread cautiously.

B. THE NEEDS FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING

Language planning, as a subject of study, has come a long way since 1959 when Haugen gave his definition of the term based on his analysis of the ongoing effort in Norway to modernize, promote, and implement a “national” language. Then, language planning was seen as an activity concerned mainly with the internal aspects of language. It consisted in “preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech community. It aimed to settle problems related to “the presence of conflicting norms whose relative status needs to be assigned, or else it addressed the “language problems” of the developing nations through the processes of “graphization”, standardization”, and “modernization” (these ideas are Haugen’s and Ferguson’s as quoted by Daoust in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:438).

Language planning is helpful in a country or state which has multilingual and multi-ethnic societies. The needs for language planning significantly increase in modern era in order to have uniformity and to overcome complexity of communication events. There are some motivations and

ideologies why language planning is needed. Cobarrubias (1983) as quoted by Wardhaugh (2010:380 – 381) has described four typical ideologies that may motivate actual decision-making in language planning in a particular society: these are *linguistic assimilation*, *linguistic pluralism*, *vernacularization*, and *internationalism*. Linguistic assimilation is the belief that everyone, regardless of origin, should learn the dominant language of the society. As the example, France applied this policy both internally to immigrants and externally in a possession, Guam, where Chamorro was suppressed until 1973. Then, in the Philippines, where instruction in the schools had to be in English throughout the period in which the United States ruled that country; a similar assimilationist ideology prevailed in Puerto Rico until the 1940s. Linguistic assimilation is practiced widely and in a wide variety of forms, e.g., policies of Hellenization of Macedonian in Greece and of Russification in the former Soviet Union.

Linguistic pluralism, the recognition of more than one language, also takes a variety of forms. It can be territorially based or individually based or there may be some combination of the two. It can be complete or partial, so that all or only some aspects of life can be conducted in more than one language in a society. Examples are countries like Belgium, Canada, Singapore, South Africa, and Switzerland. Vernacularization is the restoration or elaboration of an indigenous language and its adoption as an official language, e.g., Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia; Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea; Hebrew in Israel; Tagalog (renamed Filipino) in the Philippines; and Quechua in Peru.

Internationalization is the adoption of a non-indigenous language of wider communication either as an official language or for such purposes as education or trade, e.g., English in Singapore, India, the Philippines, and Papua New Guinea. The languages that have been most internationalized in this sense are English and French with English much more so than French. (Currently France is seeking to develop La Francophonie as an organization to further French in the world.).

As a result of planning decisions, (see Kloss in Wardhaugh, 2010; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015), a language can achieve one of a variety of statuses. A language may be recognized as the sole official language, as French is in France or English in the United Kingdom and the United States. This fact does not necessarily mean that the status must be recognized constitutionally or by statute; it may be a matter of long-standing practice, as it is with English in the two cases cited above. Two or more languages may

share official status in some countries, e.g., English and French in Canada and in Cameroon; French and Flemish (i.e., Dutch) in Belgium; French, German, Italian, and Romansh (even though the latter has very few speakers and is actually only a 'national' language) in Switzerland; English and Afrikaans in South Africa; and English, Malay, Tamil, and Chinese in Singapore, although in this case Malay has an additional 'national-language' status.

Wardhaugh (2010:381) (see also Whardhaugh and Fuller, 2015) adds that a language may also have official status but only on a regional basis, e.g., Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa in Nigeria; German in Belgium; and Marathi in Maharashtra, India. A language may be a 'promoted' language, lacking official status, but used by various authorities for specific purposes, e.g., many languages in Canada. A tolerated language is one that is neither promoted nor proscribed or restricted, e.g., Basque in France, many immigrant languages in Western Europe, and Amerindian languages in North America. Finally, a discouraged or proscribed language is one against which there are official sanctions or restrictions, e.g., Basque in the early years of Franco's regime in Spain; Scots Gaelic after the 1745 rising; Macedonian in Greece; until recently many immigrant and native languages in areas like North America and Australia, particularly in schools for the children of such people; and the Norman French patois of the Channel Islands during the German occupation in the World War II. Kurdish is today largely proscribed in Turkey. The language cannot be used for writing anything, but since 1991 it can be used in speaking and singing (see also Whardhaugh and Fuller, 2015).

Planning decisions will obviously play a very large role in determining what happens to any minority language or languages in a country (Cobarrubias, 1983 in Wardhaugh, 2010:381). They can result in deliberate attempts to eradicate such a language, as with Franco's attempt to eliminate Basque from Spain by banning that language from public life. Official neglect may result in letting minority languages die by simply not doing anything to keep them alive. This has been the fate of many Amerindian languages and is likely to be the fate of many more. In France, Basque was neglected; in Spain it was virtually proscribed. One interesting consequence is that, while once there were more speakers of Basque in France than in Spain, now the situation is reversed. Instead of neglect there may be a level of tolerance, so that if a community with a minority language wishes to keep

that language alive, it is allowed to do so but at its own expense. In 1988, the Council of Europe adopted a Charter of Region or Minority languages that gave some recognition to such languages but really allowed each country to do as it pleased with them.

Wardhaugh (2010:382) argues that there are two other worthy of comments related to the needs for language planning. The first has to do with what language rights immigrants to a country should have in an era of widespread immigration motivated by a variety of concerns but within a system of states which often equates statehood of nationhood with language and sometimes with ethnicity. It is not surprising, therefore, that what language rights immigrants should have is a controversial issue almost everywhere. One view is that immigrants give up their rights to their languages and their cultures by migrating. The opposite view is that no one should be required to give up a mother tongue by of such movement, and that this is particularly regrettable in a word in which population movement is either encouraged, e.g., nineteenth century migration to the Americas, or enforced, e.g., by persecutions. Both UNESCO and the United Nations have declared that ethnic groups have the right to maintain their languages. However, it is not at all clear that immigrants to countries like the United States, Canada, and Australia, or the families of European 'guest workers' are covered by such declarations.

The second issue (see Wardhaugh, 2010:382) concerns the problem of identifying the right kinds of data that must go into planning decisions. Planning must be based on good information, but sometimes the kinds of information that go into planning decisions are not very reliable. Census-takers, for example, may have considerable difficulty in determining just who speaks what languages when and for what purposes. The census of India has always had this problem. The issues are complex, and gatherers of such information may have great difficulty in getting answers even to simple questions. You also get different answers according to the way you phrase your questions. What is your mother tongue? What was the first language you learned? What languages do you speak? What language do you speak at home? What languages are you fluent in? Do you speak ...? And so on. Moreover, the questions and how they are answered may be politically motivated. The different answers are also subject to a variety of interpretations.

In other relevant idea, Bianco (in Horberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:151) states that a central feature of language planning has been the notion of 'language problems', seen largely as pre-existing and relatively objective. This is well expressed by Dua (1985), who argues that a '... systematic account of language problems of a speech community is a prerequisite to an adequate theory of policy formulation, language planning and language treatment'. This was a popular view for much of the history of language planning, stimulating research into the nature of language problems. Language problem are not neutral of interest, in fact. Bilingualism resulting from immigrant communities retaining their languages in host societies is often more controversial than bilingualism resulting from mainstream learners acquiring foreign languages. Language problems merge readily with socio-political realities. In this point, language planning is one of problem solving of language uses. Language planning with relevant aspects of codifications may give advantages for administrative and formal uses of language in a state or in a country.

Based on the ideas above, it is obvious that language planning lead countries and nations to formally regulate the language forms and uses in order to overcome particular problems of verbal communication. The need for language planning even becomes higher and more necessary in multilingual and multi-cultural nations such as in Indonesia, India, Papua New Guinea, and others. Although the language planning is a synthetic program and less natural, it has significant contribution to help people from different languages communicate more easily. The language planning is needed in formal communication and in state administrative affairs. It is also helpful in language learning and in education. You can imagine now that the communication would have been seriously hard if there is no language planning in a country, like in Indonesia.

C. LANGUAGE PLANNING IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

After we discussed the key ideas of and needs for language planning, let's see brief history and position of language planning in sociolinguistics. Bianco (in Hornberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:143) mentions that the term language planning (LP) was probably first invoked by the linguist Uriel Weinreich in early 1950s in New York. Weinreich was working in the context of immigrant languages and dialects in interaction with each other

and with English. His famous work, *Language in Contact* (Weinreich, 1953) discussed bilingual communication, including the mixing of a fading first language with a replacing second language. Linking anthropology and theoretical linguistics sharpened Weinreich's observations of ties between social phenomena and aspects of language and communication. He noted that speakers in bilingual communication do not keep their languages and dialects separate, but instead produce a hybrid 'interlanguage' as a composite 'single proficiency that blends features of the available communication forms.

Bianco (see Horberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:143) mentions as well that another sociolinguistics pioneer was the Norwegian American, Einar Haugen, who expanded the meaning of the term language planning. He studied language change in Norway and the use of Norwegian in America. He produced an influential account of the Norwegian policy to eradicate the influence of Danish on Norwegian. Norway had been united with Denmark and was transferred to Swedish control, eventually gaining independence in 1905. As a result, both written and spoken Norwegian borrowed pronunciation and spelling norms from Danish sources. Individual writers and nationalists wanted to develop an indigenous variety modeled on rural Norwegian dialects, which they regarded as 'uncontaminated'. In the course of time, this popular movement became a national policy to produce a distinctive and locally sourced Norwegian mode of expression. Haugen's account (1966) (quoted by Bianco in Hirberger and McKay (eds.), 2010) used the term language planning to the processes of selecting new norms and for cultivating and spreading language change throughout society, from radio weather announcers to elementary school teachers.

Bianco (in Horberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:144) furthermore states that the combined ideas of Haugen and Kloss remain important for many professional language planners today. In essence this is a typology for classifying the choices government authorities make regarding language and social life. Classifying these choices involve identification of a language or communication problem, the formulation of alternative ways of resolving this problem, deciding the norm to be promoted, and implementing it via the education system: a language problem leads to a language policy, which then leads to language planning. In accordance with this, language planning is needed in some aspects of language uses in societies. It is necessary for the uses of language in administration and education.

In the development of linguistics, language planning and sociolinguistics expanded rapidly over the following decades absorbing influences from individuals and institutions from across the world. Two institutions in particular made notable contributions: The East West Center at the University of Hawaii at Honolulu, tasked with fostering dialogue and a role for American interests across the Asia-Pacific, and the Central Indian Institute of Languages in Mysore, set up to facilitate internal communication and cohesion after national independence. One of the main areas of discussion in language planning theories has been education but for most of its life as an academic discipline. Language planning has tended to see education as a field in which policy on language is applied or implemented (see Bianco in Hornberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:145).

In addition, it is also mentioned by Bianco (in Hornberger and McKay (eds.), 2010:150), during the same years in which language planning was an emerging academic discipline, political scientists were engaged in a process of attempting to professionalize government in Western industrialized democracies. The main way this was done was to link economics with politics and the result was the new discipline of policy analysis. Some language planners incorporated ideas from the emergent 'policy sciences', which promised to make public policy more technical and systematic, beginning a move away from strictly sociolinguistics approaches to language planning. Language planning began to resemble the 'rational choice matrix' of public policy analysis, in which a specialist applies techniques of cost-benefit calculations, to generate compared alternatives for action to recommend to decision makers.

According to Ricento (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015), the history of scholarship on language planning can be distinguished in three main phases since World War II: (i) early work: decolonization, structuralism, and pragmatism; (ii) failure of modernization, critical sociolinguistics, and access; and (iii) the new world order, postmodernism, and linguistic human rights. In the first phase, work was conducted with a focus on the macro-sociopolitical state of decolonization with the epistemological frame-work of structuralism, and with a pragmatic aim, that is, with the assumption that language planning and policy could solve language problems which arose during decolonization. Such research involved both status planning, that is, selecting new national languages, and corpus planning and policy initiatives as being largely non-political and straightforward pragmatic problem-solving.

Then, the second phase showed more reflection on decolonization as both the macro-sociopolitical factor and the epistemological factor – one indication of the latter being the introduction of the term neo-colonial. Ricento describes the third phase, which began in the mid-1980s under the influence of ‘the new world order’, by which he means the breakup of the Soviet Union and the creation of new national identities, the repatriation of colonies such as Hong Kong, the development of new political unions, for example, the European Union, and the globalization of capitalism.

It can be seen again that language planning becomes more and more ‘popular’ in recent years as the developing scopes of sociolinguistic studies. You can understand now that language planning has important role in language uses and in sociolinguistics as science. The position of language planning in sociolinguistics gradually increases in line with the need for uniformity and administrative uses of language. Sociolinguistics places language planning as one of challenging topic of studies and discussion among sociolinguists based on various viewpoints. You are welcome to study a lot of aspects of language planning, then.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

Based on definitions proposed by the experts, how can you formulate the definition of language planning?

Exercise 2

What are the conditions in which the language planning is needed?

Exercise 3

What are the reasons to say that language planning is necessary in Indonesia?

Exercise 4

How can you argue that language planning may overcome the communication problems in multilingual societies?

Exercise 5

What are the main purposes of language planning?

Exercise 6

What are the communicative and administrative reasons to argue that language planning is essential in Indonesia?

Exercise 7

How can you prove that language planning is helpful in governmental administration in Indonesia?

Exercise 8

What are the disadvantages of language planning, in fact?

Exercise 9

How did language planning become important issues in sociolinguistics?

Exercise 10

Why do you think that the ideas of language planning are relatively welcomed in the countries with multilingual societies?

Exercise 11

How can you prove that language planning has significant effects to communication problems and administrative affairs in a country?

Exercise 12

What are the reasons argued by sociolinguists to promote the ideas of language planning?

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

Based on some definitions given by sociolinguists, it can be newly proposed a definition of language planning as: "language planning is intentional attempts and linguistic interventions made by government and/or authority to the chosen language variety in order to have uniformity in language forms and uses to overcome communication problems.

Exercise 2

The following socio-cultural conditions reasonably lead that the language planning is highly needed:

1. in a country/state in which there are many local/ethnic languages originally spoken speech communities;
2. in a country/state in which people of different speech communities have "too" high language loyalty referring to ethnic/local identities;
3. in a country/state where people live in multilingual and multi-cultural societies;
4. in a country/state the government or authority needs to build and to develop national identities based on multilingual societies and cultures;
5. in a country/state the government or authority has to increase and promote national identities through national/standard language.

Exercise 3

The socio-cultural conditions mentioned as the answers of exercise 2 above are obviously found in Indonesia. Therefore, those are the reasons to say that language planning is theoretically and practically necessary in Indonesia.

Exercise 4

In multilingual societies, moreover in multi-cultural societies, there are many local languages originally spoken by different societies. Although a country/state has formally decided and developed a national/standard language, speakers from different speech communities speak and codify the national language differently. Consequently, they use and codify the national language based on their own capacities and capabilities; such conditions may lead serious problems communication in the cases of language use practically and administratively. Therefore, the codification and regulation given by government and/or authority are needed; language planning is one formal way to overcome the communication problems, then.

Exercise 5

The main purpose of language planning is to overcome the communication problems that may practically occur in a country/state which belongs to multilingual societies. Furthermore, the followings can be regarded as the purposes of language planning:

1. to have uniformity in language rules, regulations, and practical-administrative uses;
2. to minimize and/or to decrease negative ethnic/local identities caused by language differences;
3. to build and to develop national identity by means of language;
4. to create national and/or international proud of having standard-national language.

Exercise 6

The communicative and administrative reasons why language planning is essential in Indonesia can be argued as follow:

1. if there is no language planning in Indonesia, Indonesian people may speak in their own ways without clear regulations. Such condition causes serious difficulties not only communication but also administration. Administrative affairs might run in unconstructed linguistic-mechanical systems, then;
2. speakers from different speech communities and local languages may build and develop "negative" ethnic proud based on their own local language which may lead them to have frictions and certain miscommunication due to different language, dialects, mechanic of writings, and different styles of administration works;
3. Bahasa Indonesia and language planning used and developed by the government help people and learners in Indonesia to have education and information in such a way that the teaching learning processes and educational improvement can be transferred by using the national language.

Exercise 7

Language planning in Indonesia, as a part of language policy, is highly helpful in governmental administration. As it has been already known, there are more than 700 local languages with their different dialects Indonesia. In addition, there are different socio-cultural characters in Indonesia which lead people to write differently. We can imagine now, it is sure that the administrative affairs and the use of written language will be in high variations if there is no language planning. Thus, language planning is helpful in governmental administration in Indonesia.

Exercise 8

Even though it is good and helpful to overcome the communication problems, there are also some disadvantages of language planning. Among the others, the followings are some disadvantages of language planning:

1. the products of language planning are less natural; language forms and uses resulted from language planning are codified and manipulated in some ways;
2. the language forms and uses derived from language planning are more on prescriptive norms rather than descriptive ones. Consequently, the standard varieties are not naturally found in daily life communication;
3. language planning may cause language hegemony and minority languages as the logical consequences of language policy and language and power;
4. standard and national/international languages may cause endangered and death languages over the world; it is not fair for natural life, in fact.

Exercise 9

Among many aspects of sociolinguistic studies, linguists and authorities are interested to the phenomena of language changes and varieties. That humans are creative and able to vary the codes of communication is not questioned anymore. The fact leads people speak variously and it is hard to control, in nature. It has frequently occurred in many countries that different languages and "high proud" on local languages may cause negative-political issues and national disintegration. This is not fair for having save-life and peace. Considering the unexpected fact, it is theoretically and practically assumed that to decide and to have standard varieties (a standard language) as a national language in a country is necessary. These are the main concerns of sociolinguists to have language planning as important issues in sociolinguistics.

Exercise 10

It has been already understood that the language planning mainly aims at having problem solving of communication problems. Standardization and uniformity of language forms and uses may be regarded as the effective ways to overcome the communication problems. In accordance with this, the ideas of language planning are relatively in high necessity in multilingual societies. Language and communication problems are sensitive in multilingual societies

because there are many speech communities and language variations used by people both in practical and administrative uses of language. That is why the ideas of language planning are relatively welcome in the countries with multilingual societies, such as in Indonesia.

Exercise 11

In a country and/or a national state, there might be more than one local language with various dialects and cultural uses. In Indonesia, for instance, there are more than 700 local languages with their own different dialects, as well. In addition, the large area and thousands of islands may give extra-difficulties to control administrative affairs. If there is no language planning and standard language as the governmental interventions and codifications, people and local authorities may write formal letters as they like. Those can be problematic for others from different local languages; administrative and public services run in different ways and problems for authority controlling. These are the proofs telling that language planning have significant effects to communication problems and administrative affairs in a country, moreover in a country with multilingual societies.

Exercise 12

These are some important reasons argued by sociolinguists to promote the ideas of language planning:

1. most countries have more than one local language and people live in the countries come from different speech communities. In such condition, the ideas of language planning are helpful to solve national communication problems;
 2. local and ethnic languages existing in a national state may have sensitive political issues which may lead national disintegration. In this point, language planning (and language policy) is a way to build and maintain the national integration;
 3. one particular (national) state needs national identities which may be used to promote national power and integrities. Having standard language is one of national proud, then. The standard language is resulted from the ideas of language planning;
- language planning itself belongs to social phenomena of language; it concerns with how language functions in a society in which it is naturally used. Therefore, the ideas of language planning are important in sociolinguistic studies.



SUMMARY

Among the others, one way to overcome the communication problems is by applying the concepts of language planning. Language planning is a government authorized, long-term, sustained, and conscious effort to alter a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems. Language planning may involve assessing resources, complex decision-making, the assignment of different functions to different languages or varieties of a language in a community, and the commitment of valuable resources. Then, language planning has become part of modern nation-building because a notice-able trend in the modern world is to make language and nation synonymous. It is also stated that language planning is an attempt to interfere deliberately with a language or one of its varieties: it is human intervention into natural processes of language change, diffusion, and erosion.

There are two types of language planning, *status planning* and *corpus planning*. Status planning changes the function of a language or a variety of a language and the right of those who use it. For example, when speakers of a minority language are denied the use of that language in educating their children, their language has no official status. Corpus planning seeks to develop a variety of a language, usually to standardize it, that is, to provide it with the means for serving every possible language function in society. Consequently, corpus planning may involve such matters as the development of an orthography, new sources of vocabulary, dictionary, and a literature, together with the deliberate cultivation of new uses so that the language may extend its use into such areas as government, education, and trade. The language planning is necessary to overcome communication problems. However, such attempt is not natural; it is artificial works and modification of language features.

There are some motivations and ideologies why language planning is needed; these are *linguistic assimilation*, *linguistic pluralism*, *vernacularization*, and *internationalism*. Linguistic assimilation is the belief that everyone, regardless of origin, should learn the dominant language of the society. Linguistic pluralism, the recognition of more than one language, also takes a variety of forms. Vernacularization is the restoration or elaboration of an indigenous language and its adoption as an official language, e.g., Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia; Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea; Hebrew in Israel; Tagalog (renamed Filipino) in the Philippines; and Quechua in Peru. Internationalization is the adoption of a non-indigenous language of wider communication either as an official

language or for such purposes as education or trade, e.g., English in Singapore, India, the Philippines, and Papua New Guinea. The languages that have been most internationalized in this sense are English and French with English much more so than French.

A language may be a 'promoted' language, lacking official status, but used by various authorities for specific purposes, e.g., many languages in Canada. Planning decisions will obviously play a very large role in determining what happens to any minority language or languages in a country. There are two other worthy of comments related to the needs for language planning. The first has to do with what language rights immigrants to a country should have in an era of widespread immigration motivated by a variety of concerns but within a system of states which often equates statehood of nationhood with language and sometimes with ethnicity. The second issue concerns with the problem of identifying the right kinds of data that must go into planning decisions. Planning must be based on good information, but sometimes the kinds of information that go into planning decisions are not very reliable. In other idea, a central feature of language planning has been the notion of 'language problems', seen largely as pre-existing and relatively objective. Language problems are not neutral of interest, in fact.



FORMATIVE TEST 1 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the examples proving that there are meaningful contributions of language planning to communication problems?
- 2) In accordance with the facts that language is social phenomena, one main criticism to language planning is that it is not natural. What do you think of the criticism?
- 3) Why do you think that language planning is helpful for publication and education?
- 4) How can you argue that Indonesia needs language planning?
- 5) What is your own definition on language planning?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula.

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Language Policy

The ideas and concepts of language planning have just discussed In unit 1. Now, let's come to the discussion of language policy. Language planning and language policy are in close relationship to solve language and communication problems. Language forms and uses may develop in uncontrolled condition which probably leads us to serious communication problems. In daily life, we can easily see that people speak variously and they may "create" ways of speaking in their language naturally. The main aim of learning this unit is that you know and understand the ideas, concepts and advantages of language policy as sociolinguistic issues and practical uses in the field. Actually, sub-topics of discussion presented in this unit are closely related to those presented in unit 1. It can be also said that the topics of discussion are the further elaboration and explanation of language planning. To have systematic explanation and discussion, this unit is divided into three parts, namely: (i) *language policy and language planning*; (ii) *language policy in some countries*; and (iii) *language policy and language attitude*. These three sub-topics are expected to inform you the phenomena of language policy and its relevant points with language planning, as well.

Theoretically, the interrelationships between language planning and language policy are in highly close; some points of discussion are overlapped in fact. That is why the sub-topic of discussion in this unit is *language policy and language planning*. In specific cases, however, language policy and language planning concern with some different aspects. Therefore, the discussion of language policy in this module is placed in different part. It can be said that language planning is a part of language policy. In accordance with this, Daoust (see Coulmas (ed.), 1997:440) says that the devising of language planning policy implies a vision of a future sociolinguistic situation that should be brought about. Language planning policies sometimes seem to develop as an afterthought following a period of sociopolitical turmoil such as when a country gains independence or when a political party is overthrown.

We can see now that the term *language planning* is also said as *language planning policy*. In last phrase, language policy is more general than language planning; language planning is a part of language policy. Academically, as

the students of sociolinguistics, we need to see further how language planning and language policy relate each other and how they are different. It is necessary to know in order that we can argue and claim appropriate ideas concerning with language planning and language policy. Thus, please come to the following parts and understand the ideas well.

A. LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

Quoting Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) and Weinstein (1980), Daoust (in Coulmas (ed.), 1997:440) mentions that language policies are generally seen as a way of solving "language" or "communication problems". Daoust further mentions that policies are said to pursue extra-linguistic aims when they deal with changes in the social distribution of competing languages. For example, the spread of Swahili in Eastern and Central Africa (where it is an official language in Kenya and Tanzania, and a national language in Uganda) has important consequences, in that it deprives a number of native languages of political recognition. As for policies which seek to establish or change writing and orthography systems, or to promote the spread of a specific pronunciation or linguistic variety, they are said to carry semi-linguistic aims, since these types of interventions also have social and political consequences. For example, the fact that use of the Cyrillic script has been encouraged since the 1940s in the Republic of the former USSR, instead of the Latin script which had been previously imposed (in the 1920s), has important social repercussions in that it facilitates the acquisition of the Russian language, which uses Cyrillic, and thus makes cultural assimilation easier (Lewis, 1983; Rubin, 1984 as quoted by Daoust in Coulmas (ed.), 1997). Finally, when policies deal with vocabulary enrichment, standardization, and other types of intervention leading to the promotion of a linguistic norm, such as those of the French and Spanish language academies, they are classified as having linguistic objectives. Nahir (see Daoust in Coulmas (ed.), 1997) lists 11 objectives ranging from language "purification", "standardization", and "modernization", through language "revival", "maintenance", and "spread" to "inter-linguistic communication" at the national and international level.

Based on the particular ideas argued by experts above, we can see that the concepts of language policy include many aspects of linguistic and extra-linguistic interventions given to certain forms and functions of language in order to promote those properties. Language policy involves broader

intervention of “political” will which can be assumed as the ways to overcome communication problems. In this case, language policy is more than just as a kind of language planning or standardization. Language policy can be said as the “big umbrella” of having procedural, administrative, systematic, and linguistic regulations of language uses and forms. The language policy and language planning work together in such a way that they can be seen as language planning policies. The close relationship between language planning and language policy is reflected by the idea saying that it is socio-political objectives which are pursued by language planning policies. Cobarrubias (see Daoust in Coulmas (ed.), 1997) mentions that language planning policies have something to do with four language ideologies which motivate the undertaking of language reforms: “linguistic pluralism”, “linguistic assimilation”, “vernacularization”, and “internationalism”.

Additional ideas on language policy are mentioned by Berthoud and Ludi (in Wodak et. al., 2011:479). Based on the ideas of Widmer et. al., (2004), they state that the notion of ‘language policy’ is vast. It includes any form of intervention by political authority to direct and regulate the use, by the administration and/or the population, of one or more languages in a given political area. Language policy comprises, and rests on, ideological choices and their underlying principles determining the selection of various goals. These may concern the status, use, domains of use and geographical range of a language or of multiple linguistic varieties that are in competition. Thus, the linguistic framework put in place in Switzerland during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries notably focused on the introduction of a principle of territoriality and the regulation of the proportionality of linguistic groups at the heart of the federal administration (see also Wiley in Mckay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996).

According to Berthoud and Ludi (in Wodak et. al. (eds.), 2011), language policy can be direct and open. In this case, the political authority intervenes openly, for example by modifying the direction of social forces in favour of one language or another, often by repressive measures, the key to this being ‘language legislation’ – i.e. the culmination of juridical norms (laws, regulation, decrees) which state the linguistic rights and obligations regarding the use of languages in diverse areas of social life at the heart of the political unit. However, we should not confuse the notions of language policy and language legislation, as is often the case in modern usage. If we do not make the distinction, we should restrict our understanding of ‘language

policy' to cases of *explicit* language policy, concerning the promotion of languages or the tolerance of languages. Language policy can also be indirect or covert. As such, enacting economic development measures in favour of regions in which linguistic minorities live constitutes an indirect political measure, as does leaving social forces to develop 'freely' – for example, when an authority does not impose the language of power on a certain people, but instead offers it as a tool for social betterment, to access cultural materials, education, knowledge and political power.

As it has been already mentioned, language policy and language planning are in close relationship. In accordance with this, Berthoud and Ludi (see Wodak et. al. (eds.), 2011:479) state that the notion of language policy incorporates 'language planning'. When this term appeared, in a seminal text by Haugen in 1959, it denoted 'the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech community'. Since the end of the 1960s, this notion has been widening to include any type of intervention which addresses sociolinguistic problems. Since then, language planning has been considered as the enactment of (explicit) linguistic policy by way of a 'road map'. Planning implies not only decisions at the domains and modes of intervention. These choices presupposed sociolinguistic knowledge of both the situation on the ground and the desired situation, as well as the enactment of a strategy and the evaluation of a strategy's impact. Such interventions may seek to influence the direction and the manner in which languages compete, or else to shape the language itself.

It is also theoretical added by Berthoud and Ludi (see Wodak et. al (eds.), 2011), language policies, planning, and strategies have always existed. The growth of population mobility, the reorganization of political frontier and the creation of new transnational political spaces have increased the respective challenges for decision-makers at all levels. Increasingly, new situations and dynamics regarding multilingualism and languages in contact require interventions which guarantee the coexistence of languages which are, at the same time, effective and fair, with respect to different speaker groups within a given geopolitical space, in order to prevent one linguistic group dominating the sociolinguistic landscape, or to maintain that which is often termed linguistic peace or social cohesion.

Now, we can see that language policy and language planning are in close relationship. Language policy is in broader sense compared with language

planning; language planning is a part of language policy. In the discussion, language policy and language planning concern with the same points. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:368) even state that work on language planning is often intertwined with work on language policy, and this body of literature is referred to as *language policy and planning* (LPP). It should be understood, however, that language policy is more on socio-political interventions, meanwhile the language planning is closer to sociolinguistic interventions. Language policy is a political-administrative decision made by authority which leads to have language planning in the forms of practical execution and practices.

B. LANGUAGE POLICY IN SOME COUNTRIES

Horberger (2006) as quoted by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:368) points out that relationship between policy and planning is complex; planning does not always lead to policy or vice versa, rather they are intertwined processes. Horberger concludes that language planning and policy offers a unified conceptual rubric under which to pursue fuller understanding of the complexity of the policy-planning relationship and in turn its insertion in processes of social change (see also Bianco in Horberger and McKay (eds.), 2010). In addition, Spolsky in Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) offers a definition of language policy which includes three components: the language practices of a community, in particular the patterns of choices of which varieties are used in particular circumstances; language ideologies; and any specific efforts made to influence practices through intervention, planning, and management. Then, recognition of language ideologies has become a central aspect of the study of language planning and policy.

As it has been already pointed out that language planning and language policy are close relationship, the discussion on language policy in some countries may be described under the title language planning and policy or language planning policy (LPP). Language planning and policy mostly relate to the idea of nationalization in one particular national state. Let's begin the phenomena of language planning and policy in some countries in the relation to nationalization in Turkey. Language planning and policy in Turkey have formally begun with uniformity of orthography and purity. Turkey provides a good example of very deliberate language planning designed to achieve certain national objectives and to do this very quickly. When Kemal Attaturk

'the father of the Turks' established the modern republic of Turkey, he was confronted with the task of modernizing Turkish. It had no vocabulary for modern science and technology, was written in Arabic orthography, and was strongly influenced by both Arabic and Persian. In 1928, Attaturk deliberately adopted the Roman script for his new modern language. This choice symbolically cut the Turks off from their Islamic past and directed their attention toward both their Turkish roots and their future as Turks in a modern world. Since only 10 percent of the population was literate, there was no mass abjection to the changes. It was also possible to use the new script almost immediately as various steps were taken to increase the amount of literacy in the country (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:373).

It is also further informed by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:374) that language reform in Turkey also aimed to move Turkish away from Arabic and Persian in order to create a 'pure Turkish language'; this is a type of purification processes. The linguistic modifications would also aid in nation building and modernization by moving from eastern influences to western ones, because the latter were seen as a requirement for national development. It is a part of ideas of nationalization. In addition, the 'Sun Language Theory' was promoted, a theory which claimed that Turkish was the mother tongue of the world and that, when Turkish borrowed from other languages, it was really taking back what had originally been Turkish anyway. This ideology helped to make the language reform swift and successful.

Based on Dogancay-Aktuna's (2004), Dogancay-Aktuna's and Kiziltepe's (2005), and Kirkgoz's (2007), Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) state that language planning issues in Turkey reflect the social and political situation. One of the issues, shared with many other languages, involves the ideology of purity of the language, this time with the encroachment of English words. Furthermore, English is increasingly used in primary and secondary schools in a variety of programs, and English-medium universities have been established. This development is in keeping with Turkey's claim to be modern country which can complete in a globalized economy.

The language planning and policy in Turkey involves further issue about the status of a minority language, Kurdish. There is a history of persecution of Kurds in Turkey and the Kurdish language is discriminated against. Kurdish-speaking children are not allowed to be educated in their home language, nor is Kurdish offered as a subject in schools. The ideologies which support this policy clearly revolve around the idea of an association of

a single language, Turkish, with national identity and the lack of value of minority languages (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:374). If it is so, the programs of language purity and nationalization regulated in Turkey through language planning and policy give negative effects to minority languages spoken by people live in the country. Language purity and nationalization seem to address to westernization as the identity of modern life. Such political decisions are not relevant with the programs of cultural and language saving as particular identities, then.

Now let's see the language planning and policy in the Soviet Union and the post-Soviet era which is formally held under the theme of *from Russification to nationalization*. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:375) practically describe that in the former Soviet Union, there was a great amount of language planning dating from its very founding. One of the most important policies was *Russification*. Needless to say, in a state as vast as the Soviet Union, composed of speakers of approximately 100 different linguistic varieties, there were several different aspects to such a policy. One of these was the elevation of regional and local dialects into 'languages', a policy of 'divide and rule'. Its goal was to prevent the formation of large language blocks and also to allow the central government to insist that Russian be used as a lingua franca. It also led to the larger number of languages that flourished in the Soviet Union.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) also inform that the *Cyrillic script* was extended to nearly all the languages of the Soviet Union. This orthography further helped to cut off the Muslim people of central Asia from contact with Arabic, Turkish, and Persian influences. In the 1930s, these peoples were actually provided with Romanized scripts, but Attaturk's Romanization of Turkish posed a threat in that it made the Turkish world accessible to the Soviet peoples of central Asia. Consequently, Romanization was abandoned in 1940. Cyrillic alphabets were re-imposed, and deliberate attempts were made to stress as many differences as possible among the various languages if the area as part of the policy of divide and rule. Russification also required the local languages of the Soviet Union to borrow words from Russian when new words were needed. Population migrations, not necessarily voluntary, also spread Russian (and Russians) throughout the country as a whole, for example, into Kazakhstan where Kazakhs became a minority, and into the Baltic republics, particularly Latvia and Estonia. Russian was also promoted as a universal second language and as a language of instruction in the

schools. However, there was resistance in such areas as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Baltic republics.

The development of political and governmental trend in Russia has already changed language condition in this country. As it is described by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:376), the Russification policies had interesting consequences. The Soviet Union had been organized internally by republics constructed primarily on language and ethnicity. It proceeded to divide that way. The Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania separated and became distinct states. Moldavia became Moldova and its Moldavian language was finally acknowledged to be what it was, a variety of Romanian, and was renamed Moldavian-Romanian, and was renamed Moldavian-Romanian, Georgia, Armenia, and Kazakhstan separated too and proclaimed Georgian, Armenian, and Kazakh as their national languages, even though in the last case only 40 percent of the population were Kazakhs and 37 percent were Russians. The Turkic-speaking republics, deliberate creations within the Soviet Union, also separated and found their main linguistic problem to be how closely they should identify with Turkey itself.

Based on Pavlenko's and Sebba's, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:376) mention that the role of the Russian language continues to be paramount, however, both within and outside areas where Russian is the dominant language. Russian continues to be an important lingua franca in the geopolitical region. Moreover, in 2002 the Russian parliament passed a law requiring all official languages within the Russian Federation to use the Cyrillic script because various moves toward Romanization, in Tatarstan in particular, were perceived to pose a threat to Russia and Russians. We can see that the phenomena of language planning and policy in the former Soviet Union have significantly changed, although the dominance of Russian still remains. It is assumed that in the following decades Russian may be less dominant.

Then, we briefly see the official monolingual language policy in France. As it is mentioned by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:377), France serves as a good example of a country which has a single national language and provides limited support to any other languages. Most inhabitants simply assume that French is rightly the language of France. Consequently, they virtually ignore other languages so that there is little national interest in any move to try to ascertain exactly how many people speak Provençal or Breton, or to do anything for, or against, Basque. Likewise, if an immigrant group to France,

for example, Algerian or Vietnamese, wants to try to preserve its language, it must try to do so in its own time and with its own resources, since it is widely assumed that French is the proper language of instruction in schools in France.

In fact, as it is described by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) based on Heidemann's, this situation is little different from the one that existed in the old colonial days, in which it was assumed that the French language and the curriculum of Metropolitan France were entirely appropriate in the *lycees* of colonies such as Algeria and Indo-China (now Vietnam) attended by the more fortunate local children, who might then aspire to higher education in France. France is a highly centralized country with Paris its dominant center even to the extent that when travelling in France you often see signposts indicating exactly how far you are from Paris. Regional languages such as Breton, Basque, Occitan, Flemish, Catalan, Corsian, and Franco-Provencal persist, get varying amounts of state support, and provide local identities to those who maintain them. Such languages may be tolerated but they cannot be allowed to threaten a state unified around French. With the development of the European Union, and its provisions for minority languages, this toleration has become codified but has not greatly improved the status of such languages.

In Belgium, however, language policy can be assigned as multilingual policy (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015). Today, the French-speaking Walloons and the Flemish (whose language is also called Flemish, linguistically a variety of Dutch) coexist in a somewhat uneasy truce in Belgium. The struggle between the Walloons and Flemish in that country has a long history. In 1815, the politically and socially ascendant Walloons in Belgium found themselves returned at the end of the Napoleonic Wars to Flemish rules. Historically, William of Holland proceeded to promote Flemish interest and language and limit the power of the French, and the Walloons. He was also a strong Calvinist, and in 1830 both Flemish and Walloon Catholics rebelled and gained independence for Belgium. However, this religious unity between the Flemish Catholics and the Walloon Catholics soon gave way to cleavage along linguistic lines, language proving in this case to be a stronger force for divisiveness than religion for cohesion. The new state became French-oriented and Flemish was banned from the government, law, army, universities, and secondary schools. French-language domination was everywhere, and it was not until the twentieth century that

the Flemish, who then comprised a majority of the population, was able to gain a measure of linguistic and social equality.

It is also mentioned (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015) that most Belgians have no desire to join either France or the Netherlands but the linguistic situation in Brussels continues to be problematic. The French regard such expansion as perfectly acceptable, but the Flemish regards the encroachment as a threat to both their Flemish identity and the Flemish language. The result is that Belgium is constantly in some kind of political crisis centering on language issues. The ideological disdain for linguistic plurality is selective, however, as for Flemish youth English has replaced French as the language used in some domains. Thus, we can say that the multilingual policy is relevant to the language condition in multilingual societies. This is good for multilingual country such as Indonesia.

In many countries where multilingual contexts are available, an attempt for language policy is sometimes made to find a 'neutral' language, that is, a language which gives no group an advantage. This type of language policy can be seen in Kenya. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:379) tell that in 1974, President Kenyatta of Kenya decreed that Swahili was to become the second official language if the country and the language of national unity, even though most Kenyans did not speak the language; it was not the language of the major city, Nairobi; it was spoken in a variety of dialects and pidgin; the majority of those who did speak it did not speak it well; and English was better known in the higher echelons of government, among white-collar professionals, and others. Swahili was chosen over one of the local languages, a spoken by about 20 percent of the population. It was decided as such due to the ethnic composition of the country made any other choice too difficult and dangerous. In that respect, Swahili was a neutral language. It was for much the same reason – that it was a neutral unifying language in a state with over 100 indigenous reasons – that Swahili was also chosen in Tanzania as the national language, although in this case it was spoken fairly as a trade language along the coast and also in the capital, Dar es Salaam. The consequence of the 1974 decree in Kenya is that Swahili is now used much more than it was, but it has not by any means replaced English in those areas of use in which English was previously used.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:379) further inform that although the use of Swahili in Kenya has become a matter of national pride, this does not mean that its extension into certain spheres of life goes un-resisted. However, full

social mobility in Kenya requires a citizen to be able to use Swahili, English, and one or more local vernaculars since each has appropriate occasions for use. Although Swahili is used throughout East Africa, it is a native language on only a small² part of the coast; elsewhere it is lingua franca. Other policy issues relevant in the Kenya context include the issue of the role and accessibility of English in educational contexts on the one hand, and the use of mother-tongue language learning on the other. There are strong ideologies about English as a language of globalization and upward mobility, but these ideologies are often in conflict with local language loyalties.

The other language and communication problems, which need well-planned political decision, occur in India. As it is stated by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:380), India, with more than a billion people, is another country which has had to face the difficulty of finding a lingua franca. In this case, the solution has been to promote Hindi in the *Devanagari script* as the official language that unites the state, but English may also be used for official purposes and in parliament. Twenty-one other languages, including Sanskrit, are recognized as official languages in the nation's constitution (Mohanty, 2006 in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015). There is a 'three language formula' for schooling, however, the actual choice of languages taught in schools is by no means a simple matter. The policy recommends that the mother tongue be the first language taught, but if children do not speak the regional language as their mother tongue, they may not be educated in their mother tongue. The second language should be Hindi or English, which is a simple decision if the first language is Hindi, but otherwise not an easy decision at all, since Hindi is a widely used lingua franca which is advantageous to learn and English is a world language with prestige beyond national borders. The third language in some cases therefore must be compensate for what has not already been taught; perhaps the regional language, or Hindi, or English; if those are already being learned, then another Indian or European language. Although the policy explicitly promotes multilingualism, it does little to ensure that children will gain literacy in their mother tongue or learn the language(s) necessary for them to be able to pursue certain goals they may have later in life.

In recent development, Indian has also followed a policy of *Sanskritization* in the attempts to purify Hindi of English and also increasingly to differentiate Hindi from Urdu, the variety of the language used in Muslim Pakistan. In fact, however, the linguistic situation in India is

further complicated today in a way in which it was not complicated at the partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan. India came into existence as a unitary state. However, local opposition to such centralization was strong and the country was quickly reorganized by states, the first being the Telugu-speaking Andhra state in 1953. Now India has two important levels of government, the central one in New Delhi that looks after common interests, and the other, the state level, with each state government looking after that state's interest and, more importantly, doing so in the language of that state and not in the Hindi or English of the central government. Based on the complex language conditions in India, language planning in this country is largely confined to elites; the masses, whose needs are more immediate, are largely unaffected. Like any other kind of planning in India, it seems fraught with difficulties, dangers, and unforeseen consequences (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:381).

Different countries may have different conditions of language planning and policy. They depend on the socio-cultural factors and political will. The United States, for example, has no official language, while Canada has two. Although neighbors and both once colonized by the British, these countries have gone down very different paths in terms of language policies and planning. Politically and administratively, language planning has become a serious concern in the United States in recent years, particularly as a result of a reconstruction that there is a large indigenous Spanish-speaking population and because of continued immigration. Not only is a language other than English the mother tongue of a great number of residents of the United States, but some of these speakers lack proficiency in English. The United States does not have an official language, although there have been repeated attempts since 1982 to make English the official language. There are three main areas of concern for policies regarding the use of languages other than English in the United States. The first is in education and the second is in workplace practices and policies. The final area in which language policies are disputed has to do with providing services in languages other than English (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:382).

In other side, Canada is a country of over 34 million people by its constitution of 1982, a constitutionally bilingual country. However, bilingualism itself continues to be a controversial issue in this country, as anyone who reads newspapers or follows political discussions there will know. Controversies over language rights played a prominent a part in

discussions leading up to making the constitution entirely Canadian in 1982. Canada has English and French as official languages based on constitution as multilingual country and developments of speakers of the two languages. As the result, the basic English-French polarization exists. The French, in fact, is still a minority language in Canada. The language situation is further complicated by the fact that Canada also has many speakers of First Nation languages (the term used for the languages spoken in these regions before English and French colonization) and it is also a country of immigrants who have flocked mainly to the larger cities, Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:384).

In Papua New Guinea, the language conditions highly motivate the government to have language planning and policy. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:385) (see also Wardhaugh, 2010; Holmes, 2013) mention that Papua New Guinea has three official languages: Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin, and English. Of the three official languages, Tok Pisin is becoming more and more the first language of many young people, particularly city dwellers. Tok Pisin itself is a creole language which developed out of an English-based pidgin language. Tok Pisin is now used almost exclusively for purposes of debate in the House Assembly, which is the parliament of Papuan New Guinea. It is also frequently used in broadcasting, and increasingly in the press and in education, particularly at the lower levels. Hiri Motu, another official language of this country, is also pidgin-based. It is identified with Papua and Papuan languages, which are quite different from those in New Guinea. Many people there take great pride in using Hiri Motu, the descendant of Police Mutu, a native-based, pidgin language of the area, rather than Tok Pisin to show local loyalties. The result has been dramatic increase in the use of Hiri Motu in Papua New Guinea, particularly among separatist-minded Papuans.

In addition to these official languages, there has also been language planning to use local languages in primary education; there are 380 indigenous languages being used in the first years of education across the country. Siegel (in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:385) notes that the success of this reform is due to community involvement and not to formal government policy and implementation. It seems that the language planning and policy in Papua New Guinea need social and cultural supports in addition to government's intervention. In such multilingual societies, language planning and policy should be socialized by involving each level of society in which the languages are formally used.

Other interesting language condition in which a multilingual society involved is in Singapore. It is an independent republic with nearly 5 million people in a small island of Malay people between Malaysia and Indonesia. The languages named in the results from the census data include English, Malay, Mandarin, and Tamil. Malay, Chinese, and Tamil are related to particular segments of the population, while English was clearly chosen because of its international status, particularly important because of Singapore's position as a trading nation. Officially, it is a language of convenience only, a neutral language dissociated from issues of ethnicity. In term of policy, English is set apart from the Asian languages with the Mother Tongue Policy, where all children are required to have some proficiency in their own 'mother tongue'. In Singapore, mother tongue is defined as the language of the father's ethnic group, and is thus in no way necessarily equivalent to the home language or the first or native language of an individual. Despite this Mother Tongue policy, the most recent census data show an increase in English as 'the language most frequently spoken at home'. Of the four official languages, Malay is also the national language because of Singapore's position in the Malay world, not because more people in Singapore speak or understand Malay better than any other language. English has become the working language of Singapore: it is the language of the government bureaucracy, the authoritative language of all legislation and court judgments, and the language of occupational mobility and social and economic advancement (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015).

The language condition and communication in Indonesia are even more challenging. In Indonesia, there are more than 700 local languages originally spoken by more than 250 million people (see Jufrizal et.al., 2015). As a national state, Indonesia formally began proclaiming language policy and language planning in 1928, the date of Indonesia youth declaration to nationally use bahasa Indonesia as a unified language. In 1945, Bahasa Indonesia was formally declared as national-official language which is intentionally used in formal aspects of language communication. The language policy is formally followed by the programs of language planning, so that bahasa Indonesia becomes the national and official language until today. The success of language policy promoting bahasa Indonesia as national-official language in Indonesia is not only effective to overcome the communication and administrative problems, but also effective to have national unity.

In addition to the function of bahasa Indonesia as a national-official language, other political and governmental decisions of language policy in Indonesia are: (i) the use of local languages in as ethnic-cultural language; (ii) the use of local language in education at primary schools; (iii) the use of bahasa Indonesia in education at higher level of schools and publication; and the use of English as a foreign language (see Suhardi in Masinambow and Haelan (eds.), 20020. In many cases, the language policy in Indonesia is successful, although the position of Bahasa Indonesia for many societies is the second language. Consequently, Bahasa Indonesia is learned by most learners after they have their first language, their mother tongue. Another problem faced by Indonesia, related to the language policy is that English as an international language does not have sufficient priority as an instrument of communication. That is why the learning of English as a foreign language in Indonesia is not in high success, yet.

C. LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

The ideas of language policy and language planning are more on political motivation rather than linguistic and/or socio-cultural one. Meanwhile, language attitude is more on psychological and individual points. The language policy and language attitude may work together in particular language conditions so that they promote better language uniformity and standardization. Both language policy and language attitude need the ideas of descriptive and prescriptive norms, particularly in language teaching and in the processes of standardization, as well. According to McGroarty (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996), the matter of norms for language teaching is problematic, reflecting the tensions between descriptive and prescriptive approaches to language and the tensions between public attitudes and expectations regarding language education, which often embody idealized visions of "proper" language use, and the complexities and variation of actual language behavior. A descriptive norm, as used by sociolinguistics, is a statement of the norm or feature of language that most speakers use most of the time; it is thus a statement of statistical probability and one which admits variation. A prescriptive norm, in contrast, is a formally stated rule meant to apply to all language uses in all settings; it is the stuff of which grammar and spelling handbooks are constituted.

McGroarty (in McKay and Horberger (eds.), 1996) adds that sociolinguists note that linguistic norms are typically differentiated by mode of communication, with oral language generally showing greater variability than written language and with different situations also demanding different linguistic forms and styles. In common ways, linguists use norm in a neutral sense to describe the most frequently used language form, but, as used by members of the public, the term norm includes an element of positive valuation as well, and the tension between linguists' use of the term and public understanding of language norms affects both educational discourse and pedagogical techniques. In some cases, the descriptive and prescriptive norms are in "serious" gap since linguists, in one side, tend to follow the descriptive norms in their studies, meanwhile language teachers and educational programmers in other side, frequently think prescriptively. Governments and authority need to highly consider the linguistic norms and speakers' language attitude in having language policy and planning.

Language policy needs to accommodate the condition of speakers' language attitude in order that the governmental interventions are helpful and effective. Standardization is one of the main interventions given by authority to have uniformity and political issues concerning with language uses. Language policy is needed in language learning and to decide the status of one language whether it is the first, the second, or foreign language in one country. In language teaching and learning, the prescriptive norms and standard language are firstly needed because it is hard to bring all descriptive norms to practical classrooms for beginners. The descriptive norms are necessary in intermediate and advanced ones in order that the learners are able to communicate socio-culturally.

McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.) (1996:27 – 29) further state that language policies, the official and institutional practices related to language and language instruction, embody and shape attitudes toward language. They affect several aspects of language education, including decisions related to the time allotted for language instruction, to the language and language varieties chosen as models and media for instruction, to the choice of materials, and to teacher certification, to name just a few. The importance accorded to the provision of qualified teachers and appropriate materials is another indicator of public attitudes regarding language instruction, native or second language. Language policy in education are not, however, merely manifestations of attitudes toward language or toward speakers of a particular language or language variety. They include these

dimensions, but they also reflect too often ignored attitudes toward larger issues such as the roles of government in the provision of human services, including education; appropriate levels of public expenditures; and expressions of local leadership styles. Then, many researches on language education and language attitudes tell that the attitudes toward language and language instruction held by elite groups in a society are particularly influential in determining educational policies.

Language policy, in fact, simply reflects the language attitude; if the authority believes and has positive attitudes toward a language and its varieties, the language is promoted to a higher status, and vice versa. McGroarty (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:35), for example, says that at the local school or district level, individual teachers interested in promoting better language instruction can sometimes affect decisions through their participation in informal or formally designated committees charged with developing curriculum or making recommendations related to instructional practice, materials, or assessments. In the efforts to affect policy, teachers need to be aware of the power of factors in the wider climate of opinion with respect to second language and forms of literacy as reflected in the language policies, official and unofficial, at play in their schools, local and state communities, and nations (see also Wiley in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996). With their professional expertise, teachers can help disabuse policymakers of some of the erroneous ideas about language learning which abound in the world of folk linguistics. Teachers, in this case, must pay attention to public attitudes regarding languages and language learning, "proper" forms and uses of language, and appropriate spheres for language learning activities. They must recognize how the study of language fits within the more general attitudes related to education in the surrounding society.

We may come to a general viewpoint that language policy has something to do with language attitude. Positive attitude is obviously needed to support the success of language policy in all countries, particularly in multilingual societies. In Indonesia, positive attitude toward Bahasa Indonesia as national language and toward local languages as the socio-cultural identity of the speakers lead language policy and language planning work well. Furthermore, language policy and language attitude may work together to build national and local identities in order that this country has good reputation in global era. Thus, it is necessary to build and develop positive language attitude to support language policy.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

Language policy and language planning are in close relationship. How are they related each other?

Exercise 2

Why do you think that language planning is a part of language policy?

Exercise 3

In some literatures, sociolinguists use the term '*language planning policy*'. Why do they use such term?

Exercise 4

What are the reasons to say that language policy is an effective way to overcome communication problem?

Exercise 5

It seems that almost all countries in the world have the programs of language policy and planning. Why do they do it?

Exercise 6

Language policy has fundamental and strategic roles to overcome the communication problems in many countries. What are the roles?

Exercise 7

The language policy and planning in India are needed not only to overcome the language problems but also to build and maintain national unity and identity. Why do you think so?

Exercise 8

Although language policy and planning in Indonesia work well, there are still some problems of deciding English as a foreign language in Indonesia. What are the problems?

Exercise 9

How can language attitude give effects to language policy?

Exercise 10

It is highly believed that language policy needs regulation of government and elegant supports from various speech communities in a country. Why is it so?

Exercise 11

The ideas of prescriptive and descriptive norms are needed in language learning and in the practical executions of language policy. How do they work in language learning and in standardization?

Exercise 12

How can you prove that language policy in Indonesia has advantages and disadvantages?

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

In general viewpoint, language policy is the "big umbrella" for language planning and its practical realizations, such as standardization, codifications, formal-administrative regulation, and other political will for language status and uses. It can be said, as well that language planning works based on the language policy.

Exercise 2

At least, there are three reasons to say that language planning is a part of language policy, namely:

1. Language policy is basically the political-governmental basis for language planning. In this sense, language planning is more on the linguistic-practical executions of language policy items;
2. Language planning cannot be formally and linguistically formulated without declarations of language policy; the language policy gives general rules for practical actions in language planning;
3. Language planning is linguistically and practically programmed by linguists and authority of a country after the language policy was formally declared.

Exercise 3

The term '*language planning policy*' is also used in some literatures of sociolinguistics because there is a very close relationship between language planning and language policy; they are in mutual-relationships.

Exercise 4

In similar ideas with the answers given to language planning in previous part, language policy is the fundamental-political decision to have uniformity, formal regulations, and national language uses inter-ethnics which have different local languages. Such decision is necessary in order that the people coming from different mother tongue choose the one standardized variety of language as their own codes in verbal communication. It is expected that they have successful communication in many activities.

Exercise 5

It is caused by the fact that most countries in the world have multilingual and/or multi-cultural societies. In such socio-cultural condition, uniformity and political will to have shared codes of verbal communication in the form of standard language are essential. If there is no language policy and language planning, communication problems and other negative accesses of social life may appear in the countries with multilingual societies.

Exercise 6

Some fundamental and strategic roles of language policy to overcome the communication problems are:

1. The language policy is the formal-political authority's decision to choose and promote particular varieties of language as the shared possession of a standard language;
2. Linguists and professionals in language teaching and learning may formulate regulations concerning with the standard language and the status of other languages in the country;
3. Language policy can be used by the government to build and to develop national identities and proud through national language;
4. Some other policies and socio-cultural developments addressed by the country can be achieved progressively as the communication and administrative affairs run well.

Exercise 7

The language conditions in India are sensitive to other socio-cultural issues. For most people in India, language is specific, socio-cultural identities, and sometime individual entities. In some other viewpoints, language is also religious features and political trends. National disintegration in India has already occurred in some regions caused by linguistic issues. Therefore, language policy and language planning in India may have something to do with national unity and identity.

Exercise 8

Language policy in Indonesia decides that English is a foreign language in this country. The status of English as a foreign language may bring communicative and academic problems. The followings are some communicative and academic problems faced by Indonesia as the logical consequences of EFL:

1. most learners in Indonesia think that learning English is not a necessity. English is just a language that is learnt for academic purposes and for those who are going to go abroad. Consequently, the teaching learning processes of EFL in Indonesia are not relatively successfully yet compared with other countries deciding English as a second language;
2. there is significant international communication gaps in Indonesia because most learners are not active speakers of English yet;
3. international and global information has not been easily captured by Indonesian people due to lack of English mastery;
4. teachers and academic professionals can seriously force learners to learn and speak in English because it is just a foreign language;
5. many students are in serious problems to read and to write internationally because they are not in good language skills of English.

Exercise 9

Language attitude gives significant effects to language policy by which speakers' and authority's attitude determines the language policy. High and positive attitude given by people in Indonesia toward bahasa Indonesia increase and promote this language as national language. Low and less positive attitude to decide English as a second language in Indonesia, for example, cause the status of English in this country is as a second language only. Language attitude gives particular effect to language policy based on degree or quality of the attitude toward one particular language.

Exercise 10

Because it is common in nature that the regulations concerning with language policy and language planning declared by government and authorities do not work well without positive and active supports given by all levels of society in a country.

Exercise 11

In the programs of language learning and language policy both prescriptive and descriptive norms are needed. Prescriptive norms are necessary to have “right and wrong” dichotomy of language materials and assessments, meanwhile the descriptive norms are needed for communicative functions of language.

Exercise 12

Language policy in Indonesia has both advantages and disadvantages. Some disadvantages of language policy in Indonesia are:

1. Indonesia has already had national and official language so called Bahasa Indonesia;
2. the status of Bahasa Indonesia brings other socio-cultural positive effects to build and to develop national identity and proud;
3. the policy to formally admit local languages as mother tongues and local identities has positive effects to maintain local-ethnic identities which make all levels of societies are in socio-cultural convenient;
4. the position of Bahasa Indonesia and social attitudes toward the national language is relatively high;
5. the forms and uses of Bahasa Indonesia can be linguistically controlled.

The followings are the disadvantages of language policy in Indonesia:

1. EFL learning in Indonesia has not been academically and communicatively successful yet due to its status;
2. many learners in Indonesia are in serious problems to communicate in English;
3. the superiority of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language brings about language hegemony which causes local languages become endangered and marginalized;
4. International language, such as English, is only learnt for academic purposes.



SUMMARY

The language policy and language planning work together in such a way that they can be seen as language planning policies. The close relationship between language planning and language policy is reflected by the idea saying that it is socio-political objectives which are pursued by language planning policies. Language planning policies have something to do with four language ideologies which motivate the undertaking of language reforms: "linguistic pluralism", "linguistic assimilation", "vernacularization", and "internationalism". The notion of 'language policy' is vast. It includes any form of intervention by political authority to direct and regulate the use, by the administration and/or the population, of one or more languages in a given political area; the notion of language policy incorporates 'language planning'.

Language planning and policy mostly relate to the idea of nationalization in one particular national state. Language planning and policy in Turkey have formally begun with uniformity of orthography and purity. Language reform in Turkey also aimed to move Turkish away from Arabic and Persian in order to create a 'pure Turkish language'; this is a type of purification processes. The linguistic modifications would also aid in nation building and modernization by moving from eastern influences to western ones, because the latter were seen as a requirement for national development. The programs of language purity and nationalization regulated in Turkey through language planning and policy give negative effects to minority languages spoken by people live in the country. Language purity and nationalization seem to address to westernization as the identity of modern life.

In the former Soviet Union, there was a great amount of language planning dating from its very founding. One of the most important policies was *Russification*. The *Cyrillic script* was extended to nearly all the languages of the Soviet Union. The development of political and governmental trend in Russia has already changed language condition in this country. The role of the Russian language continues to be paramount, however, both within and outside areas where Russian is the dominant language. Russian continues to be an important lingua franca in the geopolitical region.

Then, France serves as a good example of a country which has a single national language and provides limited support to any other languages. Most inhabitants simply assume that French is rightly the language of France. Consequently, they virtually ignore other languages

so that there is little national interest in any move to try to ascertain exactly how many people speak Provençal or Breton, or to do anything for, or against, Basque. France is a highly centralized country with Paris its dominant center. In Belgium, however, language policy can be assigned as multilingual policy. Most Belgians have no desire to join either France or the Netherlands but the linguistic situation in Brussels continues to be problematic. The French regard such expansion as perfectly acceptable, but the Flemish regards the encroachment as a threat to both their Flemish identity and the Flemish language. In many countries where multilingual contexts are available, an attempt for language policy is sometimes made to find a 'neutral' language, that is, a language which gives no group an advantage. This type of language policy can be seen in Kenya.

India is another country which has had to face the difficulty of finding a lingua franca. In this case, the solution has been to promote Hindi in the *Devanagari script* as the official language that unites the state, but English may also be used for official purposes and in parliament. In recent development, Indian has also followed a policy of *Sanskritization* in the attempts to purify Hindi of English and also increasingly to differentiate Hindi from Urdu, the variety of the language used in Muslim Pakistan. In different condition, the United States has no official language, while Canada has two. In Papua New Guinea, the language conditions highly motivate the government to have language planning and policy. Papua New Guinea has three official languages: Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin, and English. Of the three official languages, Tok Pisin is becoming more and more the first language of many young people, particularly city dwellers. In Singapore, there are English, Malay, Mandarin, and Tamil. English was clearly chosen because of its international status, particularly important because of Singapore's position as a trading nation.

In Indonesia, there are more than 700 local languages originally spoken by more than 250 million people. Indonesia formally began proclaiming language policy and language planning in 1928. In 1945, bahasa Indonesia was formally declared as national-official language which is intentionally used in formal aspects of language communication. Bahasa Indonesia becomes the national and official language until today. The success of language policy promoting bahasa Indonesia as national-official language in Indonesia is not only effective to overcome the communication and administrative problems, but also effective to have national unity.

Positive attitude toward one particular language is obviously needed to support the success of language policy in all countries, particularly in

multilingual societies. In Indonesia, positive attitude toward Bahasa Indonesia as national language and toward local languages as the socio-cultural identity of the speakers lead language policy and language planning work well. Furthermore, language policy and language attitude may work together to build national and local identities in order that this country has good reputation in global era. Thus, it is necessary to build and develop positive language attitude to support the success of language policy.



FORMATIVE TEST 2 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) How important is language policy to overcome the communication problems in multilingual societies?
- 2) What are, in nature, the basic principles of language policy?
- 3) In many countries, the language policy and language planning may relate to national identities and political decisions formally made by government. Why are they so?
- 4) In some cases, a “neutral language” is decided to be a national language of a country. What are the possible reasons to have such decision?
- 5) What are the practical examples to support that language policy and language planning are highly needed in Indonesia?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category I	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.

Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

Language Planning, Language Policy, and Their Implication to EFL Teaching

In Unit 2, we discussed how language policy and language planning work together to overcome communication and administrative problems in one country. As speakers of particular languages, we need to communicate nationally, regionally, and internationally by means of languages in their own capacities. In general view, the discussion on language planning and language policy is more concerned with the needs for uniformity and a part of national identity rather than linguistic features. Therefore, it is also reasonable to say that the discussion on language planning and policy belongs to macro-sociolinguistics. Now in Unit 3, we are coming to the implication of language planning and language policy to EFL teaching. In this unit, we are going to see how language planning and language policy have academic and practical implication to the relationship between language, gender, and age may have educational implication to EFL teaching, particularly in Indonesia. The topic areas discussed in this unit are more on theoretical and practical views dealing with how the ideas language planning and language policy can be useful for EFL teaching and learning. It is sure that you have been already known, EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia have specific characteristics because most learners have had their local languages as the first language.

In order to have systematic presentation and discussion, this unit is divided into two sub-units, namely: (i) *Standardization and language at school*: and (ii) *Educational Implication of Language Policy in EFL Teaching*. As we know, standardization is of the main products of language planning and policy. Thus, the discussion on standardization and language at school and educational implication of language policy is helpful for the teachers and learners of English whether as a first, a second, and moreover as a foreign language. The information, explanation, and argumentation presented in this unit are in theoretical and practical ones. In order to have better understanding and critical argumentation on certain topics of discussion, you are highly suggested to read more relevant references as noted in this module. It is also advisable to add your references and may find

further relevant references in manual library or in electronic facilities. It is also expected that you seriously learn in details the information and examples which are relevant to this topic. Then, it is also necessary to tell that you may go to next module if you have "good" passing grade in each exercise and/or test given to you in this module. Please study hard and good luck!

A. STANDARDIZATION AND LANGUAGE AT SCHOOL

As the intellectual creatures, there are many ways of having social interactions created by human beings. It is right to say that having communication by means of language is an intellectual way of social interaction along with human live. In accordance with this, language has essential role in humans' development of life. One important aspect of human life is education and development of knowledge in which language is also highly needed. What kind of language do people learn and use in education? In this relation, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:339) reasonably state that linguists agree that no variety of a language is inherently better than any other. They insist that all languages and all varieties of particular languages are equal in that they recognize are pidgin languages, which are by definition restricted varieties. A standard variety of a language is 'better' only in a social sense; it has a preferred status; it gives those who use it certain social advantages; and it can increase their opportunities in work and education. Nonstandard varieties tend to produce the opposite effect. Therefore, we may say that the standard variety a language has formal and effective chances to be brought into language at school, type of language learned in practical classrooms.

In related sense, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:341) mention as well that many people would argue that the role of education is to teach children how to use the standard variety of one particular language. It means that the primary forms and uses of language brought in classroom activities are those which have 'higher' and 'better' status, in this case the standard one. In other side, Trudgill in Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:343) states that many linguists believe that language should not be an issue at all in education. They regard all varieties of a language as equal and say that what we should be doing is teaching everyone to be tolerant and accepting of other varieties. This is a perhaps hopelessly utopian view. The inescapable reality is that people do use language to discriminate in every sense of that work. Varieties of a

language do exist, and people do use these varieties for their own purposes, not all of them to be applauded. In reality, we can implicitly see that it is impossible to bring and to teach all language variations in the classroom based on limited time. Thus, the choice to teach and to learn standard variety of language at school and practical classroom activities is academically reasonable.

For the reasons of practicality and academic affairs, especially in the status of a second and a foreign language, the standardization as a main program of language policy and language planning is really important. Even in the first language learning, standardization is highly helpful, as well. Standardization, which produces the standard variety (or varieties) of a language chosen by government, may help the success of language teaching and learning in general. As it has been mentioned in previous unit, the ideas of standard language are more on prescriptive norms rather than descriptive ones. McGroarty (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:22), a prescriptive norm is a formally stated rule meant to apply to all languages uses in all settings; it the stuff of which grammar and spelling handbooks are constituted. Although the main aim of language teaching-learning is to enable learners to communicate in the learnt language, the materials for classroom activities and discussion are mostly the standard varieties.

Sociolinguists ideally note that linguistic norms are typically differentiated by mode of communication, with oral language generally showing greater variability than written language and with different situations also demanding different linguistic forms and styles. Furthermore, native speakers of a language often have strongly felt opinions regarding where the "best" varieties of their language are spoken, and their perceptions contribute to public attitudes related to appropriate language use and language instruction. Nonnative speakers may come to share some of these perspectives as they learn the language. Considered from an inclusive perspective, then, linguistic norms include probabilistic statements about that forms or features occur most often; codified rules appearing in reference works, usually phrased as invariant recommendations and the expectations of those who use the language regarding the suitability of different linguistic features and styles according to different modes and communicative situations (McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996). We can understand that the standard language is mostly usable in classroom activities.

The notion of standard language is strongly connotes attention to written language; as linguists note, "a standard language variety is one which has undergone the lengthy process of standardization" (Finegan and Besnier as quoted by McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:23), which includes four stages: selection of a norm, elaboration for different uses, restriction of diversity, and codification in grammar or dictionaries. A standard language is thus the end result of this historical process. Public discussions of language standards, heard mainly in the context of laments about declines in school-related skills or achievement measures, nearly always present the linguistic uniformity embodied in a standard as evidence of moral superiority and accurate thinking, which has been, presumably, threatened by changes or by variant forms. Related to the idea, because one of the main objectives of formal schooling is to mostly teach reading and writing, schools are one of the central arenas for the promotion of prescriptive norms of written language (Wiley as quoted by McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:24).

Schools, as stated by McGroarty (see McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996), are certainly not the only institutions which shape language norms, in various societies, religious or governmental institutions and media, both print and electronic, contribute to the creation, maintenance, and change of language norms, as do age-related trends in language use. In schools, emphasis on propriety in writing, interpreted once more as adherence to the most formal registers of the language, is often even greater than in other institutional settings. The prescriptive norm (the standard language) usually reigns supreme; teachers are often regarded as preeminently enforcers of prescriptive linguistic norms (grammar, spelling, or punctuation "police"). In this relation, sensitivity to language variation and sound professional judgment regarding choice of materials (in this sense the standard varieties) can help teachers make reasonable instructional decisions.

We may come to the idea that standard language, a main product of standardization, is the language varieties with high and better status among the others in a country. Standard varieties of a language chosen by authority in a country are those of modified and codification varieties which are suitable for language at schools. In addition to language teaching-learning materials, standard varieties are also needed for instructional language in classrooms. It is not a suitable choice to use non-standard varieties in classroom in delivering academic information and scientific ideas. Thus, standardization and language used at schools are in mutual-symbioses.

B. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATION OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN EFL TEACHING

A non-standard dialect (variety) of a language is, by definition, a language variety spoken by a group of people at the lower end of the social scale. This means that there is nothing to intrinsic to the linguistic forms themselves which causes them to be stigmatized, but that the attitude toward the speech of certain groups is, in reality, a reflection of the way society regards the speakers. Meanwhile, the variety of a language spoken by those who have wealth, power, and education – the language, that is, of the elite group – is generally regarded as the prestige variety by the entire speech community. When the prestige variety becomes codified in written form, with dictionaries and grammar books which prescribe “correct usage”, and when it becomes the variety used by government, courts of law, the mass media, and the schools, it is referred to as the standard language. What this means, in effect, is that it is the institutionalized variety of the language and therefore the one which needs to be known by all who wish to participate fully in the political, social, and economic life of the English-speaking community. From a linguistic point of view, however, any variety of language which is systematic or consistent in its grammar is a good language (see Wolfson, 1989:215).

One important thing that can be constituted from language policy, language attitude, and standardization is the attitude toward the standard language given by speech community, government, and teachers and learners at schools. Positive attitude toward standard language is the main educational implication of language policy in all programs of language teaching and learning, moreover in EFL teaching. *Standard English is good English*. This is the general-positive attitude that can be assigned as the positive implicative of language policy in EFL teaching and learning. Educational implication in EFL teaching which respects to language policy can be seen based on the case that for non-native learners, grammar and rules of the learnt language are needed in the four skills, listening, speaking, reading, and writing; the two last skills really need grammar and prescriptive regulations in nature.

According to McGroarty (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:28), language policies in education are not, however, merely manifestations of attitudes toward language or toward speakers of a particular language or language variety. They include these dimensions, but they also reflect too

often ignored attitudes toward larger issues such as the role of government in the provision of human services, including education; appropriate levels of public expenditures; and expressions of local leadership styles. It may be strongly stated that language policy affects the educational implication to EFL teaching in which teachers and learners should understand the status of language being learnt and reflect the linguistic attitudes in the learning programs. It is also relevant to say that language policy is needed for the success and quality of EFL learning, for instance, in Indonesia.

In addition to those ideas, the attitudes toward language and language instruction, including EFL instruction, held by elite groups in a society are particularly influential in determining educational policies. As an example, American legislators show varying levels of support for language learning, maintenance, and retention, depending on general political preference, relative costs or perceived benefits of any language intervention, regional loyalties, and salience of language issues to their home constituencies. Hence, the general political orientations, including the "assumptive worlds" of policymakers and the symbolic referents of a policy, must be considered in understanding approaches to language and language education (Judd, 1989; Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt, 1989 quoted by McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:29). Therefore, the language policies can be used to determine the educational implication of language learning, including in EFL teaching and learning.

As we have already known that language policy has educational implications to the EFL teaching, let's see now some educational implications of language policy to EFL teaching in general views. Promoting individual, classroom, and school-wide motivation is probably the main educational implication of language policy to EFL teaching that can be derived from the ideas given by McGroarty (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:30). Motivation, which can be defined as a desired to learn plus a willingness to expend effort in doing so, affects mastery in many subjects, not only language, and the field of educational psychology abounds in discussions of motivation. In accordance with this, the status of language being learnt, whether it is L1, L2, or FL significantly affects teachers' and learners' in the teaching learning processes. The status of English as a foreign language in Indonesia, in fact, leads learners and teachers to think that English is not the primary or secondary language to master. It probably causes low individual, classroom, and school-wide motivation toward EFL

teaching and learning, except for those who are in highly motivation. If it is the case, the teachers of EFL in Indonesia need to create various ways and techniques to increase learners' motivation in classroom activities and interactions. It seems that the teachers' ability and creativities to motivate students in learning English are highly essential and in EFL teaching in many countries where English is assigned as a foreign language, including in Indonesia.

The second educational implication of language policy to EFL teaching is that discovering the language relevant for instruction (see McGroarty in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:32). Referring to the status of English, it is necessary to determine and to program what forms of language and literacy are relevant in the lives of students and the others. In Indonesia, for instance, the policy to assign English as a foreign language gives certain educational implication to discover and to choose the learning materials. It is assumed that Standard English and pedagogical grammar are more relevant for the learning programs instead of having natural and authentic materials, particularly at the elementary and intermediate levels. In Indonesia, English is limitedly used in academic and classroom interactions; the foreign language is not commonly used outside of formal-classrooms. It means that the authorities and schools need to intentionally prepare selected materials and evaluations in EFL teaching and learning, then.

Another educational implication of language policy to EFL teaching is that expanding opportunity to use multiple forms of language. This idea is also derived from McGroarty's as seen in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:33). Based on Pratt's (1987), Cazden' (1986), and Cohen (1994), McGroarty mentions that the intimate connection between language and social identity means that learners need to the chance to build social identities which include the mastery of a socially effective range of the oral and literate behaviors. This is a great challenge to educational systems and to norms of classroom discourse, which often provide only an idealized view of language forms worthy of emulation and restrict student participation in frequency and format to faint echoes of a teacher's voice. It may be added (see Tollefson's in McGroarty, 1996) as well that although teachers must be realistic about the constraints of the institutional and national systems within which they work, they generally have some discretion related to instructional practices and procedures in their classrooms. Their control of choice of materials and assessment methods depends greatly on the particular instructional setting.

The relevant controls and choices related to multiple forms and functions of EFL are significantly needed in the language condition in Indonesia.

The other point that can be regarded as the educational implication of language policy to EFL teaching is that influencing language policy itself. According to McGroarty (see McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:35), at the local school or district level, individual teachers interested in promoting better language instruction can sometimes affect decisions through their participation in informal or formally designated committees charged with developing curriculum or making recommendations related to instructional practice, materials, or assessment. Through the group efforts of professional associations, teachers can sometimes find new ways to disseminate effective instructional and assessment practices by participating in the legislative process, if it is feasible to do so within their governmental systems. In their efforts to affect policy, teachers need to be aware of the power of factors in the wider climate of opinion with respect to second language and forms of literacy as reflected in the language policies, official and unofficial, at play in schools, local and state communities, and nations. With their professional expertise, teachers can help disabuse policymakers of some of the erroneous ideas about language learning which abound in the world of folk linguistics. Teachers can provide accurate current information or can press educational oversight agencies to collect such data, they can describe promoting practices, and they can promote the widespread societal commitment needed to establish and maintain high-quality instructional programs.

We may see that the educational implications of language policy to EFL teaching bring about certain conditions in which the progress of EFL learning is various. The different conditions are possibly caused by different capacity and aims of learning English. Therefore, it is necessary to decide the appropriate regulations and language learning programs to support the language policy and language planning as well. The effective ways to increase learners' motivation to study and use English should be investigated by teachers (lecturers) scientifically. It is now our responsibility to effectively use the status of English as a foreign language in Indonesia by means of scientific and suitable programs of EFL teaching and learning.

**EXERCISES**

Exercise 1

In real life, social interaction by means of language can be in various varieties. How do you prove that a language has more than one variation?

Exercise 2

How do authority and government come to a standard language in one country?

Exercise 3

Why do you think that standard variety of language (standard language) is the appropriate variety of language used and learnt at schools?

Exercise 4

Why do you think that the standard language has high prestige among the non-standard variations at schools or in formal situations?

Exercise 5

Language teaching and learning are not simply to inform the forms and grammatical uses of a learnt language. In fact, however, the status of English is a foreign language. What should the government and authority do to have better the programs of EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia?

Exercise 6

What are the reasons to say that language planning and policy have essential implications to EFL teaching and learning in one particular country?

Exercise 7

How can you prove that learners' attitude toward English and the status of the learnt language determine the programs and practical activities of EFL classroom?

Exercise 8

Schools and professional teachers may influence language planning and language policy in one country. How do they probably occur?

Key to Exercises

Exercise 1

Although Bahasa Indonesia is a national language and it has standard forms, people from different provinces and areas speak Bahasa Indonesia differently. The variations can be in all levels such in the level of sound, lexicon, diction, syntax, or meaning. Such conditions can be naturally found in other languages shown by dialectal variations.

Exercise 2

The authority and government come to a standard language by the following ways:

1. declaration of language policy formally;
2. asking authority and professionals to formulate relevant items of language planning;
3. programming and doing actions of standardization and/or other codifications of standard language;
4. publishing and delivering standard language in forms of grammar, dictionary, and publications;
5. maintaining and promoting the standard and/or national language to all levels of society.

Exercise 3

Ideally and practically, it is impossible to bring and teach all variations of a learnt language into language classrooms. Thus, the standard variety of a language is the appropriate variety to be brought into language classroom activities.

Exercise 4

The standard language has high prestige at schools or in formal situation because the standard variety is codified formally and functionally. In addition, the standardization involves political, scientific, and professional interventions in order to solve communication problems.

Exercise 5

At elementary and pre-intermediate levels of EFL teaching-learning, the basic forms and rules of English grammar should be academically introduced and exercised. Then, at the intermediate and advanced levels the

communicative uses of linguistic expressions are further introduced. It means that the EFL teaching and learning need specific attentions whether they are in forms, meanings, functions, and values. In addition, if it is possible, the government and authorities may have the changes of language policy concerning with English, for example to promote it as a second language in certain regions and cities, or to allow professionals to have international schools in which is the instructional language in the teaching-learning processes.

Exercise 6

The language planning and policy have essential implications to EFL teaching and learning in one particular country due to the facts that:

1. language planning and policy have political, academic-educational, administrative, and practical implication to the teaching and learning of L1, L2, and FL in certain regulations and formal executions in the field;
2. if one language, say English, is formally assigned as a foreign language, the language classroom activities and the uses of the learnt language are different from those of English as L1 or L2;
3. the practical operations of language policy and planning are derived from the regulations of language policy and planning. Therefore, the conditions and main goals of EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia, for instance, are not the same with those in Singapore or Malaysia.

Exercise 7

Let's take example of EFL in Indonesia! The attitude of learners and parents toward English is not the same with that toward local languages or bahasa Indonesia as the national language. They know that the status of English in this country is only as a foreign language. They think and believe that English is not a primary language to learn and to use in communication. Such attitude and the status of English determine and influence the programs and practical activities of EFL classrooms. Teachers and professionals need creatively think and find the learning methods and operational strategies which make the learners are more active and able to use English communicatively. It is sure as well that the EFL teaching and learning face more serious problems compared with the conditions English as L1 or L2.

Exercise 8

Schools and other formal institutions of language programs and professionals (teachers) may influence and give inputs to the change of language policy and language planning in one country. If one time later English will have become more important and necessary, they have opportunity and chance to argue reasonable ideas to the government that the status of English need to promote into L2 or as official language. Academic and scientific reasons delivered by teachers and professionals can be used to influence and change the language planning and language policy as far as they are all understood for better results.



SUMMARY

Many people would argue that the role of education is to teach children how to use the standard variety of one particular language. It means that the primary forms and uses of language brought in classroom activities are those which have 'higher' and 'better' status, in this case the standard one. In other side, many linguists believe that language should not be an issue at all in education. They regard all varieties of a language as equal and say that what we should be doing is teaching everyone to be tolerant and accepting of other varieties. Varieties of a language do exist, and people do use these varieties for their own purposes, not all of them to be applauded. Thus, the choice to teach and to learn standard variety of language at school and practical classroom activities is academically reasonable.

Standardization, which produces the standard variety (or varieties) of a language chosen by government, may help the success of language teaching and learning in general. As it has been mentioned in previous unit, the ideas of standard language are more on prescriptive norms rather than descriptive ones. Although the main aim of language teaching-learning is to enable learners to communicate in the learnt language, the materials for classroom activities and discussion are mostly the standard varieties. Nonnative speakers may come to share some of these perspectives as they learn the language; the standard language is mostly usable in classroom activities.

A non-standard dialect (variety) of a language is a language variety spoken by a group of people at the lower end of the social scale. This means that there is nothing to intrinsic to the linguistic forms themselves which causes them to be stigmatized, but that the attitude toward the

speech of certain groups is, in reality, a reflection of the way society regards the speakers. Meanwhile, the variety of a language spoken by those who have wealth, power, and education – the language, that is, of the elite group – is generally regarded as the prestige variety by the entire speech community. When the prestige variety becomes codified in written form, with dictionaries and grammar books which prescribe “correct usage”, and when it becomes the variety used by government, courts of law, the mass media, and the schools, it is referred to as the standard language.

Promoting individual, classroom, and school-wide motivation is probably the main educational implication of language policy to EFL teaching that can be derived from the ideas given by McGroarty (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:30). Motivation, which can be defined as a desired to learn plus a willingness to expend effort in doing so, affects mastery in many subjects, not only language, and the field of educational psychology abounds in discussions of motivation. The second educational implication of language policy to EFL teaching is that discovering the language relevant for instruction. Referring to the status of English, it is necessary to determine and to program what forms of language and literacy are relevant in the lives of students and the others. Another educational implication of language policy to EFL teaching is that expanding opportunity to use multiple forms of language. The other point that can be regarded as the educational implication of language policy to EFL teaching is that influencing language policy itself. The effective ways to increase learners’ motivation to study and use English should be investigated by teachers (lecturers) scientifically.



FORMATIVE TEST 3

Answer the following questions.

- 1) The EFL teaching and learning may face various problems depending on the status of English based on language policy and planning in the related country? Why do you think so?
- 2) How can you argue that the language policy and planning in Indonesia are good, but the condition may cause specific problems on EFL teaching and learning in this country?

- 3) The EFL teaching and learning in many multilingual countries, such as in Indonesia, need to consider relevant and specific socio-cultural aspects and academic purposes. Why are they so?
- 4) Why do you think that curriculum and teaching-learning materials of EFL should be based on the standard varieties?
- 5) What are the pedagogical reasons to say that EFL teaching and learning need standard varieties of English?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next module.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) The examples proving that there are meaningful contributions of language planning to communication problems can be seen from the language condition in Indonesia. The followings are the relevant examples.
 - a. It is not easy for government and/or authority to administratively manage and officially inform people in Aceh, in Padang, or in Makassar if there is no national language, bahasa Indonesia, which has been codified in some ways so that it may function as an official language as well;
 - b. Educational activities, scientific works, and publications have successfully run beginning from elementary to university levels by using Bahasa Indonesia;
 - c. National interactional and inter-ethnic communication have been relatively successful by using bahasa Indonesia as the national language and national identity;
 - d. Language planning in Indonesia has already come to many aspects of linguistic uniformity such as standardization, Ejaan. Yang Disempurnakan (EYD), borrowing words, and other mechanics of writing.
- 2) Yes, one main criticism to language planning argued by sociolinguists is that it is not natural language anymore. Such criticism can be linguistically agreed because language planning works by means of codifications in some ways which are more on prescriptive norms rather than descriptive norms.
- 3) Language in publication and education is more on prescriptive norms and the standard one. That is why language planning is highly helpful in publication and formal education.
- 4) Indonesia needs language planning because socio-cultural condition in this country belongs to multilingual society. In addition, people consist of multi-ethnic societies which have specific language behaviors and cultural values. If there is no language planning, there will be serious problems of inter-ethnic communication, then.

- 5) Language planning is government's and authority's interventions to decide, promote, and codify one variety of language to be a shared variety of standard or national language.

Formative Test 2

- 1) Language policy has high degree of importance to overcome the communication problems in multilingual societies because it is political, official, and socio-cultural decisions made by authority to promote one language variety to be national language.
- 2) The basic principles of language policy are: (i) political and official decisions to have shared language variety in one particular country; (ii) promoting the selected language and its variety to be high prestige among the other languages and/or varieties; (iii) deciding certain language as L1, L2, or FL in the country or national states.
- 3) The language policy and language planning relate to national identities and political decision formally made by government because they are governmental interventions and regulations which have political, socio-cultural, and official powers to promote and to codify the selected language and its varieties.
- 4) In some cases, a "neutral language" is decided to be a national language instead of one majority or powerful language in the country. The reasons to do so are:
 - a. to avoid political, racial, and ethnic conflicts in the country;
 - b. to be more neutral and moderate decision;
 - c. to anticipate contrary rejection from other speech communities coming from the equal prestige of existing languages;
 - d. to minimize internal conflict among the different speech communities in the country.
- 5) The language policy and planning are highly needed in Indonesia can be supported by the following examples:
 - a. Bahasa Indonesia has been collectively accepted by Indonesian people as a national language and one of national identities;
 - b. there has not been racial and local conflicts in Indonesia caused by different local languages;
 - c. Bahasa Indonesia has been in high prestige among local languages;
 - d. One way to build and to maintain the national integrity is the policy stating that the national language is Bahasa Indonesia.

Formative Test 3

- 1) Various problems faced in EFL teaching and learning can be caused by the status of English itself in a country. The EFL teaching and learning face a lot of grammatical and communicative problems can be understood since many learners and parents are not in high-positive attitude toward English. For many people in Indonesia, for instance, it is not a serious problem if they cannot speak in English.
- 2) As it has been already mentioned so far that language policy and planning in Indonesia have been successful. However, the status of English as a foreign language brings about specific problems in fact. The teaching-learning processes of EFL have not been academically successful yet as most learners and parents do not have positive attitude toward English. As the result, many EFL programs are not in high successes academically and communicatively yet.
- 3) That is right, because the teaching-learning processes of EFL multilingual societies such as in Indonesia and/or other countries have various forms and behaviors of cultural items and their applications. Therefore, relevant and the specific socio-cultural aspects and academic purposes should be highly considered in order that the programs of EFL learning can be operationally and academically held.
- 4) The curriculum and learning materials of EFL should be based on the standard variety because it is impossible to bring all language varieties into practical classrooms. In addition, the standard variety contains prescriptive norms which can be assigned as "right and wrong". Such dichotomy is needed in the curriculum and in learning materials.
- 5) The followings are the pedagogical reasons to say that EFL teaching and learning need standard varieties of English.
 - a. The learners of EFL need prescriptive norms of language, particularly at elementary and intermediate levels;
 - b. It is very difficult and time consuming to bring all English variations into formal and practical classrooms of EFL;
 - c. Language programs of EFL have limited time and certain targets. So that, all aspects of learning materials should be academically selected. In this case, standard varieties may be fulfilled the needs;EFL learning needs pedagogical conditions in which the learners are in suitable levels of having certain materials of learning. The complexity of learning materials can be consulted with the standard varieties of the learnt language.

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Language Change

Dr. Refnaldi, M.Litt.



INTRODUCTION

Congratulation! You have successfully finished Module 7. Welcome to Module 8. This module deals with language change. Due to its broad coverage, the materials and discussion of language change can be easily packed into one module. Thus, we need to limit our discussion on the main issues related to the key concepts of language change, aspects of language change and the relationship between language change and language teaching. After finishing this module, you are kindly expected to be able to:

1. explain and provide some examples of the key concepts of language change;
2. explain and critically argue the causes of language change;
3. explain and provide some examples of social network;
4. analyze the external aspects of language change;
5. analyze the internal aspects of language change;
6. explain and critically argue the role of language change in English language teaching.

To achieve these objectives systematically, the materials of this module are presented respectively as follow:

1. Unit 1: Key Concepts of Language Change
2. Unit 2: Aspects of Language Change
3. Unit 3: Language Change and English Language Teaching

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, reading activities and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are kindly suggested to do in order to learn this module successfully.

1. Please read carefully the materials and explanation in each unit.

2. Then, read further related references and information by means of independent learning and reading.
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have discussion in groups or in pairs.
4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, read the materials again and you may have comparative discussion with your partners.
5. Do all the exercises and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided!

All right students, do your best and good luck!

UNIT 1

Key Concepts of Language Change

A. DEFINITIONS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

1. Definitions and Examples

My grandparents did not talk the way I talk. For example, my mother's father never used the Minangkabaunese word *piriang* referring to a plate. Instead, he always said *cipia*. My mother said the same word; however, I have never said that word, and even in childhood I considered it strange. Other today's young people also have very likely noticed that their parents or their grandparents speak or spoke a little differently from them. And, if they have children or grandchildren, they have almost certainly heard their children saying things that they would never say. Everywhere we can observe that we might find differences in speech between the generations. Each generation speaks a little differently because our language is always changing. And not just our language: every language is always changing. There is no such thing as a living language that fails to change. This is a piece of truth on which we can rely absolutely.

The example illustrated above, again, shows that languages always change. On a personal level, in day-to-day communication; however, this may not be easily apparent or obvious. We are so intimately connected to our language that we may fail to see its changes, in much the same way that our closeness to our children obscures perception of their development. But languages do indeed change. Some languages flourish and expand and some languages die. The above illustration depicts how the communication pattern in one family shifts from one language to another until communication between generations becomes difficult or ceases altogether. This is often the case in immigrant families as the children integrate into mainstream society and begin to lose their home language. Another example of language change is the observation in Pohnpei that the "high language" of respect used by the royal clan and also to address them is slowly dying out with a diminishing number of people capable of speaking it (Tawerilmang 1996).

There is a widespread legend about a remarkable village, as quoted in Trask (2010: 1), in the Appalachians or in Derbyshire or somewhere distant from London and New York, where the locals still speak pure and unchanged

Elizabethan English. It does not exist. Nobody on earth has spoken Elizabethan English since the time of Queen Elizabeth I, around 400 years ago. Similarly, there is nobody alive today who speaks Minagkabaunese English the way Yahya Datuak Kayo spoke it, or the way Syekh Djamil Djambek spoke it, or the way Agus Salim spoke it, or the way Buya Hamka spoke it.

What is the coloured stuff that women sometimes put on their cheeks called? The first recorded English name for this stuff is 'paint', recorded from 1660. In those days, both men and women of certain social classes painted their faces: you may have seen the garishly painted faces of the dandies in portraits of the time. In 1753, a new word appeared in English: 'rouge'. The first writer to use this French word thought it necessary to explain to his readers that rouge was the same thing as paint. But rouge soon displaced paint, and it remained the usual English word for around two centuries. In the 1950s, 'rouge' was the only word anybody ever used. Then, in 1965, an advertisement coined a new word for the product: 'blusher'. This word has gradually displaced 'rouge'. When English people recently heard a fashionable young woman call it 'rouge', they almost fell over with astonishment because they had not heard anyone use the word for decades, and associated it with styles which were already ancient (Trask, 2010:2).

The example illustrated above shows that language change results from the differential propagation of linguistic variants distributed among the linguistic repertoires of communicatively interacting individuals in a given community. In addition, Michael (2015:484) says that language change is socially mediated in two important ways. First, since language change is a social-epidemiological process that takes place by propagating some aspect of communicative practice across socially structured networks, the organization of social groups can affect how variants propagate. It is known, for example, that densely connected social networks tend to be resistant to innovations, whereas more sparsely connected ones are more open to them. Second, social and cultural factors, such as language ideologies, can encourage the propagation of particular variants at the expense of others in particular contexts, likewise contributing to language change.

2. Universals of Change and Directionality Constraints

Most of the time, historical linguists are occupied with the business of describing language change, which is quite a challenging task in itself, given

that change is so difficult to observe. But ultimately we would also like to understand language change to the extent possible, or in other words, we want to answer why-questions such as “Why does language structure change in the way it does?”, “Why do languages change at all?”, “What motivates the occurrence of language change?” and so on.

Linguists working on particular languages are also often interested in particular why-questions such as the question “Why did the Romance languages lose the Latin case inflections?”. But unfortunately, particular why-questions of this kind are for most practical purposes unanswerable. The number of factors affecting language change is so enormous and we can control only so few of them that most change events must appear to us as historical accidents. Latin could have kept its cases, even with all the phonological erosion that made them difficult to distinguish, simply by applying morphological changes serving to preserve the case contrasts. Or Latin could even have developed more cases the way Hungarian and Finnish did. It so happened that it lost its cases, and trying to understand this unique historical event typically leads to frustration. In general, understanding requires that we identify non-accidental phenomena, and for understanding language change, this means that we have to find universals of language change (Haspelmath, 2004: 18).

To illustrate what Haspelmath means by universals of language change, a few random examples of proposed universals of language change (of different degrees of generality) are given in (1).

(1) a. Survival of the Frequent (“Unmarked”)

(e.g. Winter, 1971; Wurzel, 1994)

When a grammatical distinction is given up, it is the more frequent category that survives.

(e.g. plural forms survive when dual/plural distinction is lost).

b. Sound Alternations Result from Sound Change

(phonetics > phonology; *morphology > phonology)

c. From Space to Time (e.g. Haspelmath, 1997b)

(spatial > temporal marker; *(temporal > spatial marker)

d. From Something to Nothing (e.g. Haspelmath, 1997a)

‘something’ > ‘nothing’ (*‘nothing’ > ‘something’)

e. From Esses to Aitches: s > h (*h > s) (e.g. Ferguson, 1990)

These are all general laws which we can potentially explain, and when we have such an explanation, we can apply it to individual instances of these universals. For example, we might want to say that the universal "Survival of the Frequent" is explained with reference to the cognitive notion of frequency-induced entrenchment (Bybee, 1985: 119): A frequent linguistic unit is remembered better because frequency of exposure leads to greater memory strength. When a distinction is given up, only the most entrenched category survives. Now let us take an individual instance of the Survival of the Frequent, say, the fact that when the Classical Greek dual/plural distinction was given up, only the plural forms survived. The plural was more frequent than the dual (Greenberg, 1966: 31-37), so this change is in line with the universal, and if we want to know why the plural rather than the dual survived in Greek, we can appeal to the explanation that we just gave. So in this sense we can say that a particular change was explained after all; but of course the explanation of the particular change has nothing particular about it. We cannot explain why this changed happened in Greek but not, say, in Slovene (where the old dual survived), and we cannot explain why it happened two and a half millennia ago rather than a thousand years later or a thousand years earlier. So wherever we can understand structural change, it is really universals of structural change that we understand. But unless we know whether a given instance of change is part of a larger trend, we do not know whether there is anything to explain.

Now when we look at reasonably robust universals of language change, we see that many of them take the form of directionality constraints. Of the five examples in (1) four have the form "A can change into Y, but Y cannot change into X". Especially in phonology, it is easy to find cases of this type, and I list a few more in (2).

- (2) a. [k] > [g] (*[g] > [k])
 b. [p] > [f] (*[f] > [p])
 c. [u] > [y] (*[y] > [u])
 d. [z] > [r] (*[r] > [z])
 e. [ts] > [s] (*[s] > [ts])
 f. [l] > [w] (*[w] > [l])

So quite a few sound changes appear to be unidirectional, but there are of course also bidirectional sound changes, such as those in (3). Some of these changes are more likely in some positions than in others, and maybe a

more fine-grained description of the type of change would reveal a directionality tendency in some of these cases as well.

- (3) a. [t] > [θ] and [θ] > [t]
 b. [o] > [a] and [a] > [o]
 c. [i] > [ʔ] and [ʔ] > [i]
 d. [au] > [o] and [o] > [au]
 e. [b] > [v] and [v] > [b]

Thus, it is an empirical question whether a type of sound change is unidirectional or not. Even though many linguists (including Haspelmath) are not aware of any extensive discussion of this issue in the theoretical literature on phonological change, as Ferguson (1990) observes, every linguist with some experience in diachronic phonology has the intuition that there are often directionality constraints at work. Ferguson (1990: 59-60) says that one of the most powerful tools in the armamentarium of linguists engaged in the study of diachronic phonology is the often implicit notion that some changes are phonetically more likely than others. Thus if a linguist finds a systematic correspondence between [g] and [dʒ] in two related language varieties, it will be reasonable to assume that the stop is the older variant and the affricate the younger one until strong counter evidence is found. The linguist makes such an assumption because experience with many languages has shown that the change of [g] to [dʒ] is fairly common and tends to occur under certain well-documented conditions whereas the reverse change is unusual and problematic.

Ferguson goes on to observe that this powerful tool of directionality constraints is not generally covered in textbooks or handbooks of phonology or historical linguistics. These typically include taxonomies of attested sound changes and introduce technical terms like lenition, assimilation, syncope and epenthesis, but they usually do not say what an impossible change is, or which changes are ubiquitous and which ones are exceedingly rare. For synchronic universals in phoneme systems, we have Maddieson's (1984) handbook with inventories of 317 languages. Diachronic phonology, whether theoretically oriented or primarily interested in reconstructing particular protolanguages, would profit enormously from having a handbook of attested sound changes in the world's languages. Such a handbook would make it possible to identify constraints on possible sound changes, and many of the most interesting constraints will no doubt be directionality constraints. After

all, that [u] presumably never changes to [a] in one step, or that [l] never changes to [b], is not surprising, whereas the unidirectionality of the [u] > [y] change and the [l] > [w] change is much harder to explain. There are also some clear tendencies of lexical semantic change (e.g. 'cup' can change to 'head' and 'head' can change to 'chief', but the opposite changes are extremely unlikely).

Once we are confident that we have a universal directionality constraint in some domain, the question arises as to how it should be explained. If the source structure and the target structure are similar enough so that one change into the other gradually and often imperceptibly, why can't they change in either direction? This issue is beginning to be addressed by researchers working in the area of grammaticalization (e.g. Lehmann, 1993; Haspelmath, 1999), and this discussion could profit from analogous discussions in the other subfields of linguistics.

3. Causes of Language Change

For centuries, people have speculated about the causes of language change. The problem is not one of thinking up possible causes, but of deciding which to take seriously. Scientists are overwhelmed by the number of possible theories which come to mind in his work on certain sciences. They did a limitless number of hypotheses before they came to the conclusion about what actually happened. A similar problem faces linguists as Ohala (1974: 269) noted: 'Linguists are a marvellously clever bunch of scholars; there is really no limit to the imaginative, elegant, and intellectually satisfying hypotheses they can dream up to account for observed linguistic behaviour.'

In the past, language change has been attributed to a bewildering variety of factors ranging over almost every aspect of human life, physical, social, mental and environmental. At one time, for example, there was a suggestion that consonant changes begin in mountain regions due to the intensity of expiration in high altitudes. The connection with geographical or climatic conditions is clear because nobody will deny that residence in the mountains, especially in the high mountains, stimulates the lungs (Jespersen, 1922: 257). Luckily this theory is easily disprovable, since Danish, spoken in the flat country of Denmark, seems to be independently undergoing a set of extensive consonant changes – unless we attribute the Danish development to the increasing number of Danes who go to Switzerland or Norway for their

summer holidays each year, as one linguist ironically suggested (Aitchison, 2004:134).

Even when we have eliminated the 'lunatic fringe' theories, we are left with an enormous number of possible causes to take into consideration. Part of the problem is that there are several different causative factors at work, not only in language as a whole, but also in any one change. Like a road accident, a language change may have multiple causes. A car crash is only rarely caused by one overriding factor, such as a sudden steering failure, or the driver falling asleep. More often there is a combination of factors, all of which contribute to the overall disaster. Similarly, language change is likely to be due to a combination of factors.

In view of the confusion and controversies surrounding causes of language change, it is not surprising that some reputable linguists have regarded the whole field as a disaster area. Bloomfield (1933) argues that the causes of sound change are unknown. The same tone mentioned by King (1969) saying that many linguists, probably an easy majority, have long since given up enquiring into the why of phonological change. In addition, the pessimism is shown in Harris' (1969) statement that the explanation of the cause of language change is far beyond the reach of any theory ever advanced. This pessimism is unwarranted. Even if we cannot consider all possible causes, we can at least look at a range of causes that have been put forward over the years, and assess their relative value. Aitchison (2004: 135-150) lists four general causes of language change: (i) fashion and random fluctuation, (ii) foreign elements, (iii) social needs, and (iv) politeness.

First, an extreme view held by a minority of linguists is that language change is an entirely random and fortuitous affair, and that fashions in language are as unpredictable as fashions in clothes. As Postal (1968: 283) says that there is no more reason for language to change than there is for automobiles to add fins one year and remove them the next, for jackets to have three buttons one year and two the next, and so on. This quotation illustrates how language is as fashionable and stylish as fashion as it always undergoes changes. He further argues that the causes of sound change without language contact lie in the general tendency of human cultural products to undergo 'non-functional' stylistic change. Another similar view of language change is that random fluctuations occur subconsciously, as sounds gradually drift from their original pronunciation. A theory that speakers accidentally 'miss the target' was prevalent in the 1950s,

popularized by Hockett who suggested that when we utter a speech sound, we are aiming at a certain ideal target. But since words are usually comprehensible even if every sound is not perfectly articulated, speakers often get quite careless, and do not trouble too much about hitting the 'bull's-eye' each time (Hockett, 1958: 440).

Second, perhaps, the majority of changes are due to the chance infiltration of foreign elements, and perhaps, the most widespread version of this view is the so-called substratum theory -- the suggestion that when immigrants come to a new area, or when an indigenous population learns the language of newly arrived conquerors, they learn their adopted language imperfectly. They hand on these slight imperfections to their children and to other people in their social circle, and eventually alter the language (2004: 137). In addition to substratum theory, sometimes immigrants attempt to overcorrect what they feel to be a faulty accent, resulting not only in a movement away from the substratum language, but also in a change in the adopted language. Labov (1972: 171) found an interesting example of this phenomenon in New York. He noticed a tendency among lower-class New Yorkers to pronounce a word such as *door* as if it were really *doer* [dʊə] (rhyming with *sewer*). At first he was puzzled by this finding. When he looked more closely, he found that this pronunciation was related to ethnic groupings. He discovered that it was most prominent in the speech of youngish lower-class people of Jewish and Italian extraction, and suggested that this may be a case of children reacting against their parents.

In addition, Thomason (2003) argues that foreign material, transferred from one language to another, also includes three obvious types of change. First, some changes that occur in some cases of slow language death fall into the category of attrition—loss of linguistic material—but do not make the dying language more similar to the language that is replacing it; these are nevertheless contact-induced changes by my definition. Second, intentional linguistic changes, for instance in cases where a speech community deliberately distances its language from neighboring languages, are contact-induced but do not involve diffusion. And third, some changes occur as an indirect result of interference, typically when a borrowed morpheme sets off a chain reaction that has a snowballing effect on the receiving language's structure.

Third, the widely held view on sociolinguistic causes of language change involves the notion of need. Language alters as the needs of its users alter, it

is claimed, a viewpoint that is sometimes referred to as a functional view of language change. This is an attractive notion. Need is certainly relevant at the level of vocabulary. Unneeded words drop out: items of clothing which are no longer worn such as *doublet* or *kirtle* are now rarely mentioned outside a theatrical setting. New words are coined as they are required. In every decade, neologisms abound. A *twigloo* is 'a tree-house'. A *netizen* is a 'net citizen', a keen user of the Internet. *Tivocking* 'taking without the owner's consent' is car theft. These words all became widely used recently (Ayto, 1999). Names of people and objects are switched if the old ones seem inadequate. The word *blind* rarely occurs in official documents, and tends to be replaced by the 'politically correct' phrase *visually challenged*, which is supposedly less offensive to those who cannot see. The introduction of slang terms can also be regarded as a response to a kind of need. When older words have become over-used and lose their impact, new vivid ones are introduced in their place. As Colwin (1979) says that slang is language that takes off its coat, spits on its hands, and goes to work.

Sometimes, however, social needs can trigger a more widespread change than the simple addition of new vocabulary items. Let us look at some situations in which social factors have apparently led to more widespread disruption. Consider sentences such as in (4) and (5):

- (4) Dodi downed a pint of beer
- (5) Melisa went to town and did a buy.

English, we note, lacks a simple means of saying 'to do something in one fell swoop'. This may be why the word *down* in (4) can be converted into a verb to mean 'drink down in one gulp', and the word *buy* in (5) into a noun which, when combined with the verb *do*, means 'go on a single massive spending spree'. This type of fastmoving, thorough activity may represent a change in the pace of life, which is in turn reflected in the language, since we increasingly make use of conversions – the conversion of one part of speech into another. If this trend continues, the eventual result may be complete interchangeability of items such as nouns and verbs, which were once kept rigidly apart.

Fourth, finally, language change is motivated by politeness because humans are usually polite to one another, partly because polite behaviour gets better results than rudeness. Consider the sentences in (6) to (8) below.

- (6) This bill should be paid by return of post.

- (7) Prompt payment would be appreciated.
 (8) We order you to pay immediately.

Someone would be more likely to pay an outstanding bill when prompted by the sentences in (6) and (7), than by a blunt command as in (8).

Based on the sentences in (6) to (8), two observations can be made: first, humans all over the world are polite in similar ways. Second, politeness can affect the structure of the language. Therefore, we find similar changes induced by politeness in different parts of the world. This is particularly noticeable in the pronoun system. Plural 'you' becoming singular polite 'you' is perhaps the most widespread 'politeness' change. Many languages have at least two forms of a pronoun meaning 'you', a singular, and a plural. However, the plural form is widely felt to be more deferential. In numerous languages the plural 'you' has become the polite 'you', while the singular 'you' has become the familiar and intimate 'you', spoken to family, close friends and children. Its use to strangers is regarded as odd and offensive.

B. VARIATION AND CHANGE

1. The Social Basis for Linguistic Variation

Variation in language can be defined as a non-standard form of language in addition to its standard form. It happens because the performance of different speakers, and the same speaker in different contexts, can vary quite a lot. For example, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 6) say that speakers in some areas of the Midwestern United States might utter sentences such as "The car needs washed" while others would say "The cars needs to be washed" or "The car needs washing". Further, an individual speaker might use all three of these constructions at different times. These different structures for expressing the same meaning are called variants. No one speaks the same way all the time, and people constantly exploit variation within the languages they speak for a wide variety of purposes.

Variation in language is most readily observed in the vernacular of everyday life. For example, a teenager says: "that were like sick"; an elderly man recounting a story to his granddaughter says: "you was always workin' in them days". Are these utterances mistakes? Are they slang? Are they instances of dialect? A variationist sociolinguist views such instances of language in use as an indication of the variable but rule-governed behavior

typical of all natural speech varieties. The vernacular was first defined as “the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech” (Labov, 1972:208).

Variation in language can be observed just about everywhere from a conversation we overhear on the street to a story we read in the newspaper. Sociolinguists notice such variations too. In undertaking sustained analysis, what they discover is that people will use one form and then another for more or less the same meaning all the time the language varies. The harder part is to find the order, or the system, in the variation chaos. The way a variationist sociolinguist undertakes this is by means of the “linguistic variable”. A linguistic variable is the alternation of forms, or “layering” of forms, in language. The basic definition of linguistic variable is “two or more ways of saying the same thing” (Tagliamonte, 2012: 2). The more nuanced, early, definition also mentions that linguistic variables should be structural and “integrated into a larger system of functioning units” (Labov, 1972:8).

The linguistic equivalence of the variants of a linguistic variable is evident in a comparison of any paired variants, as, for instance:

- (9) a. Andika saw hisself in the mirror.
 b. Andika seen hisself in the mirror.

These utterances differ with respect to two morphological variables: (i) the verb *see* is represented in (9a) by *saw*, the strong form of the past tense, and in (9b) by *seen*, and (ii) the reflexive pronoun takes the form *himself* in (9a) and *hisself* in (9b). In spite of these differences, the two sentences convey exactly the same grammatical meaning and everyone who speaks English with even minimal competence recognizes their semantic identity.

The sentences do, however, convey very different social meanings as a direct result of their morphological variants. That is, they carry sociolinguistic significance. The sentence in (9a), with its standard forms, is emblematic of middle-class, educated, or relatively formal speech, while the sentence in (9b) is emblematic of working-class, uneducated, or highly colloquial (vernacular) speech. These differences will also be readily recognized by virtually every speaker of the language.

The social evaluations associated with these two sentences are conventional, and they appear to have no deeper sources than other types of social conventions, such as the convention in western nations that women precede men when they enter a room together on formal occasions, or that

people clasp one another's right hands on being introduced to one another (Chambers, 2003: 2). In fact, the analogy with etiquette can be taken further, because standard speech as exemplified by the sentence in (9a) is associated with 'good manners' in many settings, such as schools, white-collar work environments, and cultural institutions, whereas the sentence in (9b) conveys 'bad manners' in those same settings. Someone uttering the sentence in (9b) in response to a teacher's question might be regarded as rude, as would a man preceding his female partner into a banquet hall. Someone uttering the sentence in (9b) at the intermission of a play might be regarded as rough and unschooled, as would a man who failed to extend his right hand on being introduced to another man.

The sentences in (9) suggests that variation in language may reveal someone's social status or identity. In other words, the language used informs its user's identity. The term 'identity' has been regarded by Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 3) as a key concept in studies of youth language, and youth is also one of the social variables in studying linguistic variation. Earlier, Pujolar (2001:7) has pointed out that the use of particular speech varieties in the context of youth culture is an important part of the processes whereby young people construct their views about the world and their relationships amongst themselves and with other social groups. A lot of studies have been done concerning the language variation used by youth. Eckert (2000) and Kerswill (1996) reported the youth's preference for local varieties and variants. At the lexical level, Bloomfield (1984) found that young people are very fond of using slang. In particular, heavy use of taboo words, discourse markers and certain processes of word-formation and formal modification, such as clipping or syllable reordering, are often seen as typical features of youth speech.

Another interesting study on language variation involves gender differences. Kallmeyer and Keim (2003:32) reported that in in-group situations, when talking to one another, the girls of Turkish origin often use a German-Turkish language mixture even in the presence of members with another linguistic background. Depending upon the partner, the context, and the topic of communication, this in-group variety presents phases, where one of the languages, German or Turkish, can be described as the matrix language with many cases of transfer (e.g., borrowed terms, formulas, formulaic expressions, proverbs) from German or Turkish, respectively. These transfers are clearly marked as insertions or code-switchings, prosodically,

phonetically, and lexically. Such clearly marked cases of language variation, where from one point onwards a speaker changes the language or where a clearly contrasting construction from another language is inserted into a matrix language, could be described with code-switching models. In these cases, one language plays the dominant and the other a subordinate role.

Meanwhile, Maltz and Borker (1982:5-7) argue that girls use language to (i) create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality; (ii) criticize others in acceptable ways; and (iii) interpret accurately the speech of other girls. On the other hand, boys use language to (i) assert their position and dominance; (ii) attract and maintain an audience; and (iii) assert themselves when others have the floor. Besides, girls' talk is said to be non-hierarchical, co-operative and non-competitive, and to reflect intimacy, loyalty and commitment, while boys' talk is characterized by a hierarchical structure and power, briefly competitiveness and lack of cooperation.

The fact that boys' language differs from girls' language is in many respects supported by research reported in the relatively few studies of teenage language. In her study of the language of boys and girls in her "reading" data, Cheshire (1982:110), for instance, found not only that boys and girls used different linguistic features but also that they used them differently. For example, negative concord and *ain't* were more often used by boys than by girls. Eckert (1988: 67) discovered gender differences in pronunciation as well as grammar among the Jocks and Burnouts in her study of teenagers in the Detroit area, and argues that "the use of nonstandard grammar can reflect rejection of mainstream society and identification with the local non-mainstream community". Kotsinas (1994) cited in Stenstrom (2003: 95), who based her observations on conversational data from two socially distinct Stockholm suburbs, emphasizes that teenagers vary their language depending on the situation, and when it is a question of marking group belonging in particular. This, she says, is manifested, for example, in features of pronunciation and choice of vocabulary. Holmes (1995:56, 61) discusses the role of feedback in female and male spoken interaction by pointing to two separate studies of teenage talk. One is a study by Jenkins and Cheshire (1990) of secondary school discussion groups, which showed that, even if the distribution of minimal responses was fairly even, the boys used responses as an attempt to take the turn, while the girls used them to give support. The other is a study by Gilbert (1990) of New Zealand secondary school teenagers, which showed that the girls provided more

positive feedback than the boys in single-sex groups, but that there were no gender differences in mixed-sex groups.

The facts elaborated above show that language variation is a social phenomenon that can be found in every language. This variation is motivated by the fact that nobody speaks the same way all the time as they speak differently to the different people and in different contexts. In other words, it is determined by social variables, and the use of certain variation can determine the social status of the speaker.

2. Theorizing Variation and Language Change

Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) observed that theories of language assuming linguistic variation to be noise or meaningless divergence from some ideal synchronically homogeneous linguistic state – to be eliminated by ‘averaging’ or ‘abstraction’ – encounter profound difficulties in accounting for language change. In response to structuralist and generative theories that make problematic assumptions of this sort, Weinreich et al. argued that languages are not essentially homogeneous entities that are encumbered by an uninteresting overlay of random variation, but are rather dynamically organized by an ‘orderly heterogeneity’, in which variants are distributed throughout a speech community in socially-patterned ways (e.g. with respect to age and socio-economic class). Language change, they argued, emerges from this orderly heterogeneity as increasing numbers of individuals in a speech community employ a particular competing variant within this organized linguistic heterogeneity, and after a period in which two or more variants are in use, cease using the former variant(s).

In recent years, further theorization of this basic picture has taken up by evolutionary approaches to language change (e.g. Croft, 2000; Keller, 1994; Mufwene, 2001, 2008; Ritt, 2004), based on generalized accounts of evolutionary processes that abstract from the particulars of biological evolution so that processes of cultural change, including linguistic change, can be analyzed in evolutionary terms (Hull, 1988; Hull et al., 2001). These approaches see language change as arising from the differential replication of linguistic variants, where variants are best understood as the socially-situated communicative competence (Hymes, 1972) related to use of a particular linguistic element. Such competence combines knowledge of the structural characteristics of a linguistic element with its social-indexical properties (Thomas, 2011) and the phonetic (e.g. Foulkes and Docherty, 2006) or morphosyntactic elements (e.g. Plug, 2010) in nature.

Evolutionary approaches to language change consider the replication of linguistic competences to be critically mediated by their actual use to produce the linguistic elements they generate (or their use to interpret the elements produced by others). Significantly, competence use is implicated in two quite different type of replication. In the first type of replication, their use forestalls the decay of competences in the speakers themselves resulting in replication of the speakers' own competence. This can be seen in the works of Ecke (2004), Schmid and Dusseldorp (2010), and Badstubner (2011) on the loss of L1 competence. In the second type of replication, the competence is acquired by a new speaker as a result of being exposed to it, such that the competence is now found both in the original host and a new host. The differential propagation of a variant, leading to language change ultimately depends on both types of replication.

Cross-speaker replication of a given competence thus requires that potential acquirers to be exposed to its use, entailing that this form of replication depends on potential acquirers' social network positions relative to speakers who already possess the competence, and on access to the social contexts in which the given competence is used. Cross-speaker replication is also affected by the social-indexical properties of the linguistic elements generated by the competence, since these properties play a crucial role in the frequency with which – and circumstances in which – they are used, as mediated in part by the perceived social efficacy of the element in question. Language change emerges, then, as the result of individual choices (at varying degrees of consciousness) to use particular variants, motivated by individual interactional goals that, by invisible hand processes, lead to large-scale changes in the distribution of variants in a speech community (Keller, 1994: 90–107).

The final general factor to consider, implicated in the efficacy of connections in social networks as transmitters of variants, is age and its effects on how likely a speaker is to acquire a given competence. Age, in this respect, is perhaps not a 'social' phenomenon as such, but nevertheless has an indirect social effect in introducing acquisition asymmetries into social networks.

C. SOCIAL NETWORKS

1. The Concept of Social Network

An individual's social network is straightforwardly the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, and social network analysis examines the differing structures and properties of these relationships. Such analysis has been applied by variationists fairly extensively over the last three decades or so to explicate informal social mechanisms supporting language varieties specific to particular social groups. Researchers have also addressed the question of how some social groups maintain nonstandard dialects or minority languages, often over centuries, despite pressures to adopt publicly legitimized national languages or varieties (Milroy and Llamas, 2013: 409).

Social network is better treated as a means of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers' interactional behaviors than as a fixed social category. Given that the ties contracted by individuals within and between speech communities may change for many reasons, analysis of change in the operation of the social network mechanisms that support localized linguistic codes can illuminate the phenomenon of linguistic change. Network-oriented accounts of linguistic change have emerged both in variationist studies of contemporary speech communities and as post hoc sociohistorical studies of changes completed at earlier stages of the language (Bergs, 2005; Eckert, 2000; Fitzmaurice, 2007; Marshall, 2004; Milroy, 1992; Milroy and Milroy, 1985; Nevalainen, 2000; Sairio, 2009; Tiekens-Boon van Ostadè, 2000).

Some recent analyses build on Milroy's proposal that, along with network content and structure, attitudinal factors provide a basis for measurement of speakers' integration into the community (Milroy, 1987: 140). Sensitivity to aspects of speaker agency, attitude, or orientation aligns social network analysis somewhat more closely with the communities of practice model, although social network accounts of groups or communities are generally rather more abstract – referring, for example, to locality, region, or group of language users. However, a partial convergence of the two approaches can be seen in some recent studies which have utilized the friendship network as a means of grouping speakers; a method which, to some extent, falls between the social network and the community of practice approaches. The examples can be seen in the works on ethnic varieties among adolescent speakers by Fox (2010), Cheshire, Fox, Kerswill, and Torgersen (2008), and Gabrielatòs, Torgersen, Hoffmann, and Fox (2010).

Social network analysis of the kind employed by variationists was developed by social anthropologists mainly during the 1960s and 1970s (Milroy, 1987; Li, 1996; Johnson, 1994). Scholars from many different disciplines employ the concept for a range of theoretical and practical reasons. Personal social networks are always seen as contextualized within a macro-level social framework, which is “bracketed off” for purely methodological reasons – that is, to focus on less abstract modes of analysis capable of accounting more immediately for the variable behavior of individuals. Since no one claims that personal network structure is independent of broader social, economic, or political frameworks constraining individual behavior, a social network analysis of language variation does not compete with an analysis in terms of a macro-level concept such as social class.

A fundamental postulate of network analysis is that individuals create personal communities which provide a meaningful framework for solving the problems of daily life (Mitchell, 1986:74). These personal communities are constituted by interpersonal ties of different types and strengths, and structural relationships between links can vary. Particularly, the persons to whom ego is linked may also be tied to each other to varying degrees – ego being the person who, for analytic reasons, forms the “anchor” of the network. A further postulate with particular relevance to language maintenance or change is that structural and content differences between networks impinge critically on the way they directly affect ego. Particularly, if a network consists chiefly of strong ties, and those ties are multiplex or many-stranded, and if the network is also relatively dense – that is, many of ego’s ties are linked to each other – then such a network has the capacity to support its members in both practical and symbolic ways. More negatively, such a network type can impose unwanted and stressful constraints on its members. Thus, we come to the basic point of using network analysis in variationist research. Networks constituted chiefly of strong (dense and multiplex) ties support localized linguistic norms, resisting pressures to adopt competing external norms. By the same token, if these ties weaken, conditions favorable to language change are produced. The idealized maximally dense and multiplex network is shown in Figure 8.1 in contrast with a loose-knit, uniplex type of network shown in Figure 8.2.

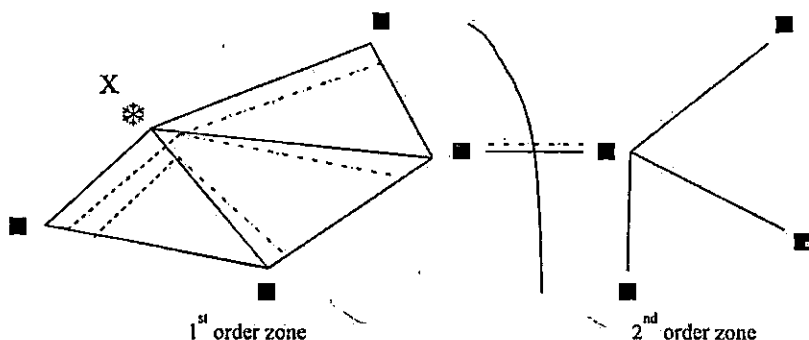


Figure 8.1

High-density, multiplex personal network structure, showing first and second order zones (Milroy and Llamas, 2013:411)

A social network may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely. Indeed, the term “social network” is now more commonly associated with the web-based service where users interact over the internet. Research on online social networks can be seen, for example, in the works done by Garton, Haythornthwaite, and Wellman (1997) and Paolillo (2001). However, sociolinguistic research has generally focused on face-to-face interaction, and usually on first-order network ties – that is, those persons with whom an individual directly interacts. Second-order ties are those to whom the link is indirect, as shown also in Figure 8.1. Within the first-order zone, it is important to distinguish between “strong” and “weak” ties of everyday life – roughly ties which connect friends or kin as opposed to those which connect acquaintances. To supplement the notions of multiplexity and density, Milardo (1988: 26-36) distinguishes “exchange” from “interactive” networks. Exchange networks consist of persons such as kin and close friends with whom ego not only interacts regularly but also exchanges direct aid, advice, criticism, and support. Interactive networks, on the other hand, consist of persons with whom ego interacts frequently and perhaps over prolonged periods of time but on whom he or she does not rely for material or symbolic resources. An example of an interactive tie would be that between a store owner and customer. In addition to exchange and interactive ties, Li (1994) distinguishes a “passive” tie, which seems particularly

important to migrant or mobile individuals. Passive ties entail absence of regular contact, but are valued as a source of influence and moral support. Examples are physically distant relatives or friends.

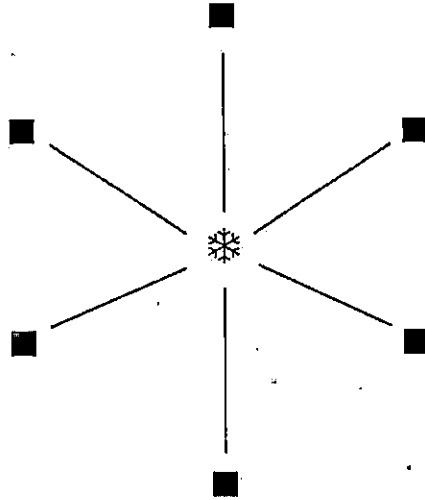


Figure 8.2
Low-density, uniplex personal network structure
(Milroy and Llamas, 2013:411)

Social network can contribute to language maintenance, shift, and change. Milroy and Llamas (2013: 416) say that networks constituted chiefly of strong ties function as a mechanism to support minority languages, resisting institutional pressures to language shift, but when these networks weaken, language shift is likely to take place. This implies that social networks can be constituted of either strong ties or weak ties corresponding to Milardo's (1988) interactive and exchange networks. Following Granovetter's (1973) argument that weak and apparently insignificant interpersonal ties (of "acquaintance" as opposed to "friend," for example) are important channels through which innovation and influence flow from one close-knit group to another, Milroy and Milroy (1985) proposed that linguistic innovators are likely to be individuals positioned to contract many weak ties. Since weak ties link close-knit groups to each other and to the larger regional or national speech community, they are likely to figure prominently in a socially accountable theory of linguistic diffusion and change.

2. Social Network, Social Class, and Mobility

The weak tie model of change elaborated above can illuminate dynamics of dialect leveling — that is the eradication of socially or locally marked variants (both within and between linguistic systems) in conditions of social or geographical mobility and resultant dialect contact. Leveling might reasonably be viewed as a linguistic reflex of the large-scale disruption, endemic in the modern world, of close-knit, localized networks which have historically maintained highly systematic and complex sets of socially structured linguistic norms. Such disruption arises from (for example) internal and/transnational migration, war, industrialization, and urbanization. While these dynamics have operated earlier and more intensively in colonial contexts, as discussed by Chambers within a broad social network framework (2009:65-66), they continue to affect geographically or socially mobile populations. In any event, leveling gives rise to simplification, and a tendency for the localized norms of the kind supported by a close-knit network structure to become obliterated (Britain, 1997, 2010; Kerswill, 2003; Watt and Milroy, 1999). This process raises interesting psycholinguistic as well as sociolinguistic issues concerning the functions of close-knit networks.

On the basis of evidence from language attitudes research, sociolinguists generally assume an ideological motivation to underlie the long-term maintenance of often stigmatized norms in the face of pressures from numerically or socially more powerful speech communities; speakers want to sound (for example) Welsh, Irish, Northern English, New Zealandish, Canadian, African-American, American Southern and unlike whatever social group they perceive themselves as contrasting with. The dialect loyalty of such speakers and their resistance to change originating from outside the group is usually said to be motivated by their desire to index group identity. This socioindexical function of forms has recently been examined experimentally with attention to social network structure and the perceptual relevance of rhythm among Maori English and Pakeha English speakers in New Zealand (Szakay, 2008). Listeners who were more closely integrated into Maori social networks are reported to be significantly better at using rhythm to cue ethnicity than those who were less integrated. Szakay thus demonstrates the role the social network plays in accounting not only for variable frequency of forms used but also for speakers' accuracy in identifying ingroup and outgroup members.

While attitudes and awareness of social indexicality play a key role in the persistence of localized forms, the motivations to index group identity alone are insufficient to maintain nonstandard varieties reliably. Relevant here is Payne's (1980) demonstration of the social conditions needed for children to learn the highly localized phonolexical complexities of the Philadelphia system; particularly, their parents needed to be locally born for such learning to take place. What this amounts to is that, if a close-knit community network structure loosens and members become mobile, the social prerequisites for supporting highly localized norms disappear and dialect leveling takes place. Thus, not only does a community's sense of distinctiveness become redundant as network ties loosen (a social and ideological issue) but, from a psycholinguistic perspective, speakers lack the extensive and regular input needed to maintain localized norms.

Such norms are sometimes complex; for example, Belfast speakers whose networks are relatively loose-knit reduce the number of linguistically conditioned allophones of /a/ by eliminating the extreme back and front variants characteristic of the vernacular system, often converging on a very narrow area of vowel around the centre of the vernacular range (Milroy 1982; Milroy, 1999). Thus, close-knit networks may be viewed not only as social and sociolinguistic support mechanisms which facilitate the construction and maintenance of local distinctiveness; from the point of view of the language learner, they also provide the intensive input required to master complex, localized linguistic structures which lack the support of institutional models. For example, Docherty, Foulkes, Tillotson, and Watt (2006) document the daunting (socio) linguistic complexity encountered by infants acquiring the phonology of their ambient Tyneside dialect. Leveling, which from this cognitive perspective can be viewed as a simplification strategy, takes place when such input is no longer present.

We conclude by considering the links between mobility, social network structure, and social class. Following Giddens (1989: 205–273), class is viewed as one of four systems of stratification which promote inequality in society. While the other three (slavery, caste, and estates) depend on institutionally sanctioned inequalities, class divisions are not officially recognized, and since an individual's class position is to some extent achieved, class stratification is accompanied by varying degrees of mobility. Issues of power inequalities between groups and individuals are raised in this discussion, which so far have only been touched upon.

Different types of network structure seem to be broadly associated with different social classes: loose-knit networks with the socially and geographically mobile mainly middle classes, and close-knit ties with very low status and very high status speakers. In terms of the predictions of the weak tie model of change discussed above, this association is consistent with Labov's principle that innovating groups are located centrally in the social hierarchy, characterized as lower-middle or upper-working class (Labov, 1980: 254). The question then arises of how an integrated model of change and variation might be constructed which takes account of the relationship between social class and social network structures. Such an integration is desirable, since the association of different network types with different social class groups is not arbitrary but springs from the operation of large-scale social, political, and economic factors (contra Guy (1988), who views network and class as unrelated but pertaining, respectively, to a micro- and macro-level of analysis).

Traditionally, sociolinguistics has assumed a consensus model of class, where the community is said to be fundamentally cohesive and self-regulating. Yet, the vitality and persistence of nonstandard vernacular communities highlighted by network studies is more readily interpreted as evidence of conflict and division than of consensus. Accordingly, Milroy and Milroy (1993) argue that a dynamic model of class as a process which splits the community into subgroups (characterized by different orientations to work, leisure, and family) is helpful in constructing an integrated theory of variation and change.

With the link between social class and network structure as their point of departure, Kerswill and Williams (1999) investigated the relationship between social class, mobility, and susceptibility to change by comparing the language behavior of low- and high-mobility speakers of different social statuses in the English towns of Reading and Milton Keynes. They conclude that network structure has the predicted effect – that is, close-knit networks maintain localized norms, while loose-knit networks facilitate change. However, they argue that the variables of class and network need to be considered independently, given the different language behaviors of mobile high-status and mobile low-status groups. Further light is shed on the links between class and mobility by research currently in progress in the North East of England, which examines differences between members of low-status groups who are classified as either working and mobile (those commuting

within the region) or long-term unemployed and non-mobile. Use of highly localized phonological features rather than supralocal forms, and orientation to highly localized, close-knit communities rather than (sub-) regional centers of gravity are investigated in relation to this widening social division

While the relationship between class, network, and mobility is evident, its precise character is as yet unclear, as are the linguistic outcomes associated with interactions between these social variables. However, since they are constructed at different levels of abstraction, it is likely that a two-level sociolinguistic theory would be helpful. Such a theory should link the small-scale networks, where individuals are embedded and act purposively in their daily lives, with larger scale social structures which determine relationships of power at the institutional level. The different sociolinguistic patterns associated with both strong and weak ties would need to be considered, with attention to recent research on the sociolinguistics of mobility. For while strong ties give rise to a local cohesion of the kind described by network studies of close-knit neighborhoods such as those in Belfast or Detroit, they lead also to overall fragmentation in the wider community. Conversely, it is weak ties that give rise to the linguistic uniformity across large territories such as that described by Chambers in Canada, Labov in the United States, and Trudgill, Gordon, Lewis, and Maclagan (2000) in New Zealand. The social dynamics underlying both diversity and uniformity lie at the core of an accountable theory of language variation and change (Milroy and Llamas, 2013: 422-423).



EXERCISES

Unit 1

Definitions of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) How do you define language change? And give examples illustrating changes in your local language!
- 2) Explain two important ways in which language change is socially mediated!
- 3) Explain the directionality in the following sound changes?
 - a. [k] > [g] (*[g] > [k])
 - b. [f] > [p] and [p] > [f]

- c. [e] > [ə] and [ə] > [e]
- d. [ʃ] > [ç] (*[ç] > [ʃ])
- e. [ai] > [e] (*[e] > [ai])
- f. [aʊ] > [o] and [o] > [aʊ]
- g. [u] > [y] (*[y] > [u])

- 4) Mention the four general causes of language change according to Aitchison (2004)!
- 5) How does need cause language change?

Variation and Change

Exercise

- 1) How is variation in language is mostly observed? And give examples in English!
- 2) How can you analyze the following two sentences?
 - a. I don't like his style.
 - b. Me ain't like him style.
- 3) Mention some social variables causing language variations!
- 4) What is the consideration of evolutionary approaches to language change?
- 5) Explain the idea of the following quotation!

“Language change emerges, then, as the result of individual choices (at varying degrees of consciousness) to use particular variants, motivated by individual interactional goals that, by invisible hand processes, lead to large-scale changes in the distribution of variants in a speech community (Keller, 1994:90–107).”

Social Network

Exercise

- 1) Explain the concept of social network!
- 2) Explain how social network can contribute to language maintenance, shift, and change!
- 3) What do Milardo's (1988) interactive and exchange networks mean?
- 4) Prove that different types of network structure seem to be broadly associated with different social classes!
- 5) How did Kerswill and Williams (1999) investigate the relationship between social class, mobility, and susceptibility? And what was their conclusions?

Key to Exercises**Unit 1****Definitions of Language Change***Exercise*

1) Language change is a result from the differential propagation of linguistic variants distributed among the linguistic repertoires of communicatively interacting individuals in a given community.

Free answer.

2) First, since language change is a social-epidemiological process that takes place by propagating some aspect of communicative practice across socially structured networks, the organization of social groups can affect how variants propagate. It is known, for example, that densely connected social networks tend to be resistant to innovations, whereas more sparsely connected ones are more open to them.

Second, social and cultural factors, such as language ideologies, can encourage the propagation of particular variants at the expense of others in particular contexts, likewise contributing to language change.

3) a. [k] can change into [g], but [g] cannot change into [k]

b. [f] can change into [p], and vice versa

c. [e] can change into [ə], and vice versa

d. [ʃ] can change into [ç], but [ç] cannot change into [ʃ]

e. [ai] can change into [e], but [e] cannot change into [ai]

f. [av] can change into [o], and vice versa

g. [u] can change into [y], but [y] cannot change into [u]

4) (i) fashion and random fluctuation

(ii) foreign elements

(iii) social needs

(iv) politeness

5) Language alters as the needs of its users alter: unneeded words drop out and new words are coined as they are required.

Variation and Change*Exercise*

1) Variation in language is mostly observed in the vernacular of everyday life. Vernacular is the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech.

For example, a teenager says: “that were like sick”; an elderly man recounting a story to his granddaughter says: “you was always workin’ in them days”.

- 2) The two sentences are different in terms of formal and casual variations of language. The sentence in (a) shows a standard English, while the sentence in (b) is a variation of English which is commonly used by teenagers in their informal conversation. The two sentences do not show the example of language change, instead, they show variation in English.
- 3)
 - a. Education level.
 - b. Social status.
 - c. Age.
 - d. Gender.
- 4) Evolutionary approaches to language change consider the replication of linguistic competences to be critically mediated by their actual use to produce the linguistic elements they generate (or their use to interpret the elements produced by others).
- 5) Language change much depends on the interest of people to choose a particular choice and to leave the other to achieve their goal. Besides, language change is caused by the choice of a variation in language which is most preferable by people in a certain speech community.

Social Network

Exercise

- 1) Social network is a means of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers’ interactional behaviors. Social network analysis examines the differing structures and properties of the relationships between individuals. A social network may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely. Indeed, the term “social network” is now more commonly associated with the web-based service where users interact over the internet.
- 2) Networks constituted chiefly of strong ties function as a mechanism to maintain minority languages. However, when these networks weaken, language shift is likely to take place. Furthermore, if weak ties link close-knit groups to each other and to the larger regional or national speech community, then they will be likely to figure prominently in a socially accountable theory of linguistic diffusion and change.

- 3) Interactive network means strong ties social network, while exchange network means weak ties social network.
- 4) Loose-knit networks with the socially and geographically mobile are mainly associated with middle classes, and close-knit ties are mainly associated with very low status and very high status speakers.
- 5) They did it by comparing the language behavior of low- and high-mobility speakers of different social statuses in the English towns of Reading and Milton Keynes.



SUMMARY

Languages always change. On a personal level, in day-to-day communication; however, this may not be easily apparent or obvious. We are so intimately connected to our language that we may fail to see its changes, in much the same way that our closeness to our children obscures perception of their development. But languages do indeed change. Some languages flourish and expand and some languages die. For centuries, people have speculated about the causes of language change. The problem is not one of thinking up possible causes, but of deciding which to take seriously. Aitchison (2004: 135-150) lists four general causes of language change: (i) fashion and random fluctuation, (ii) foreign elements, (iii) social needs, and (iv) politeness.

The four general causes of language change as mentioned by Aitchison are, undoubtedly, motivated by the presence of language variation. Variation in language can be defined as a non-standard form of language in addition to its standard form. It happens because the performance of different speakers, and the same speaker in different contexts, can vary quite a lot. Variation in language is most readily observed in the vernacular of everyday life. Variation in language can be observed just about everywhere from a conversation we overhear on the street to a story we read in the newspaper. In addition, variation in language is motivated by the fact that nobody speaks the same way all the time as they speak differently to the different people and in different contexts. In other words, it is determined by social variables, and the use of certain variation can determine the social status of the speaker.

Variation in language has an indirect social effect in introducing acquisition asymmetries into social networks. Social network is better treated as a means of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers' interactional behaviors than as a fixed social category. A social network

may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely. Indeed, the term "social network" is now more commonly associated with the web-based service where users interact over the internet. Social network can contribute to language maintenance, shift, and change. Networks constituted chiefly of strong ties function as a mechanism to support minority languages, resisting institutional pressures to language shift, but when these networks weaken, language shift is likely to take place.



FORMATIVE TEST 1 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) How do you differentiate language change and variation through the following facts?
 - a. When I came to the office, I heard some people saying 'surat kabar' to refer to 'newspaper'; however, when I was waiting for the bus, I also heard people saying 'koran' to refer to 'newspaper'.
 - b. When I was a teenager, I heard the word 'mengejawantahkan' from the television to refer to 'to apply'. But now, in my 40's, I never heard that word anymore. Instead, I hear people saying 'mengaplikasikan' to refer to 'to apply'.
- 2) What is something universal in language change?
- 3) What motivates people to replace old words by such new words as e-pal, e-mail, e-report, and e-journal?
- 4) Explain the social basis of using the following sentences!
 - a. I really appreciate if the attendees remain silent.
 - b. Keep silent, please.
 - c. Shut up!
- 5) Explain language variation involving boys and girls based on the research done by Maltz and Borker (1982)!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Aspects of Language Change

A. EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

1. Genre and Change

Some writers may construct texts within generic conventions because they intend their texts to have the particular 'meanings' that are associated with the genre. Readers may interpret such texts according to the same conventions because they are familiar with previous similar texts and recognise the intentions. In other words we read a generic text through an intertextual process, using our previous experience of other texts to inform our reading of the current one. So, although genres are in one sense abstract labels without any content as such, in another sense they are very useful in helping us to categorise the vast amount of material we read and hear every day of our lives.

Knowing that readers have previous experience of generic texts allows producers of texts to be confident that they will reach their intended audience(s). This same sense of predictability also allows authors to 'play' with generic conventions and in some way subvert them. A parody is a comic variant of a generic text which can be used to amuse, make a satirical point, or both. Advertisements, for example, increasingly use forms of parody to draw our attention to a product or service.

Bex (1996) says that generic labels are used to describe groups of texts which seem to have similar language features and to be performing similar social functions. In other words genres can be analyzed from two broad standpoints: (i) by looking at the linguistic structures in texts; and (ii) by looking at the attitudes and values which the texts contain.

Genres as communicative texts indicate what kinds of activities are regarded as important within a society. This means that genres change over time because they reflect the way social situations change. At the same time, by reflecting social change, they can actually reinforce such change. Think, for example, of the ways in which television soap operas have reflected social change since they first appeared on television in the early 1960s, and the ways in which they are 'used' to shape public attitudes to social issues.

Because generic labels are just that, labels without any content as such, it is possible to see language change connecting to genre in three basic ways (Beard, 2004: 16).

- (i) There can be change within a genre, e.g. the way a sports fixture is reported after the event, the way a recipe is written.
- (ii) There can be a new sub-genre, which belongs to a genre in one sense, but which takes it off in a different direction in another, e.g. a preview of the sports fixture, a celebrity cookery book.
- (iii) Sometimes the process of generic change goes beyond adapting existing genres, however. New discourse communities may develop with particular interests that are not represented within existing genres. In such cases radically new genres are likely to develop. In addition new genres may develop because new technologies allow new forms of communication, e.g. fans discussing the match in a chat room, recipes on the internet.

Therefore, the changes that occur within a genre may include: (i) changing social attitudes and values can be seen when comparing texts over time; (ii) levels of formality change with a tendency for modern texts to be more informal; and (iii) topic specific vocabulary may change, although it often stays within the same semantic area.

2. Borrowing and Language Change

One of the most obvious kinds of change in language is the appearance of new words. This kind of change can be quite conspicuous: you may actually notice the first time you encounter a new word (though, as we shall see later, you may not). New words have been pouring into English at a prodigious rate throughout its history, and the rate of appearance of new words is now perhaps greater than at any previous period. One of the major tasks faced by lexicographers (dictionary writers) in preparing their new editions is to collect the thousands of new words which have appeared since their last editions. Some publishers even bring out an annual volume of new words. Where do all these new words come from?

One very obvious source of new words is foreign languages whose process is known as borrowing. Thomason (2001: 134) defines borrowing as the adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually, phonological) patterns of the recipient language. There are several

reasons why English speakers (or others) might want to borrow a foreign word. The simplest one is that the word is the name for something new. When the English settlers in North America encountered an animal they had never seen before, with a masked face and a ringed tail, they naturally asked the local Indians what they called it. What the Indians said sounded to the English speakers like 'raccoon', and that therefore became the English name for this beautiful creature. Similarly, when the English discovered that the Gaelic speakers of the Scottish Highlands were producing a most agreeable beverage, they asked what it was called. The Scots replied with their Gaelic name for it, *uisgebeatha*, which means 'water of life' in Gaelic. This name was taken into English as 'whiskybae' and quickly shortened to 'whisky' (Trask, 2005: 9).

This particular word, by the way, has continued to travel. As the knowledge of whisky has spread across Europe and the world, its Gaelic name has travelled with it. In most European languages, the word whisky has been taken over as the name of the beverage. Even in faraway Japan, whisky is now consumed and is known in Japanese as *uisukii*.

The name of another familiar beverage has made a similar journey. Many centuries ago, the people of Ethiopia discovered that a delicious hot beverage could be made from the beans of a bush which grew locally. They passed on the beverage, and their name for it, to the neighbours the Arabs. The Arabs in turn passed both on to the Turks, who became famous for their skill at preparing the beverage. The Turks then introduced both the drink and the name to the Europeans, and particularly to the Italians, who also became famous for their distinctive way of preparing the stuff. English visitors to Italy returned home full of enthusiasm for the new beverage, and the ancient Ethiopian name finally passed into English in the form coffee.

But encountering something new is not the only possible reason for borrowing a word from a foreign language. For example, English speakers borrowed the words 'faucet' and 'autumn' from French, even though English already had the words 'tap' and 'fall' with the same meanings. The reason for this was prestige: for a long time, French was a more prestigious language than English, and English speakers were often eager to show off their command of this prestigious language. Such speakers are still with us today. Many English people may actually know someone who is fond of punctuating his or her English speech with French words and phrases like *merci*, *au contraire*, *force majeure*, *à la mode*, and *genre*: Very many French

words have entered English in just this way. Even the familiar word 'face' was borrowed from French into English, where it rapidly displaced the native word *anleth*, with the same meaning (Trask, 2005: 11).

Today, however, the shoe is on the other foot. English has become the most prestigious language on earth, and speakers of Spanish, Italian, German, Japanese and even French eagerly borrow English words and phrases into their own languages. We can look at any popular magazine from Western Europe or even from Japan, and you will see bits of English scattered about the pages. When we just picked up an Italian magazine at random; on almost every page someone is described as a rockstar, a top model, a sex-symbol, a superstar or a top manager. An ad for a computer promises a hard disk, a mouse and a floppy. One film is labelled a horror, while another has a happy-end. Fashion articles talk about the look and explain what's currently in. And the pages are spattered with English words like jogging, fan, gadget, hobby, T-shirt, massage parlour, zoom, pay-tv, show, home video, mass media, status and check-up.

This fondness for English words has particularly upset the linguistic conservatives in France, where the authorities are constantly making efforts to stamp out the use of English borrowings. At intervals, the French government issues lists of English words which people are forbidden to use, with matching lists of 'genuine' French words which they are supposed to use instead. Government employees, including teachers, are actually obliged to follow these guidelines, but, of course, most people in France ignore them and go on using any English words that take their fancy. French speakers happily spend *le weekend* indulging in *le camping*; they often listen to *le compact-disc* or *le walkman*, and they may have a taste for *le rock* or *le jazz* or *le blues* or even *le heavy metal*. If they fancy an evening out, they may go to *le pub* to have *un scotch* or *un gin* or *un cocktail*, or they may go to see *un western* or *un strip-tease*; if not, they may stay home to read *un best-seller* or just to watch *le football* on television. It seems we are now paying back the French with interest for all the words we've borrowed from them over the years.

3. Language Contact and Language Change

Language change is often brought about by contact between speakers of different languages or dialects, rather than by variation internal to a given speech community. Contact between populations who speak different

languages involve extensive bilingualism. Accordingly, Weinreich (1953) pointed to the crucial role of bilingual speakers as the locus for language contact. However, high prestige languages may influence other languages without necessarily involving bilingualism.

Historical research on contact induced language change relies on more documentation than historical research on social variation, since we often know what languages have been in contact with each other, and the spread of bilingualism or multilingualism within populations in the past is often attested indirectly or even directly. On the other hand, our knowledge of language contact in the past is limited by the fact that some languages have left no written documentation. Thus, interference from substratum is often hard to evaluate, when the substratum is constituted by an unknown language (Luraghi, 2010: 363).

Whether changes brought about by contact differ in type from changes brought about by internal causes is a matter of discussion. According to Labov (1994), phonological change "from below", that is, starting within a speech community, results in higher regularity (it corresponds to "neogrammarian" change) than phonological change "from above", that is, deriving from contact, which takes the form of lexical diffusion. This view is criticized by Milroy (1999), who remarks that "no empirical study so far carried out has actually demonstrated that sound change can arise spontaneously within a variety" (1999: 24). Milroy further points out that specific changes are thought to be internally caused when there is no evidence for external causation, that is, for language contact. These remarks imply that all changes are ultimately due to contact, which is an arguable position, depending on what one means when one speaks of "a variety".

According to Trudgill (1989), contact induced changes and changes which initiate inside a low contact speech community have different outputs. Trudgill observes that koineization is typical of contact situations. Koines are compromise varieties among diverse dialects of the same language (Mufwene 2001: 3); they tend to lose "marked or complex variants" in favor of "unmarked, or simpler forms" (Trudgill, 1989:228-229). Trudgill regards the high number of adults acquiring a second language in contact situations as the cause for simplification. The role of learners in bilingual situations, and the bearing of imperfect learning on language change is also highlighted in Thomason (2003). Thomason remarks that features introduced by learners into a target language (TL) are mostly phonological and syntactic, rather than

lexical, and that one of the effects of imperfect learning will be that learners fail to learn some features of the TL, usually features that are hard to learn for reasons of universal markedness (Thomason, 2003: 692). This observation is in accordance with Trudgill's remarks on simplification.

However, there appears to be more than simplification in the effects of language contact and bi- or multilingualism. In the first place, a role is also played by typological distance of the TL from the learners' language, not necessarily connected with markedness (Thomason 2003: 692). Besides, specific types of linguistic areas seem to favor varying degrees of linguistic diversity and complexity, as indicated in Nichols (1992). By comparing what she calls "spread zones" with "residual zones", Nichols (1992: 21) argues that the former are characterized, among other features, by low genetic density, low structural diversity, rapid spread of languages and language succession, and use of lingua francas, while typical features of residual zones are high genetic density, high structural diversity, no appreciable spread of languages and hence no language succession, and no lingua franca. This is not to say that residual zones are not also characterized by language contact, and bi- or multilingualism, however, the absence of a lingua franca implies (often extensive) multilingualism for inter-ethnic communication; accordingly, residual zones usually display some clear areal features. Furthermore, according to Nichols, traditional laws of dialect geography are reversed in residual zones, where innovations come from the periphery, rather than from the center (Nichols, 1992: 22).

In "normal" situations, the periphery of an area is only partly reached by innovations developing from its center, and often displays typical features of isolated areas, as argued in Andersen (1988). According to Andersen, such peripheric and isolated areas display a tendency toward higher phonological elaboration, that is, higher complexity, a feature also typical of residual zones. However, even though residual zones, as described by Nichols, are certainly isolated from spread zones, languages spoken within residual zones do not seem to be isolated from one another. Obviously, Nichols and Andersen are not speaking of the same types of area, since Andersen refers to the periphery of dialectal areas, and to peripheric or isolated dialects of the same roof language spoken in the central area, rather than of areas of high genetic density. However, the parallel shows that it is at least doubtful that one can establish a correlation between lack of contact induced change and increasing complexity.

B. INTERNAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

1. Lexical Change

At 'lexical' or word level it is possible to comment on a number of aspects of language change. These usually involve the introduction of 'new' lexical items into the language – although words also fall out of use, they are, by definition, rarely noticed to be doing so.

One way in which new words enter the language is by borrowing from another language. Borrowing is the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another, a process that occurs any time two cultures are in contact over a period of time (Hoffer, 2002). Borrowing language usually loses words as they are replaced with words from another language. However, not all kinds of words are borrowed. According to Oshodi (2012), one general belief is that languages do not normally borrow grammatical items from other languages. This idea supports Weinreich's (1953) idea that languages normally resist this; thus conjunctions, prepositions, introducers, verbs, etc., are not usually borrowed.

English is a frequent borrower of words, with nouns and adjectives being the most frequent categories, adverbs and pronouns the least. Often a word has an anglicised spelling based upon how the word was heard. So, for example, from Arabic we have 'alcohol', 'alcove', 'assassin', from Hindi 'bungalow', 'dungaree', 'shampoo'. When first arriving into the language they are often written in inverted commas, or by using italics. As they become more subsumed into the language, though, such markers disappear.

A large number of borrowed lexical items refer to eating and drinking, with the words in their original language carrying an extra sense of being exotic. In Britain in particular French food (or cuisine) has traditionally been seen as sophisticated. The connotations around food terminology are subtle and fast changing. So, for example, the word 'café' (often pronounced in an English way as 'caff') was often quite low status but has now moved up-market again if pronounced in the French way. 'Brasserie' and 'bistro' are other French words with a specific set of connotations when used in British English.

The use of affixes is a highly productive source of lexical development and invention. Suffixes tend to change the class of a word and can at the same time expand upon its range of meaning. So the noun 'profession', which usually refers to certain types of occupation, gives the adjective

'professional' with its much wider range of meanings. (Consider for example the use of 'professional foul' in sport.) Prefixes are usually much more obviously tied to meaning. So, for example, the prefix 'hyper' (from the Greek for 'over'/'beyond') can be added to many nouns to give a sense of bigness or extensiveness ('hypermarket', 'hypertext', 'hyperinflation') and can even stand alone as with 'hyper', a short form of 'hyperactive'. 'Mega', also suggesting vastness, can be added to many nouns and also for a while existed as a fashionable 'word' in its own right (Beard, 2004: 90).

Back-formation involves losing rather than adding an element to a word, so the verb 'to edit' comes from 'editor' and 'to commentate' from 'commentator'. Clipping is another form of abbreviation, examples being 'veg', 'fan', 'deli'. Compounding adds two words together as in 'body-blow', 'jet set', with such compounds sometimes using a hyphen to show that two words have been put together. Blending adds elements of two words together as in 'brunch', 'electrocute'.

Acronyms and initialisms are even more extreme forms of abbreviation. Acronyms are 'words' made out of the initial letters of a phrase, such as 'SATS'. Sometimes the name of the organisation is deliberately arranged so that it can have a creative acronym, as in 'ASH', which stands for Action on Smoking and Health. The tautology in the name of the epidemic 'SARS', Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, is presumably there to avoid an otherwise unfortunate acronym; and the teachers' organisation 'NUT' uses an initialism even though its name could be an acronym – but not a very flattering one.

In contrast to abbreviations, noun phrases, although not strictly single words, can be seen as lexical units. So, for example, in the sentence 'The temperamental left-sided footballer with classical good looks scored on his debut', the core noun 'footballer' is pre-modified with 'temperamental left-sided' and post-modified with 'with classical good looks'.

2. Change in Pronunciation

When Shakespeare puts the words 'death-mark'd love' and 'could remove' in a rhyme scheme at the beginning of *Romeo and Juliet*, this causes problems for modern readers and actors – there is no way that 'love' and 'remove' rhyme in modern Standard English. The fact that they are in a rhyme scheme as part of a sonnet is strong evidence that to Shakespeare these words would have rhymed. From close attention to such things as rhyme it is possible to have some idea of how Shakespeare's plays may have sounded to

contemporary audiences. Recording equipment gives us much clearer evidence that as recently as the 1940s and 1950s actors such as Olivier and Gielgud sound very different from actors nowadays (Beard, 2004: 95).

Pronunciation then, like everything else in language, changes over time, and because it involves the sounds of language, and so is very obvious, it leads to particularly strong attitudes. Change in pronunciation is largely responsible for the existence of different ‘accents’—that is, different ways of pronouncing a language. The word *accent*, as it is used in linguistics, simply means a particular way of pronouncing the language (Trask, 2005: 19). Hence, every speaker of English has an accent. It is not just the Glasgow bricklayer, the Dorset farmer or the Jamaican pop singer who has an accent: I have an accent, you have an accent, the starchiest television newsreader has an accent, and the Queen herself has an accent. Of course, everybody will certainly regard some accents as more familiar, or as more prestigious, than others, but this cannot change the fact that every speaker necessarily has an accent.

For some people in Britain the pronunciation of ‘data’ with a short first ‘a’ sound is like nails scraping on a blackboard. In Britain, there are often hostile attitudes to what is perceived to be American pronunciation. The so-called ‘mid-Atlantic drawl’ of some radio disc jockeys and television presenters has been much mocked, with a recent trend being to replace them with presenters who have a clearly obvious British regional accent. (Although the range of accents is not equally distributed – there are far more Irish and Geordie than Glaswegian or Brummie.) When a president or other public figure stresses the first syllable ‘u’ on ‘United States’ a whole host of attitudes can be released in British hearers.

A BBC guide to pronunciation in 1981 recommended that broadcasters should use the following:

- | | | |
|-------------|---|---------------------------|
| (10)adults | – | stress first syllable |
| aristocrat | – | stress on first syllable |
| comparable | – | stress on first syllable |
| controversy | – | stress on first syllable |
| decade | – | stress on first syllable |
| contribute | – | stress on second syllable |
| dispute | – | stress on second syllable |
| distribute | – | stress on second syllable |

- harass – stress on first syllable
 - research – stress on second syllable
- (Beard, 2005: 96)

Almost certainly, though, despite such instructions, the pronunciation of these words is subtly shifting. It is not just individual words though that undergo change. Australian ‘soaps’ have been blamed (note that language change is rarely given credit!) for the upwards intonation that increasingly occurs at the end of an utterance, regardless of whether it is a question or not. Where pronunciation patterns are associated with young people in particular there are likely to be polarised attitudes; older people will deplore, younger people will find common identity.

3. Change in Spelling

Although the English written alphabet has twenty-six letters, these letters and their combinations represent something like forty-four basic sounds. George Bernard Shaw famously highlighted what he saw as the eccentricity of English spelling by spelling the word *fish* as ‘ghoti’: ‘gh’ from ‘tough’; ‘o’ from ‘women’; and ‘ti’ from ‘fruition’. Shaw was one of a number of people who have tried over the years to rationalise spelling by deliberate change. The ITA (Initial Teaching Alphabet) was popular in schools in the 1960s and 1970s as an aid to early literacy. Although spelling is as arbitrary as any other aspect of language, any attempt to change spelling meets fierce opposition. There are many more aspects to writing than spelling ‘correctly’, yet for many people ‘being able to spell’ is the most important sign of whether someone is literate (Beard, 2004: 92).

Spelling has undergone steady change over time, although the standardisation of spelling through dictionaries has obviously slowed this process. In Britain there is particular disdain for what are seen as American spellings, such as ‘flavor’, ‘theater’, ‘fulfill’. These though are attitudes to the culture of the language users rather than being logical objections. The use of spell-checkers on computers has added another layer of controversial ‘authority’ and the dominance of Microsoft often reinforces American patterns. In addition, new modes of communication such as texting have led to alternative ways of spelling, and subsequent cries of horror about declining standards. Meanwhile commercial organisations in particular ‘play’ with spelling to create various effects: listings in the Tyneside telephone directory

include: 'Xpress Ironing', 'Xpertise Training', 'Xsite Architecture', 'Xtreme Talent' and 'Xyst Marketing Agency'.

In spite of the role of dictionaries and the creation of spelling checker, it is perfectly possible for spelling to change, and indeed the spelling of English has changed substantially over the centuries, both in its main lines and in the details of particular words. As Trask (2005: 24) noted that sometimes the spelling has changed to represent a genuine change in the pronunciation of a word, as when the Old English spelling *hlæfdige* was eventually changed to *lady* to keep up with the newer pronunciation. In other cases the general spelling conventions of English have been altered, leading to a change of spelling even without any change in pronunciation, as when Old English *cwic* was replaced by *quick*.

4. Change in Grammar

In the previous sub-chapters, we have seen examples of the ways in which language change has resulted in differences of vocabulary and pronunciation among the several varieties of contemporary English. In this sub-chapter we shall be looking at the phenomenon of grammatical change. Differences in grammatical forms between varieties of English are perhaps less conspicuous than differences in vocabulary or pronunciation, but they nevertheless exist. Consider the following two sentences, and decide which seems more natural to you:

- (11) a. My turntable needs the stylus changed.
b. My turntable needs the stylus changing.

It is likely that we find one of these much more normal than the other. Very roughly, if we live in the southeast of England, in Scotland or in North America, we probably prefer the first form; if we come from the north or the Midlands of England, or from the southwest, we are more likely to prefer the second. ('very roughly' means the distribution of these two forms is rather complex.) Here we have a case in which different regional varieties of English have developed slightly different grammatical forms. Now consider another pair of examples, and decide which you prefer:

- (12) a. The stylus needs changed.
b. The stylus needs changing.

This time the distribution is different. The (12a) form is preferred by most speakers in Scotland and in the western Pennsylvania area of the United States (an area, remember, which was largely settled by people of Scottish origin). All other speakers use the (12b) form, and indeed usually find the (12a) form startling. Consider another pair of examples:

- (13) a. She gave it me.
 b. She gave me it.

Which of these is more normal for you? Most speakers in the north of England appear to prefer the (13a) form, as do also many southern speakers. Other southerners, and probably most speakers outside England, use only the (13b) form. In this case, the historical evidence seems to show rather clearly that the (13a) form was once usual for all English speakers; the (13b) pattern appears to be an innovation that has appeared in the last two or three centuries.

More surprising examples of grammatical change are not hard to find. The familiar verb *go* formerly had an irregular past-tense form *yede* or *yode*. In about the fifteenth century, however, it acquired a new past-tense form: *went*. Where did this odd-looking form come from? It came from the now rare verb *wend*, which was formerly inflected *wend/went*, just like *send/sent* and *spend/spent*. But the past-tense *went* was detached from *wend* and attached to *go*, which lost its earlier past tense, giving the modern English pattern *go/went*. Meanwhile the verb *wend* has acquired a new past-tense form *wended* (as in *She wended her way home from the party*.)

On the whole, the changes in the grammar of English in the last several centuries have been less than dramatic. At an earlier stage of its history, however, English underwent some changes in its grammar which were decidedly more spectacular and far-reaching.

Most conspicuously, words in Old English changed their form for grammatical purposes far more than occurs in the modern language. So, for example, 'the king' is variously *se cyning* or *þone cyning*, depending on its grammatical role, while 'to the king' is *þæm cyninge* and 'to the kings' is *þæm cyningum*, with the sense of 'to' being expressed by the endings. This kind of grammatical behaviour is found in many other European languages, such as German, Russian and Latin. It was formerly the norm in English, too, but, in the centuries following the Norman Conquest, most of these endings disappeared from the language—and indeed English is today a little unusual

among European languages in the small number of grammatical wordendings it uses.

You have probably also noticed that the order of words in Old English is sometimes rather different from the modern order. The placement of pronouns like 'me' and 'it' has particularly changed, and, as the example She gave it me/She gave me it, discussed above, shows, some modern varieties have altered the earlier pattern more than others. It is possible to identify grammatical changes which have been in progress in English for centuries. Let us look at one of these. Consider the following examples:

- (14) a. Edison invented the electric light.
 b. The electric light was invented by Edison.

These two constructions are conveniently called the ACTIVE (14a) and the PASSIVE (14b). From early in the Old English period, the passive construction has existed side by side with the active. For many centuries, however, the passive was limited to occurring in certain very simple types of sentences. In more complex types of sentences, the passive could not be used; this was particularly so with the -ing form of the verb (Trask, 2005: 29).

5. Change in Meaning

Changes in meaning can be looked at via denotative meanings and connotative meanings. The word 'nice' which now means 'pleasant' or 'agreeable' originally meant 'ignorant', coming from the Latin *nescire* meaning 'not know'. Gradually the word moved through 'coy' to 'particular/distinct', a meaning which it can still have, and then on to its most usual present meaning (Beard, 2004: 94). Context, though, is all, and it is possible to use the word 'nice' with quite negative connotations. If you describe your new love interest as 'nice', your friend might conclude that the relationship will not last. If you tell your friend that their new jacket is 'nice' they might well think that you don't like it that much. So, denotative meanings in dictionaries can be limited in their scope; a whole range of contextual factors can subtly affect what a word or phrase on any single occasion.

In addition, Trask (2005: 32) used a literary work illustrating change in meaning. He quoted a nineteenth-century nursery rhyme as in (15).

- (16) The child that is born on the Sabbath day
 Is fair and wise, and good and gay.

This rhyme was used to celebrate the Princess Elizabeth (now Queen Elizabeth II) who gave birth to a son, Charles, the future Prince of Wales on a Sunday in 1948. It is most unlikely that any future royal births will be commemorated in quite this way: even the most barnacle-encrusted peer would probably now be reluctant to describe the heir to the throne as 'gay'. In 1948, the word 'gay' had, in everyday usage, only its traditional meaning of 'cheerful', 'lively'. But in the 1950s this word began to be used as a synonym for homosexual, and that is now its most usual sense: if someone tells you John is gay, you will probably understand 'John is homosexual', not 'John is cheerful'. Since 1948, the word gay has changed its meaning rather radically.

In fact, all of the words *villain*, *churl* and *boor* once meant nothing more than 'farm worker'. Today all three are insults, a development perhaps reflecting the city slicker's habitual contempt for his or her unsophisticated rural cousins. The word *peasant* is now going the same way: though we can still speak of third-world farmers as 'peasants', without intending any slight, we can equally say *You peasant!* meaning 'You uncultured lout!'. Needless to say, English words have been changing their meanings throughout the history of the language. Some of the changes which have occurred are easy to understand, while others are quite surprising. Here are a few examples: *girl* formerly meant 'young person (of either sex)'; *meat* formerly meant 'food (of any kind)'; *dog* was formerly the name of a particular breed of dog. The examples of *girl* and *meat* illustrate what linguists call 'specialization', i.e. the meaning of a word becomes less general than formerly. The opposite development, generalization, is illustrated by *dog*. Both of these appear to be particularly common types of change in meaning.

In Spanish, the word *caballo* means 'horse', and *caballero*, which is derived from it, apparently means 'horseman'. However, when you visit Spain, you will see public toilets marked *Caballeros*, but you are hardly likely to observe any horsemen attempting to ride into them, or even up to them. *Caballero* did indeed mean 'horseman' once, but, since only people of an elevated social class could afford to ride horses, the word came to mean 'man of quality', 'gentleman' (in the older sense of this English word); today *caballero* is simply a polite word for 'man', just like English 'gentleman', which has similarly enlarged its meaning.

One of the most fertile sources of new meanings is the creation of 'euphemisms'—polite but roundabout expressions for things which are considered too nasty to talk about directly. When indoor plumbing began to

be installed in houses in the eighteenth century, the new little room installed for private purposes was at first called a *water closet*, soon abbreviated to *WC*. Eventually this term came to be regarded as intolerably blunt, and it was variously replaced by *toilet* (which had previously meant simply 'dressing table') or *lavatory* (a Latin word meaning 'place for washing'). Today these words in turn are regarded as unbearably crude by many people, and yet further euphemisms have been pressed into service: the usual American word is now *bathroom* (the toilet and the bath are usually in the same room in an American house), and an American child who says *I gotta go to the bathroom* is definitely not looking for a bath (Trask, 2005: 33).

Sex is another area in which euphemisms flourish. In the nineteenth century, the novelist Jane Austen could write of the very genteel Miss Anne Elliott and her haughty neighbour Captain Wentworth that 'they had no intercourse but, what the commonest civility required'. The author would have been dumbfounded by the effect of this sentence on a modern reader: in her time, of course, the word *intercourse* meant nothing more than 'dealings between people'. In the twentieth century, however, the phrase *sexual intercourse* was created as a very delicate way of talking about copulation; this has now been shortened to *intercourse*, and this sexual sense is now so prevalent that we find it impossible to use the word in any other sense at all.

In addition to euphemism, another area of meaning worth thinking about with regard to language change involves 'metaphor'. Whereas literary metaphors tend to be obvious in the comparisons they make ('I wandered lonely as a cloud') there are many so-called dead metaphors where the original comparison is less obvious. Linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Goatly (1997) have shown how many 'dead' metaphors exist in English and how they can subtly affect the way we think about the world. When a blind student says 'I see' when solving a problem in class, they are referring to the mental act of understanding via the physical act of seeing – and nobody in the class notices that a blind student is talking about being able to see.



EXERCISES

Unit 2

External Aspects of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) Why do some writers construct texts within generic conventions?

- 2) How can genres be analyzed from its broad standpoints?
- 3) How can genre connect to language change?
- 4) How is 'borrowing' related to language change?
- 5) How does language contact contribute to language change?

Internal Aspects of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) Explain types of processes in lexical change!
- 2) Give the example(s) of change in pronunciation!
- 3) Give example(s) of change in spelling!
- 4) Notice the following sentences!
 - a. My father bought a new bag me.
 - b. My father bought me a new bag.
 What phenomenon of language change happens in the two sentences? Explain!
- 5) How does meaning play a role in language change?

Key to Exercises

Unit 2:

External Aspects of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) Some writers may construct texts within generic conventions because they intend their texts to have the particular 'meanings' that are associated with the genre. Therefore, readers will interpret such texts according to the same conventions because they are familiar with previous similar texts and recognise the intentions.
- 2) Genres can be analyzed from two broad standpoints, i.e by looking at the linguistic structures in texts, and by looking at the attitudes and values the texts contain.
- 3) Genre connects to language change in three basic ways: (i) changing social attitudes and values can be seen when comparing texts over time; (ii) levels of formality change with a tendency for modern texts to be more informal; and (iii) topic specific vocabulary may change, although it often stays within the same semantic area.
- 4) First, borrowing process can make nothing become something. This is motivated the notion of 'naming'. As technology develops, language

needs to provide a name for every new item invented. Second, borrowing is motivated by prestige. For a long time, French was a more prestigious language than English, and English speakers were often eager to show off their command of this prestigious language.

- 5) As language contact occurs when two or more languages or varieties interact, there is a possibility that one language is considered more powerful than the other(s). This powerful influence can contribute to change some lexical items in a less powerful variation.

Internal Aspects of Language Change

Exercise

- 1) a. Borrowing is the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another, a process that occurs any time two cultures are in contact over a period of time (Hoffer, 2002). Borrowing language usually loses words as they are replaced with words from another language. However, not all of kinds of words are borrowed. According to Oshodi (2012), one general belief is that languages do not normally borrow grammatical items from other languages.
- b. Affixation is the process of forming new words by adding either suffixes and/or affixes. Suffixes tend to change the class of a word and can at the same time expand upon its range of meaning. So the noun 'profession', which usually refers to certain types of occupation, gives the adjective 'professional' with its much wider range of meanings. Prefixes are usually much more obviously tied to meaning.
- c. Back-formation involves losing rather than adding an element to a word, so the verb 'to edit' comes from 'editor' and 'to commentate' from 'commentator'.
- d. Clipping is another form of abbreviation, examples being 'veg', 'fan', 'deli'.
- e. Compounding adds two words together as in 'body-blow', 'jet set', with such compounds sometimes using a hyphen to show that two words have been put together.
- f. Blending adds elements of two words together as in 'brunch', 'electrocute'.
- g. Acronyms and initialisms are even more extreme forms of abbreviation.

- 2) According to a BBC guide to pronunciation in 1981, the word *adult* was stressed in the first syllable. However, English native speakers today put the stress in the second syllable.
- 3) The Old English spelling *cwic* was replaced by *quick*.
The Old English spelling *hlæfdige* was changed to *lady*.
- 4) The phenomenon taking place is change in grammar. The sentence in (a) was once usual for all English speakers. However, the (b) pattern appears to be an innovation that has appeared in the last two or three centuries.
- 5) Changes in meaning can be looked at via denotative meanings and connotative meanings. The word 'nice' which now means 'pleasant' or 'agreeable' originally meant 'ignorant', coming from the Latin *nescire* meaning 'not know'.



SUMMARY

Language Change is motivated by both internal and external aspect of language change. The external aspects include genre, borrowing, and language contact. Genre is used to describe groups of texts which seem to have similar language features and to be performing similar social functions. Genres as communicative texts indicate what kinds of activities are regarded as important within a society. This means that genres change over time because they reflect the way social situations change. At the same time, by reflecting social change, they can actually reinforce such change. The adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually, phonological) patterns of the recipient language. There are several reasons why English speakers want to borrow a foreign word, and the simplest one is that the word is the name for something new. All changes are ultimately due to contact, which is an arguable position, depending on what one means when one speaks of "a variety".

Meanwhile, internal aspects include changes in lexicon, pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and meaning. Lexical change usually involves the introduction of 'new' lexical items into the language that includes borrowing, affixation, back formation, clipping, compounding, blending, acronym and initialism. Pronunciation then, like everything else in language, changes over time, and because it involves the sounds of language, and so is very obvious, it leads to particularly strong attitudes. Change in pronunciation is largely responsible for the existence of different 'accents'—that is, different ways of pronouncing a

language. Spelling has undergone steady change over time, although the standardisation of spelling through dictionaries has obviously slowed this process. In Britain there is particular disdain for what are seen as American spellings, such as 'flavor', 'theater', 'fulfill'. These though are attitudes to the culture of the language users rather than being logical objections. Differences in grammatical forms between varieties of English are perhaps less conspicuous than differences in vocabulary or pronunciation, but they nevertheless exist. Changes in meaning can be looked at via denotative meanings and connotative meanings. The word 'nice' which now means 'pleasant' or 'agreeable' originally meant 'ignorant', coming from the Latin *nescire* meaning 'not know'.



FORMATIVE TEST 2 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) Give the example of language change (can be in English or in your local language) motivated by genre?
- 2) Mention the factors leading to borrowing?
- 3) Why was Labov's (1994) view of phonological change "from below" and "from above" criticized by Milroy (1999)?
- 4) Give the examples of affixation that contributes to lexical change!
- 5) Give the examples of change in spelling taking place in Bahasa Indonesia!

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

Language Change and English Language Teaching

A. THE SPREAD OF CHANGES

1. From Group to Group

Many linguists have used the metaphor of waves to explain how linguistic changes spread through a community. Any particular change typically spreads simultaneously in different directions, though not necessarily at the same rate in all directions. Social factors such as age, status, gender and region affect the rates of change and the directions in which the waves roll most swiftly. The wave metaphor is one useful way of visualising the spread of a change from one group to another – as figure 8.3 demonstrates.

In any speech community different sets of waves intersect. You belong simultaneously to a particular age group, region and social group. A change may spread along any of these dimensions and into another group. Linguistic changes infiltrate groups from the speech of people on the margins between social or regional groups – via the ‘middle’ people who have contacts in more than one group. These people seem to act as linguistic stockbrokers or entrepreneurs. This point is illustrated in more detail below when we look at the reasons for linguistic change.

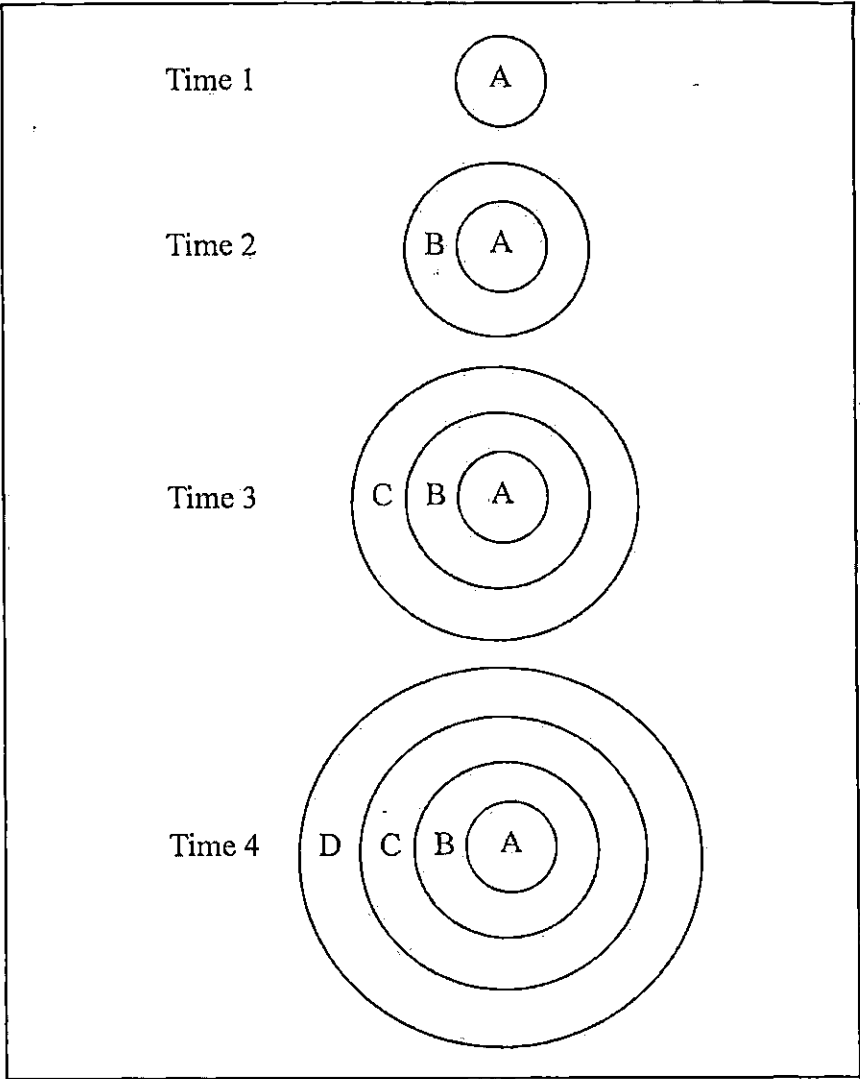


Figure 8.3:
The wave-like spread of linguistic changes
Holmes (2013: 215)

This diagram was originally proposed by Bailey (1973: 159) that has been simplified by Holmes (2013: 215). The letters A, B, C, D used in Figure 8.3 respectively represent different age groups, social groups or regional groups.

2. From Style to Style

One theory of how a change spreads presents the process as a very systematic one. In the speech of a particular individual, it suggests the change spreads from one style to another (say from more formal speech to more casual speech), while at the same time it spreads from one individual to another within a social group, and subsequently from one social group to another. Using this model, we would trace the spread of prestigious post-vocalic [r] pronunciation in New York, for instance, first in the most formal style of the young people in the most socially statusful group in the community. Then it would spread to a less formal style for that group, while also spreading to the most formal style of other groups, such as to older people's speech, and to the speech of people from a lower social group. The change gradually spreads from style to style and from group to group, till eventually almost everyone uses the new form in all their speech styles. Figure 8.4 provides a visual representation of this process.

When a change is a prestigious one, it usually starts at the top of the speech community – in the most formal style of the highest status group and spreads downwards. A vernacular change, such as centralisation in Martha's Vineyard, or the spread of glottal stop for [t] in the middle and at the end of words, tends to begin in people's more casual styles. If it is a form which is considered very non-standard, it may take a long time to spread, and it may never gain acceptance by the highest status social groups or in formal speech. Innovating groups who introduce new vernacular sound changes tend to be around the middle of the social class range – in the upper working class, for instance. And, as one might expect, younger people tend to adopt new forms more quickly than older people do and they use them more extensively. So in the London area and East Anglia, for instance, the use of glottal stop for final [t] has spread very fast in recent years, and it is now heard very frequently even in the more formal styles of young people (Holmes, 2013:216).

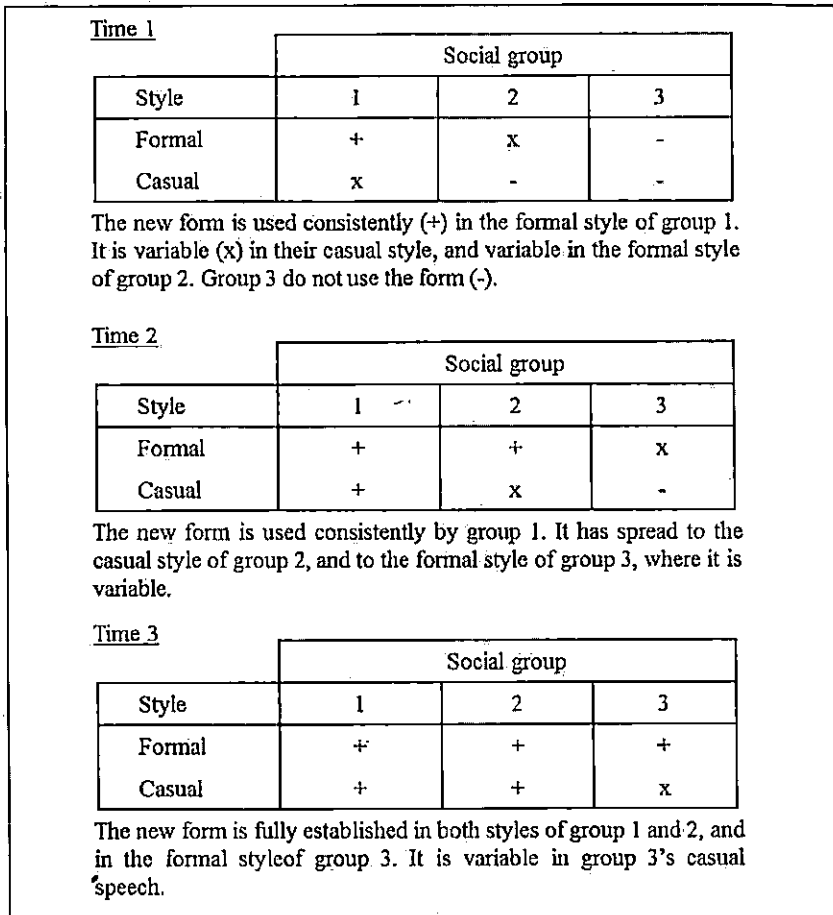


Figure 8.4

A model of the spread of a vernacular change through two speech styles and three social groups (Holmes, 2013: 216)

This diagram was originally proposed by Bailey (1973: 176) that has been simplified by Holmes (2013: 216).

3. Form Word to Word

It seems to be the case that sound changes not only spread from one person to another and from one style to another style, they also spread from

one word to another. Sound changes typically spread through different words one by one. This is called *lexical diffusion*. According to Penny (2003: 70), lexical diffusion emphasizes that during the spread of any change some words are affected before others, or, to look at the process from the other angle, some words are more resistant to change than others. Those which are more resistant to change will usually be those lexical items which signify aspects of reality which are central to the concerns of the community whose speech is potentially open to the change in question.

When a sound change begins, all the words with a particular vowel do not change at once in the speech of a community. People do not go to bed one night using the sound [u:] and wake up using [au] in *house*, *pouch*, *how* and *out*. Instead, the sound change occurs first in one word, and then later in another, and so on. In Belfast, for instance, a vowel change affected the vowel in the word *pull* before *put*, and *put* before *should*. And in East Anglia, the vowel in *must* changed before the vowel in *come*, which changed before the vowel in *uncle*, although they all started off with the same vowel, and they all ended up with the identical different vowel at a later point. Of course, a change often does not spread to all the possible words which could be affected (i.e. the sound change does not go to completion), so there are often some words which remain with the original pronunciation. In English, *trough* and *tough* got left behind with final [f] compared to *though* and *bough* which lost their final fricative consonants as a result of a widespread sound change (Holmes, 2013: 218).

In New Zealand, a vowel change which is currently in progress is the merging of the vowels in word pairs like *beer* and *bear*, which used to be distinct. This change, too, seems to be proceeding by the process of lexical diffusion. A recent study suggested that the distinction had disappeared completely for most young people in the pair *really/rarely*, while *fear* and *fair* were still distinct in many young people's speech.

Such lexical diffusion of change is, of course, evident also in Spanish. The isogloss which, in Cantabria, separates retention of initial /h/ in *hacer* 'to do, make (in English)' from its deletion (i.e., the isogloss which separates /haθér/ from /aθér/) is to be found further to the west than the isogloss which separates these two pronunciations in *hacha* 'axe' (Penny, 1984). The data provided by ALEA (1962–73: maps 1548–50, 1553, 1556) reveal a similar word-by-word retreat of /h/ in western Andalusia. In the Spanish words *hiel* 'bile', *hollín* 'soot', *hoz* 'sickle', and *moño* 'mould', /h/ appears in practically

all the localities studied in western Andalusia, sometimes recorded alongside a form without /h/. By contrast with words such as these, which refer to concrete notions, the abstract *hambre* 'hunger' appears to be much more open to influence from the standard, showing a large predominance of /h/-less forms, in the same area of western Andalusia (Penny, 2003: 71).

B. LANGUAGE CHANGE AND ITS IMPLICATION IN ELT

1. English Change in APPARENT TIME and in REAL TIME

When we hear the word 'renumeration' for 'remuneration', we will probably assume that it is an error. But errors can persist and spread. Is 'renumeration' an error, or has the form now changed? Is there a point at which observers can claim to have seen a change? When should dictionaries include both forms? The questions are equally impossible to answer whether we are asking about a change in the speech of a single individual or a change in 'English', especially since both forms will typically co-exist for some time in either case. In retrospect, we can say that a change took place at a certain time, but it is difficult to observe that change while it is occurring. In the change from 'renumeration' to 'remuneration', any speaker must say one or the other. In other cases, though, intermediate forms are possible. Consider the change from Old English *hūs* /hu:s/ to Modern standard English *house* /haus/. This pronunciation did not simply jump from one form to another, but changed almost imperceptibly over time. We can hear different stages in the continuing change if we listen to an old-fashioned upper-class Londoner, a young upper-class Londoner, a young speaker from the Home Counties, a young Cockney, a New Zealander and an Australian saying *house* (Bauer, 1994: 12). If we could hear speakers of Old English, we would be able to hear that their vowel phoneme (or distinctive speech sound) in *hūs* sounded different from that in current *house* even if we could not specify the precise changes that phoneme underwent from decade to decade. Bloomfield (1933: 357) summarized this in his slogan 'phonemes change'.

Consider an example from Trudgill (1974; 1988) using techniques developed by Labov. This concerns a change affecting /e/ before an /l/ in Norwich, in eastern England. The change in question is one from [ɛ1] to [ɜ1] to [ʌ1] in words like *bell*. Trudgill terms this change 'centralization'. He assigns a pronunciation like [ɛ1] the index value 1, a pronunciation like [ɜ1] the index value 2 and a pronunciation [ʌ1] the index value 3. By adding the

index values in a lot of words and dividing by the number of tokens, he is able to create an 'index score' for individuals. By averaging the index scores of individuals, he can calculate an index score for a whole group. Let us consider what Trudgill's informants did when reading a passage aloud. Their index scores show how centralized their pronunciations of the relevant vowel were on average. If we plot their index score against their year of birth, we find the pattern shown in Figure 8.5, where the range of possible index scores runs from 1 (no centralization, closest to [ɛ]) to 3 (maximum possible centralization, closest to [ʌ]) on all occasions).

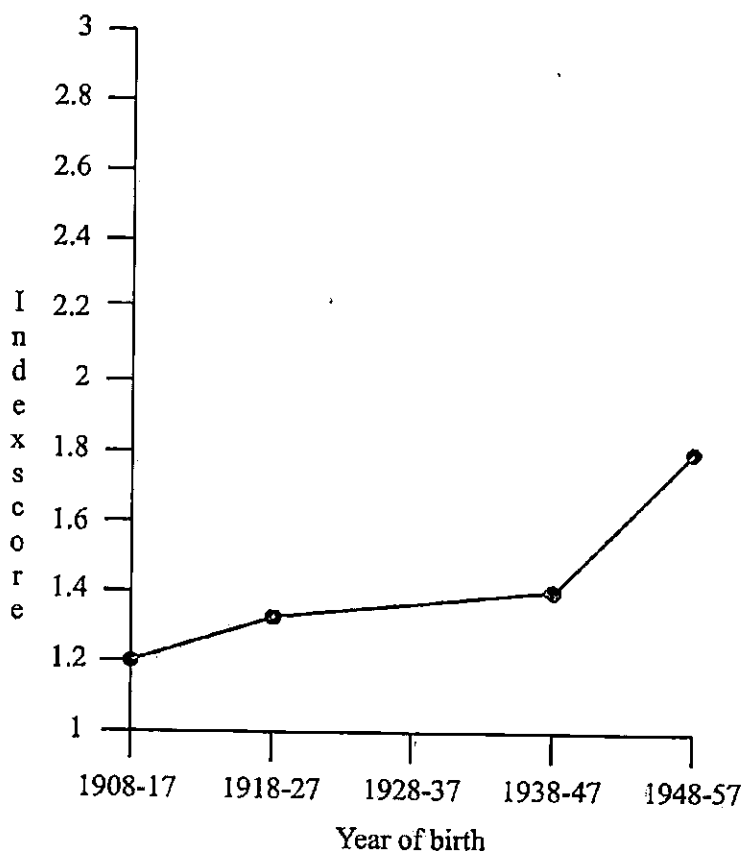


Figure 8.5
Changes to /ɛ/ before /l/ in Norwich (Trudgill, 1974; 1988)

The graph indicates that younger speakers show a greater degree of centralization than do older speakers. In this particular case, we have further evidence that a change was taking place when the material summarized in Figure 8.4 was collected in 1968. Trudgill returned to Norwich fifteen years later, and looked at the language of the new generation of young speakers, and found the trend indicated in Figure 8.4 was continuing (Trudgill, 1988).

The change illustrated in Figure 8.5 is a change in APPARENT TIME: because older speakers show little evidence of a particular feature, and progressively younger speakers show more and more, we can hypothesize that the change is gradually becoming more established. This can be complemented by observing change in REAL TIME, as Trudgill did when he returned to Norwich fifteen years after his original survey, and carried out a new one. There is a certain amount of evidence that change in apparent time is not mirrored exactly by change in real time (e.g. Bauer, 1985: 76-77), but it is generally accepted that evidence of change in apparent time does indicate that change is taking place in real time. So Labovian methodology allows us to observe language change by observing a pattern of variation with age. One of the important advances that has been made in Labovian methodology is the demonstration that precisely the same kind of variation can be found when the conditioning factor is not time but social class or formality.

In addition, change in apparent time is based on the analysis of the distribution of linguistic variables across different age groups (Turrel, 2003: 7). However, she further says that this distribution across age groups should not be confused with the regular linguistic behaviour of age grading, repeated in every generation, which has to do rather with differences resulting from the language development found in all individuals. Meanwhile, observation in real time observes a speech community at two discrete points in time.

2. ELT implication of English changes

The spread of English has brought with it the development of many new varieties of English, which has led to much discussion regarding what standards should be promoted in the teaching of English. Implicit in discussions of variation are the notion of standards, a standard language, and issues of power and identity that are built into such concepts. Standard language is the term generally used to refer to that variety of a language that is considered the norm. It is the variety regarded as the ideal for educational purposes, and usually used as a yardstick by which to measure other varieties

and implement standard-based assessment (McKay, 2010: 109). The related notion of language standards has to do with the language rules that inform the standard and that are then taught in the schools.

The challenge that World Englishes present to the Standard English ideology is one of plurality – that there should be different standards for different contexts of use and that the definition of each Standard English should be endonormative (determined locally) rather than exonormative (determined outside of its context of use). However, if there are different forms of Standard English, the concern of mutual intelligibility emerges. The fact that some speakers of English use a variety of English that is quite different from a standard variety of English has led some to argue that the use of these varieties of English will lead to a lack of intelligibility among speakers of English. It is this fear that has led to a widespread debate over standards in the use of English (McKay, 2010; Rajagopalan, 2004).

One of the early debates over standards occurred at a 1984 conference to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the British Council. At this conference, Randolph Quirk and Braj Kachru, two key figures in the growing debate over standards in international English, expressed conflicting views on the issue of standards in relation to international English. Quirk argued for the need to uphold standards in the use of English in both countries where English is spoken as a native language and in countries where English is used as a second or foreign language. He maintained that tolerance for variation in language use was educationally damaging in Anglophone countries and that the relatively narrow range of purposes for which the nonnative needs to use English is arguably well catered for by a single monochrome standard form that looks as good on paper as it sounds in speech (Quirk, 1985: 6). For Quirk, a common standard of use was warranted in all contexts of English language use.

Kachru (1985: 30), on the other hand, argued that the spread of English had brought with it a need to re-examine traditional notions of codification and standardization. He said that the global diffusion of English has taken an interesting turn: the native speakers of this language seem to have lost the exclusive prerogative to control its standardization; in fact, if current statistics are any indication, they have become a minority. This sociolinguistic fact must be accepted and its implication recognized. What we need now are new paradigms and perspective for linguistic and pedagogical research and for understanding the linguistic creativity in multilingual

situations across cultures. Kachru maintained that allowing for a variety of linguistic norms would not lead to a lack of intelligibility among varieties of English; rather what would emerge from this situation would be an educated variety of English that would be intelligible across the many varieties of English.

The debate regarding the teaching of standards continues today with some arguing for the promotion of a monolithic model of English, while others support a pluricenter model. Those like Quirk who argue for a monolithic model contend that native-speaker models should be promoted because they have been codified and have a degree of historical authority. Kachru insisted that 'the native speakers [of English] seem to have lost the exclusive prerogative to control its standardisation' (Kachru 1985: 30). The monolithic model is in keeping with one of the central tenets that Phillipson (1992) argues has traditionally informed English language teaching, namely, that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker. This perspective also lends support to the notion of the insider and outsider, the "Self" and the "Other", since it is native speakers who are seen as the guardians of standard English. On the other hand, those like Kachru who support a pluricentric model of English contend that language contact necessarily leads to language change. They argue that the development of new varieties of English is a natural result of the spread of English. In many ways, the debate reflects a tension between the global and the local brought about by the new social space of globalization. Whereas global space has brought exposure to English, local space has taken the language and modified it for the local context. What is important to add to the pluricentric perspective is that today language use is often not just English but a mix of a variety of languages that highlights the speaker's identity and proficiency. In such encounters, the question of standards needs to be highly contextualized.

The fact that new varieties of English have developed is closely associated with issues of identity. These new varieties are a factor of cultural and linguistic contact; they reflect individuals' desire to signal their unique identity while speaking a global language. The new varieties also become a basis for 'Othering' in which those with more power assert that their variety is in fact the 'standard' (McKay, 2010: 111). Finally, what is considered by many to be the standard is the variety promoted in educational institutions, places to which those with less affluence often have limited access.



EXERCISES

Unit 3

The Spread of Changes

Exercise

- 1) Explain how changes in language spread!
- 2) How does the change from style to style take place?
- 3) Explain the difference between prestigious change and vernacular change!
- 4) What's your understanding of lexical diffusion?
- 5) What is a vowel change which is currently in progress in New Zealand?

Language change and its implication in ELT

Exercise

- 1) What is a change in apparent time?
- 2) What is a change in real time?
- 3) What does it mean by standard language? And how is it defined in the context of education?
- 4) What is the difference between monolithic model of English and a pluricenter model of English?
- 5) Why the question of standard language is needs to be highly contextualized?

Key to Exercises

Unit 3:

The Spread of Changes

Exercise

- 1) Language change spreads in different ways: (i) from group to group, (ii) from style to style, and (iii) from word to word.
- 2) The change spreads from one style to another means the change from more formal speech to more casual speech, while at the same time it spreads from one individual to another within a social group, and subsequently from one social group to another.
- 3) A prestigious change usually starts at the top of the speech community – in the most formal style of the highest status group and spreads

downwards. A vernacular change, such as centralisation in Martha's Vineyard, or the spread of glottal stop for [t] in the middle and at the end of words, tends to begin in people's more casual styles.

- 4) Lexical diffusion is about sound changes which typically spread through different words one by one. Lexical diffusion emphasizes that during the spread of any change some words are affected before others, or, to look at the process from the other angle, some words are more resistant to change than others.
- 5) The merging of the vowels in word pairs like beer and bear, which used to be distinct.

Language change and its implication in ELT

Exercise

- 1) A change in apparent time is a change based on the analysis of the distribution of linguistic variables across different age groups.
- 2) A change in real time is a change based on the observation of a speech community at two discrete points in time.
- 3) Standard language is the term generally used to refer to that variety of a language that is considered the norm. It is the variety regarded as the ideal for educational purposes, and usually used as a yardstick by which to measure other varieties and implement standard-based assessment. The related notion of language standards has to do with the language rules that inform the standard and that are then taught in the schools.
- 4) A monolithic model contends that native-speaker models should be promoted because they have been codified and have a degree of historical authority. Meanwhile, a pluricenter model of English has traditionally informed that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker.
- 5) Because what is important to add to the pluricentric perspective is that today language use is often not just English but a mix of a variety of languages that highlights the speaker's identity and proficiency. The variety of languages they reflect individuals' desire to signal their unique identity while speaking a language.



SUMMARY

Language change spreads in different ways: (i) from group to group, (ii) from style to style, and (iii) from word to word. Many linguists have used the metaphor of waves to explain how linguistic changes spread through a community. Any particular change typically spreads simultaneously in different directions, though not necessarily at the same rate in all directions. Social factors such as age, status, gender and region affect the rates of change and the directions in which the waves roll most swiftly. In the speech of a particular individual, it suggests the change spreads from one style to another (say from more formal speech to more casual speech), while at the same time it spreads from one individual to another within a social group, and subsequently from one social group to another. It seems to be the case that sound changes not only spread from one person to another and from one style to another style, they also spread from one word to another. Sound changes typically spread through different words one by one. This is called lexical diffusion.

In terms of time, language change can be both a change in APPARENT TIME and in REAL TIME. The change in APPARENT TIME happens because older speakers show little evidence of a particular feature, and progressively younger speakers show more and more, we can hypothesize that the change is gradually becoming more established. Meanwhile, the change in REAL TIME uses the change in apparent time as the exact mirror, but it is generally accepted that evidence of change in apparent time does indicate that change is taking place in real time. Observation in real time observes a speech community at two discrete points in time.

The spread of English has brought with it the development of many new varieties of English, which has led to much discussion regarding what standards should be promoted in the teaching of English. Kachru (1985: 30) argued that the spread of English had brought with it a need to re-examine traditional notions of codification and standardization.



FORMATIVE TEST 3

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What is the important advance that has been made in Labovian methodology of a change in apparent and real time?
- 2) What does it mean by endonormative and exonormative?

- 3) What is the implication of the fact that some speakers of English use a variety of English that is quite different from a standard variety of English?
- 4) What are the conflicting views on the issue of standards in relation to international English on the debate of the 50th anniversary of the British Council?
- 5) Why did Phillipson (1992) argue that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker of English?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next module.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next module:

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) The phenomenon illustrated in (a) shows variation in language because the two words are still being used. The only thing distinguishing them is the place and the participants involved in the conversation.
On the other hand, the phenomenon illustrated in (b) shows change in language. People stopped using the old word '*mengejawantahkan*' to replace it by the word '*mengaplikasikan*'. However, the old word is still in the memory of elderly people.
- 2) A frequent linguistic unit is remembered better because frequency of exposure leads to greater memory strength.
- 3) The use of these new words are related to the notion of social need. Language alters as the needs of its users alter. Nowadays, more and more people have interaction through internet connection; therefore, they need new words facilitating their new kinds of interaction.
- 4) The sentences do, however, convey very different social meanings as a direct result of their morphological variants. That is, they carry sociolinguistic significance. The sentence in (a) and (b), with its standard forms, is emblematic of middle-class, educated, or relatively formal speech, while the sentence in (c) is emblematic of working-class, uneducated, or highly colloquial (vernacular) speech. These differences will also be readily recognized by virtually every speaker of the language.
- 5) Girls use language to (i) create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality; (ii) criticize others in acceptable ways; and (iii) interpret accurately the speech of other girls. Besides, girls' talk is said to be non-hierarchical, co-operative and non-competitive, and to reflect intimacy, loyalty and commitment.
On the other hand, boys use language to (i) assert their position and dominance; (ii) attract and maintain an audience; and (iii) assert themselves when others have the floor. Besides, boys' talk is characterized by a hierarchical structure and power, briefly competitiveness and lack of cooperation.

Formative Test 2

- 1) In English, a narrative is used to retell whatever happened in the past either it is factual or fictional. However, today, a narrative is limited only to retelling the event by considering the plot of the text such as orientation, complication, and resolution. If the text does not include this plot, despite its occurrence in the past, it can belong to either recount or report.
- 2)
 - a. The need of naming a new thing or object.
 - b. Prestige reason.
- 3) Milroy (1999) remarks that “no empirical study so far carried out has actually demonstrated that sound change can arise spontaneously within a variety”. Milroy further points out that specific changes are thought to be internally caused when there is no evidence for external causation, that is, for language contact. These remarks imply that all changes are ultimately due to contact, which is an arguable position, depending on what one means when one speaks of “a variety”.
- 4)
 - a. The addition of “e-” is a new prefix standing for “electronic”. This affix emerges as the advancement of technology involving internet. So, nowadays, we often hear the word “email”, “epal”, and so on.
 - b. The addition of suffix “-er” for almost all of word classes, for example, “facebooker” referring to people having account in facebook, “jilbaber” referring to women wearing a veil, etc.
- 5) Bahasa Indonesia used to have diphtongs such as “oe” and “dj”. However, today, we never find those diphtongs anymore: “oe” is replaced by monophthong “u”, and “dj” is replaced by “j”. The spelling “j” itself was also once used in Bahasa Indonesia to refer to “y”.

Formative Test 3

- 1) The important advance that has been made in Labovian methodology is the demonstration that precisely the same kind of variation can be found when the conditioning factor is not time but social class or formality.
- 2) Endonormative means the definition of Standard English should be determined locally, while exonormative means the definition of Standard English should be determined outside of its context of use.
- 3) The fact has led people to argue that the use of these varieties of English will lead to a lack of intelligibility among speakers of English.

- 4) One of the main speakers, Randolph Quirk argued for the need to uphold standards in the use of English in both countries where English is spoken as a native language and in countries where English is used as a second or foreign language. He maintained that tolerance for variation in language use was educationally damaging in Anglophone countries and that the relatively narrow range of purposes for which the nonnative needs to use English is arguably well catered for by a single monochrome standard form that looks as good on paper as it sounds in speech.

On the other hand, another main speaker, Braj Kachru, argued that the spread of English had brought with it a need to re-examine traditional notions of codification and standardization. He said that the global diffusion of English has taken an interesting turn: the native speakers of this language seem to have lost the exclusive prerogative to control its standardization; in fact, if current statistics are any indication, they have become a minority.

- 5) Because it is native speakers who are seen as the guardians of standard English.

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Ethnography of Communication and EFL Teaching

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INTRODUCTION

Dear students, this is Module 9, the last module of Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching. This module talks about “Ethnography of Communication and EFL Teaching”. Ethnography of Communication, which is also called in many references as Ethnography of Speaking, is the phenomena of language and social-interaction by which people verbally speak in particular languages and their implications to EFL teaching. The discussion is also dealing with ethnography and ethnomethodology which are commonly in anthropological studies. In this module, you study the key concepts and information concerning with ethnography of communication and how they relate to language teaching, especially to EFL teaching. The concepts and materials of discussion consist of related theories proposed by experts of ethnography of communication (ethnography of speaking) and their pedagogical implication to EFL teaching. The related theories presented in this module are aimed at having basic foundation dealing with ethnography of communication and the implication to language teaching, and to EFL teaching, in particular field.

As language has social-functions, the participants in communicative events need to understand and follow the “conventional rules” of communication in a speech community in order that the communication runs well and successfully. In order to have systematic-academic contents and discussion dealing with the main topic, the learning materials are divided into three units, namely: (i) The Concepts of Ethnography of Communication; (ii) Ethnography and Ethnomethodology; and (iii) The Implication of Ethnography of Communication in EFL Teaching. The three units are again divided into several sub-units in order that the specific theories, information, and implication in EFL teaching can be systematically learnt and discussed well.

Briefly, the learning materials and discussion in Module 9 include the key concepts of ethnography of communication, ethnography and ethnomethodology; and how such concepts and theories have theoretical and academic implication in language teaching, particularly in EFL teaching. For the learners of EFL in Indonesia, the concepts and discussion about ethnography of communication is helpful in order to build and develop learners' communicative competence in the learnt language. Although the concepts and discussion presented in this module are more on theoretical ones, they are useful for the guidelines of language uses in communicative norms. The information and ideas derived from the theories and concepts of ethnography of communication can be used by speakers to successfully communicate in the foreign language and the teachers may use them as well as the sociolinguistic guideline in teaching English in practical classrooms. In addition, the ideas and concepts can purposefully be used to have sociolinguistic and communicative competence in English. Therefore, the topic of discussion in this module is theoretically, academically, and practically useful, then.

In accordance with this, it is necessary for the teachers and learners of EFL in Indonesia to learn and pay attention to the concepts and information concerning with ethnography of communication. In sociolinguistics subject, in fact, the teachers of EFL need to introduce how a language is used and functioned in its speech community of in a society. Furthermore, the learners of sociolinguistics have to know that ethnography of communication has attracted linguists' attention recently. Many researchers have conducted various researches and studies on ethnography of communication and relevant implications to language teaching and learning. Then, we are also possible to formulate and to have specific ideas and argumentations on the concepts and the application of ethnography of communication in practical uses. The implications in EFL teaching and learning may be argued as the pedagogical and practical contributions of the concepts to language teaching, in general viewpoints.

After learning and finishing this module, you are kindly expected to be able to:

1. mention and argumentatively criticize the relevant concepts and theories of ethnography of communication or ethnography of speaking based on sociolinguistic viewpoints;

2. formulate and state ideas and opinions on the concepts and applications of ethnography of communication by using your own words;
3. mention and argumentatively criticize the concepts, theories and applicative uses of ethnography of communication;
4. formulate ideas and opinions on relationships between ethnography of communication, ethnography of speaking, ethnography, ethnomethodology and language teaching based on sociolinguistic points of view;
5. search and to collect data, information, and linguistic facts dealing with ethnography of communication and language teaching and learning;
6. formulate definition and state the educational implications of ethnography of communication to language teaching, particularly to EFL teaching.

To achieve the learning objectives well, the presentation and explanation of learning materials, including the exercises of this module are given in three units, as well. Unit 1 is about the key concepts of ethnography of communication. Then, in unit 2 you are studying ethnography and ethnomethodology. In unit 3, we are talking about the implication of ethnography of communication in EFL teaching and learning which leads you to have knowledge and scientific inspiration. Please keep in mind that the general objective of Module 9 is to lead you understand and have relevant ideas on the nature and phenomena of ethnography of communication and its implication in language teaching, particularly on EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia.

As this subject belongs to content subject in linguistics, individual reading comprehension and academic discussion in groups or in pairs are highly suggested. Therefore, the following activities are highly suggested to do in order that you understand this module well.

1. Please read and seriously learn the materials and explanation in each unit!
2. Then, read also the related references and information by means of independent learning and reading!
3. Do not forget to add relevant examples and have academic discussion in groups or in pairs!

4. Sometimes it is not easy to have better understanding on certain complex and complicated concepts. If it is so, you need to read the materials again or you may have comparative discussion with your partners.
5. Do exercises well and compare your answers with those of your friends before consulting the key answers provided to you!

All right students, it is highly believed that you will do your best in learning this module.

UNIT 1

The Concepts of Ethnography of Communication

Dear students, now we are in Unit 1 of Module 9 which mainly deals the key concepts of ethnography of communication. As we have already known, all human languages have interrelationships with socio-cultural features of the speech communities. People speak and use language in such a way that ethnic and local features involve in the forms and uses of language as an instrument of communication. Languages and/or specific codes are not used without particular “ways” conventionally followed by the (native) speakers in natural life. In the context of language teaching, let’s say EFL teaching, the learners need to know the formal forms and communicative uses of English in the classroom interactions. As it has been already known, sociolinguistics (see Wolfson, 1989:1) is of fundamental importance to the profession of TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages). In central issues, sociolinguistic views on language uses are necessary to be brought into the classrooms.

The teaching of a second (and a foreign) language necessarily involves a degree of intercultural communication, and this in turn leads to questions concerning social rules and cultural values which might otherwise not arise. Language teachers, in fact, cannot help but become aware of differences in communicative conventions between one group and another. Language, both as medium and subject of study, is more than a system of sounds, meaning units, and syntax, more than simply a tool for getting meaning across. More than anything else, language is social behavior, and it is upon this fact that sociolinguistics is predicated. Because language teaching is, by its very nature, concerned with understanding and interpreting cultural meaning, the connection between language teaching and sociolinguistics would seem to be both natural and inevitable (Wolfson, 1989:1). It is highly believed that the discussion on ethnography of communication is academically helpful, then.

For learners and researchers, the discussion on ethnography of communication is not only necessary in language practices, but it is needed as well to do further studies on developing theories and researches of sociolinguistics. As learners, you will know and understand the theories,

concepts, and practical applications of ethnography of communication in EFL teaching. In addition, the information and socio-cultural features of language uses should be informed to EFL learners in order that they may English contextually. The discussion on ethnography of communication is also relevant to build and strengthen the communicative competence in a language learnt, as in English. Essential and various ideas concerning with ethnography of communication are meaningful both in theoretical and practical purposes of language learning. These are all, of course, relatively needed to relate the studies on Sociolinguistics with other relevant fields of studies, such as with language teaching and learning. In Unit 1, however, the focus of discussion and exercises are relatively limited on the (key) concepts of ethnography of communication.

A. THE KEY CONCEPTS OF ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

It has been informed that sociolinguists who have worked with people from different cultural backgrounds are very aware of the amount of cultural baggage that we all carry around us. We make assumptions about what is normal and usual and appropriate and correct, and we respond with surprise, or sometimes disapproval, when somebody breaks our rules or behaves in a way that challenges our expectations. The ethnography of speaking (also known as the ethnography of communication since it embraces features of non-verbal communication too) is an approach to analyzing language which has been designed to heighten awareness of cultural-bound assumptions. Dell Hymes, the sociolinguist who first developed this theoretical approach, worked with the indigenous native peoples of the USA, and this made him very aware of the limitations of traditional approaches to describing communication systems (Holmes, 2013:372). According to Holmes (2013), the framework that Hymes developed for the analysis of communicative events involved the following components:

1. *Genre* or type of event: e.g. phone call, conversation, business meeting, lesson, interview, blog.
2. *Topic* or what people are talking about: e.g. holidays, sport, sociolinguistics, etc.
3. *Purpose* or function: the reason(s) for the talk: e.g. to plan an event, to catch up socially, to teach something, to persuade someone to help you.

4. *Setting*: where the talk takes place: e.g. at home, in the classroom, in an office.
5. *Key* or emotional tone: e.g. serious, jocular, sarcastic.
6. *Participants*: characteristic of those present and their relationship: sex, age, social status, role and role relationship: e.g. mother-daughter, teacher-pupil, TV interviewer, interviewee and audience.
7. *Message form*, code and/or channel: e.g. telephone, letter, e-mail, language and language variety, non-verbal.
8. *Message content* or specific details of what the communication is about: e.g. organizing a time for a football match, describing how a tap works, describing how to make rotis.
9. *Act sequence* or ordering of speech acts: e.g. greetings, meeting turn-taking rules, ending a telephone conversation.
10. *Rules for interaction* or prescribed orders of speaking: e.g. who must speak first, who must respond to the celebrant at a wedding, who closes a business meeting.
11. *Norms for interpretation* of what is going on: the common knowledge and shared understandings of the relevant cultural presuppositions: what we need to know to interpret what is going on: e.g. that how are you does not require a detailed response in most Western English-speaking societies, that it is polite to refuse the first offer of more food in some cultures.

Holmes (2013:373) further mentions that explicitly identifying the components of a communicative event in this way has proved particularly useful in describing interaction in unfamiliar cultures. The framework highlights features that contrast between cultures, e.g. the different ways that legal proceedings or celebrations are conducted, or contrast in how meetings are run. It also provides a way of analyzing events that are unique to a particular culture: e.g. ritual insult in African American vernacular culture, formal rituals of welcome in Maori communities or kava-drinking events in Pacific communities. Kava is a mild narcotic drunk in many parts of Polynesia and Melanesia. Public social kava drinking is restricted to adult males in Aulua; women may drink kava but not in the company of men. Based on the analyses by using the components of ethnography of communication, it can be understood that in the celebration people speak and involve in speech events in certain systems of verbal-cultural communication.

In simple-practical ideas, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:230) state that the study of language involves more than just describing the syntactic composition of sentences or specifying their propositional content. Sociolinguists are interested in the various things that people do with that language. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:232) explain that Hymes has proposed an ethnographic framework which takes into account the various factors that are involved in speaking. An ethnography of communicative event is a description of all the factors that are relevant in understanding how that particular communicative event achieve its objectives. For convenience, Hymes uses the acronym SPEAKING for the various factors he deems to be relevant. Now, let's see, in the following paragraphs, the factors implied by the acronym briefly (adapted from Wardhaugh, 2010: Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015).

The setting and scene (S) of speech are important. Setting refers to the time and place, that is, the concrete physical circumstances in which speech takes place. Scene refers to the abstract psychological setting, or the cultural definition of the occasion. A particular bit of speech may actually serve to define a scene, whereas another bit of speech may be deemed to be quite inappropriate in certain circumstances. Within a particular setting, of course, participants are free to change scenes, as they change the level of formality (e.g., go from serious to joyful) or as they change the kind of activity in which they are involved (e.g., begin to drink or to recite poetry).

The participants (P) include various combinations of speaker – listeners, addressor – addressee, or sender – receiver. They generally fill certain socially specified roles. A two-person conversation involves a speaker and hearer whose roles change; a 'dressing down' involves a speaker and hearer with no role change; a political speech involves an addressor and addressee (the audience); and a telephone message involves a sender and a receiver. A prayer obviously makes a deity a participant. In a classroom, a teacher's question and a student's response involve not just those two as speaker and listener but also the rest of the class as audience, since they too are expected to benefit from the exchange.

Ends (E) refers to the conventionally recognized and expected outcomes of an exchange as well as to the personal goals that participants seek to accomplish on particular occasions. A trial in a courtroom has a recognizable social end in view, but the various participants, that is, the judge, jury, prosecution, defense, accused, and witnesses, have different personal goals.

Likewise, a marriage ceremony serves a certain social end, but each of the various participants may have his or her own unique goals in getting married or in seeing a particular couple married.

Act sequence (A) refers to the actual form and content of what is said: the precise words used, how they are used, and the relationship of what is said to the actual topic at hand. This is one aspect of speaking in which linguists have long shown an interest, particularly those who study discourse and conversation. Public lectures, casual conversations, and cocktail party chatter are all different forms of speaking; with each go different kinds of language and things talked about.

Key (K), the fifth term, refers to the tone, manner, or spirit in which a particular message is conveyed: light-hearted, serious, precise, pedantic, mocking, sarcastic, pompous, and so on. The key may also be marked non-verbally by certain kinds of behavior, gesture, posture, or even deportment. When there is a lack of fit between what a person is actually saying and the key that the person is using, listeners are likely to pay more attention to the key than to the actual content, for example, to the burlesque of a ritual rather than to the ritual itself.

Instrumentalities (I) refers to the choice of channel, for example, oral, written, signed, or telegraphic, and to the actual forms of speech employed, such as the language, dialect, code, or register that is chosen. Formal, written, legal language is one instrumentality; spoken Newfoundland English is another, as is American Sign Language; code-switching between English and Italian in Toronto is a third; and the use of Pig Latin is still another. You may employ different instrumentalities in the course of a single verbal exchange of some length: first read something, then tell a dialect joke, then quote Shakespeare, then use an expression from another language, and so on.

Norms of interaction and interpretation (N) refers to the specific behaviors and properties that attach to speaking and also to how these may be viewed by someone who does not share them (e.g., loudness, silence, gaze return, and so on). For example, there are certain norms of interaction with regard to church services and conversing with strangers. However, these norms vary from social group to social group, so the kind of behavior expected in congregations that practice 'talking in tongues' or the group encouragement of a preacher in other would be deemed abnormal and unacceptable in a 'high' Anglican setting, where the congregation is expected to sit quietly unless it is their time to participate in group prayer or singing.

Likewise, a Brazilian and an Anglo-Saxon meeting for the first time are unlikely to find a conversational distance that each finds comfortable, as they may have different ideas about how close one stands when conversing with a stranger.

Genre (G), the final term, refers to clearly demarcated types of utterance; such things as poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, prayers, lectures, and editorials. These are all marked in specific ways in contrast to casual speech. Of course, in the middle of a prayer, a casual aside would be marked too. While particular genres seem more appropriate on certain occasions than others, for example, sermons inserted into church services, they can be independent; we can ask someone to stop 'sermonizing'; that is, we can recognize a genre of sermons when an instance of it, or something closely resembling an instance, occurs outside its usual setting.

The brief explanation above gives information to us that there are some important factors considered in having social interaction. Such factors are close to the socio-cultural behaviors developed and followed by a speech community in verbal communication. These are the key concepts of ethnography of communication; it is also referred as ethnography of speaking. Furthermore, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) state that what Hymes offers us in the concept of SPEAKING formula is a very necessary reminder that talk is a complex activity, and that any particular bit of talk is actually a piece of 'skilled work'. It is skilled in the sense that if it is to be successful, the speaker must reveal a sensitivity to and awareness of each of the eight factors of ethnography of communication. In addition, speakers and listeners must also work to see that nothing goes wrong. It is sure that when speaking does go wrong, as it sometimes does, that going-wrong is often clearly describable in terms of some neglect of one or more of the factors. Of course, individuals vary in their ability to manage and exploit the total array of factors; everyone in a society will not manage talk in the same way (see also Wardhaugh, 2010).

Theoretically, Hymes's ethnography of speaking (later to become more broadly the ethnography of communication) (see Saville-Troike in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:351, 352) resulted in the advent of a distinctive new sub-discipline, derived from anthropology and linguistics, which has revolutionized the study of the interpenetration of language and culture. This new field focuses on the patterning of communicative behavior it constitutes one of the systems of culture, as it functions within the holistic context of

culture, and as it relates to patterns in other cultural systems. Then it is also necessary to understand that the principal concerns in the ethnography of communication include the relationship of language form and use to patterns and functions of communication, to world view and social organization, as well as to linguistic and social universals and inequalities. The concern for pattern has long been basic in the studies of anthropology, with interpretations of underlying meaning dependent on the discovery and description of normative structure or design.

B. COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

Now, let's see the basic concept of communicative competence and its relationship to the ethnography of communication. The ideas and discussion on communicative competence are in central point in sociolinguistics with its relation to language teaching. It is reasonable that the study of language and, of course, the language teaching, involve more than just describing and learning the syntactic composition of sentences or specifying their propositional content (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:230). In relation to this, the ethnography of communication is also related to communicative competence in many aspects, including in language teaching. According to Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), the term communicative competence is sometimes used to describe the knowledge of how to use language in culturally appropriate ways. This term was suggested by Hymes (1972) as a counter-concept to Chomsky's linguistic competence, which focused on an ideal hearer-speaker's knowledge of grammaticality of sentences in their native language. Hymes maintained that knowledge of a language involved much more than that. Then, Gumperz (1972) as quoted by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:230) explains the term as: '*Whereas linguistic competence covers the speaker's ability to produce grammatically correct sentences, communicative competence describes his ability to select, from the totality of grammatically correct expressions available to him, forms which appropriately reflect the social norms governing behavior in specific encounters*'.

In other similar ideas, Stern (1994:229) says that a native speaker's language proficiency implies the ability to act as a speaker and listener in the diverse ways that the different categories we have outlined attempt to grasp.

The intuitive mastery that the native speaker possesses to use and interpret language appropriately in the process of interaction and in relation to social context has been called by Hymes (1972) and others as 'communicative competence', a concept which has in recent years been widely accepted in language pedagogy. In Hymes' much quoted formulation, it is a competence 'when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner'. This concept constituted a definite challenge to Chomsky's 'linguistic competence' which is confined to internalized rules of syntax and abstracts from the social rules of language use. Communicative competence no doubt implies linguistic competence but its main focus is the intuitive grasp of social and cultural rules and meanings that are carried by any utterances.

In addition, based on Hymes' (1974), Woflson (1989:44) mentions that a child who had acquired the competence to produce any and all the sentences of his native language, and who was likely to say any sentence without reference to social context or rules, would be considered a social monster. The point is that the ability to produce correct sentences does not, in itself, constitute knowledge of a language, or anyone learning a new language, the fact remains that language acquisition involves not linguistic competence alone but what Hymes has called communicative competence. The concept of communicative competence has been largely accepted in the fields of Applied Linguistics and in teaching methodology of language.

The ethnography of communication which ideally generates the ideas of communicative competence tends to be challenging in the studies of language in relation to society and culture, and in its learning, as well. In accordance with this, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:231) state that working with an ethnography or functional approach, we may attempt to specify just what it means to be a competent speaker of a particular language. It is one thing to learn a language as a main tool of communication. In learning to speak, we are also learning to communicate in ways appropriate to the group in which we doing that learning; this is sometimes called *language socialization*. These ways differ from group to group; consequently, as we move from one group to another or from one language to another, we must learn the new ways if we are to fit into that new group or to use that new language properly. Communicative competence is therefore a key component of social competence, including in all types of communication, as well.

It is also necessary for us to pay serious attention to what Saville-Troike (in McKay and Horberger (eds.), 1996:352) mentions concerning with the principle of ethnography of communication. Based on experts' ideas on language and anthropology, Saville-Troike says that the principal concerns in the ethnography of communication include the relationship of language form and the use to patterns and functions of communication, to world view and social organization, as well as to linguistic and social universals and inequalities. The concern for pattern has long been basic in anthropology, with interpretations of underlying meaning dependent on the discovery and description of normative structure or design. More recent emphasis on the role of the process of interaction in generating behavioral patterns extends this concern to explanation as well as description.

Saville-Troike (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:353 – 354) also mentions that in communicative interactions, some expectations are so strong (some patterns so regular, so predictable) that a very low information load is carried even by a relatively long utterance or interchange, even though the social meaning involved can be significant. For instance, one greeting sequence in English, "How are you?" followed by expected response "Fine, how are you?" has little if any reference to factual conditions. However, a response of silence, or a long tale of woe about one's health, would be strongly marked communicative behavior and would carry a very high potential load of social meaning. The ethnography of communication is concerned with communicative conventions which operate at a societal level, for example, with regular patterns and constraints that occur in relation to communicative functions, categories of talk, and attitudes about languages and their speakers and with the use of these rules to affect social and cultural outcomes.

Furthermore, Saville-Troike (see McKay and Horberger (eds.), 1996:356) states that the functions of language (rather than the forms) generally provide the primary dimension for characterizing and organizing communicative processes and products in a society from an ethnography of communication perspective; without understanding why a language is being used as it is, and the consequences of such use, one cannot understand the meaning of its in the context of social interaction. To claim primacy of function over form in analysis is not to deny or neglect the formal structures of language; rather, it is to require that words and sentences and even longer strings of discourse not be dealt with as autonomous units but as they are

situated in communicative settings and patterns and as they function in society. In this sense, it is on the right position to say that communicative competence and ethnography of communication are relevant to accommodate in language learning and in verbal communication, as well.

C. DOING RESEARCHES THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

The intrinsic relationship of language and culture is widely recognized and the ways in which the patterning of communicative behavior and that of other cultural systems interrelate are of interest both to the development of general theories of communication and to the description and analysis of communication within specific speech communities. Although there is some controversy regarding the extent to which language shapes and controls the thinking of its speakers or merely reflects their world view, there is little doubt that there is a correlation between at least the vocabulary of a language and the beliefs, values, and needs present in the culture of its native speakers (Saville-Troike in McKay and Horberger (eds.), 1996:360). The ideas are mostly derived from linguistic relativity theory and Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which are common in Anthropological Linguistics.

In relation to doing researches in the ethnography of communication, among the others, Saville-Troike (in McKay and Horngerger (eds.), 1996) explains and gives meaningful ideas that can be theoretically and practically used by learners and researchers. According to her, doing ethnographic research in speech communities other than one's own involves first and foremost fieldwork, including observing, asking questions, participating in group activities, and testing the validity of one's own perceptions against the intuitions of natives. It is crucial that the ethnographic description of other groups not be approached in terms of preconceive categories and processes but with an openness to discover the ways that native speakers perceive and structure their communicative experiences. Research design must allow for modes of thought and behavior which may not have been anticipated by the investigator. The unique event and the recurrent pattern must be seen both from the perspective of their native participants and from the vantage point afforded by cross-cultural knowledge and comparison.

Saville-Troike (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:368 – 369) adds that other characteristics of most ethnographic approaches to the study of communicative phenomena are the data are normally collected in naturalistic

settings rather than with clinical or experimental controls that the study is in-depth and involves a significant period of time, and that analyses are primarily qualitative in nature. No single mode of data collection is required in ethnographic approaches to communication, although observation-participation is considered basic. Other modes include library research for background information, archeological and sociological surveys, artistic and folkloric analyses, and full range of linguistic and sociolinguistic research. Indeed, the essential element for an ethnography of communication perspective is that multiple databases will be incorporated in description and analysis, with an idealistic goal of holistic explication. Most developments within the ethnography of communication for data collection and analysis have targeted communicative events within a fairly well defined speech community.

Now, let's continue to units of analysis in doing research in ethnography of communication in brief view. According to Saville-Troike (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996), the communicative units that are frequently used in ethnographic studies are situation, event, and act. Accordingly, *the communicative situation* is the context within which communication occurs. Typically, terms exist in the language by which to label situations, such as a church service, a trial, a cocktail party, or a class in school. A single situation maintains a consistent general configuration of activities and the same overall ecology within which communication take place, although there may be great diversity in the kinds of interaction that occur there.

Next, *the communicative event* is the basic unit for descriptive purposes. A *single event* is defined by a unified set of components throughout, beginning with the same general purpose of communication, the same general topic, and the same participants, generally using the same language variety, maintaining the same tone or key, and using the same rules for interaction, in the same setting. An event terminates whenever there is a change in the major participants, their roles relationships, or the focus of attention. If there is no change in major participants and setting, the boundary between events is often marked by a period of silence and, perhaps, a change of body position. Then, *the communicative act* is generally coterminous with a single interactional function, such as a referential statement, a request, or a command, and may be either verbal or non-verbal. In the context of a communicative event, even silence may be an intentional and conventional communicative act used to question, promise, deny, warn, insult, request, or

command. The unit of communicative act is also applicable in second language research for comparative purposes.

After we see the units of analysis in doing the research and the applications of ethnography of communication, let's continue to the act of analysis, especially in classroom situations. Saville-Troike (see McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:372) mentions that even very detailed descriptions of classroom situations and events may be static in nature, if they fall short of accounting for the dynamic processes involved in communication. Utterances by teachers and students cannot be analyzed in isolation, for instance; they are part of discourse, or connected units which interact in patterned and rule-governed ways. Furthermore, in naturally occurring communication, meaning is not derived just from speech forms and observable nonverbal cues but also from such factors as the information or presuppositions communicants bring to the task and their expectations and inferences.

It is also stated by Saville-Troike (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996), an important cautionary word is that researchers should never delude themselves into thinking that they are completely objective – nor should they be. The validity of a researcher's interpretation of interaction is often enhanced by interviewing students and teachers or by asking them to interpret aspects of videotaped interaction they engaged in and the social situation within which it occurred. A final characterization that can be made of most ethnographic research in classroom is that it is open to new questions that may arise in the course of data collection and analysis and that it attempts to account for the full range of communicative phenomena which occur in the social context of interaction. The scope and depth of analysis attempted are admittedly 'rather' ambitious, then.

A strong call for the application of the ethnography of communication to educational issues was voiced by Hymes in his introduction to *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. For Hymes, research and application involve a two-way sharing of knowledge – the investigator contributing scientific modes of inquiry and participants providing the requisite knowledge and perspective of the particular community contexts. Ideally, all language in classrooms would be used cooperatively by students and teachers to construct mutually satisfying exchanges that further educational goals. Ethnographic modes of investigation are also of particular value in the study of both first and second language acquisition and development or the acquisition of communicative competence (Saville-Troike in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996).

The studies and the application of ethnographic approaches on language are not useful for the studies on Sociolinguistics as the linguistic studies in real societies, by they are also applicable in interactional language used in classrooms. The ethnography of communication can be naturally found in any forms and events of verbal communications in which there are real participants of interaction. It is highly assumed that conducting researches and relevant studies in the ideas of ethnographic approaches help people, teachers, and students of language understand that language forms and syntactical rules and patterns are not the only things to be studied. Socio-cultural and conventional "rules" of language and extra-lingual ones are also essential to know in order that the forms and uses of one particular language are socially successful.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

The term ethnography of communication originally comes from ethnography of speaking. How do they relate each other?

Exercise 2

The acronym SPEAKING can be said as the key points involved in the (key) concepts of ethnography of communication. Why is it so?

Exercise 3

Verbal communication by means of language (or by means of its variations) cannot be separated from the non-linguistic features naturally included in it. Why do you think so?

Exercise 4

How can you formulate the definition of ethnography of communication?

Exercise 5

How can you differentiate between the concept of 'linguistic competence' and 'communicative competence'?

Exercise 6

How can you relate the concept of 'linguistic competence' to 'communicative competence' based on linguistic viewpoint?

Exercise 7

How can you differentiate between Chomsky's 'linguistic competence' and Hymes' 'communicative competence'?

Exercise 8

Why do you think that the concepts of communicative competence implicitly include the concepts of linguistic competence?

Exercise 9

What are the components of ethnographic approaches in doing a research on ethnography of communication?

Exercise 10

Why do you think that the ideas of ethnographic approaches are helpful for Sociolinguistics and for language teaching and learning?

Exercise 11

It is believed that the ethnography of communication and its relevant studies are scientifically important. How can you prove that the results of research in ethnography of communication are meaningful for language uses in classroom interactions?

Exercise 12

What are the reasons argued by sociolinguists and language teaching methodologists that researches on ethnography of communication are needed both in linguistic studies and language teaching?

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

Originally, Hymes introduced the term ethnography of speaking which focused on the practical features of social contexts of language in particular

speech events. He used the acronym SPEAKING to refer to main features naturally used and involved in practical communication. Based on the development of socio-cultural studies in sociolinguistics, the concept and ideas of ethnography of speaking are relevant with the communication events naturally occur in particular speech community. In accordance with this, in the studies of sociolinguistics, the term ethnography of speaking has been terminologically used as ethnography of communication.

Exercise 2

Actually, there are many features of socio-cultural contexts mentioned by Hymes as the essential ones in verbal communication. The features are: genre, topic, purposes, setting, key, participants, message form, message content, act sequence, rules for interaction, and norms for interpretation. Further development and analyses on ethnography of communication come to the conclusion that such main-fundamental features can be simplified and reduced into the setting and scene (S), the participants (P), ends (E), act sequence (A), key (K), instrumentalities (I), norms of interaction and interpretation (N), and genre (G). That is why the acronym SPEAKING can be said as the key points involved in the concepts of ethnography of communication.

Exercise 3

In general view point, language is humanistic and social phenomena. Such facts cannot be avoided because all human beings naturally use one particular language with set of contextual meanings. Thus, it is natural to see that verbal communication by means of language and its variations are influenced by related non-linguistic features, the socio-cultural features. Language forms and meanings are in complex relationships with socio-cultural features and other non-linguistic ones. In this sense, verbal communication cannot be separated from the non-linguistic features naturally involve in it.

Exercise 4

The ethnography of communication is the idea (concept) developed based on the essential socio-cultural-features naturally involved in verbal communication to reflect the interrelationship between language and the non-linguistic features as the social contexts in language uses.

Exercise 5

Basically, the concept of 'linguistic competence' refers to Chomsky's and that of 'communicative competence' refers to Hymes'. Ideally, the linguistic competence is more on the internal knowledge of native speakers about his/her own language which mostly refers to the level of grammatical rules and properties of the language. Meanwhile, the communicative competence is much more on the ability of speakers to understand and use the socio-cultural rules of language in having verbal communication.

Exercise 6

Based on linguistic view point, the communicative competence is naturally derived from the linguistic competence. In other words, there is no fine communicative competence if a speaker does not have linguistic competence. Thus, linguistic competence is the basis for communicative competence which has been enlarged by the speakers with socio-cultural contexts of language in natural uses.

Exercise 7

Chomsky's linguistic competence is more on structural forms and grammatical rules of a given language, while Hymes' communicative competence is more on rules and conventions of language in which it communicatively functions in social contexts.

Exercise 8

As a matter of fact, the communicative competence linguistically works based on linguistic competence. As it has been mentioned in no. 6 above, it is impossible for a speaker to have and apply his communicative competence without having linguistic competence. Therefore, the communicative competence implicitly includes the concepts of linguistic competence, as well.

Exercise 9

Theoretically, the components of ethnographic approaches in doing a research on ethnography of communication are: fieldwork activities, natural-direct observation, asking questions, participating in group activities, and testing the validity of one's own perceptions against the intuitions of natives.

Then, we may also say that the communicative units that are frequently used in ethnographic studies are situation, event, and act.

Exercise 10

The ideas of ethnography of communication lead researchers and sociolinguists to deeply ask questions on detailed forms, meaning, functions, and values of language in socio-cultural contexts and uses. Consequently, such studies let sociolinguists to explore and explain detailed data and information dealing with the relation of language to social contexts in its uses. This is, of course, very helpful for the development of sociolinguistic studies. In addition, such detailed data and information may be partially used for the materials and evaluation of language teaching and learning, particularly in post-intermediate and advanced levels.

Exercise 11

In all language classrooms, moreover in EFL teaching-learning processes, the materials and language interaction are lack of natural settings and environments. Therefore, the materials of language programs should be academically selected in order that they can be the representation of language uses in the speech community. So that, the results of researches based on ethnography of communication are meaningful for language materials of classroom interactions. In this case, the teachers and learners may use the results of researches based on ethnography of communication to build and develop learners' communicative competence.

Exercise 12

The reasons argued by sociolinguists and language teaching methodologists to state that researches on ethnography of communication are needed both in linguistic studies and language teaching, among the others, are:

- 1) the ethnography of communication may analyze and come to detailed data and information related to language used in socio-cultural contexts. Such ways of analyses are needed in linguistic studies in order to see further relationships between language and socio-cultural contexts of language uses. In addition, those data and information are also needed for the materials of language teaching-learning processes;
- 2) linguistic studies, especially sociolinguistic ones, need innovation and further analyses on the relationship between language and its speech

community (society). The ethnographic approaches in the studies of sociolinguistics enable linguists to fulfill such innovation. The results of analyses are useful for language teaching materials and evaluation;

- 3) More and further data and information dealing with language and its social contexts may be used for further related researches, and the results may be used for learning materials in advanced level of EFL classes.



SUMMARY

The ethnography of speaking (also known as the ethnography of communication since it embraces features of non-verbal communication too) is an approach to analyzing language which has been designed to heighten awareness of cultural-bound assumptions. Dell Hymes, the sociolinguist who first developed this theoretical approach, worked with the indigenous native peoples of the USA, and this made him very aware of the limitations of traditional approaches to describing communication systems. In simple-practical ideas, the study of language involves more than just describing the syntactic composition of sentences or specifying their propositional content. In this sense, Hymes has proposed an ethnographic framework which takes into account the various factors that are involved in speaking. An ethnography of a communicative event is a description of all the factors that are relevant in understanding how that particular communicative event achieves its objectives. For convenience, Hymes uses the acronym SPEAKING for the various factors he deems to be relevant. *The setting and scene* (S) of speech are important. Setting refers to the time and place, that is, the concrete physical circumstances in which speech takes place. Scene refers to the abstract psychological setting, or the cultural definition of the occasion. *The participants* (P) include various combinations of speaker – listeners, addressor – addressee, or sender – receiver. *Ends* (E) refers to the conventionally recognized and expected outcomes of an exchange as well as to the personal goals that participants seek to accomplish on particular occasions. *Act sequence* (A) refers to the actual form and content of what is said: the precise words used, how they are used, and the relationship of what is said to the actual topic at hand. *Key* (K) refers to the tone, manner, or spirit in which a particular message is conveyed. *Instrumentalities* (I) refers to the choice of channel and to the actual forms of speech employed. *Norms of interaction and interpretation* (N) refers to the specific behaviors and properties that attach to speaking and also to how these may be viewed by someone who does not share them

(e.g., loudness, silence, gaze return, and so on). And *Genre* (G) refers to clearly demarcated types of utterance; such things as poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, prayers, lectures, and editorials.

The term communicative competence is sometimes used to describe the knowledge of how to use language in culturally appropriate ways. This term was suggested by Hymes (1972) as a counter-concept to Chomsky's linguistic competence, which focused on an ideal hearer-speaker's knowledge of grammaticality of sentences in their native language. Hymes maintained that knowledge of a language involved much more than that. The intuitive mastery that the native speaker possesses to use and interpret language appropriately in the process of interaction and in relation to social context has been called by Hymes (1972) and others as 'communicative competence', a concept which has in recent years been widely accepted in language pedagogy. Communicative competence is therefore a key component of social competence, including in all types of communication, as well. The principal concerns in the ethnography of communication include the relationship of language form and the use to patterns and functions of communication, to world view and social organization, as well as to linguistic and social universals and inequalities.

Doing ethnographic research in speech communities other than one's own involves first and foremost fieldwork, including observing, asking questions, participating in group activities, and testing the validity of one's own perceptions against the intuitions of natives. It is crucial that the ethnographic description of other groups not be approached in terms of preconceived categories and processes but with an openness to discover the ways that native speakers perceive and structure their communicative experiences. Research design must allow for modes of thought and behavior which may not have been anticipated by the investigator. The unique event and the recurrent pattern must be seen both from the perspective of their native participants and from the vantage point afforded by cross-cultural knowledge and comparison.

The communicative units that are frequently used in ethnographic studies are situation, event, and act. *The communicative situation* is the context within which communication occurs. *The communicative event* is the basic unit for descriptive purposes. *A single event* is defined by a unified set of components throughout, beginning with the same general purpose of communication, the same general topic, and the same participants, generally using the same language variety, maintaining the same tone or key, and using the same rules for interaction, in the same setting. *The communicative act* is generally coterminous with a single interactional function, such as a referential statement, a request, or a

command, and may be either verbal or non-verbal. The act of analysis, especially in classroom situations, can be argued as even very detailed descriptions of classroom situations and events may be static in nature, if they fall short of accounting for the dynamic processes involved in communication. Utterances by teachers and students cannot be analyzed in isolation, for instance; they are part of discourse, or connected units which interact in patterned and rule-governed ways. Furthermore, in naturally occurring communication, meaning is not derived just from speech forms and observable nonverbal cues but also from such factors as the information or presuppositions communicants bring to the task and their expectations and inferences.

An important cautionary word is that researchers should never delude themselves into thinking that they are completely objective – nor should they be. The validity of a researcher's interpretation of interaction is often enhanced by interviewing students and teachers or by asking them to interpret aspects of videotaped interaction they engaged in and the social situation within which it occurred. A final characterization that can be made of most ethnographic research in classroom is that it is open to new questions that may arise in the course of data collection and analysis and that it attempts to account for the full range of communicative phenomena which occur in the social context of interaction.



FORMATIVE TEST 1 _____

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the differences between the concept of Chomsky's linguistic competence and Hymes' communicative competence?
- 2) In accordance with the facts that language is social phenomena, Hymes' communicative competence is more reasonable than Chomsky's linguistic competence. Why is it so?
- 3) Successful communication does not only mean the knowledge and ability to use the grammatical rules of phrases or sentences in a language, but it is the application of communicative competence in real situation. How can you prove that this statement is right?
- 4) The ethnography of communication, in some parts, includes the relationship between language, society, and culture as they are in natural life. How can you prove it?

5) What are the main characteristics of researches conducted by means of the ethnographic approaches?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 2

Ethnography and Ethnomethodology

The “key” ideas and concepts of ethnography of communication (or the ethnography of speaking) have just discussed in unit 1. In this unit, we are coming to Ethnography and Ethnomethodology, the topic which is also central in Sociolinguistics. The terms ethnography and ethnomethodology are not linguistics’, but they are commonly used in Sociology and/or in Anthropology. Since a long time, linguists and sociologists have strong interest on the relationships between language and other socio-cultural features and how they are in specific interrelationship, in nature. The terms ethnography and ethnomethodology have been coming to linguistics, especially to sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics, as the consequence of the relationship between language, society, and culture. In accordance with this, we can understand that the topic concerning with ethnography and ethnomethodology in sociolinguistic perspectives are essential to know.

In real life, language forms and uses develop in line with the development of human life through time. Since language cannot be separated from society and culture, the ideas of ethnography and ethnomethodology are applicable in the studies of language as social phenomena. In daily life, we can easily see that people speak variously and they may vary ways of speaking in their language naturally. Those are supposedly influenced by the socio-cultural factors and conventional rules of language in speech community. Thus, the main aim of learning this unit is that you know and understand the ideas, concepts, and analyses of language based on ethnography and ethnomethodology. Actually, sub-topics of discussion presented in this unit are still closely related to those presented in unit 1. In this unit, however, the focus of discussion is more theoretical foundations rather than practical ones. To have systematic explanation and discussion, this unit is divided into three parts, namely: (i) *ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics*; (ii) *ethnomethodology*; and (iii) *linguistic ethnography*. These three sub-topics are expected informing you the ideas, concepts, and application of ethnography and ethnomethodology as commonly used in Sociolinguistics.

As it has been already known, sociolinguistics is the study of linguistic, social, and cultural factors in human communication (see Wolfson, 1989:1). The scope of sociolinguistic studies implies that language relates to society and culture in the language is naturally used. Based on this, sociolinguistics investigates how a language functions and used by its speakers as the main instrument of communication. Within the ideas, ethnography and ethnomethodology which lead us know the phenomena of ethnography of communication and other related issues are highly needed on language studies. Moreover, such investigations are also necessary for language teaching and learning and other functional uses of language in nature. Therefore, it is on the right path now to discuss how ethnography and ethnomethodology work in sociolinguistics.

We can see now that the term *ethnography* and *ethnomethodology* have been becoming more popular in sociolinguistics. It can be understood that the scientific studies on language does not only focus on grammatical rules and prescriptive uses, but they have to be addressed to communicative functions as well. By the ways, language should be understood as series of grammatical and functional rules so that it can socio-culturally function as a medium of communication. Thus, as the students of sociolinguistics, we need to see further how a language functionally works in such a way that it is also influenced by non-linguistic factors as relatively appear in communication events. All right, please come to the following parts and understand the ideas well!

A. ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACHES IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The ideas and concepts of ethnography of speaking or ethnography of communication have been becoming 'new trends' of language studies in Sociolinguistics. Sociolinguists have begun and paid serious attention to the relationships between language, society, and culture. So that, the sociolinguistic studies need ethnographic approaches in order to know and explore the nature of language in social contexts and uses. As it is mentioned by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:227), an underlying assumption in sociolinguistics is that much of communication is directed toward keeping an individual society going; that is, an important function of communication is social maintenance. More recent views hold that language (along with other cultural behavior) does more than just that; it serves to construct and sustain

social reality. Thus, it can be argued that the goals of sociolinguistics are not merely to understand the tacit rules and norms of language use that are culturally specific, but should encompass understand how societies use language to construct those very societies.

In line with the development of sociolinguistics, one broad approach to researching the rules, cultural norms, and values that are intertwined with language is ethnography (see Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:227). In these senses, the sociolinguistic studies are not merely concerned with how a language is used and functioned in its speech community, but they should be more than those. The items of studies and focuses of analyses should achieve how a given language has socio-cultural rules, norms, and values in its speech community. Such goals are of course more than those of traditional sociolinguistics which focus more on the relations of language to society. In this case, sociolinguistics ideally needs the ethnographic approaches, the approaches which include the ideas and features of ethnography of speaking or ethnography of communication; ethnographic researches are needed in sociolinguistics.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:227) say that ethnographic research is generally carried out through the practical operations of participant observation. Ethnographies are based on first-hand observations of behavior in a group of people in their natural setting. Investigators report on what they see and hear as they observe what is going to around them. The ethnographic approaches are those commonly used in the study of ethnography and anthropology. Duranti (1997) as quoted in Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) says that an ethnography is the written description of the social organization, social activities, symbolic and material resources, and interpretive practices characteristic of a particular group of people. In operational work, ethnographers ask themselves what is happening and they try to provide accounts which show how then behavior that is being observed makes sense within the community that is being observed. Based on the ideas, it seems that sociolinguistics may have significant development in the analyses and discussion.

Furthermore, Johnstone (2004) (in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:228) says that ethnography presupposes that the best explanations of human behavior are particular and culturally relative rather than general and universal. Such studies are also qualitative rather than quantitative. In ethnography of speaking, the focus is on the language the participants are

using and the cultural practices such language reflects. It is the case again that the studies of sociolinguistics in ethnographic approaches are more relevant to qualitative studies and analyses toward the socio-cultural phenomena involve in language. In many communicative events, we easily observe that language forms, meaning, functions, and values interact in complex ways and they are all used by the speakers in daily life. Therefore, the ethnographic approaches are relevant with further studies in sociolinguistics.

For further and deeper studies of language phenomena by means of ethnographic approaches, sociolinguists need to know the nature of ethnography research. In accordance with this, it is alright to pay attention to what Canagarajah (2006) states as quoted by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:228). According to him, ethnographers expect to live for an extensive period of time in the community they are studying in order to capture first-hand its language patterns and attitudes. As much as possible, they try not to alter the "natural" flow of life and the social relationships of the community, but understand how language works in everyday life. They are participant-observers and must deal with the basic conundrum of participant observation. In addition, Trusting and Maybin (in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015) also explain that ethnographic work normally requires the researcher to be actively involved in the social action under study, suggesting that this generates insights which cannot be achieved in any other way. The involvement of the researcher in social action, however, inevitably changes the language practices under study. It may be clearer that this issue may also become more and more important as differences increase between the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the observer and the observed.

The ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics have relatively raised the studies on ethnography of communication in various languages and societies. Saville-Troike (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:354) state that an ethnography of communication approach typically looks for strategies and conventions governing larger units of communication and involves more holistic interpretation. An excellent example can be found in the work of Gumperz in the analysis of cross-cultural conversational events. In analyzing one interview session between a British counselor and a Pakistani mathematics teacher, for instance, Gumperz (1979) illustrates how the different socio-cultural conventions for appropriate language use each participant brings to the encounter yield different interpretative frames.

Other examples of studies and analyses based on ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics are mentioned by Wardhaugh (2010) and Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:228 – 229). Among the others, studies held by Sherzer (1983), Hill and Hill (1986), and Mendoza-Denton (2008) are appropriately used as the examples. Sherzer describes how the Kuna of Panama uses language: their public language of the gathering house, and their use of language in curing and music, in rites and festivities, and in everyday conversation. He points out that the Kuna waits very patiently to take their turns in speaking so that interruptions and overlaps in conversation are rare events.

Then, Hill and Hill describe how the Malinche of Central Mexico uses language in their daily lives and in their continuing struggle to preserve their linguistic and cultural identity. Spanish is constantly encroaching on their own language so they have deliberately tried to maintain certain of its features in an almost 'purist' way. Next, Mendoza-Denton offers an account of Latina gangs in a California high school. She describes the students as a mixture of well-to-do Euro-Americans, African Americans, Pacific Islanders, Asians, Asian-Americans, and Latinas/Latinos. She was particularly interested in this last group, especially the girls. She focused her research on the Nortenas and the Surenas, two rival Latina gangs. She studied these groups in depth, having become over a period of time the confidant of members of both groups. She found strong ideological divide between the groups. The Nortenas were 'northern-oriented, preferred to speak English, wore red accessories and red lipstick, feathered their hair, favored Motown Oldie music and the numbers XIV, 14, and 4, and though Hispanic, were mainly US-born. In contrast, the Surenas were 'southern (more Mexican)-oriented, preferred to speak Spanish, wore blue accessories and brown lipstick, ponytailed their hair, favored Mexican bands, pop music, and the numbers XIII, 13, and 3, and were mainly recent immigrants. Mendoza-Denton shows how the members of each group express and reinforce their identities through their various practices and some of the linguistic consequences of such behavior. For example, she found that the preferred use of English or Spanish sometimes concealed a very good knowledge of the dispreferred other language, and that certain linguistic features of Spanish varied according to strength of commitment to the gangs. Mendoza-Denton's study ranges over a wide variety of issues and is a mine of suggestions and insights.

The explanation and examples above lead us to know that the ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics bring significant and meaningful innovations to the studies of language and its speech community. In traditional sociolinguistics, the focuses of studies are on how linguistic features have particular relations to social features in speech communities. The sociolinguistic studies by using and applying the ethnographic approaches are more than just to know and explain the relationships of social features to the language the speakers use in daily life. By using and applying the last approaches, the sociolinguists will continue to search the phenomena of the interrelationships between language and society in relations to socio-cultural qualities and values. It means that the analyses and discussion go further than just to know whether there are the relationships between language and social features of its speech community. We can say that the sociolinguistic studies are more attractive and deeper in analyses if the researchers use ethnographic approaches.

B. ETHNOMETHODOLOGY

In simple idea, the term *ethnography* can be said as the theory, science or scientific study about ethnics and ethnic characteristics. Therefore, ethnography of speaking or ethnography of communication refers to *the study of* rather than *the methodology of*. Then, it can be simply said that the term ethnology refers to the way of study or the methods of conducting researches on ethnics. In terminology, however, we need to see what the experts say about the term ethnology which is also frequently used in sociolinguistics. Thus, it is necessary for you to pay serious attention to the ideas and explanation presented to you in the following paragraphs.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:235) say that while it is possible to investigate talk, the various factors that enter into it, and the variety of its functions, and make many sound observations, this does not by any means exhaust all we might want to say on the subject. As it has been mentioned, talk itself is also used to sustain reality and is itself part of that reality. We can therefore look at talk as a phenomenon in its own right. In this case, it is necessary to know the concept of ethnology. Ethnology is that branch of sociology which is concerned, among other things, with talk viewed in this way. In accordance with the phenomena, ethnologists are interested in the processes and techniques that people use to interpret the

world around them and to interact with that world. They are interested in trying to discover the categories and systems that people use in making sense of the world. Therefore, they do not conduct large-scale surveys of populations, devise sophisticated theoretical models of social organization, or hypothesize that some social theory or other will adequately explain social organization. Instead, they focus on the phenomena of everyday existence, actually on various bits and piece of it, in an attempt to show those who must deal with such bits and pieces go about doing so. In general, their methods are entirely inductive (see also Wardhaugh, 2010).

In the sense inductive method, Leiter (in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:235; and see also Wardhaugh, 2010) states that the aim of ethnomethodology is to study the processes of sense making (idealizing and formulizing) that members of society use to construct the social world and its factual properties (its sense of being ready-made and independent of perception). Ethnomethodologists are interested in such matters as how people interact, solve common problems, maintain social contacts, perform routine activities, and show that they know what is going on around them and communicate that knowledge to others. We can understand now that ethnomethodology is 'a way' to know deeply the socio-cultural phenomena in a society which are related to language and its uses. The sociolinguistic studies may go further to see and to explore the matters how people interact and communicate by means of language supported by social context and features naturally followed in one particular society.

In addition to this, ethnomethodologists say that social order does not somehow exist independently of individuals. People must constantly create that order as they use language to give sense to their own behavior and to respond to the behavior of others. The meaning of what one says or does depends entirely on the context of that saying or doing, and the parties understand what has been said or done because they know things about the circumstances of that saying or doing, about each other, about previous similar occurrences and relationships, and about the various possibilities that might follow. There is also the issue of indexicality: people are also aware that certain linguistic items (even whole languages) are associated with certain social characteristics so that A – an accent, word, phrase, tone of voice, dialect, and so on – means, or can be taken to mean, B – smartness, foreignness, masculinity, impoliteness, superiority, and so on. In this sense, no utterance is ever 'neural': it always indexes some characteristic of the

speaker. Based on some cases and research reports, there is no one-to-one correlation between a particular code and a social meaning: such meanings are dependent upon context. However, particular ways of speaking may have salient meanings that are likely to emerge, especially among interlocutor from the same speech community (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:236; see also Wardhaugh, 2010).

Wardhaugh (2010:267) further mention that ethnomethodologists adopt what is called a phenomenological view of the world; that is, the world is something that people must constantly keep creating and sustaining for themselves. In this view, language plays a very significant role in that creating and sustaining. Moreover, ethnomethodologists regard 'meaning' and 'meaningful activity' as something people accomplish when they interact socially. They focus on what people must do to make sense of, and bring order to, the world around them, and not on what scientists do in trying to explain natural phenomena. Since much of human interaction is actually verbal interaction, they have focused much of their attention on how people use language in their relationships to one another. This is the issue of reflexivity; the notion that events are tied to other events and to words, and words are tied to other words and to events. They focus on how in that use of language people employ what ethnomethodologists call *commonsense knowledge* and *practical reasoning*.

In sociological and sociolinguistic senses, commonsense knowledge refers to a variety of things. It is the understandings, recipes, maxims, and definitions that we employ in daily living as we go about doing things, such as: knowing that thunder usually accompanies lightning; knowing how houses are usually laid out and lived in; knowing how to make a telephone call; knowing that bus drivers do not take checks; knowing that there are 'types' of people, objects, and events, such as: students and professors, classrooms and libraries, and lectures and laboratory sessions (Wardhaugh, 2010:267). Wardhaugh also adds that these types help us to classify and categorize what is 'out there' and guide us in interpreting what happens out there. This stock of common sense knowledge is acquired through experience; but since each person's experience is different from that of everyone else, the knowledge varies from person to person. We also know that it varies, and that some people know more about certain things and others less. The stock itself is not systematic; in fact, it is quite heterogeneous, and often parts of it are inconsistent with other parts – at

times even contradictory – but that fact does not usually prove very bothersome to most individuals. In particular circumstances, we draw on the bits and pieces that seem useful; in other circumstances, we look elsewhere in the stock for help and guidance.

Commonsense knowledge also tells us that the world exists as a factual object. There is a world ‘out there’ independent of our particular existence; moreover, it is a world which others as well as we experience, and we all experience it in much the same way. That world is also a consistent world. Situations and events in it not only occur, but they re-occur. Things do not change much from day to day. Knowledge acquired yesterday and the day before is still valid today and will be valid tomorrow. We can take that world for granted, for our experience tell us it is there and so apparently does the experience of others (Wardhaugh, 2010:268).

Then, practical reasoning (Wardhaugh, 2010:269) refers to the way in which people make use of their commonsense knowledge and to how they employ that knowledge in their conduct of everyday life: what they assume; what they never question; how they select matters to deal with; and how they make the various bits and pieces of commonsense knowledge fit together in social encounters so as to maintain ‘normal’ appearances. It is quite different from logical thinking or the formation and testing of specific hypotheses, both of which we usually learn in formal settings and have very specialized goals.

Practical reasoning, in nature, is not the same kind of thing as scientific reasoning. People do not think through the problems of everyday life the same way that trained scientists go about solving problems (Wardhaugh, 2010:269). Scribner (see in Wardhaugh, 2010) for example, surveyed a number of pieces of research that looked at how people in different parts of the world reason. Evidently, people with very little or no formal education rely entirely on their own experience in solving problems and do not, or cannot, employ ‘logical’ thinking. For example, a number of people in a rural tribe in Liberia in West Africa were presented with the following problem:

All people who own houses pay a house tax.

Boima does not pay a house tax.

Does Boima own a house?

The problem proved too difficult for many of the people asked, or, if they did manage to solve it, they could not explain their reasoning. If they said, for example, that Boima did not own a house, they might offer the

explanation that it was because he was too poor to pay a house tax. This is not, of course, how the above logical problem works, but is instead a practical commonsense interpretation of the material contained within it and of the people's own experience with house-owning and taxes, that is, with the realities of daily living.

As the last note, let's see what Wardhaugh (2010:272) tells about findings and logical statements stated by ethnomethodologists. According to him, ethnomethodologists have found that naturally occurring conversations provide them with some of their most interesting data. Such conversations show how individuals achieve common purposes by doing and saying certain things and not doing and saying others. They obey certain rules of cooperation, trust, turn-taking, and so on, and they usually do not confront others openly, double them, insist they be always 'logical', or refuse to do their own part in 'sustaining reality'. It suffices to say that people use language not only to communicate in variety of ways, but also to create a sense of order in everyday life.

Before we end this part, it is necessary to mention again that the term ethnography and ethnomethodology come from the same area, the studies of socio-cultural phenomena based on anthropology and sociology. The concepts and the application of ethnography of speaking (ethnography of communication) and ethnomethodology in sociolinguistics bring about significant innovation in specification of data and quality of analyses. Ethnographic approaches used and applied in sociolinguistic studies may explore and explain the detailed and specific information of socio-cultural properties included in languages. Meanwhile, by means of ethnomethodology, sociolinguists may go further to know and to analyze the phenomena of commonsense knowledge and practical reasoning naturally involving in social use of languages and their varieties. For the development of sociolinguistics, sociolinguists need to search and explore the interrelationship between language and society in particular features in such a way that the relationships reflect the phenomenological relation of language with society and its speech community.

C. LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY

Historically, sociolinguistics as a part of science originated in the 1960s and 1970s, when linguists, anthropologists, and sociologists became interested in how the structure of language was shaped by the contexts of its use, and how language use shaped social relations and culture. Therefore, the

theories of social class and social hierarchy much early worked in sociolinguistics at the beginning era. Then, the interest to language variations, dialects, and language changes multilingualism, and language contact naturally influenced by the social classes and ethnicities came to main studies of sociolinguistics, as well. Humanistic interactions, power, ideas, and the applications to language teaching concerning with the forms and uses of language become the current issues in sociolinguistics (see further Wodak et.al. in Wodak et.al. (eds.), 2011:4 – 5). Thus, we can see that the development of sociolinguistic studies relatively run well as the logical consequences of socio-cultural developments. It can be predicted that sociolinguistic studies become more attractive and challenging later in particular context of the essential properties of language in relation to society.

As it has been already mentioned in previous module, the studies of sociolinguistics can be classified into macro-sociolinguistics and micro-sociolinguistics. In practical uses, Wodak et.al. (eds.) (2011:3) say that macro-sociolinguists study issues of language planning, languages in contact, diglossia and bilingualism, intercultural communication, and language policies. The practical application of results is a major goal of such investigations. Micro-sociolinguists, on the other hand, focus on the study of conversations, narratives, language use in everyday life and institutions, as well as the linguistic variable in variationist sociolinguistics. Micro-sociolinguistics has added to the micro-level of phonology, morphology, syntax, and the conversational turn in the level of texts: conversations and narratives are analyzed while focusing on gender-specific or class-specific differences. Furthermore, in the 21st century, new challenges confront sociolinguistics: new media, new technologies of communication, and new social issues, such as the impact of globalization, the fluidity of borders and mobility as well as migration. All these new and very complex issues demand more interdisciplinary research in sociolinguistics and the development of new methodologies and new tools for language analysis.

As the realization of the concepts of ethnographic approaches and ethnomethodology in sociolinguistics, there are many language features that can be observed in the relation of language and society. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:241), for instance, mention that ethnomethodologists have found that naturally occurring conversations provide them with some of their most interesting data. Such conversations show how individuals achieve common purposes by doing and saying certain things and not doing and saying others.

They obey certain rules of cooperation, trust, turn-taking, and so on. In this sense, the type of discourse analysis which focuses on these rules for conversation is called conversation analysis. Thus, it can be assumed that the studies of sociolinguistics may relate to discourse analyses, as well.

In recent years, as mentioned by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:241 – 245), linguistic ethnography (or sometimes also called sociolinguistic ethnography) has been emerging as a cover term for research which links ethnographic research on ideologies and wider societal norms with the analyses of specific language practices. Creese (in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015) explains that linguistic ethnography analysis then attempts to combine close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world. Much of this research has been done within the realm of education, and, indeed, a major work describing this paradigm appears in the Encyclopedia for Language and Education. However, it is widely used in other institutional settings.

Furthermore, Rampton (2007) as quoted by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:242), describes the methodological tenets of linguistic ethnography as follow:

1. the context for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and constructed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically;
2. analysis of the internal organization of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas', and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signaled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain.

A concept central to this work is that while we can identify hegemonic ideologies – for instance, the language ideology of normative monolingualism – our analysis must necessarily examine how speakers position themselves with regard to such ideologies. That is, we must discover how these ideologies are not only reproduced through language practices but also challenged through the performances of individual speakers or groups of speakers (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:242). Maybin (see in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015) note that researchers now also frequently draw on social theory

which enables them to make important connections between the everyday experiences they are documenting, and societal patterns of power relations, beliefs, and values. Students are shown as shaped and constrained by these broader social structures but also as expressing individual agency at a local level and drawing creatively on the cultural resources available.

In a study of children in a German-English bilingual classroom in Berlin, Germany, Fuller (see in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:242) notes that there is an explicit norm of separation of languages, referenced by everyone: the principal, the teachers, and the students. This norm should indicate that there would be no bilingual discourse in the classrooms, but that is not the reality. However, the children in this study do not simply violate the rule of monolingual discourse and take the consequences; as students in an elite program and speakers of two prestigious languages, they have a great deal to lose if they speak a stigmatized mixed variety. Instead, they often use flagged code-switching, that is, switches from one language to the next that are marked by comment, laughter, or repair. According to Fuller, these data collected during English instruction, show that most of the switches occur as singly occurring German lexical items embedded in otherwise English utterances. The students construct themselves as English speakers while simultaneously, by 'slipping' into German, construct themselves as dominant in German.

Based on the study, Fuller (as in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015) argues that thereby the students access the cultural capital of being an English speaker while simultaneously enjoying the peer solidarity of being a German speaker. Through the flagging of the switches, they can also align themselves with the normative ideology of monolingualism. Such a practice serves to position these bilinguals as part of educated elite, that is, as English speakers, without sacrificing all of the cover prestige of using the peer language, German. We may see, based on the ideas of linguistic ethnography, the sociolinguistic studies are more on detail information dealing with local action and information of language uses in social life. The social lives can be in the scopes of specific language events used by people in particular group of people.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:243) also mention some other studies conducted within the linguistic ethnography paradigm. They mention, among the others, the studies include research in a variety of educational settings, for example, Copland (2011), a study on teacher training feedback sessions, and

Heller (2006), whose research on French schools in Ontario address issues of race/ethnicity, social class, and language ideologies along with language use patterns. Other institutions in which linguistic ethnography has been carried out include residential child care institutions (Palomares and Paveda, 2010) and historic societies dealing with the Gullah/Greechee language in the Low Country of South Carolina (Smalls, 2010). The linguistic ethnography, which is a relatively new approach in sociolinguistics, which integrates the study of linguistic practices in a particular setting with ethnography gained knowledge about societal norms and ideologies.

The ideas and paradigm of linguistic ethnography brings about innovation and new development of studies in sociolinguistics. Sociolinguists are challenged to do researches on social phenomena of language in forms, uses, meanings, and also language development in line with socio-cultural development of human beings. In addition, we may say that modern science, including modern sociolinguistics, develop well in order to explore and explain the phenomena around us. Sociolinguistics belongs to the linguistic science which has been developing quickly as the reflection of language development in societies.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

What are the main aims of sociolinguistic studies in general?

Exercise 2

What are the main characteristics of researches in ethnography or ethnographic researches?

Exercise 3

Why do you think that the ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics may have better results of analyses and explanation?

Exercise 4

What is your opinion on the ideas that sociolinguistics needs ethnographic approaches in its researches?

Exercise 5

How can you theoretically differentiate between ethnography and ethnomethodology?

Exercise 6

Phenomenology is one of the main ideas used in ethnomethodology. How can you relate between phenomenology and ethnomethodology in which they are in close relationships?

Exercise 7

Why do you think that common sense knowledge is one of fundamental concepts which is considered in ethnomethodology?

Exercise 8

How can you differentiate between common sense knowledge and practical reasoning? Add your own example(s) to support your ideas!

Exercise 9

What is the basic idea of linguistic ethnography?

Exercise 10

How can you relate between ethnomethodology and linguistic ethnography?

Exercise 11

What are basic assumptions of methodology in linguistic ethnography?

Exercise 12

What are the advantages of using and applying the ideas and methodology of linguistic ethnography in sociolinguistic studies?

Key to Exercises**Exercise 1**

The general main aims of sociolinguistic studies are:

- 1) to study and to know how language has particular relation to society;

- 2) to explore and explain to what extent language relates to social features and functions in its society;
- 3) to explore and explain why language has certain relation to particular socio-cultural features of society.

Exercise 2

The main characteristics of researches in ethnography or ethnographic researches are:

- 1) field-survey research;
- 2) participant observation;
- 3) qualitative approach;
- 4) explorative phenomenology;
- 5) inductive and grounded theory.

Exercise 3

The ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics may have better results of analyses and explanation because the analyses and explanation are in details about the interrelationships and the complex systems between language forms and their meanings, functions, and values in socio-cultural contexts.

Exercise 4

Yes, I do agree. Sociolinguistics needs ethnographic approaches in its researches in order to have detailed and further data and information dealing with the relation between language and its social features.

Exercise 5

Theoretically, ethnography refers to the science, the scientific study of the socio-cultural characteristics and behaviors of ethnics. Then, ethnomethodology is the ways of study or the methods appropriately used and/or applied in the research of ethnography.

Exercise 6

Phenomenology is simply the study about certain phenomena in human life. Ethnomethodology, as mentioned above, is the ways to study ethnics which are full of unique and particular phenomena. We can understand now that phenomenology is the basis for ethnomethodology; they relate each other in the study of sociology, anthropology, or in sociolinguistics.

Exercise 7

Commonsense knowledge refers to a variety of things. It is the understandings, recipes, maxims, and definitions that humans employ in daily living as they go about doing things. Such knowledge is essential and makes humans as human. Thus, commonsense knowledge is one of fundamental concept which is considered in ethnomethodology because it has both universal properties and uniqueness. Commonsense knowledge is used by human beings as the basic foundation of better and social rules.

Exercise 8

Commonsense knowledge is the understandings, recipes, maxims, and definitions that humans employ in daily living as they go about doing things. For example: (i) most people know that thunder usually accompanies lighting; (ii) water is wet; (iii) drivers are able to direct his bus, and so on. In other side, practical reasoning refers to the way in which people make use of their commonsense knowledge and to how they employ that knowledge in their conduct of everyday life: what they assume; what they never question; how they select matters to deal with, and so on. For examples: (i) most people keep silent if they are not in right position; (ii) people come to a party if there is an invitation; (iii) teacher ask student to review lessons at home for final examination; (iv) people go to the market to buy something; students and teachers are in serious discussion for difficult materials.

Exercise 9

The basic idea of linguistic ethnography, or sometimes called sociolinguistic ethnography, is a cover term for research which links ethnographic research on ideologies and wider societal norms with the analyses of specific language practices.

Exercise 10

As it has been mentioned, ethnomethodology is the ways or methods used in the study of ethnography. In the studies, researchers deeply explore and serious study the phenomena of language in relation to society. Linguistic ethnography is basically similar with ethnography and ethnomethodology. In practical works, however, linguistic ethnography relatively studies the social phenomena of language in smaller scopes. In this case, the linguistic ethnography may come to language and ideology and language in classroom interactions.

Exercise 11

The basic assumptions of linguistic ethnography are:

- 1) the context for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and constructed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically;
- 2) analysis of the internal organization of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas', and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signaled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain.

Exercise 12

There are, at least, three advantages of using and applying the ideas of linguistic ethnography in sociolinguistic studies:

- 1) the scopes of studies are more specific, as the result, the analyses and the discussion become more deeply and argumentatively;
- 2) the focuses of studies may be more relevant with the development of register in which languages are practically used;
- 3) language and ideology and language used in classrooms may become challenging studies in relations to psychology, mind, and education.

**SUMMARY**

In line with the development of sociolinguistics, one broad approach to researching the rules, cultural norms, and values that are intertwined with language is ethnography. In these senses, the sociolinguistic studies are not merely concerned with how a language is used and functioned in its speech community, but they should be more than those. The items of studies and focuses of analyses should achieve how a given language has socio-cultural rules, norms, and values in its speech community. Such goals are of course more than those of traditional sociolinguistics which focus more on the relations of language to society. Ethnographic research is generally carried out through the practical operations of participant observation. Ethnographies are based on first-hand observations of behavior in a group of people in their natural setting. Investigators report on what they see and hear as they observe what is

going to around them. The ethnographic approaches are those commonly used in the study of ethnography and anthropology.

Ethnography presupposes that the best explanations of human behavior are particular and culturally relative rather than general and universal. Such studies are also qualitative rather than quantitative. In ethnography of speaking, the focus is on the language the participants are using and the cultural practices such language reflects. In relevant idea, ethnographers expect to live for an extensive period of time in the community they are studying in order to capture first-hand its language patterns and attitudes. As much as possible, they try not to alter the "natural" flow of life and the social relationships of the community, but understand how language works in everyday life. They are participant-observers and must deal with the basic conundrum of participant observation. The ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics have relatively raised the studies on ethnography of communication in various languages and societies.

It is possible to investigate talk, the various factors that enter into it, and the variety of its functions, and make many sound observations, this does not by any means exhaust all we might want to say on the subject. In this case, it is necessary to know the concept of ethnomethodology. Ethnomethodology is that branch of sociology which is concerned, among other things, with talk viewed in this way. In accordance with the phenomena, ethnomethodologists are interested in the processes and techniques that people use to interpret the world around them and to interact with that world. They are interested in trying to discover the categories and systems that people use in making sense of the world. Therefore, they do not conduct large-scale surveys of populations, devise sophisticated theoretical models of social organization, or hypothesize that some social theory or other will adequately explain social organization. Instead, they focus on the phenomena of everyday existence, actually on various bits and piece of it, in an attempt to show those who must deal with such bits and pieces go about doing so. In general, their methods are entirely inductive.

Ethnomethodologists adopt what is called a phenomenological view of the world; that is, the world is something that people must constantly keep creating and sustaining for themselves. In this view, language plays a very significant role in that creating and sustaining. Moreover, ethnomethodologists regard 'meaning' and 'meaningful activity' as something people accomplish when they interact socially. They focus on what people must do to make sense of, and bring order to, the world around them, and not on what scientists do in trying to explain natural phenomena. Since much of human interaction is actually verbal

interaction, they have focused much of their attention on how people use language in their relationships to one another. This is the issue of reflexivity; the notion that events are tied to other events and to words, and words are tied to other words, and to events. They focus on how in that use of language people employ what ethnomethodologists call *commonsense knowledge* and *practical reasoning*.

Linguistic ethnography (or sometimes also called sociolinguistic ethnography) has been emerging as a cover term for research which links ethnographic research on ideologies and wider societal norms with the analyses of specific language practices. Linguistic ethnography analysis then attempts to combine close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world. Much of this research has been done within the realm of education, and indeed, a major work describing this paradigm appears in the *Encyclopedia for Language and Education*. However, it is widely used in other institutional settings. A concept central to this work is that while we can identify hegemonic ideologies – for instance, the language ideology of normative monolingualism – our analysis must necessarily examine how speakers position themselves with regard to such ideologies. The ideas and paradigm of linguistic ethnography brings about innovation and new development of studies in sociolinguistics.



FORMATIVE TEST 2

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the main ideas of ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics?
- 2) What are the examples of sociolinguistic studies using ethnographic approaches?
- 3) Why do you think that sociolinguistic studies are more attractive and deeper if they use ethnographic approaches?
- 4) Why do you think that the methods of ethnomethodology belong to inductive ones?
- 5) What are the main ideas of linguistic ethnography?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next unit.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit

Remember your mastery of the next learning is based on your mastery of these materials. So, be sure that you have mastered them all before you continue to the next part.

UNIT 3

The Implication of Ethnography of Communication in EFL Teaching

Dear students! In Unit 2, you learned and discussed the ideas and concepts of ethnography of communication and ethnomethodology. The ethnography of communication (derived from ethnography of speaking) is the concept which is used by linguists to explore the qualitative aspects of language forms as they are used in social contexts. Hymes is best known for his founding role in this sociolinguistic concept. As it has been mentioned, the approach to the analysis of language in use, known as the ethnography of speaking, is fundamental to the entire enterprise of investigating communicative competence and therefore has, in many ways, informed most of the research in sociolinguistics and Teaching English to the Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) (see Wolfson, 1989). In this case, English can be as the second or a foreign language (L2, or FL). Based on the idea, it is necessary to understand and take the implication ethnography of communication in EFL teaching, such as in Indonesia.

In addition, it also useful for us to pay attention to Wolfson's comments related to sociolinguistics and language teaching in general view point. Wolfson (1989:53) states that from the point of view of language teaching in general and of TESOL in particular, the implications of what has been said are many-faceted. The ability of a second/foreign language learner to interact successfully in a foreign speech community depends on the extent of his or her communicative competence, of which rules of speaking are an important aspect. Those sociolinguistic patterns are, however, not objectively known to native speakers, including the teachers and materials writers who are most in need of applying them. Language teaching-learning needs sociolinguistic information and data so that the materials presented in the classroom may build and develop learners' communicative competence.

In general view, the discussion on ethnography of communication and language teaching is important for both learners and teachers of language. In Unit 3, we are going to discuss the implication of ethnography of communication in EFL teaching. In this unit, the topics of discussion will be around the practical uses of research results into EFL teaching, particularly in

Indonesia settings. The topic areas discussed in this unit are still in theoretical view and followed by practical uses which are applicable in EFL teaching. It is sure that you have been already known, EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia have specific characteristics because most learners have had their local languages as the first language.

In order to have systematic presentation and discussion, this unit is divided into two sub-units, namely: (i) The Study of Language in its Social Context and Language Teaching; and (ii) Findings and Implication of Ethnography of Communication in EFL Teaching. The study of language in its social context refers to sociolinguistics. In this part, our discussion will be more theoretical ideas which relate to sociolinguistics in language teaching. The discussion may help learners and teachers to know the social features of language which give significant effects to language meanings and function. And it is sure that this is necessary for EFL learners in Indonesia. In order to have better understanding and critical argumentation on certain topics of discussion, you are highly suggested to read other relevant references as noted in this module or you may find your own sources. On this occasion, it is highly advisable to add your references and may find further relevant references in manual library or in electronic facilities. It is also expected that you seriously learn in details the information and examples which are relevant to this topic. Then, it is also necessary to tell that you may go to the next module if you have had "good" passing grade in each exercise and/or test given to you in this module. Please study seriously and good luck!

A. THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

The study of language in its social context starts from the assumption that speech varies within a speech community. It is the business of linguistics to account for these and to study the rules of the variations as normal phenomena of language use (Stern, 1994:219). According to Labov (in Stern, 1994), a sociolinguistic variable is a linguistic feature which can be systematically related to some non-linguistic feature in the social context: the speaker, the addressee, the audience, or the setting. Thus, some features of language involving in communication are in systematic relationships in some ways.

It is clear that taking into account the many social and regional variations of language use makes the description of a language an even more complex task than if they are disregarded. The language teacher faces a similar problem when he asks himself whether to teach a language as it is spoken or whether he should confine his teaching to an idealized 'standard' variety. In the latter case the task is simplified but the student may find that no native speaker uses the language quite the way he was taught: the student is not sensitized to the differences among groups of speakers and to the social significance of these differences. Language in social context is closer to real life, but variations make the teaching-learning task more complex. The effect of this trend in sociolinguistics is a socially more differentiated description of linguistics: a phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicology in which the distinctions in the use of language by different groups in society and by individuals in different situation are not rubbed out (Stern, 1994:220).

The ethnographic approaches to the sociolinguistic studies give effects to the language teaching, as well. According to Stern (1994:220), this approach to sociolinguistics extends the area of linguistics beyond the study of formal properties of utterances to the study of the social contexts and of the participants in acts of communication. This concern with social function of speech implies that the model for the analysis of languages is shifting from the utterance in isolation and the study of a 'context' into which this utterance must be placed towards an attempt to regard the interpersonal social act as the primary event and the speech forms as secondary. The act of communication is therefore seen not as basically an exchange of linguistic messages, but rather as a socially meaningful episode in which the use of language plays a part only inasmuch as the social rules and functions are already previously agreed upon or are known by the participants in the verbal exchange. Thus, in a given situation, it is the sequence of inter-personal events that sets the stage for given messages.

The concept of communicative competence, as it has been mentioned previously, comes also to language teaching. Based on Hymes', Stern (1994:229) says that the intuitive mastery that the native speaker possesses to use and interpret language appropriately in the process of interaction and in relation to social context has been called as communicative competence, a concept which has in recent years been widely accepted in language pedagogy. Whatever conclusions language pedagogy draws from this more intricate sociolinguistic analysis of language, the categorizations and studies

in the ethnography of speaking are likely to play an increasingly important role in second/foreign language curriculum development. Theoretical and descriptive studies in this area are needed if pedagogy is not to operate with these concepts in the abstract.

Furthermore, Stern (1994:231) explains that since World War II, the profound social and political changes in the world have led to a recognition that reality of the language situation can no longer be forced into the simple mould of the single-language nation state with its single-medium school as inevitably right in all circumstances. All over the world linguistic, ethnic, cultural, and religious minorities have begun to assert their language and dialect situations to which the European unilingual model of the nineteenth century cannot be applied without modification. Language and dialect diversity has become accepted as a reality of life in most societies, and a more diversified approach to language issues characterizes national policy in many countries of the world today. The sociology of language, in nature, has been the intellectual response to this new interpretation of the role of languages in society.

In accordance with the studies of language in social contexts and language teaching, Wolfson (1989:30) states that the issue of whether or to what extent sociolinguistic rules can or should be taught in ESL and/or EFL classrooms is a controversial one. According to her, since there has been little in the way of empirical information concerning these rules for any native English-speaking community, only a limited attempt at such teaching was actually possible. Materials writers and teachers, caught up in the wave of enthusiasm for including socio-cultural information in classroom language instruction, have, it is true, tried to use their own knowledge as native speakers to provide students with such information. However, intuition about sociolinguistic behavior is often very unreliable. To a large extent, the kinds of information that have been included in such curricula have been based on community norms rather than on actual use. In the last few years, researchers in the field of applied sociolinguistics have worked hard to provide badly needed analyses, and a good deal has been accomplished.

For foreign students residing in the host community (see Wolfson, 1989:31), a certain amount of exposure through the media, and through contact with native speakers, including teachers, is inevitable. As far as language teaching is concerned, however, it is unclear whether rules of this nature can actually be taught in conventional ways. Wolfson argues that the

acquisition of sociolinguistic rules can be greatly facilitated by teachers who have the necessary information at their command and who have the sensitivity to use their knowledge in order to guide students and help them to interpret values and patterns which they would otherwise have difficulty in interpreting. While we would not want to be in the position of trying to change the value systems of people from other cultures, or to attempt to persuade them to model their personal behavior on our own, we know that language learners would benefit greatly from information on how to interpret and respond to native speaker sociolinguistic behavior.

Thomas (as quoted by Wolfson, 1989:31) state his idea which is similar to Wolfson's. Thomas states:

"It is not the responsibility of the language teacher qua linguist to enforce Anglo-Saxon standards of behavior, linguistic or otherwise. Rather, it is the teacher's job to equip the student to express her/himself in exactly the way s/he chooses to do so - rudely, tactfully, or in an elaborately polite manner. What we want to prevent is her/his being unintentionally rude or subservient. It may, of course, behoove the teacher to point out the likely consequences of certain types of linguistic behavior".

Based on the ideas argued above, it seems that the social features of language which result the sociolinguistic rules of language uses are necessary to fulfill the communicative competence. However, such rules are not "strictly" used by non-native speakers or foreign learners, including for EFL learners. In this case, it is relevant to pay attention to Wolfson' argumentation (Wolfson, 1989:32). According to her, to come back to our original point, we must recognize that the phenomenon that we are calling sociolinguistic relativity is a very difficult concept to accept, and the differences in communicative or socio-cultural conventions are all too often interpreted as intentional rudeness. Indeed, some adult language learners are never able to reconcile themselves to such differences or to accept the possibility that the issue is not between kinds of behavior that are right or wrong, but between different norms of behavior. Fortunately, most learners do come to appreciate this fact and, especially when guided by well-trained instructors, may make the attempt to adapt, learn to interpret, and, under some circumstances, even decide to emulate to some degree the behavior of the host community when interacting with its members. Obviously, language learning does not require that people change their personalities or their most deeply ingrained principles concerning correct behavior; what is needed is for the learners to

come to understand what is meant by the words and expressions they hear, and to be able respond to them appropriately so that unnecessary miscommunication can be avoided.

B. FINDINGS AND IMPLICATION OF ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION IN EFL TEACHING

A strong call for the application of the ethnography of communication to educational issues was voiced by Hymes in his introduction to *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. For Hymes, research and application involve a two-way sharing of knowledge – the investigator contributing scientific modes of inquiry and participants providing the requisite knowledge and perspective of the particular community contexts (Saville-Troike in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:373). As the studies on ethnography of communication relate to the socio-cultural contexts of language in use, such research findings – data, information, and/or interpretation – are useful to build and develop the communicative competence. In this sense, we may say that the findings of sociolinguistic studies based on ethnographic approaches and ethnomethodology are valuable for the programs of EFL teaching.

As the examples of findings of ethnography of communication which have implication on EFL teaching, let's see what Saville-Troike (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996) points out. According to him, the findings of Philips (1972) that cultural differences relate to different structures of classroom interaction and control have subsequently been extended by research in a variety of situations, including that of Au (1980) and Erickson and Mohatt (1982). The findings of these studies show that certain types of classroom practices may have a negative effect on teaching and learning for students from different cultural backgrounds, as follows:

Required public performance or testing (teachers controlling performance style and calling attention to individual students in front of an audience;

Tempo of teaching (how fast students and teachers interact, and how quickly one activity shifts to the next; wait time between solicitation and response);

Directiveness (how much and what kinds of control teachers can appropriately exercise over students) and use of space (positions in class, pattern of movement, distance between individuals, touching).

Responsive pedagogy might include such adaptations as seating students in table groups instead of rows, calling on groups rather than individual students, and privatizing contact with students (Erickson and Mohatt, quoted by Saville-Troike in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996).

To understand classroom interaction processes and content, we must continually bear in mind that teachers are operating within a culturally defined system of educational knowledge and ideology. As emphasized by Gumperz (1981), "What is communicated in the classroom is a result of complex processes of interaction among educational goals, background knowledge, and what various participants perceive over time as taking place". The methods of the ethnography of communication can be profitably applied by teachers in observing and analyzing the situation in their own classroom and in heightening their awareness of their own interaction patterns with students (Saville-Troike in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:374).

Furthermore, Saville-Troike (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:375) says that ethnographic modes of investigation are also of particular value in the study of both first and second language acquisition and development or the acquisition of communicative competence. One of the most complete ethnographic studies of language development yet conducted was done by Heath (1983), who describes how children from two culturally different communities in the Piedmont Carolinas learn to use language. Their differential socialization experiences yield differential readiness for school, even though both groups acquire full competence in the language patterns of their home and community. Heath goes beyond description to suggest ways in which educators can make use of knowledge from the ethnographies of communication to build bridges between communities and schools and develop ways to accommodate group differences in language and culture.

Then, Saville-Troike also mentions that ethnographic research on children's second language development has increased the understanding of strategies they use to communicate with one another in spite of limited language skills, to resolve social conflicts, and to make sense of school, in particular, demonstrates the value of playback and debriefing procedures in which both students (in their native languages) and teachers interpreted their own communicative behaviors and experiences as they viewed videotapes of events in which they were participants.

Further data and information about research findings, and the implication toward language learning are mentioned as well by Saville-Troike (in McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996). Accordingly, the ways in which analysis of communicative events might be used in the preparation of instructional activities for language classes have been discussed, as has the subject of how research on the functions and contexts of present or prospective language use might be used in determining that aspects of the language need to be learned and/or taught. Another important application of the ethnography of communication is to the assessment of communicative skills, especially as they relate to requirements of the educative process. Traditional language proficiency tests that measure pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary do not reveal all the communicative requirements necessary for success in school. Although the full potential in this area of application has not yet been realized, much progress has been made. Such efforts are vital to questions of entry and exit in special educational programs designed for speakers of other languages, such as bilingual education and English as a second language, and to questions regarding the identification and remediation of abnormal speech. The first factor to consider is that testing is itself a socially situated communicative event and that students may perform differently in differing testing conditions because of their language and cultural background.

In addition, Saville-Troike (see McKay and Hornberger (eds.), 1996:376) in the point of research findings and the implication to language teaching and learning, including in EFL teaching, argues that an ethnography of communication perspective contributes to the cultivation of a difference rather than a deficit view toward student performance. Knowledge of the ways in which communicative structures and strategies differ across cultures will help teachers better understand the reasons for students' deviations from standard and native language norms. Understanding why students might make certain choices in language use can lead to more tolerant and appreciative attitudes toward students' full range of communicative resources while, at the same time, recognizing and supporting students' needs and desires to operate effectively within certain target speech communities and situations. It is also necessary to understand although training in language or linguistics is an essential component of teacher preparation, it is not sufficient for understanding the nature of communication. The ethnography of communication provides an important additional set of tools for achieving an understanding of the patterns of language use in the communication systems

of different cultures, particularly as they relate to the goals and practices of classroom instruction.

Based on the brief explanation, it seems that research findings of sociolinguistic studies by means of the ethnographic approaches are helpful for language teaching programs, including for EFL teaching. We may say that the ethnography of speaking and ethnomethodology give significant contributions to EFL teaching as the educational implications in nature. We also believe that language teachers, including EFL teachers, need to know and use the results of ethnographic approaches to language in order to understand how language is used in social practices. Many researchers and experts argue that social features of language uses in societies are necessary in language teaching-learning programs.

In accordance with this, Stern (1994:191) has ever mentioned relevant ideas dealing with language teaching and socio-cultural phenomena involving in language. According to him, language teachers have not waited to for sociolinguistics to come along in order to become aware of a relationship between language, culture, and society. Indeed to many of them some of the issues in sociolinguistics have a familiar ring. Teachers have faced the same dilemma that has worried the linguist: if they concentrate too hard on linguistic forms and forget the people who use the forms in orderly communication, they distort the reality of language use. On the other hand, if they overemphasize people and country and disregard the details of linguistic forms their teaching tends to become superficial and unserviceable. This dilemma, on the applied level, reflects the issue that in theoretical linguistics has produced a separation of the areas that in theoretical linguistics has produced a separation of the areas studied by 'linguistics proper' ('micro-linguistics', 'linguistic linguistics') from the study of language in the social context. Concentration on the formal aspect, so vividly evident in Bloomfield's *Language*, has also dominated language pedagogy and has created similar problems. For over a century language teachers have repeatedly been drawn to teach language as a purely formal system, and then had to remind themselves that their students need contact with native speakers, and that the language class should provide an introduction to a country and its people.

In addition, Stern (1994) adds as well that we cannot teach a language for long without coming face to face with social context factors which have bearing on language and language learning. That language and language are

in many ways closely liked is not questioned, either in language education or in social science. Yet, while language teaching has interacted for a long time with linguistics and with psychology, social science and language teaching have only recently come into contact with each other. The reason for this belated recognition lies partly in the history of the disciplines themselves and partly in the development of language teaching theory.

The findings of researches conducted by means of ethnographic approaches imply that language forms and grammatical features of given language cannot be used in natural speech communities; they are communicatively usable in relation to the social contexts. The ideas argued by Stern (1994) can be mostly assigned as the educational and practical implications of ethnography of communication in EFL teaching. The success of language teaching, including the EFL teaching and learning, needs both grammatical forms and social features of the uses. The EFL teaching and learning in non-English speaking countries and in multilingual societies are even more complicated because the environment outside formal classrooms does not support the social uses of the learnt language. Thus, data and information dealing with social contexts of English should be introduced to the learners and be trained in the classrooms. Such teaching-learning programs of EFL may give significant consequences of building and developing communicative competence. It is obvious that ethnography of communication and the ideas of ethnomethodology have educational implication to EFL teaching and learning.



EXERCISES

Exercise 1

What are the reasons to say that the language teaching needs data and information of language in use concerning with social contexts?

Exercise 2

How can you prove that language teaching and learning, whether it is as the first, the second, or a foreign language, should bring language features based on social contexts?

Exercise 3

What should the teachers of EFL do with the standard variations and social varieties of the English language?

Exercise 4

It is highly believed that the social features of English should be understood by learners in order to have communicative competence and successful communication in the learnt language. In fact, however, the EFL learners are impossible to use all aspects of social features like native speakers do. What should the learners do with the condition?

Exercise 5

Why do you think that the EFL teaching and learning needs to accommodate the findings, data, and information of sociolinguistic researches dealing with ethnography of communication?

Exercise 6

What are the educational contributions of ethnography of communication to EFL teaching and learning?

Exercise 7

How do the findings of ethnographic studies in sociolinguistics affect the success of EFL teaching programs?

Exercise 8

It is hard to build and to develop the EFL learners' communicative competence without involving the ideas and information related to ethnography of communication to the programs of the foreign language teaching. Why do you think so?

Key to Exercises

Exercise 1

We have already known that language teaching materials and instructional language used in the language classrooms are relatively not natural; most utterances and examples are type of modification. Such conditions are easily found in L2 and FL classrooms. If the learners are not academically informed

that language forms and rules in a society need social contexts, they will speak in less communicative competence. Therefore, data and information derived and selected from research of language uses in social contexts are necessary, then.

Exercise 2

It is common at the elementary and pre-intermediate level that the teaching-learning processes of language (L1, L2, FL) are concerning with language forms and simple grammatical rules. At intermediate and advanced level, the learners are expected to communicatively use and practice the learnt language. If they use and communicate in the learnt language without any attention to socio-cultural contexts and how the grammatical forms function in society, the learners speak monotonously; some of the utterances or grammatical constructions do not make senses. If it is so, the uses of the learnt language may be less communicative. In this case, data and information of language features based on social contexts are highly needed. Thus, the language teaching-learning programs should bring language features based on social contexts.

Exercise 3

It is normative that a language has standard variation and non-standard ones. For the language teaching-learning processes, it is impossible to inform and to teach all variations a language has. Formal teaching-learning processes need standard variation because it is the ideal materials and evaluation used in classrooms. In other side, the learners need to inform that one language has standard and non-standard variations. For the success of teaching-learning processes of a language, learners need to know also the non-standard variations and how they are socially used. In this sense, a language teacher uses the standard variation as the main materials of learning and makes use of social varieties as the additional ones.

Exercise 4

As the learners of EFL, we should realize that it is impossible to know all variation of English use in real speech communities. In accordance with this, it is alright for EFL learners to know and use the standard variation as the basis. Based on the standard variation and if it is possible, the learners may enlarge and develop their communicative competence by adding knowledge and skills with social and non-standard varieties of English.

Exercise 5

So far, we have already understood that EFL teaching-learning programs need various data and information of Standard English. Those are useful to build the basic mastery of English. Further communicative skills in the foreign language need more data and information of English used in social contexts. That is why the learners of EFL and English teaching-learning programs need data and information of sociolinguistic researches dealing with ethnography of communication.

Exercise 6

The educational contributions of ethnography of communication to EFL teaching and learning, among the others, are: (i) it gives ideas that a language, including English, has variations which may be analyzed as micro and macro-linguistics; (ii) that English has variations is natural, but all variations cannot be brought into the classrooms as the teaching-learning materials; they should be academically selected; and (iii) the selected materials should be appropriate with the level and purposes of EFL learning programs.

Exercise 7

The findings of ethnographic studies in sociolinguistics may affect the success of EFL teaching programs in the forms of providing and serve data, information, and additional prediction of language uses in social contexts.

Exercise 8

The EFL learner's communicative competence is not only the cases of knowing and using grammatical forms and rules of English. The communicative competence is more than the knowledge on grammatical rules and sentential constructions. It is a fact that communicative competence needs ideas and information related to ethnography of communication to the programs of the foreign language teaching.

**SUMMARY**

The study of language in its social context starts from the assumption that speech varies within a speech community. It is the business of linguistics to account for these and to study the rules of the variations as normal phenomena of language use. A sociolinguistic variable is a linguistic feature which can be systematically related to

some non-linguistic feature in the social context: the speaker, the addressee, the audience, or the setting. Thus, some features of language involving in communication are in systematic relationships in some ways. The language teacher faces a similar problem when he asks himself whether to teach a language as it is spoken or whether he should confine his teaching to an idealized 'standard' variety. In the latter case the task is simplified but the student may find that no native speaker uses the language quite the way he was taught: the student is not sensitized to the differences among groups of speakers and to the social significance of these differences. Language in social context is closer to real life, but variations make the teaching-learning task more complex.

In accordance with the studies of language in social contexts and language teaching, there has been little in the way of empirical information concerning these rules for any native English-speaking community, only a limited attempt at such teaching was actually possible. Materials writers and teachers, caught up in the wave of enthusiasm for including socio-cultural information in classroom language instruction, have, it is true, tried to use their own knowledge as native speakers to provide students with such information. However, intuition about sociolinguistic behavior is often very unreliable. To a large extent, the kinds of information that have been included in such curricula have been based on community norms rather than on actual use. In the last few years, researchers in the field of applied sociolinguistics have worked hard to provide badly needed analyses, and a good deal has been accomplished.

The acquisition of sociolinguistic rules can be greatly facilitated by teachers who have the necessary information at their command and who have the sensitivity to use their knowledge in order to guide students and help them to interpret values and patterns which they would otherwise have difficulty in interpreting. While we would not want to be in the position of trying to change the value systems of people from other cultures, or to attempt to persuade them to model their personal behavior on our own, we know that language learners would benefit greatly from information on how to interpret and respond to native speaker sociolinguistic behavior.

A strong call for the application of the ethnography of communication to educational issues was voiced by Hymes in his introduction to *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. For Hymes, research and application involve a two-way sharing of knowledge -- the investigator contributing scientific modes of inquiry and participants providing the requisite knowledge and perspective of the particular community contexts. As the studies on ethnography of communication

relate to the socio-cultural contexts of language in use, such research findings – data, information, and/or interpretation – are useful to build and develop the communicative competence. In this sense, we may say that the findings of sociolinguistic studies based on ethnographic approaches and ethnomethodology are valuable for the programs of EFL teaching.

The ethnography of speaking and ethnomethodology give significant contributions to EFL teaching as the educational implications in nature. Language teachers have not waited for sociolinguistics to come along in order to become aware of a relationship between language, culture, and society. Indeed to many of them some of the issues in sociolinguistics have a familiar ring. Teachers have faced the same dilemma that has worried the linguist: if they concentrate too hard on linguistic forms and forget the people who use the forms in orderly communication, they distort the reality of language use. On the other hand, if they overemphasize people and country and disregard the details of linguistic forms their teaching tends to become superficial and unserviceable.

We cannot teach a language for long without coming face to face with social context factors which have bearing on language and language learning. That language and language are in many ways closely linked is not questioned, either in language education or in social science. Yet, while language teaching has interacted for a long time with linguistics and with psychology, social science and language teaching have only recently come into contact with each other. The reason for this belated recognition lies partly in the history of the disciplines themselves and partly in the development of language teaching theory.



FORMATIVE TEST 3

Answer the following questions.

- 1) What are the educational contributions of the studies of language in its social contexts to EFL teaching?
- 2) What are the practical effects of the ethnographic approaches to sociolinguistic studies and to language teaching?
- 3) What should the EFL teachers do in classrooms in order that the students have the ability to communicate in English in real social-contexts?

- 4) Why do you think that the ethnography of communication has essential implication in EFL teaching?
- 5) How do you believe that successful learners of EFL need to know and apply the ideas and information of ethnography of communication?

Feedback and Follow up

Evaluate your learning progress from your scores of the formative test by applying the following formula

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Number of correct answer}}{\text{Number of total items}} \times 100\%$$

Now decide which of the categories your scores fall into. Learn the meaning of the category and do the follow-up activities.

Category	Percentage	Meaning and Follow-up
Category 1	90% - 100%	Very good This means that you have mastered the materials. You can go on to the next final test.
Category 2	70% - 89%	Good However, you are suggested to learn once again the materials that you haven't mastered before you continue to the next unit.
Category 3	< 70%	You have not mastered the materials. Learn all the materials once again before you go on to the next unit.

This is the end of Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching modules. So, be sure that you have mastered all the materials before you do the final test.

Key to Formative Tests

Formative Test 1

- 1) There are, at least, three differences between the concept of Chomsky's linguistic competence and Hymes' communicative competences. Firstly, Chomsky's linguistic competence is more on mentalist idea, while Hymes' communicative competence is more on practical-surface idea. Secondly, Chomsky's linguistic competence is more on micro-levels and rules of language; phonological, morphological, and syntactical, and semantic ones, while Hymes' communicative competence is more on macro-level and rules of language, particularly on socio-cultural rules of language uses. Thirdly, Chomsky's linguistic competence is more on internal knowledge of native speakers about their language, while Hymes' communicative competence is more on conventional uses of language in social contexts and speech community.
- 2) Hymes' communicative competence is more reasonable than Chomsky's linguistic competence based on the fact that language is social phenomena because the success of verbal communication much more depends on the application of linguistic knowledge in real uses of language in social contexts.
- 3) Let's have an example about greeting! In bahasa Indonesia or in Minangkabau, the question: *Ke mana Pak* or *Kama Pak* is a greeting. If EFL learners in Indonesia use question *where are you going sir?* to greet someone else in English, it does not make sense as the greeting, although no grammatical problems in the expression.
- 4) The ethnography of communication, in some parts, includes the relationship between language, society, and culture. It is proved by the components of analyses which relate to the interrelationships between language, society, and culture.
- 5) The main characteristics of researches conducted by means of the ethnographic approaches are: (i) field-survey research; (ii) participant observation; (iii) phenomenology oriented; (iv) inductive-qualitative approach; and (v) grounded theory.

Formative Test 2

- 1) The main ideas of ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics are: (i) more on functions and values of language in society rather than on linguistic forms and meanings; (ii) more on macro-linguistics oriented rather than on micro-linguistics; and (iii) searching and exploring the phenomena and quality of relation between language and socio-cultural features in speech community.
- 2) The examples of sociolinguistic studies using ethnographic approaches are:
 - (i) The study of cultural values found in folk-tales in Minangkabaunese;
 - (ii) An analysis of Greeting and Politeness Strategies in ...
 - (iii) Cultural Values in Cultural Conversation among Cultural Leaderships in Minangkabaunese
 - (iv) The Study of Socio-cultural Meanings in Cultural Speech Delivered by Cultural Leaderships in ...
- 3) The sociolinguistic studies are more attractive and deeper if they use ethnographic approaches because the sociolinguistic phenomena can be explored and explained in detailed properties as they are analyzed through the acronym SPEAKING. The items derived from the acronym guide the researchers to see deeper the phenomena they want to study.
- 4) The methods of ethnomethodology belongs to inductive one because the researchers begin the works with collecting data by means of field-survey research, study the socio-cultural phenomena involving in language uses, then draw conclusion based the data and information obtained from the field. It means that the study belongs to type: "from specific to general"
- 5) The main ideas of linguistic ethnography are: (i) the concept of sociolinguistic studies which relate between language and ethnics; (ii) researches which link ethnographic research on ideologies and wider societal norms with the analyses of specific language practices; and (iii) the linguistic ethnography analysis attempts to combine close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world.

Formative Test 3

- 1) The educational contributions of the studies of language in its social contexts to EFL teaching are: (i) the data and information given by the studies may academically build and develop learners' communicative competence; (ii) the learners of EFL know that English has variations as the reflection of its socio-cultural conditions; (iii) the learners will comprehend that social uses of language should be learned as well as a part of communicative competence.
- 2) The practical effects of the ethnographic approaches to sociolinguistic studies and to language teaching are: (i) the sociolinguistic studies may come to more detailed exploration and analyses concerning with socio-cultural properties of the speakers, and language teaching may effectively make use of the detailed data and information; (ii) the operational works in collecting the data are normally guided by the acronym SPEAKING, and language teaching may be informed in operational ways.
- 3) The EFL teachers should inform, introduce, bring, and teach the data and information of English dealing with the real uses of the language social contexts. In addition, such information should be involved appropriately in the learning materials based on relevant levels of students.
- 4) The ethnography of communication has essential implication in EFL teaching because the socio-cultural data and conclusion by means of ethnographic approaches can be academically used as parts of learning materials in EFL learning programs.
- 5) It is highly believed that the successful learners of EFL need to know and apply the ideas and information of ethnography of communication due to the following reasons:
 - (i) language meanings are not only based on the forms and grammatical constructions of the language, but they depend and are naturally influenced by non-linguistic contexts. Among the others are social contexts;
 - (ii) language socio-culturally functions in its speech community in complex systems between language forms and other non-linguistic features;
 - (iii) to communicate in English needs the understanding of grammatical features (linguistic competence) and the ability to apply the

linguistic competence in real uses in the form of communicative competence;

- (iv) Understanding the language is not only to understand the language forms and grammatical rules. Understanding language means understand also the cultural aspects of language uses in society, then.

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